Notes on Kusunda Grammar[*]
A Language Isolate of Nepal

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Acknowledgments

No one could have guessed, early in 2004, that before the year was out we would get lucky with Kusunda. At the time, all we had were a couple of word lists, one from the 1850s and another from the 1970s; plus a short text that was largely uninterpretable. We knew almost nothing about the grammar – doubly lamentable in light of the fact that Kusunda was recognized as a language isolate, related to no other language on earth. In some quarters, the last speaker was reported to have died in 1985, and though some Nepalese linguists and anthropologists were aware of one or two Kusundas with a vague memory of their ancestral tongue, the situation was not hopeful, and most of us had resigned ourselves to the notion that we would never know more about Kusunda than what we already knew.

In the midst of this unpromising circumstance, our friends at the National Foundation for the Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN), especially Vice-Chairman Prof. Sant Bahadur Gurung and Member Secretary Mr. Tamla Ukyab, never gave up. It is impossible to overemphasize our indebtedness to them. In April 2004, with help from the National Indigenous Nationalities Women's Forum, they brought three Kusundas to Kathmandu from Dang Valley to help them with citizenship papers – a practical, first step in helping them and making a simple thing like land ownership a possibility for them. They also arranged a press conference in which they introduced the Kusundas to the public and to the academic community – sociologists, anthropologists, and linguists. It was there that we discovered that one of them, Ms. Gyani Maiya Sen, had more than a passive knowledge of Kusunda; she could actually speak it!

We, at the Central Department of Linguistics (CDL), Tribhuvan University, immediately made a proposal to Prof. Gurung and Mr. Ukyab to help us in bringing Gyani Maiya and possibly other Kusunda speakers into Kathmandu for a three month period of intensive linguistic research. Their response was magnanimous. Not only did NFDIN agree to fund the research and documentation project, they also sent one of their own people, Mr. Dinesh Gurung, to Dang to bring the speakers to Kathmandu.

Once in Kathmandu, Mr. Jagat Gurung, also of NFDIN, dealt with many practical arrangements, like finding lodging for the Kusundas and taking them on weekend tours to the zoo and to numerous religious sites. We are grateful for his willing contribution. We are also grateful to Mr. Stephen Watters, of SIL and CDL, for making digital recordings of many Kusunda sounds, and to Dinesh Khadga of Kantipur Photo Studio for making video recordings of several elicitation sessions. All electronic media are now housed at the CDL library, and make a valuable addition to their language archives.

Without question, our greatest debt of gratitude goes to the Kusunda speakers who accepted the invitation to come to Kathmandu – Ms. Gyani Maiya Sen, Ms. Kamala Singh Khatri, and Mr. Prem Bahadur Shahi Thakuri. Back in Dang, Gyani Maiya contacted Prem Bahadur, her uncle, and Prem Bahadur contacted Kamala, his niece, who lived in Rolpa. Only Gyani Maiya had been to Kathmandu before, at the recent invitation of NFDIN. But for all of them, a three month stay in Kathmandu was a leap of faith. They were at the mercy of strangers, not knowing fully what to expect. When they arrived, they quickly settled into their new situation, cheerfully sharing their language and their lives.

Four of us at CDL, Linguistics Chair Prof. Yogendra Prasad Yadava, Prof. Madhav Prasad Pokharel, Mr. Balaram Prasain, and myself, had separate, daily sessions with our new-found friends, keeping them busy the whole day long. Once a week, we debriefed

one another in public, "chalk-board discussions," well attended by faculty and students of the linguistics department. I should make clear that the three participants do not necessarily agree with all my interpretations presented in this grammar. Any and all errors are my own.

At the end of the research period, NFDIN hosted another press conference, at which the Kusundas were fêted, and the principal investigators were given opportunity to present their findings. An invited speaker, State Minister for Local Development Mr. Krishna Gopal Shrestha, promised his support for projects aimed at uplifting indigenous nationalities. Several other dignitaries, including Prof. Sant Bahadur Gurung, Prof. Yogendra Prasad Yadava, Prof. Madhav Prasad Pokharel, Prof. Novel Kishore Rai, and visiting Prof. Sueyoshi Toba, gave unanimous voice to the overriding value of language documentation and preservation efforts. The conference was reported in all the major Nepalese dailies for Asoj 24, 2061, BS (October 10, 2004).

A special note of thanks goes to Professors R. M. W. Dixon and Alexandra Aikhenvald for inviting me as an Honorary Visiting Fellow to their Research Centre for Linguistic Typology (RCLT) at La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia. I was able to spend three months, uninterrupted, analyzing my notes and writing the present grammar. I was also given opportunity to present my findings and analysis at an RCLT seminar, receiving valuable suggestions and comments from Robert Dixon, Alexandra Aikhenvald, Randy LaPolla, John Saeed, Gerrold Sadock, Ghil'ad Zuckermann, and John Hajek.

I would also like to thank Alexandra Aikhenvald, Scott DeLancey, David Bradley, Sueyoshi Toba, and Stephen Watters for reading an earlier draft of this grammar and making valuable comments. I have not incorporated all of them, and any shortcomings are my own.

Last, but not least, I wish to thank the Himalayan Linguistics anonymous reviewer who took a close, critical view of the first edition of this grammar (the NFDIN version) and made a number of very helpful suggestions. Many of those recommendations I have followed and incorporated into this current edition.

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David E. Watters
Kathmandu, Nepal
19 April 2006

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List of abbreviations

1	First person
1P	First person plural
1S	First person singular
2	Second person
2P	Second person plural
2S	Second person singular
3	Third person
3P	Third person plural
3S	Third person singular
A	Subject of transitive
ABL	Ablative
AC	Anti-causative
ACC	Accusative
ADJ	Adjectivizer
adj.	Adjective
adv.	Adverb
aff.	Affix
ALLT	Allative
CAUS	Causative
CDL	Central Department of Linguistics
CNV	Converbal
DAT	Dative
DETRANS	Detransitive
EMP	Emphatic
ERG	Ergative
FOR	Benefactive
GEN	Genitive
HORT	Hortative
IA	Indo-Aryan
IMM	Imminent
IMP	Imperative
IN	In, Specific location
INCHO	Inchoative
INCOMP	Incompletive
IND	Indicative
IRR	Irrealis
LOC	Locative
(N)	Nepali
n.	Noun
NEG	Negative

Nep.	Nepali
NEUT	Neutral inflection
NF	Non-final verb
NFDIN	National Foundation for the Developement of Indigenous Nationalities
NML	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun phrase
O	Object of transitive
OPT	Optative
PAST	Past
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
pp.	Postposition
PRES	Present
PROH	Prohibitive
PTB	Proto Tibeto-Burman
PURP	Purposive
REAL	Realis
S	Subject of intransitive
SG	Singular
SUB	Subjunctive
SUBORD	Subordinate
TAM	Tense–aspect–modality
TB	Tibeto-Burman
TR	Transitive
V	Verb
VDC	Village Development Committee
vi.	Intransitive verb
vt.	Transitive verb
WITH	Comitative

1. Introduction

The *Kusundas*, also known as *Ban Rajas* "Kings of the Forest," are an ethnic group of Nepal who, until recent historical times, lived as semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers in central and midwestern Nepal. Nowadays, due to the loss of vast tracts of forest lands their hunting bands have splintered and they have been compelled, because of a lack of marriageable Kusunda partners, to intermarry with other ethnic groups. As a result, their numbers have dwindled drastically and their language has all but ceased to exist.

Kusundas first came to the attention of the Western world in 1848 when Brian Hodgson, the British Resident to the Court of Nepal, introduced them, together with the *Chepangs*, in an article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, *On the Chépáng and Kúsúnda tribes of Nepál*, with the following words:

> Amid the dense forests of the central region of Népál, to the westward of the great valley, dwell, in scanty numbers and nearly in a state of nature, two broken tribes having no apparent affinity with the civilized races of that country, and seeming like fragments of an earlier population. (1848:650; 1874:45)

His description is even less flattering a few sentences later when he goes on to say that, "They have bows and arrows, of which the iron arrow-heads are procured from their neighbors, but almost no other implement of civilization, and it is in the very skilful snaring of the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air that all their little intelligence is manifested."

Van Driem (2001) reports that according to Ralph Turner (1931), *Kusunda* was formerly used as "a term of abuse for the so-called Rajputs of Nepal," and may still be used in the sense of "savage." Reinhard, too (1976:2), notes that in some areas of Nepal the word Kusunda makes reference to those who "do not listen to advice and behave rudely." In our own experience, the term still has some currency, especially in western Nepal. Our informants, however, seemed either unaware or uncaring of its pejorative overtones, and were quite happy to refer to themselves as Kusundas, although they continue to refer to themselves by their autonym, *mihaq* 'the people.' (See §2.1, paragraph 2 and *fn*. 5.)

Nine years after his first mention of Kusunda, Hodgson, in his *Comparative Vocabulary of the Languages of the Broken Tribes of Nepal* (1857), published a list of Kusunda words, some 223 in all. Apparently the data was collected by linguistic assistants, for in his own words he confessed that, "During a long residence in Népál, I never could gain the least access to the Kusúndas, though aided by all the authority of the Durbar" (part II, p. 46). The most important consequence of Hodgson's list was that it (should have) demonstrated unequivocally that Kusunda was unrelated to Chepang, or for that matter, to any other language or language family of South Asia. (See Appendix A for a full, modern vocabulary of about 850 words.) It seems that Robert Shafer (1953) was the first to notice its unique status, almost one hundred years later.

1.1.   The current status of Kusunda

Kusunda survives today, in varying degrees of fluency, in only a handful of speakers — no more than seven or eight *in toto*. None of the descendants of the current speakers use the language, with one notable exception. Kamala Khatri, a thirty-two year old

Kusunda woman of Sakhi VDC in southern Rolpa, has used Kusunda on a daily basis since childhood and continues to use it with her aging mother, Puni Thakuri. Kamala Khatri is fully fluent and served as our primary language informant.

Many linguists agree that Kusunda is very likely the sole survivor of an ancient aboriginal population once inhabiting the sub-Himalayan regions before the arrival of Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan speaking peoples. It is probable that other aboriginal languages existed alongside Kusunda in that prehistoric period, but they have long ceased to exist. Petroglyphs, inscribed on the walls of caves and rock overhangs, can still be found in many parts of Nepal, attesting to the presence of possible multiple aboriginal populations.

That Kusunda has persisted to the present day is something of a linguistic miracle. More than 150 years ago Brian Hodgson had already predicted that "The lapse of a few generations will probably see the total extinction of the Chépángs and Kusúndas, and therefore I apprehend that the traces now saved from oblivion of these singularly circumstanced and characterized tribes… will be deemed very precious by all real students of ethnology." (1874:48)

1.2. *Later research on Kusunda*

After Hodgson, no further linguistic samples were made available on Kusunda until Grierson's Survey of India, published in 1909. Sten Konow, who is credited with compiling Part I of Volume III, published a small sample of Kusunda including a few conjugated verbs, all of which he credits to "materials published by Hodgson." Surprisingly, Kusunda was still classified as Tibeto-Burman, apparently on the basis of its implied association with Chepang in Hodgson's first report.[1] Since 1909, other occasional articles and notices have appeared on Kusunda, but most have been unimaginative rehashings of earlier notions about its relationship to Chepang.[2]

In 1968, one-hundred and twenty years after Hodgson's original report, Johan

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[1] In his Kusunda section, Konow cites an article, *Affinities of the Dialects of the Chepang and Kusundah Tribes of Nipál with those of the Hill Tribes of Arracan*, by Capt. C. J. F. Forbes, 1877, the very title of which implies a connection between Chepang, Kusunda, and other TB languages. In the article itself, Forbes further states that "… an even closer connexion appears to exist between these tribes, the Chepangs, Vayus, and Kusunda, and the Hill tribes of Arracan." None of his actual comparisons, however, are with Kusunda, but only with Chepang, Vayu, and Bhramu; Kusunda is excluded entirely.

Konow also cites a full book by Forbes (1881), *Languages of Further India*, in which the only mention of Kusunda is an attempt to relate Kusunda *taŋ* 'water' to Mikir *laŋ* 'water' and Newar *la* 'water.'

[2] The Ethnologue, for example, continues to classify Kusunda as Tibeto-Burman. B. K. Rana, too, continues to insist that Kusunda is Tibeto-Burman on the basis of a few putative cognates and some very unconvincing typological correspondences (2002).

A few speculative proposals continue to make the rounds on the possible relationship of Kusunda to Munda or even to languages further afield, like Nihali, a language isolate of west-central India (Fleming 1996, Whitehouse 1997); "possibly" Burushaski and languages of the Caucasus (Reinhard and Toba 1970); or the Yenisseian languages of Siberia (Gurov 1989, cited in van Driem 2001 as: "Kusunda – sinokavkazkie leksiceskie paralleli". *Lingvisticeskaja rekonstrukcija i drevnejsaja istorija vostoka*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka'). The latest proposal (Whitehouse et al, 2003) advances the premise that Kusunda belongs to 'Indo-Pacific' (a highly speculative mega-family), with "the possibility that Kusunda is a remnant of the migration that led to the initial peopling of New Guinea and Australia." The time depth is enourmous and seems hardly plausible.

Reinhard, an American anthropologist studying at the University of Vienna, found members of the Kusunda tribe in Gorkha district, and then in Surkhet district a year later. He collected a number of Kusunda words together with a short text narrated by Tek Bahadur, and in 1970, with the help of Sueyoshi Toba, a Japanese linguist studying in Nepal, the two co-authored an article – *A Preliminary Linguistic Analysis and Vocabulary of the Kusunda Language* – published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Tribhuvan University. Unfortunately, Toba had to work without the benefit of an informant, and his transcriptions are based on what he could hear from Reinhard's tape recordings. In the text, too, many morphemes and their glosses are necessarily speculative with very little to go on. Still, it was better than anything we had to date. Though the word list differed in some respects from Hodgson's list, the language was essentially the same.

Reinhard published some additional Kusunda data in 1976, but for the most part, our knowledge of the Kusundas and their language remained almost static from 1970 to the present day.

Ross Caughley, of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, made contact with a lone speaker, Chudamani Ban Raja, in Rampur village of Palpa district in January 1980 (p.c.). The speaker was unaware of other Kusundas and reckoned that he was the last surviving speaker. Caughley managed to elicit a few grammatical constructions and some additional words, but apparently his findings were not substantive enough to warrant publication (although he did include a single page of materials in his 1982 study of the Chepang verb). Five years later, in 1985, Caughley attempted to contact Chudamani a second time, but learned that he had already died. Also, in February 1983 and January 1984, Caughley traveled to some of the early Reinhard sites in Gorkha and met two Kusundas in and around Cheptar Bazaar. Both were related to Reinhard's informant, but neither were able to speak Kusunda. They belonged to a younger generation.

In the 1980s, word began to spread that the few remaining speakers known to linguists and anthropologists were all deceased, and that their language had died with them. The Ethnologue began to report in the 1990s that Kusunda had gone extinct, saying that "three speakers were reported in 1970" and that "the last speaker was reported to have died in 1985." The claim is probably related to the death of Chudamani Ban Raja.

1.3.   *Recent contact with Kusunda speakers*

Since the mid-1980s, a handful of Nepali scholars have been aware that one or two isolated speakers of Kusunda could still be found, albeit speakers with imperfect retention of their language – some with only vague memories of words used by their elders. Perhaps a few things of significance could still be gleaned, but the prospects for fruitful research did not seem good.

In 1987, Hemanta Raj Bhandari, an ethno-botanist living near Swayambhu in Kathmandu, wrote an article in the Nepali daily *Gorkhapatra* reporting that in his fieldwork he had encountered several Kusunda families living in Gorkha, Damauli (Tanahu), and Dang. Prof. Churamani Bandhu, a linguist at Tribhuvan University and the Royal Nepal Academy, followed up on Bhandari's leads and traveled to Gorkha and Damauli the same year. He was disappointed in Gorkha, but in Damauli he was able to meet two speakers – a man named Raja Mama and Raja Mama's mother. He collected a few words from the mother, "a fairly fluent speaker," he recalls, but learned a couple of years later that she was no longer alive.

In 1989, Churamani Bandhu also traveled to Sahare village in Surkhet, this time in

search of one of Reinhard's informants of twenty years before. He met the informant's wife, not a speaker of Kusunda, and learned that the man he sought was no longer alive. The next year in Dang valley, Bandhu learned of another speaker by the name of Prem Bahadur Shahi Thakuri, then away from his village on seasonal work. A year later, in 1991, Prof. Bandhu returned to Dang with Prof. Madhav Pokharel, one of the contributors to this grammar, and Prof. Ballabha Mani Dahal. This time they made contact with Prem Bahadur and managed to collect a few new items of language.

Madhav Pokharel, who had also met Raja Mama of Tanahu, reports that though Prem Bahadur was the more proficient of the two speakers, even he was able to recall only 67 items on the Swadesh 100-word list. Furthermore, he could only partially recall the most rudimentary verbal paradigms, and was unable to form sentences of any complexity. Though not entirely extinct, Kusunda was lacking its former vitality. Whole systems were moribund, well beyond the reach of the memories of its last faltering speakers.

1.4.   Context leading to the current study

In recent years, The National Foundation for the Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN, along with its earlier incarnations; also known as *Janajati Pratisthan*, formed by an act of Parliament) has taken an active interest in endangered groups like the Kusundas. Several of its members, including Tamla Ukyab, Sangini Rana Magar, and B. K. Rana, have written about, or conducted basic-level research on Kusundas in the field, with at least two recent symposiums organized in Kathmandu in which Kusundas were introduced to the press and to the academic world. The first occurred in May of 2000, introducing Raja Mama of Tanahu (Churamani Bandhu's early contact), and another in April, 2004 introducing 67 year old Gyani Maiya Sen of Dang, along with two younger relatives who did not speak the language.[3]

In May 2004, a few weeks after the April 2004 symposium, Prof. Yogendra Yadava, of the Central Department of Linguistics at Tribhuvan University, together with the author, advanced a proposal to NFDIN for a cooperative effort in bringing Gyani Maiya and possibly other Kusunda speakers into Kathmandu for a three month period of intensive linguistic research. Their response was magnanimous. Not only did they fund the research and documentation project, they also sent one of their own people, Dinesh Gurung, to Dang to fetch the speakers.

The results were beyond our expectations. Gyani Maiya and her *mama* 'maternal uncle,' Prem Bahadur Shahi Thakuri (Churamani Bandhu's 1990 contact), agreed to come to Kathmandu for a three month period. Prem Bahadur further agreed to make the journey to Tunibot in Rolpa to fetch another *bhanji* 'niece,' Kamala Khatri (already mentioned as the daughter of Puni Thakuri). The two women, Gyani Maiya and Kamala, are 'cousin-sisters,' daughters of two brothers, and it was on this occasion that the two met for the first time. They turned out to be considerably more fluent than their maternal uncle Prem Bahadur, and helped us extend our knowledge of Kusunda grammar well beyond its earlier bounds. We are exceedingly grateful for their patient help.

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[3]   Gyani Maiya was apparently an earlier contact of B. K. Rana. In a footnote to his 2002 paper "New Materials on the Kusunda Language," Rana also mentions Puni Thakuri, the mother of one of our informants, Kamala Khatri. Puni Thakuri and her daughter come from Tunibot village, Sakhi VDC, in Rolpa district.

2. A socio-linguistic and anthropological profile

According to the 2001 Census of Nepal, 164 people in Nepal call themselves Kusunda, 87 of whom are reported to speak the Kusunda language. Though we have no independent figures on which to dispute this number, all indications by the speakers themselves would put the estimate much lower – perhaps as few as seven or eight speakers. Prof. Sant Bahadur Gurung, too, Vice-Chairman of NFDIN, reports that although they have conducted extensive searches for Kusundas in the past few years, they have managed to locate no more than twenty-eight, only four or five of whom are speakers (person communication).

Kamala Khatri, our most fluent informant, reports that her mother is fully fluent, barely speaking Nepali. She is now too old to travel. Kamala's cousin-sister, Gyani Maiya, is also a speaker, and their *mama*, Prem Bahadur, can be rated only as a "semi-speaker," capable of generating no more than the most rudimentary sentences. Gyani Maiya reports that three of her younger brothers speak fluent Kusunda, but she has had no contact with any of them for more than thirty years. As far as Kamala, Gyani Maiya, and Prem Bahadur know, these seven kins-people are the only speakers in the "Dang–Rolpa group." It is probable that there are no surviving speakers in the "Surkhet group," Reinhard's informant being the last, and Raja Mama is likely the last surviving semi-speaker in the "Gorkha–Tanahu group."

All seven speakers in the Dang–Rolpa group are only recently removed from a hunter-gatherer existence in the jungles. They are currently settled in villages where the only means of communication is through Nepali. Prem Bahadur was born in the jungle near Hapur, Pyuthan, as was Gyani Maiya and her three brothers. They still recall subsisting in the jungle on wild roots and hunted animals, but even during their childhood their band was small and splintered. When they reached marriageable age, there were no eligible Kusundas around, forcing them to marry outside their caste. Prem Bahadur and Gyani Maiya married Nepali-speaking Magars, and Gyani Maiya's three younger brothers married Kham-speaking Magar women from the village of Bhalkot, in the western extreme of Baglung district.[4] Gyani Maiya's sister, reportedly also a Kusunda speaker, lives in the same village.

Cross-tribal marriage is one of the major contributors to the death of the Kusunda language. Communication between spouses must be conducted in a common language, usually Nepali, and children grow up (at best) with only a passive understanding of a few words in Kusunda, but speaking only Nepali or Kham. Deeper causes, of course, contribute to the necessity of inter-tribal marriage – overpopulation among the general populace, the destruction of vast tracts of forest land, and the resultant splintering of earlier self-sufficient, self-propagating hunting bands being some of the major ones.

2.1. *Vocabulary*

There are several aspects of the Kusunda language that seem unusual for hunter-gatherer people. They have native words for several domestic animals (1): 'horse,' 'cow,' 'sheep,' 'goat,' and 'chicken'; as well as for (2): 'king,' 'police,' 'money,' and 'gold.' They also have native words for fifteen castes (3) – Brahmin, Chhetri, Kami,

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[4]   I personally visited Bhalkot on at least two occasions while studying Kham, but was unaware of any Kusunda speakers living there.

Damai, Sarki, Gaini, Badi, Jugi, Kumal, Tharu, Newar, Magar, and Sesi Kham.

A significant distinction is made between *begəi* 'Kusunda' (their gloss) and *mihaq* 'Ban Raja' (their gloss), the former word, apparently, being used as an even stronger pejorative term than Kusunda.[5] Though our informants seemed quite happy to accept the word "Kusunda" as their Nepali exonymic caste name (even referring to themselves as such), they were careful to make clear that they were *mihaq* Kusunda, not *begəi* Kusunda. The words mentioned above are given in (1–3):

(1) a. horse   pʰyaksəm
     b. cow   numba
     c. sheep   goloq
     d. goat   aidzi
     e. chicken   tap

(2) a. king   moŋ
     b. police   gimtsamba
     c. money   gimi
     d. gold   kəpdzaŋ
     e. greetings   sodzaq

(3) a. Kusunda   begəi < ? Nep. begari (pejorative)
     b. Ban Raja   mihaq ~ mehaq
     c. Brahmin   kʰərkəla
     d. Chhetri   rəktsa
     e. Kami   koɴodi
     f. Damai   pəitoba
     g. Sarki   iŋgidət
     h. Gaini   dzəɳtəl
     i. Badi   dõdziləq
     j. Jugi   kələŋgu
     k. Kumal   yaŋbəru
     l. Tharu   ĩnorət
     m. Newar   ihəŋ
     n. Magar   yegəmbu
     o. Sesi (Kham-Magar) kiptsak

The word for Damai (3f), a musician and tailor caste, appears to contain the TB root *tup* 'beat,' which is common, too, in the Kham dialects of the region. The word for Sarki (3g) contains the Kusunda root *gidət* 'skin, leather.' The word for 'police' *gimtsamba* (2b) contains three syllables and may be a neologism, though we are unaware of the individual morphemes.

Equally unusual for a hunter-gatherer people is the lack of distinction between 'heart' and 'lung' – both *gobloq* – or between 'snake' and 'bug' – both *tu*. Surrounding tribes with hunting-gathering histories, like the Chepang, are renowned for making minute anatomical distinctions. It is possible that many such distinctions have been forgotten by the Kusundas since settling into sedentary, agricultural life. Though Reinhard

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[5]   The Nepali term *begari* ('forced laborer') is sometimes added to *Kusunda* (in *Kusunda-begari*) as an abusive insult for a worthless person, and it is probably this term that is the source for the word *begəi*. (Intervocalic 'r' is frequently dropped from the middle of Kusunda words borrowed from Nepali.)

and Toba show a distinction between 'heart' *gəmu* and 'liver' *kamʮu*, these words, too, are very likely different renditions of the same word. Hodgson does not list heart or liver.

Most locative expressions have developed as metaphorical extensions of body-part names. Though such metaphor is common in the languages of the world, the specific associations found in Kusunda are not common in the languages of the immediate region. 'Behind' *səmba* is also the word for 'buttocks,' and 'inside' *gemət* is also the word for 'stomach.' A protrusion or body-part extension is referred to as a 'body,' as in 'horn' *ipi gidzaŋ*, literally 'head body.'

The word for 'leaf' is commonly found as a classifier root for 'book' or 'page' in South and Southeast Asia, and makes reference to 'page' in Nepali. In Kusunda, the word for 'leaf' has been extended to also mean 'book.'

The word for 'yellow' derives from the word for tumeric, common also in TB languages of the region (see *fn*. 23).

2.2. *Tibeto-Burman and other borrowings*

We encountered several words in Kusunda that appear to have Tibeto-Burman origins. Given, however, that the vast majority of lexical items in Kusunda show no resemblance whatever to other languages or language families of the region, we are probably looking at borrowings from Kham, Magar, or Chepang. Following are the words:

(4) a. gwa   'egg'   <   gwa   Magar 'chicken'
    b. tu   'bug'   <   du   Magar 'bug, insect'
    c. hãː   'face'   <   hãː   Gamale Kham
    d. pəitoba 'Damai'   <   tʰubla   Gamale Kham
    e. pəyet   'leech'   <   pyat   Chepang
    f. ran   'millet'   <   rãːdəi   Takale Kham
    g. sat   'comb'   <   sat   Magar, Proto Kham
    h. ip/im   'sleep'   <   ip/im   Proto Kham
    i. am   'eat'   <   am   Chepang 'rice', Karen 'eat'
    j. hampe   'where'   <   hampe   Yamphu

Though the first two words, *gwa* 'egg' and *tu* 'bug' bear resemblance to Magar words with similar meanings, the Magar words are decidedly unusual for Tibeto-Burman. More common TB forms are *ba* or *bwa* for 'chicken,' and *bu* for 'bug.' It is possible that the Magar forms were borrowed from Kusunda.

The verb *am* 'to eat' in (4i) which corresponds to Karenic, may be purely accidental. It occurs in none of the surrounding languages, except as 'rice' in Chepang. Perhaps more difficult to explain is (4h), the word for 'sleep.' It seems unusual that such a word would be borrowed. Furthermore, **ip* is the Proto-Tibeto-Burman etymon for 'sleep,' and the word in its proto form cannot be found in the surrounding languages. Chepang and Magar use different etyma. Gamale Kham has *im-* (also occurring in certain paradigmatic forms in Kusunda), and Takale Kham has *s-ep-* as a causative 'put to sleep.' One or both forms were certainly in use in Proto Kham, and may be the source for Kusunda *ip/im*.

Many more words have been borrowed from Nepali, a much more recent phenomenon than borrowing from Tibeto-Burman. Our informants were reluctant to give us Nepali

loans, however, saying rather that "we don't have a word for that." As a result, most lexical items represented by Nepali loans simply do not occur on our word list. Unfortunately, this means that we have no way to gauge the level of Nepali incursion.

2.3 *Marriage and kinship vocabulary*

According to Johan Reinhard (1976:6)

> The Ban Raja, like several other groups in Nepal (including the Thakuri), practice matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, i.e. where marriage to the daughter of one's mother's brother is preferred. This practice, along with others, is to some extent reflected in kinship terminology.

Reinhard also reported that the Kusunda disclaim any tradition of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, i.e. marriage with one's father's sister's daughter, but that it was tolerated in recent times due to a scarcity of marriageable women.

It was also reported by Reinhard in 1976 that marriage partners are normally arranged by the parents, but that it is also common for a couple to elope on their own. Child marriage is apparently unknown. The wedding ceremony itself is simple. The groom, along with a small group of friends and relatives, goes to the home of the bride where he gives her gifts of clothing and jewelry. To the parents he gives a small gift of money.

We elicited no additional marriage customs from our informants. We did, however, collect the following kinship terms (the work of Balaram Prasain), which in some cases are different from those collected by Reinhard:

2.3.1. *Second ascending generation*

	Prasain's list	Reinhard's list
father's father	nep	ni'ap, ni'ep
mother's father	noqʰok	ni'ap, ni'ep
father's mother	nya	ni'a'
mother's mother	nya	ni'a'

2.3.2. *First ascending generation*

	Prasain's list	Reinhard's list
father	yəi	yei
mother	məi	mai
mother's brother	nyam	ni'am
mother's brother's wife	nyabi	ni'ambɛ
father's sister	--	numu
father's sister's husband	--	pʰusai (N)
father's brother	gimdʰər	--
father's older brother	--	yei mijar
father's older brother's wife	--	mai mijarni
father's younger brother	yãtsa	yei mijut
father's y. bro.'s wife	maqʰadzʰi	mai mijutni
father's second brother	--	imala
father's third brother	--	ĩsala
wife's father	budun	budən, gei buda
wife's mother	gyaudzi	buja, gi'ogi

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2.3.3.   Own generation

	Prasain's list	Reinhard's list
husband	dui	duwəi
wife	ɲãɴdi	ni'andəi, niŋdəi
older brother	mom	mam
younger brother	bʰəya	bʰaiə'
older brother's wife	--	mənji, məmənji
younger brother's wife	--	bəyei'
older sister	bai	bai'
younger sister	binəi	binəi' (N)
older sister's husband	məndu	mədo, mənau'
younger sister's husband	--	jəwaĩ (N)
eldest sister	unibai	--
second sister	məlli bai	--
third sister	sali bai	--
husband's older brother	--	jetʰaju (N)
husband's younger brother	--	dewar (N)
husband's older sister	--	amaju (N)
husband's younger sister	--	nəndə (N)
wife's older brother	--	jetʰu (N)
wife's younger brother	gesala	sala (N)
wife's older sister	--	mijarni
wife's younger sister	gesali	sali (N)

2.3.4.   First descending generation

	Prasain's list	Reinhard's list
son	duktsi	dukcʰi, dutci, dugutsi
eldest son	pinda duktsi	--
daughter	niŋgitse	nicʰe, nisi, ninyitsi
son's wife	getse bai	bai'
daughter's husband	qatraq	jəwaĩ, nicʰi bʰanja (N)
brother's son	duktsi	bʰətiji (N)
brother's daughter	--	bʰətiji (N)
sister's son	--	bʰanja' (N)
sister's daughter	--	bʰanji (N)

2.3.5.   Second descending generation

	Prasain's list	Reinhard's list
grandchild	gebon	nati (N)

2.4.   Origin myths

Reinhard recorded a short Kusunda text, *The Origin of the Kusunda*, from a Kusunda man named Tek Bahadur in central Nepal, and Reinhard and Toba provided a transcription and translation of the text in their 1970 article. Our informants were unfamiliar with the story, and could produce nothing analogous on their own. Yogendra Yadava did, however, get them to orally translate the story back into Kusunda based on Reinhard and Toba's Nepali translation. As a translation, it lacks spontaneity.

According to the story, a king, the father of three sons, left his inheritance to the

eldest son, who became king in his place. The son was unsuccessful in all that he did – his crops failed and weeds grew in their place, and when milking his buffalo, it produced blood in place of milk. He rubbed oil on its legs and a black man sprang out. The second son confronted his older brother, telling him that because of his lack of success he could no longer be king, and had to live in the forest, begging and hunting. The Ban Raja are his descendants. The second son became king in his brother's stead and was successful in all that he did. The Thakuris are his descendants. One day the second son wanted to do a special sacrifice that required the blood of a pig, but he could find no one to kill it. The youngest son volunteered, and the Magars (who keep pigs) are his descendants.

There are other origin myths as well, one of them involving Balmiki, a famous sage, and the goddess Sita. This one, too, is reported by Reinhard (1976). According to the story Sita asked Balmiki to watch her baby while she went to the river to wash. He agreed, but when Sita returned Balmiki was deep in meditation. So as not to disturb him, Sita quietly picked up the child and left. When Balmiki awoke, the baby was missing, and he fashioned an identical baby for her out of *kus* grass. Later, she raised both children as her own. The one made from *kus* grass, named Kusha, ruled over the forests and became the father of the Kusundas. The first son ruled the cultivated lands and became the father of the Thakuri.

Both myths make a deliberate connection between the Kusunda and the high caste Thakuri. The linguistic evidence, of course, does not support such a claim, and to claim a relationship with Thakuri (and hence to the king and the ruling class) is fairly common, being made by several other aspiring tribes in Nepal as well. Interestingly, both myths concede a lower status for Kusunda, the Kusundas being descended from the "unsuccessful" son and the "imitation" son. The title "Ban Raja" concedes the same – "the king is King of the Durbar, we are Kings of the Forest."

2.5.   Religion

The most obvious religious scruple practiced by the Kusundas is their refusal to drink cow's milk or use any other cow product, including cow dung for cooking or plastering. Kamala, our younger informant, was careful to observe this prohibition and refused to use milk in her tea.

Little is known about the gods and deities of the Kusundas. The word *qaoli* seems to refer to gods in general, not a specific god. They also worship ancestor spirits. Reinhard (1976) reports that shamans in seance call on the help of specific deities *Bhuiyar*, *Ban Jhankri*, *Arimal*, and *Gwang*. The latter two names are associated with hunting and hunting implements.

2.5.1.   Birth and death

Reinhard (1976) reports that at childbirth both mother and baby and are required to observe an eleven day period of pollution, followed by a purification ritual for both.

It is also reported by Reinhard that Kusundas bury their dead, depositing the body in a newly dug grave close to a river. In some cases personal utensils and uncooked rice are left behind for the deceased's afterlife. The mourning period is for thirteen days.

2.5.2. *Illness*

Ban Rajas employ shamans in curing illness. Where none are available in their own clans they are quite willing to obtain the services of shamans from other castes. During our short time of association with Gyani Maiya and Kamala, Gyani Maiya was having some health problems and employed the services of a Tamang shaman from Kirtipur, but we witnessed none of the actual transactions. He gave her some homeopathic pills.

Kamala, too, suffered from a stiff, painful neck one morning and was eager to seek the help of a shaman. She was much improved the next day and pursued it no further. She had been convinced, however, that her malady was the result of her three year old son, back in the village, eating corn prematurely from the field before the firstfruits had been offered to the gods. When asked how she could be so sure, she responded that it was obvious – her neck was stiff!

Reinhard (1976) reports that the treatment of illness begins with a determination of the cause and category of the illness. Such determination is done by the shaman and based on divination – by feeling for diagnostic signs in the patient's pulse, or by counting and matching grains of rice in a divination ceremony. The cure includes the requirement of a sacrifice. Serious illness requires that the shaman conduct a seance, usually in the night. Lesser illnesses require a *jantra* or "curing charm," with magical drawings and mantras drawn on a piece of paper, tightly folded and tied around the neck of the patient.

For the seance, a special sitting place is prepared for the shaman. An area is cleared on the ground, sprinkled with water to purify it, and spread with a mat of *sal* leaves. The shaman washes, makes libations of liquor to the tutelary spirits, lights incense, recites charms, and conducts a specialized ceremony. Eventually he begins to shake violently with the presence of his spirits. They enter through his head. Only the shaman has the ability to be possessed by a tutelary spirit. The ability is not inherited. Earlier in his life, after first being involuntarily possessed, he learns the necessary formulas and spells to become possessed at will. There is no formal initiation ceremony.

3.   Linguistic type

Kusunda is related to no other language or language family of South Asia; indeed, as far as we can tell, to no other language on earth – it is a true linguistic "isolate". There are, to be sure, a few lexical borrowings from surrounding languages, both from Indo-Aryan and from Tibeto-Burman. But all such borrowings are relatively recent and have nothing to do with its genetic lineage.

The status of some linguistic isolates can be extremely difficult to determine; such languages may have been sufficiently influenced through long-term contact with surrounding languages that they begin to resemble them both grammatically and lexically. The original language provides only a substrate. Kusunda has not escaped at least some such influence, but, by and large, it remains a typological isolate – i.e. it is phonologically, lexically, and grammatically distinct. Thus, we can be reasonably safe in assuming that throughout most of its history Kusunda developed in isolation, and only in recent times has it had contact with other linguistic types.

Phonologically, Kusunda possesses sounds that do not exist in other languages of the region – namely, uvular and pharyngealized consonants. Conversely, there are sounds found throughout the region, like retroflex consonants, that do not occur in Kusunda. Furthermore, the point of articulation in Kusunda is more-or-less immaterial, it is the active articulator that counts as contrastive.

The uvular consonants are accompanied by the concomitant features of pharyngeal stricture and lower fundamental frequencies on preceding vowels. Such features, in fact, are often the primary auditory cues to their presence.

The voicing contrast in Kusunda is neutralized in many consonants, having a lesser functional load than in surrounding languages.

Vowels in Kusunda occur partially in harmonic sets, an upper set comprising three vowels and a lower set comprising three vowels. There is considerable free variation between the two sets, and only in a few words can opposing vowels in upper and lower sets be shown to be contrastive. This suggests that Kusunda may have at one time had a simple, three vowel system – *i*, *a*, *o*.

Consonant sounds in Kusunda occur at many points of articulation – bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, retroflex, velar, uvular, pharyngeal, and glottal. Most of the points, however, are non-contrastive, and there can sometimes be considerable variation even in single words. What is more material for Kusunda, then, is to describe consonant sounds in terms of their active articulator – labial, apical, laminal, velar, and uvular/pharyngeal. An apical consonant, for example, can be dental, alveolar, or retroflex.

One of the most striking and unusual aspects of Kusunda grammar is the means by which "marked" structures are distinguished from "unmarked" ones. The "mark" is not an affix, as typical of the region or indeed of the languages of the world, but rather, a harmonic autosegmental process (which we will refer to as "mutation") that spreads "retraction" across the entire word. Apical consonants become laminal, velar consonants become uvular, and vowels from the upper set shift to the lower set. The process appears to be very old, and occurs today only in a very small subset of high frequency verbs.

Vestiges of this striking morphophonological process are still apparent in several categories and may represent the morphologization of a single process in different contexts – all 'marked' categories. Thus, the marked modality is irrealis (while the unmarked category is realis); the marked polarity is negative; the marked transitivity is

causative; and the marked dependency is dependent. All of these systems utilize mutation as a mark (at least to a partial extent).

There are very few case marking affixes in Kusunda, but an affix -*da* occurs as a distinguishing morpheme in numerous systems. In some cases a single etymological source can be plausibly inferred – -*da* is a local case marker, the marker of an animate object in transitive clauses, and occurs in some complement clauses. In other cases, different morphemes that just happen to be homophonous must be assumed – -*da* is a plural number agreement in verbs, a marker of incomplete aspect, and a morphological causative.

Syntax in Kusunda follows a basic SV, AOV constituent order, with alternative orders used to mark specialized pragmatic notions. This is common in the linguistic area. Subject NPs are often deleted in running discourse, the person and number of the subject actant being recoverable from obligatory person–number agreement markers in the verb. In terms of grammatical case marking, Kusunda follows a nominative–accusative case marking alignment – something unusual for the languages of the region.

Verbs in Kusunda divide broadly into Class I and Class II. In Class I verbs, person agreement is marked by prefixes and number by suffixes, whereas in Class II verbs both person agreement and number is marked by suffixes. Class I verbs are old with a lot of irregularity in the paradigms and an abundance of suppletive forms. The majority of verbs belong to Class II. Such verbs can be thought of as "non-inflecting," i.e. all inflection falls on an auxiliary based on the verb 'to make, to do.' Class II intransitive verbs are basically bereft of person marking, with a new, innovative person marking distinction developing in some contexts.

The basic TAM system in Kusunda makes a binary distinction between realis and irrealis. Class II verbs have also developed a past tense distinction, a distinction that is generally missing from Class I verbs.

There are derivational operations in Kusunda whereby inherently intransitive verbs can be made transitive, and inherently transitive verbs made intransitive – the latter a kind of "middle" derivation. Both operations are morphological, and causativization always yields a Class II verb. Periphrastic causatives are also possible, in which case the caused event is embedded to the causativizing matrix verb 'to make, to do.'

Verb subordination (or embedding) occurs in numerous Kusunda structures – relative clauses, verbal complements, periphrastic causatives, and applicatives. A striking feature in Kusunda, unusual for the typology of the region, is that such embedded structures appear not to be nominalized (although our so-called 'neutral' verbs are possible candidates for nominalization; see §8.1 and §9.1.2). Most subordinate structures are fully finite and their embedded status is signalled entirely by their syntax. (In mutating verbs, subordination is also marked by mutation.)

Some, but not all, clause chains in Kusunda are marked by converbs. Unusual, however, is that converbs in Kusunda do not mark sequential events, but "overlapping" ones. Sequential chains are marked by a series of fully finite verbs. Certain periphrastic causatives, as well as some complements (like 'teaching how to do something') are marked by overlapping converbs. A structure which on the surface looks deceptively like the benefactive in surrounding languages, is, in fact, only an overlapping converbal structure. The benefactive, at least for some non-inflecting (Class II) verbs, is marked by the auxiliary 'give' in place of the auxiliary 'make, do.' In most cases, however, it requires no derivational machinery and is formed simply by the addition of a dative argument.

4. Phonology

A definitive overview of Kusunda phonology is far from complete and what we present here is both preliminary and tentative. There are several complex issues which will require more study and research before they can be termed complete. Some of these issues will require careful spectographic analysis coupled with sound theoretical insights. It is hoped that what we present here will point the next researcher in the right direction.

A striking aspect of Kusunda phonology is that it defies many South Asian typological norms. It bears little resemblance to Nepali or Indo-Aryan and even less resemblance to the surrounding Tibeto-Burman languages. Kusunda has a vowel system in some ways simpler (but also of a different kind) than either Tibeto-Burman or Indo-Aryan, and a consonant system more varied (and also different) than Tibeto-Burman or Indo-Aryan.

4.1.   Harmony

Vowels in Kusunda, at least to a certain extent, occur in two harmonic sets — an upper set (i, ə, u) and a lower set (e, a, o). In some environments, like the environment of uvular 'q' or 'ɢ,' the lower set predominates, but in other environments there is considerable free variation between the two sets – [i] varies with [e], [ə] varies with [a], and [u] varies with [o]. Upon closer investigation, however, it becomes apparent that the two sets are, in fact, contrastive and that the variation is related to an intrinsic tendency of consonant–vowel "harmony" in certain parts the language.

Our attempts at nailing down vowels were constantly frustrated. One day the form for 'I cooked' would be [hulədn̩] and the next day it would be [holadṇ], with no apparent difference in meaning. Fairly predictably, though, [u] would occur in conjunction with [ə], as in [hulədn̩], and [o] would occur with [a], as in [holadṇ]. In some cases the harmonics mark a grammatical category, as in [nəgən] 'You went' versus [ɲaɢan] 'You will go.' (We will treat this in more detail in §4.4.2.4 on *Apcial nasals* and §5.5.3.1 on *Mutation*.)

Consonants are diverse with bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, retroflex, velar, uvular, pharyngeal, and glottal points of articulation, but not all are contrastive. An apical sound represented by /t/, for example, has numerous allophones – [t̪], [t], [ʈ] [c] – and at times the choice of one over the other seems unprincipled. The laminal/palatal series appears to have only weak contrastive lexical status, but it does play a contrastive role in some grammatical systems.[5] Laminals and uvulars tend to co-occur in harmonic sets.

Our analysis shows a contrast between the cardinal values for velar and uvular consonants, but because of a certain amount of variation at the extremes we often had difficulty in distinguishing certain varieties of velar consonants from certain varieties of uvular consonants. The phoneme [k], for example, appears to have two major variants – a pre-velar [k] occurring before front vowels, and a post-velar [ḵ] occurring before back vowels, and it is particularly in these 'back' environments that [ḵ] is hardly distinguishable from [q]. But the fact remains that some grammatical contrasts depend upon the velar/uvular contrast. The already cited contrast between [nəgən] 'You went' and [ɲaɢan]

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[5]   Alexandra Aikhenvald has pointed out to me that a distinction between the phonology of roots and the phonology of inflectional morphology can also be found in languages like Hebrew, with "servile" consonants being a subset of "radical" consonants. See, for example, Roediger 1874.

'You will go' is one such example.

We emphasize that all the variables at work in Kusunda phonology are not fully understood or even identified. For some words we have identified a kind of harmonic principle – not only do vowels tend to occur in harmonic sets, but so do consonants. In still other cases the harmony principle works as a marking mechanism for a grammatical category.

4.2. Contraction

Another factor contributing to much difficulty in isolating Kusunda sounds has been the Kusunda penchant for extreme contraction of sound strings. Prem Bahadur, the speaker with the least native-speaker ability uses contraction least, and Kamala, the most fluent speaker, uses contraction most. She compresses a lot of speech into fairly short, highly assimilated, strings; not just in rapid speech, but in any register. We found ourselves having to play one speaker off the next in order to effectively isolate the sounds and morphemes in a given string. Phonological precision grew as the morphology became more transparent. In our early transcriptions, for example, (supported by tape recordings) our transcription from Kamala's speech for 'man' (a male human being) was:

(5)   [duiəʒe]

which has now been modified to:

(6)   [dui getse]

which in turn (possibly) comes from an earlier:

(7)   *duktsi getse (lit. 'boy child')

The contraction process is as follows:

(8)   a.   [duktsi getse] >
         b.   [du i əʒe][6]

The form *duktsi* itself is very like a contraction of an earlier **du getse* [male child] 'son.' Thus, "hidden" in the compound *duiəʒe* are two, or even three, cycles of phonological contraction.

In Kamala's speech, velar 'g' and uvular 'ɢ' are routinely lost, the loss of the latter sound being compensated for by a kind of pharyngealization on the surrounding vowels and a lowering of pitch (more on that later). It is also doubtful now that [z] or [ʒ] are phonemes at all in Kusunda, occurring only in intervocalic environments of compressed speech as allophones of [ts] or [dz].

The glossary that we include in this description has about 850 items, and it is very likely that some are contractions of what may turn out to be, upon further investigation, compounds and polymorphemic strings. We expect that, pending further research on Kusunda, our wordlist will undergo considerable revision and refinement.

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[6]   It is interesting to note that in Reinhard and Toba's (1970) description, the word for 'son' is listed as *duguci* [dugutsi], which also, very likely, includes a contracted form for [getse] 'child, offspring.'

4.3. *Vowels*

As already mentioned, Kusunda has six vowels, three forming an upper set and three forming a lower set, as in the following:

(9)   Kusunda vowels:

```
     i            u
       \      ə      /
     e    \        o
            a
```
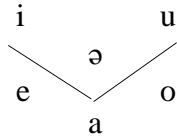
In terms of absolute contrasts, it is difficult to find contrastive pairs of words in which the consonants remain constant, but one word utilizes a vowel from the upper set and the other word utilizes the corresponding vowel from the lower set – i.e. minimal pairs for vowels. In many words, especially within polysyllabic morphemes, there is a certain amount of free variation between the two sets (as borne out in tape recordings from one day to the next). Following are examples:

(10)   Variation between [i] and [e]:
      a.   gitsi   ~   getse   'child'
      b.   gipən   ~   gepən   'language'
      c.   gidzi   ~   gidze   'name'
      d.   mihaq   ~   mehaq   'Kusunda'
      e.   yiŋgu   ~   yeŋgu   'stone'

Interestingly, the variation reported in (10a) constitutes a minimal pair in careful speech:

(11)   a.   gitsi   'thorn'
        b.   getse   'child'

Likewise, similar variation occurs between [u] and [o] as well as between [ə] and [a], as illustrated in the following examples:

(12)   Variation between [u] and [o]:
      a.   guluŋ   ~   goloŋ   'round'
      b.   muŋ   ~   moŋ   'king'
      c.   hyudzi   ~   hyodzi   'fat, swollen'
      d.   tukan   ~   tokan   'know'
      e.   hulədn̩   ~   holadn̩   'I cooked it.'

(13)   Variation between [ə] and [a]:
      a.   gidzəŋ   ~   gidzaŋ   'body'
      b.   kəpəŋ   ~   kəpaŋ   'tumeric'
      c.   hulədn̩   ~   holadn̩   'I cooked it.'

As with the contrast between *gitsi* 'thorn' and *getse* 'child' illustrated in (11), with these vowels too, contrastive pairs can be found, as in the following:

(14)   a.   pʰuːdzi   'He jumped.'
        b.   pʰoːdzi   'He shot.'

(15)   a.   gipən   'language'
        b.   gipan   'flower'

It turns out that much of the free variation we encountered occurs in polysyllabic words where [h] or one of the velar sounds [k], [g], or [ŋ] occurs. It is significant, in this respect, that uvular sounds, especially the voiced ones [ɢ], and [ɴ], occur only with vowels [o] and [a], displaying a kind of harmony within a syllable.[7] It is not altogether surprising, then, to find their neighbors, the velar sounds, somewhat ambivalent in their preference of upper or lower vowels.

Though minimal contrasts are rare in our data set, the following words and morphemes further illustrate the contrast between upper vowels [i, u, ə] and lower vowels [e, o, a]:

(16) [i]   [e]
    a. -di   'first person past'   -de   'converbal marker'
    b. i-dzi   'he said'   e-dzi   'he gave'
    c. tap-i   'chicken's'   tape   'to here'
    d. wi   'house'   we   'good'
    e. imba-   'think'   emblaq 'witch'

(17) [u]   [o]
    a. tu   'bug'   -to   'intrans. imperative'
    b. tugun   'I came'   toɢon   'day before yesterday'
    c. -əgu   'negative'   -əgo   'trans. imperative'
    d. guben   'log'   gobba   'tall'
    e. nu   'you'   nok   'you plural'

(18) [ə]   [a]
    a. ədi   'I became'   adi   'I made'
    b. imbə-di 'I returned'   imba-di 'I thought'
    c. gipən   'language'   gipan   'flower'
    d. dzəgəl   'old woman'   dza   'fire'
    e. ləpa   'blood'   labə-   'to plant'

(See also the contrast between inchoative *ə-* 'become' and causative *a-* 'make' in §6.1.4 and example (243).)

4.3.1. *Vowels and uvular consonants*

Only vowels [o] and [a] can occur following uvular consonants.[8] The constraint, however, is unidirectional – it is a constraint on the consonant, not on vowels. Other consonants, too, can occur with [o] or [a], as in the following:

(19) a. qan   'itch'
     b. kan   'sharp'
     c. əga   'Come!'

(20) a. qolom   'bad'
     b. kolumu   'owl'
     c. goloq   'sheep'

---

[7] This occurs also in Eskimo-Aleut. Bergsland (1997:21) reports that the vowels [u], [i], and [a] occur before labial or velar consonants, but in contact with uvular consonants they become [o], [e], and [a], all retracted.

[8] In Reinhard and Toba's transcription all [q]s are followed by an [a] or [o], though they too seem to have found some phonemic evidence for a [k] vs. [q] contrast in central vowels.

This observation will be important to our argument later on, that the "mark" in certain grammatical systems is more than a shift from high vowel to low vowel, but includes also a "retracting" shift in the word's consonants (see §5.5.3.1).

The uvular consonant [q] is less restricted in terms of the vowels that can precede it. We have examples of [q] at the end of a syllable preceded by [i] or [ə], as in:

(21)   a.   ukʰi-q-n̩[9]   'ruined'
       b.   ərəq   'garlic'

4.3.2.   *Pharyngealization of vowels and lowering of pitch*

Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the regions surrounding Kusunda, namely Magar and Kham, have "voice-register" systems, in which "lax" register vowels (opposed to "modal" or "normal" register vowels), are manifested by breathy phonation and a concomitant lowering of absolute pitch levels on the syllable. In both languages, breathiness can sometimes be traced to the loss of a prefixed *s- on the syllable, as in:

(22)   a.   *s-rus   >   Magar *rhus*; Kham *ruhs*
       b.   *s-maŋ   >   Magar *mhaŋ*; Kham *m̃ĩ:h*

Where breathiness occurs on syllables beginning in voiced stops, the auditory impact is somewhat similar to the "voiced aspirates" of Indo-Aryan languages, though, in fact, they arise from different phenomena. The practical orthographies of both languages, written in Devanagri, represent them as voiced aspirates.

In other Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, especially in the Tibetic and Tamangic languages, "low register" is linked historically to the voicing of syllable initials, and practical orthographies in Devanagri often represent the difference between low and high registers as a difference in voicing.

What we refer to here as "pharyngealization" in Kusunda, though also yielding a concomitant lowering of pitch on the affected syllable, is historically and qualitatively different from what has been described for Tibeto-Burman or Indo-Aryan. Pharyngeal-ization in Kusunda is linked to the following voiced uvular consonants [ɢ] or [ɴ].[10] The effect is regressive, i.e. it affects preceding vowels, not so much following ones.

Pharyngealization in Kusunda produces sounds very different from the sounds of breathiness in Tibeto-Burman. Pharyngealization is manifested by a "ratchety" quality on the vowel, almost as dramatic as the cawing of a crow, and on a spectogram displays a wave form with a series of rapidly occurring strirations, as in the left side of Figure 1:

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[9]   The -*q* here fits the morphological system as -*q* (anti-causative), but may be phonetically altered to -*k* by the preceding high, front vowel.

[10]   Uvular and pharyngeal consonants have been noted elsewhere too for their pharyngealizing effect on preceding vowels. Gerrold Sadock (p.c.) reports that voiced uvular [ɢ] in Greenlandic Eskimo is barely audible, its presence being perceived mostly by its modifying effect on preceding vowels. Ghil'ad Zuckermann (p.c) reports a similar pharyngealization in Arabic, and John Saeed (p.c.) the same for Cushitic languages. Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996:168) claim that the so-called pharyngeal fricatives of Semitic languages are "often neither pharyngeals nor fricatives" but better termed as approximants.
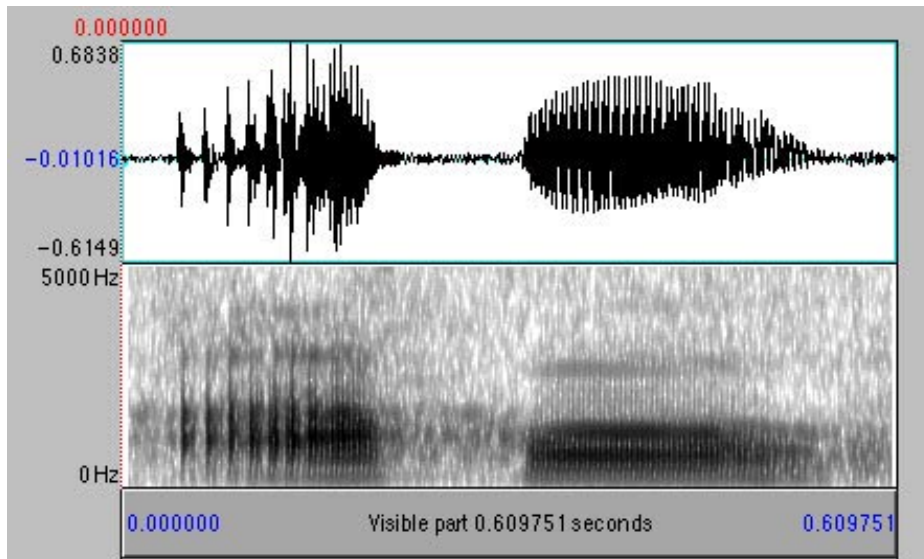
Figure 1. Spectogram of [aˤkə] (< aGkə) 'up, above'

In Kamala's speech, [G] and [N] have virtually been lost, being replaced by compensatory pharyngealization on the preceding vowel and a lowering of pitch levels. In fact, these are the primary auditory cues to their presence. The presence of [N] is signalled additionally by nasalization on the affected vowel. In Gyani Maiya's speech, the historical underpinnings for these consonants are a little easier to perceive, sometimes *almost* surfacing in careful speech. (For more discussion on the actual consonantal value of these sounds, see §4.4.4.2.)

4.3.3. *Vocalic sequences*

There are numerous vocalic sequences in Kusunda; those that move in vowel space from one periphery to another, and those that move in and out of the center towards the periphery. There can be up to three or four vowels in a single sequence, but none are interpreted as triphthongs or quadriphthongs. Instead, long sequences are divided into multiple syllables, each having a prominent peak. Each syllable is written as a combination of glide and vowel, the vowel denoting the peak.

4.3.3.1. *Diphthongs*

Most vowel sequences are diphthongs, and most occur within the domain of a single syllable and a single morpheme. Following are examples of monosyllabic, monomorphemic diphthongs, beginning with central vowels moving outwards:

(23)   CENTRAL → FRONT:
     a.   [əi]   əigi-   'to live'
                agəi   'dog'
                məi   'mother'
                pəidzi   'clothing'
                səi   'bear'

      b. [ai]   ai-t-ṇ   'I beg'
                   qʰai-d-ṇ   'I was frightened'
                   qaida   'other'
                   laĩ   'cucumber'

(24)   CENTRAL → BACK:
      a. [əu]   əulə-   'to sell'
                   dzəu   'pain'
                   pəu-tsi-n   'I am tired'

      b. [ao]   ao   'dirt'
                   aota   'door'
                   qaoli   'god'
                   qao-dzi   'rotten'

Some monosyllabic diphthongs go from one periphery of the vowel space to the other. Thus, a common sequence is from back to front, and another from front to back, as in the following examples:

(25)   a. BACK → FRONT:
        [ui]   wi   'house'
              dwi   'husband'
              gwidzi   'tortoise'
              pwi   'iguana'
              twi   'bee'

        [ue] ~ [oe]
              wen / we-yən   'good'

        [oi]   (no examples to date)

      b. FRONT → BACK:
        [eo] ~ [io]
              hyoq-ṇ   'hide'
              hyo-wə-n   'swollen'
              yeodze   'now'

        [iu] ~ [eu]
              yu   'ear'
              myu   'arrow'
              dzyu-t-ṇ   'leaked'
              pəŋgyu   'lizard'

Other vowel sequences that move from one periphery to another are those from high-front to low-central and from high-back to low-central, as in the following:

(26)   a. HIGH-FRONT → LOW-CENTRAL:
        [ia]   yaq   'snow'
              byaq-ṇ   'overturned'
              gya   'male of a species'
              gya-q-ṇ   'collapsed'
              dʰya   'old man'
              myaq   'leopard'

b.   HIGH-BACK → LOW-CENTRAL:
   [ua]   gwa   'egg'
          waŋ   'firefly'
          so-wa-d-ṇ   'I washed it.'
          dʰū-wa-d-i   'I stood it up.'
          gʰu-wa-t-ṇ   'I moved it.'

There are also a few homorganic diphthongs with little or no movement from one vowel to another, as in the following:

(27)   a.   FRONT → FRONT:
            [ei]   deidzi   'firewood'
                   teisa   'here'
            [ii]   yi   'tree'
                   yiŋ   'eye'
                   tsi-yi   'mine'
            [ee]   yeŋgu   'stone'
                   yen   'foot'

       b.   BACK → BACK:
            (no examples to date)

4.3.3.2.   Double diphthongs

There are a few examples in Kusunda of up to four vowels in a single sequence. All such sequences are polymorphemic and polysyllabic. Some spread across as many as three syllables – two diphthongs and one monophthong. In the examples following, a morphemic rendition is given on the left (written in a working orthography) and a syllabic rendition is given on the right:

(28)   FOUR VOWELS, THREE SYLLABLES:
                        morphemic   syllabic
       a.   [iuəa]   kiwə-a-t-ṇ   [ki-wə-at-ṇ]   'I pinched it.'
       b.   [iuəə]   piwə-əgo   [pi-wə-ə-go]   'Peel it!'

Following are sequences of four vowels that divide into two syllables. The first example is monomorphemic and the second bimorphemic:

(29)   FOUR VOWELS, TWO SYLLABLES:
                        morphemic   syllabic
       a.   [auəi]   qawəi   [qa-wəi]   'jackal'
       b.   [uiii]   twi-yi   [twi-yi]   'bee's'

In like manner, there are also sequences of three vowels that divide into two syllables. Most of the following examples, but not all, are monomorphemic:

(30)   THREE VOWELS, TWO SYLLABLES:
                        morphemic   syllabic
       a.   [aio]   qaiyo   qai-yo   'skirt'
       b.   [aia]   qʰaiya   qʰai-ya   'danger'
       c.   [aoi]   awi   a-wi   'hand'
       d.   [əui]   pəwi   pə-wi   'bamboo'
       e.   [əio]   pəiyo   pəi-yo   'thirst'

f.	[əuə]	tʰəwə	tʰə-wə	'place'
g.	[əie]	pəyet	pə-yet	'leech'
h.	[uiə]	gwi-əgo	gwi-əgo	'Keep it!'
i.	[iuə]	ts-i-wə-n	tsi-wən	'I brought it.'
j.	[iəi]	yəi	yəi	'father'
k.	[iao]	gyao	gyao	'pus'
l.	[iii]	tsi-yi	tsi-yi	'mine'
m.	[eia]	keyaŋ	ke-yaŋ	'skinny, thin'
n.	[eiə]	eyəŋ	e-yəŋ	'upper back'
o	[euə]	bewə-	be-wə	'be born'
p.	[eoə]	hyo-wə-n	hyo-wən	'swollen'
q.	[ouə]	mo-wə-d-i	mo-wə-di	'I boiled it.'

4.3.3.3.   *Two vowels, no diphthong*

Where a sequence [ia] or [iə] is broken by a morpheme boundary, the syllable also breaks, each with its own peak. These are not diphthongs:

(31)	[ia]	abi-a-t-ṇ	'I carry.'
	[iə]	abi-ə-g-ən	'He carries.'
		limi-əgo	'Dance!'
		gwi-əgo	'Keep it!'

Apart from the sequences shown in (26), most two vowel sequences whose final vowel is central occur across morpheme boundaries. In such cases the central vowel has its own peak. Following are examples:

(32)   a.   FRONT → CENTRAL:

	[eə]	leː-ə-g-ən	'He swept.'
		pətse-əgo	'Give it back!'
		seː-ə-go	'Catch!'

   b.   BACK → CENTRAL:

	[uə]	swəttəi	'all'
		ruː-əgo	'Pull!'

   c.   CENTRAL → CENTRAL:

	[aə]	dza-əgo	'Buy it!'
	[əa]	umbə-a-t-ṇ	'I called.'
	[əə]	ləbə-əgo	'Bury it!'
		tsə-ə-d-i	'I spoke.'

4.3.4.   *Nasalization*

Nasalization appears to be a new phenomenon in Kusunda, occurring either in Nepali loan words or in native words as compensation for a following lost velar or uvular nasal consonant. In the latter case, the same speaker may use both variants – a nasal consonant or a nasal vowel. It is assumed that the nasal consonant is the underlying form.

(33)　NEPALI LOANS:
　　　a.　gʰã̄s　　　　　　　　　'grass'
　　　b.　bã̄ra　　　　　　　　　'pot, cooking vessel'
　　　c.　pã̄sula　　　　　　　　'shin bone'
　　　d.　aõla　　　　　　　　　'finger'
　　　e.　bʰəĩ̃ra　　　　　　　　'sparrow'
　　　f.　tsʰã̄-d-i　　　　　　　'I tied it' < *chan* 'hobble'

(34)　WITH UNDERLYING NASAL CONSONANT:
　　　a.　dʰũ-tsi-n ~ dʰuŋ-　　'I stand'
　　　b.　hũkui ~ huŋkəi　　　'small'
　　　c.　rã̄ko ~ raŋkwa　　　'millet'
　　　d.　təĩna ~ təndin　　　'today'

(35)　WITH POSSIBLE UNDERLYING NASAL CONSONANT:
　　　a.　məlã̄-a-t-n̩　'I was late'　<　məlaŋ　　　'slowly'
　　　b.　nõːdze　　'up, above'　<　nuŋ　　　　'rise'
　　　c.　yã̄-ə-g-ən　'defecate'　<　yaŋ　　　　'feces'
　　　d.　gʰã̄ː-d-i　'I ground it'　<　gʰã̄nən yeŋgu 'grindstone'

In some cases it is unknown if the nasalized vowel can be attributed to a lost nasal consonant. We have recorded only the nasal vowel. Following are examples:

(36)　NO KNOWN UNDERLYING CONSONANT:
　　　a.　bã̄qa　　　　　　'sickle'
　　　b.　laĩ　　　　　　　'cucumber'
　　　c.　libũ-dzi　　　　'to play'
　　　d.　ɲã̄ː-d-n̩　　　　'I removed it'
　　　e.　pã̄go　　　　　　'five'
　　　f.　pã̄yi　　　　　　'cloud'
　　　g.　hũtu　　　　　　'far'
　　　h.　hã̄ː　　　　　　'face'

4.4.　Consonants

Consonant sounds in Kusunda occur at many points of articulation – bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, retroflex, velar, uvular, pharyngeal, and glottal. Many of the points, however, are non-contrastive, and there can be considerable variation even in single words. What is more material for Kusunda, it seems, is to describe consonant sounds in terms of their active articulator – labial, apical, laminal, velar, and uvular. An apical consonant, for example, can be dental, alveolar, or retroflex. The actual point of articulation can be extremely variable; it is the articulator that counts as contrastive.

It appears that the original sound system of Kusunda may have been quite simple, and that in relatively recent times, due to the influence of TB and IA, it has been gaining in non-native features. The voicing opposition on consonants, for example, is still marginal in many contexts; voicing originally being the unmarked norm. Aspiration appears to be new, and many of the modern lexemes that utilize it can be traced to TB or IA. Fricativization, apart from phonemic /s/ and allophonic variants of most stop consonants ([β], [ɣ], [ʒ], and [χ]) is non-existent.

In Table 1 is an inventory of contrastive consonants in Kusunda. (tʃ), (ɲ), and (χ) are somewhat questionable consonants, and (ʕ) is the most common phonetic realization of (ɢ).

	labial	apical	laminal	velar	uvular	glottal
stop						
– voice	p	t		k	q	ʔ
+ aspir	pʰ	tʰ		kʰ	qʰ	
+ voice	b	d		g	ɢ (ʕ)	
+ aspir	bʰ	dʰ		gʰ		
fricative		s			(χ)	
affricate						
– voice		ts	(tʃ)			
+ aspir		tsʰ				
+ voice		dz				
+ aspir		dzʰ				
nasal	m	n	(ɲ)	ŋ	N	
lateral		l				
rhotic		r				
semi-vowel	w		y (palatal)			

Table 1. CONSONANT INVENTORY IN KUSUNDA

4.4.1.   *The labial series*

The labial series in Kusunda is fairly simple and straightforward. There are five sounds to which we have accorded phonological status – [p], [pʰ], [b], [bʰ], and [m] (plus the semivowel [w]).

However, many of the allophonic problems that occur elsewhere in the phonology also occur in the labial series, and we will do well to deal with them here. One problem has to do with voicing, another with aspiration, and still another with fricativization. Though there is a clear voicing contrast word initially, the contrast is sometimes neutralized intervocalically (especially in rapid speech and if the syllable in question is unstressed), as in the following examples:

(37)   CONTRAST (p- vs. b-):
     a.   [pitadi]   'I untied it.'
     b.   [bi itn̩]   'It dawned.'

(38)   NEUTRALIZATION:
     a.   [tap]   'chicken'
     b.   [tab-i gwa]   'chicken egg'

Neutralization does not occur if the preceding sound is a consonant, even if it is a voiced consonant, as in:

(39)   a.   [amba]   'meat'
     b.   [hampe]   'where'

4.4.1.1. Bilabial fricatives

Voiced labial consonants often undergo fricativization when occurring between vowels. The fricative variants do not have phonemic status. Following are examples:

(40) FRICATIVIZATION:
    a. [dəβəʃi]   'later today'
    b. [yiβiu]   'scratch'

A question arises with respect to polysyllabic morphemes in which a voiced bilabial stop occurs intervocalically in some words and a voiced fricative in others, as in:

(41) a. [sabe]   'there'
      b. [ʃiβa]   'quickly'

Without the information in (40) or in (41b), conventional wisdom would recommend that we write [sabe] as /sabe/. If, however, we can show that underlying /p/ surfaces as [b] intervocalically and underlying /b/ surfaces as [β], we would be supported in representing (41a) 'there' as /sape/ and (41b) 'quickly' as /siba/. We suspect, in fact, that this is what is happening, but we do not yet have sufficient evidence to support our hypothesis.

There is a possibility too that some intervocalic sequences that we have represented as /w/, may, in fact, turn out to be [β], (i.e. underlying /b/), as in: [dəβəʃi] ~ [dəoʃi] 'later.'

4.4.1.2. Bilabial aspirates

Aspiration has marginal status in Kusunda, and may very well be a novel innovation, due to areal influence from Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman. We have 13 instances of [pʰ] in our wordlist, but some appear to be partial borrowings. The word [kəpʰera] 'again,' for example, resembles Nepali [pʰeri]; [pʰəlaq] 'bed' resembles Nepali [pʰəle] 'plank'; [pʰurpʰur] 'run' resembles Tibeto-Burman (TB) *pur 'fly' (which is aspirated in Chepang, Magar, and some Kham dialects); and [pʰelaŋ] 'flat' resembles TB *pleŋ 'flat.' It is unnecessary to trace the two TB loans back to PTB; there are cognate forms closer at hand, found in Kham, Magar, and Chepang.

Words with aspirate [pʰ] that appear to have a native origin are the following:

(42) a. pʰo-   'shoot a gun'
      b. pʰepṇ   'drop'
      c. pʰirutṇ   'full'
      d. pʰotoq   'short'
      e. pʰurluŋ   'red'
      f. pʰuːdzi   'jump'
      g. pʰya-   'wash clothes'
      h. pʰyaksəm   'horse'

We have two instances of [bʰ], one of which appears to have a Nepali source:

(43) a. bʰəraqṇ   'break (rope)'
      b. bʰəĩra   'sparrow' < Nep. bʰəŋero

4.4.2. The apical series

The apical consonants are those articulated with the apex (or tip) of the tongue, and the series is rife with phonological variants. In terms of raw phonetic values, sounds in the apical series occur at several non-contrastive points of articulation – dental, alveolar, retroflex, and some palatal variants. Here again, it is the active articulator that is contrastive.

4.4.2.1. Apical stops

The following raw stop consonants occur in the apical series in Kusunda – [t̪], [t], [ʈ], and [c] in the voiceless series, and [d̪], [d], [ɖ], and [ɟ] in the voiced series. The four voiceless sounds are variants of an apical /t/ and the four voiced sounds are variants of an apical /d/.

The stop variants are not absolute, but phonological tendencies. The dental variant, for example, tends to occur preceding high, front vowels; the alveolar variant in neutral contexts preceding [e], [u], or [ə]; the retroflex variant preceding [o] or [a]; and the palatal variant in harmony with uvular consonants, as in the following examples:

(44)　DENTAL:
　　　a.　[t̪igi]　　　　　'our'

　　　ALVEOLAR:
　　　b.　[teisa]　　　　'here'
　　　c.　[tu]　　　　　'snake'
　　　d.　[təmən]　　　'I ate'

　　　RETROFLEX:
　　　e.　[ʈaŋ]　　　　'water'
　　　f.　[ʈoba]　　　 'sew'

　　　PALATAL:
　　　g.　[coq] ~ [tok]　'we'
　　　h.　[qocu]　　　　'bird'

• *Aspiration.* We have already seen that aspiration has a marginal status in Kusunda. This is true also for apical consonants. We have five examples of [tʰ], three of which are from Nepali:

(45)　a.　tʰal　　　　　　　'plate' < Nep.
　　　b.　tʰəwə　　　　　 'place' < Nep. tʰaũ
　　　c.　tʰagən yeŋgu　　'flint' (lit. 'striking stone' < Nep. thoknu 'strike')
　　　d.　tʰumən yeŋgu　'mortar'
　　　e.　witʰu　　　　　　'slippery'

We have six examples of [dʰ], one of which is Nepali, and another which has a possible Kham source:

(46)　a.　dʰundi　　　　　'fog' < Nep.
　　　b.　dʰapa gipan　　'rhododendron' (lit. *dhapa* flower; possibly
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　from Kham, related to the Kham custom of
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　young men [*dhapa*] wearing rhododendrons
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　in their hair)
　　　c.　dʰabə-di　　　　'shut'

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d.	dʰaː-	'put on fire'
e.	dʰũ-	'stand'
f.	dʰya	'old man'

• *Intervocalic voicing*. Stops in the apical series display some of the same characteristics presented for stops in the labial series – primarily a tendency for intervocalic voicing. Some words originally transcribed with intervocalic [d] have, under closer scrutiny and more careful speech, been shown to have an underlying [t], as in the following:

(47) a. [nədi] ~ [nəti] 'who'
      b. [gidət] ~ [gitət] 'skin'

As in the discussion following example (41), we suspect that in many places where [d] occurs intervocalically, it is an underlying [t]. Our case would be stronger if we also found [ð] in environments analogous to the environment for [β]. In fact, we have not recorded [ð] anywhere. (See §4.4.2.2 immediately below.)

4.4.2.2.   Apical fricatives

Only the apical fricative [s] occurs in our data set with contrastive status, although [z] also occurs as an allophonic variant of voiced and voiceless affricates [dz] and [ts] respectively. The phoneme /s/ has a palatalized variant [ʃ] which occurs preceding front vowels, as in the following:

(48)   [ʃ] variant:
       a. [ʃiʃen]   'rice (in field)'
       b. [oʃenti]   'girl'
       c. [ʃiŋki]   'eagle'

(49)   [s] variant:
       a. [supo]   'winnowing tray' (Nep.)
       b. [səi]   'bear (the animal)'
       c. [sodzaq]   'greetings'

The voiced counterpart of [ʃ], (i.e. [ʒ]), occurs as a variant of [dz] or [ts] in intervocalic environments in which the following vowel is [i] or [e]. It occurs only in "compressed" or "contracted" speech, as in:

(50)   a. [deiʒi]   <   [deidzi]   'firewood'
       b. [duiəʒe]   <   [dui getse] 'male human'

4.4.2.3.   Apical affricates

The apical affricates [ts] and [dz] occur commonly in our data set, *tsi* being the first person singular pronoun, and *-dzi* being a frequently occurring aspectual marker. As with fricatives, the affricates are palatalized before front vowels. Thus, first person *tsi* occurs as [tʃi], and the aspectual marker *-dzi* occurs as [dʒi]. (We are viewing these as allophonic variants in such environments, but there is also a possible contrastive [tʃ], described in §4.4.3 and in the section on "mutation" – §5.5.3.1.)

The two affricates commonly occur with other vowels, too, as in the following examples:

(51) AFFRICATE T̲S̲:
    a. [tsu]　　　　　'to be (existential)'
    b. [tsəgən]　　　'I went.'
    c. [tsoɢon]　　　'I put.'

    AFFRICATE D̲Z̲:
    d. [dzugui]　　　'sickness'
    e. [dzəgəl]　　　'old woman'
    f. [dzoqto]　　　'soak'

We have a only two cases of aspirated apical affricates. One of them appears to be derived from Nepali, as in:

(52) a. tsʰãː-d-i　　　　'I tied it.' < Nep. *chan* 'hobble'
    b. dzʰəm-dzi　　　'He weeps.'

4.4.2.4.　*Apical nasals*

In our discussion of apical consonants so far, palatal consonants have been treated as an allophonic variant of a generic apical series which includes dental, alveolar, retroflex, and palatal points of articulation. This is generally true for the apical nasal consonant /n/ as well, with a palatal variant [ɲ] preceding high, front vowels (analagous to the palatal variants for the other apical consonants /t/, /d/, /s/, and /ts/). (We are viewing [ɲ] as an allophonic variant of [n] in such environments, but there is also a possible contrastive [ɲ], described in §4.4.3 and in the section on "mutation" – §5.5.3.1.)

(53) NON-PALATALIZED:
    a. [nəti]　　　　'who'
    b. [numba]　　　'cow'

    PALATALIZED:
    a. [məɲɲi]　　　'many'
    b. [õːɲi]　　　　'big'

• *Syllabic 'n'*. In our data set, the resonant consonant 'n' occurs very frequently with its own syllabic status, in which case it is written as [n̩]. Syllabic 'n' is usually preceded by a stop consonant, but there are also cases where it is preceded by [n]. Following are examples:

(54) a. abi-a-t-n̩
      carry-do-1-REAL　　　'I carried it.'

    b. bal-n̩
      descend-REAL　　　'I/you descended.'

    c. borlo-q-n̩
      spill-AC-REAL　　　'It spilled.'

    d. pumba-n-n̩
      hit-2-REAL　　　'You hit it.'

4.4.3.   *The laminal series*

Laminal consonants are formed by the blade of the tongue against the palate, in contrast to the tip of the tongue in apical consonants. Apart from the palatal glide or semi-vowel /y/ (see §4.4.5), the only laminal consonants are /ɲ/ and /tʃ/, both somewhat difficult to justify. As we have just seen in example (53), [ɲ] can occur as a variant of /n/, but there are some minimal environments that dispose us to treat it as a separate phoneme. One such environment is where it "harmonizes" with a following uvular cosonant, as in:

(55)   a.   [ɲãɴdi]   'wife'
       b.   [ɲaqtsin]   'I wait.'

Though it might be possible to write the laminal as a simple /n/ and rely on the following uvular consonant to trigger the appropriate variant [ɲ], the fact is that in certain grammatical environments the palatalization of both 'n' and 'ts' is part of a larger autosegmental "mark" that spreads vocalic and consonantal harmony across the entire word. Thus, in the following example, [nəgən] and [ɲaɢan] are realis and irrealis forms, respectively, of the same verb, as are also [tsəgən] and [tʃaɢan], as in:

(56)   a.   [nəgən]   'You went.'
       b.   [ɲaɢan]   'You will go.'

       c.   [tsəgən]   'I went.'
       d.   [tʃaɢan]   'I will go.'

The phoneme [ɲ] also occurs in at least one environment where it is unpredictable and contrasts with [n], as in:

(57)   a.   [na]   'this'
       b.   [ɲãː ədi]   'I removed it'

This particular contrast is somewhat suspect and may, in fact, turn out to be [ɲãɴ ədi].

4.4.4.   *The velar and uvular series*

There are difficulties inherent in distinguishing the velar and uvular series of consonants, and for that reason they will be discussed together. As with consonants in the apical series, absolute points of articulation may vary slightly from one word to the next according to the vowels which follow. Thus, for example, the phoneme /k/ can have pre-velar and post-velar variants depending on whether the associated vowel is high-front or low-back.

Though there is good evidence for a contrast between velar and uvular consonants, we have often found it difficult to distinguish between a post-velar [ḵ] and a uvular [q], especially because they commonly occur in identical contexts. Fortunately, the task of distinguishing velar and uvular points of articulation is simplified in voiced consonants – primarily because of the concomitant features of pharyngealization and lowering of fundamental frequencies in the uvular series (see §4.3.2).

There may be an aspirate series for uvular consonants, but we have so far been unable to distinguish it clearly from a fricative series:

(58) a. qʰai-dzi ~ χai-dzi   'afraid'
      b. noqʰok ~ noχok   'maternal grandfather'
      c. mãqʰ ~ mãχ   'dream'

4.4.4.1.   Velar consonants

The velar consonant [k] occurs in all contexts – syllable initial, syllable final, and with any vowel. Its voiced counterpart [g] occurs in the same contexts except syllable final. By contrast, the velar nasal consonant [ŋ] occurs only syllable finally. In this respect, Kusunda differs noticeably from Tibeto-Burman languages in which nasal [ŋ] is very common syllable initially. No word in Kusunda that we have found begins with nasal [ŋ]. Following are examples of [k], [g], and [ŋ] in various contexts:

(59) [k]
      a. [ḳan]   'sharp'
      b. [ḳampe]   'where'
      c. [ḳolde]   'knife'
      d. [kiptsaḳ]   'Sesi Kham'
      e. [ki]   'louse'
      f. [kiladi]   'thief'

(60) [g]
      a. [garo]   'wall'
      b. [gebusa]   'curd'
      c. [gimi]   'money'
      d. [guhu]   'bone'
      e. [goloq]   'sheep'
      f. [gwa]   'egg'

(61) [ŋ]
      a. [gidaŋ]   'fluid'
      b. [haŋnuŋ]   'shadow'
      c. [dʰuŋto]   'Stand!'
      d. [moŋ]   'king'
      e. [dziŋ]   'oil'
      f. [kəpəŋ]   'tumeric'
      g. [yeŋgu]   'stone'

• *Fricative variants for velar consonants.* Intervocalically, it is common for 'g' to occur as a fricative [ɣ]. As in the labial and lingual series, a non-fricative [g] occurring between vowels can be an indicator of underlying [k], as in (62d):

(62) a. [aɣəi]   'dog'
      b. [dəɣəi]   'he went'
      c. [duɣə]   'ground, floor'
      d. [nigu] < *niku   'moon'

In Kamala's speech, the fricative is reduced even further, either to a very light fricative, or to Ø, as in the following contrastive sets:

(63) Gyani Maiya:
    a. [oragən]   'He killed it' (realis)
    b. [oragi]   'He killed it' (past)

(64) Kamala:
    a. [oraːn]   'He killed it' (realis)
    b. [oraːi]   'He killed it' (past)

It is difficult to determine if there is a velar fricative [x] in the data set. What sounds, in many contexts, to be a fricative [x] also occurs with equal frequency as an aspirate [kʰ]. Given that velar sounds are often fricativized anyway, we are assuming that /kʰ/, because of its instability in a predictable direction, has a variant [x]. Following are examples:

(65) a. [kʰaidzi]   ~   [xaidzi]   'food'
        b. [kʰaːˤu]   ~   [xaːˤu] / [χaːˤu]   'is not'
        c. [kʰəŋgu]   ~   [xəŋgu]   'cold (of food)'
        d. [nikʰe-d-i] ~   [nixe-d-i]   'I laughed'

• *Consonant [ŋ] as a "coalesced" consonant.* In rapid speech, the sound [ŋ] sometimes arises as a coalescence of anti-causative 'q' plus syllabic 'n,' which marks realis, as in:

(66) a. həra-q-n̩   > həra-ŋ
        open-AC-REAL   > open-AC:REAL   'open' (participle)

        b. gya-q-n̩   > gya-ŋ
        collapse-AC-REAL   > collapse-AC:REAL 'collapsed' (participle)

• *Aspiration.* We have twelve examples of [kʰ], at least three of which have a Nepali source, and one of which has a Kham or Magar source:

(67) a. kʰola   'stream' < Nep.
      b. lekʰadn̩   'write' < Nep. lekhnu
      c. kʰurpa   'knife' < Nep. khurpa; Kham, Magar khur 'knife'
      d. kʰərgun   'red' < Kham kʰəir- 'brownish-red'
      e. kʰaidzi   'food'
      f. kʰamdzi   'bite'
      g. kʰaːˤu   'is not'
      h. kʰa-   'parch grain'
      i. kʰəŋgu   'cold (of food)'
      j. kʰərwi   'wheat'
      k. nikʰedi   'laugh'
      l. ukʰə-   'ruin'

We have five examples of [gʰ], one of which is Nepali, and another which is likely from Nepali. The word in (68d) shows up in the Reinhard and Toba data as *gihan*,[11] and suggests another possible source for voiced aspiration – CVhV. Indeed, the word for Ban Raja, *mihaq*, when spoken rapidly comes out as [mʰyaχ].

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[11] The *gi-* is likely another instance of third person inherent possession. See §5.1.1.2.

(68) a. gʰã̃s   'grass' < Nep.
      b. gʰərun   'hot' < ? Nep gʰərəm
      c. gʰutṇ   'move'
      d. gʰyaŋ   'genitals (female)'
      e. gʰã̃ː-   'grind'

4.4.4.2. Uvular consonants

The uvular consonants [q], [ɢ], and [ɴ] contrast with the velar consonants [k], [g], and [ŋ]. We have already commented that velar and uvular points of articulation are more easily distinguished in the voiced series for the simple reason that voiced uvular consonants are accompanied by other phonetic indicators – pharyngealization and a lowering of fundamental frequencies on preceding vowels.

As far as we can tell, no word begins with [ɢ], though numerous words begin with [q]. [G] occurs as an interovcalic phenomenon. This fact by itself would lead us to believe that [q] and [ɢ] are in complementary distribution. There are, however, cases of [q] also occurring intervocalically, as in the following contrastive pair:

(69) a. [yaqa]   'porcupine'
      b. [yaɢo]   'cold (weather)'

The problem we run into here is similar to the problem we have seen with other consonants – voiceless consonants, intervocalically, frequently surface as voiced sounds (see §4.4.1). With labial consonants we were able to say that intervocalic [b] is an underlying [p], and intervocalic [β] is an underlying [b]. The solution is not so simple here. [ɢ], in our data, never surfaces as an actual stop. Rather, it is sometimes articulated with a certain amount of fricativization, as in [ʁ], but more often as a pharyngealized approximant [ʕ].

In our early transcriptions, we wrote [ɢ] as [h] or [ʔ];[12] later we began to realize that the sound had an anticipatory "glottal" or "pharyngeal" quality, and we experimented with [h] preceded by pharyngealization on the vowel. As we collected more data we began to detect distinct pharyngeal stricture during the production of the consonant, and though the sound is phonetically closer to [ʕ] than anything else, we are interpreting the sound, within the larger system, as [ɢ]. The caveat is that cardinal [ɢ] does not occur, and we will write the sound in our text examples as / ɢˤ /, (indicating pharyngealization, realized especially on the preceding vowel).

• *A test for distinguishing [q] from [ɢ] in some contexts.* If we are correct in asserting that anticipatory pharyngealization on vowels is a feature that accompanies voiced uvulars ([ɢ], [ɴ]), and not voiceless ones ([q]), pharyngealization will be a useful diagnostic for distinguishing [q] from [ɢ] in certain contexts. In the following examples, pharyngealization makes the difference between two otherwise similar sequences:

(70) a. [okti]   'medicine'
      b. [oɢˤtsi]   'chest'

(71) a. [aqa]   'below'
      b. [aɢˤkə]   'above'

40

We also have a contrastive pair – *gyaqai* 'breath' vs. *gyaɢˤai* 'strength' – which may turn out to be the same word. If so, this would hint at a certain amount of variation between [q] and [ɢ] and weaken our test for distinguishing one from the other.

• *Nasal consonant harmony with uvular consonants.* In a process of anticipatory assimilation, the alveolar nasal consonant in the sequence [na] is realized as a palatal consonant [ɲa] wherever the following consonant is uvular, as in the following:

(72) a. [giɲaq]   'trousers'
      b. [ɲaqtsin]   'I wait.'
      c. [ɲaɢˤan]   'You will go.'
      d. [ɲaɴˤan]   'You sat.'
      e. [ɲãɴˤdi][13]   'wife'
      f. [ɲãɴˤgitse]   'daughter'
      g. [ɲãɴˤdzi]   'You look.'

• *Establishing underlying [ɢ] in contexts where it is "compressed".* There are several constructions in Kusunda in which an underlying [ɢ] can be posited based on the two principles discussed immediately above – pharyngealization (plus lowered pitch) and consonantal harmony. The negative construction is one such context. Uvular [ɢ] is compressed to such an extent in these kinds of high frequency environments that only its secondary (concomitant) phonetic features are perceptible.

In the first pair below we give the affirmative forms for 'I went,' and 'You went.' In the second pair are the negative forms:

(73) a. [tsəgən]   'I went.'
      b. [nəgən]   'You went.'

(74) a. [tʃaːˤu]   <   [tʃaɢˤu]   'I did not go.'
      b. [ɲaːˤu]   <   [ɲaɢˤu]   'You did not go.'

In (74a) and (74b), the sequence [aːˤu] comes from an underlying [aɢˤu], as evidenced by pharyngealization on the vowel preceding [ɢ]. Evidence for underlying [ɢ] is further supported by the change from [ts] and [n] affirmative to [tʃ] and [ɲ] negative in (74a–b).

• *The voicing contrast between [q] and [ɢ].* There are a number of intransitive verb roots which end in [q], which when causativized end up as [ɢ] sandwiched between vowels. It is likely that the consonant in the causativized version is also an underlying [q], now voiced in the new environment. However, we are not yet sure if voicing plays a role in causativization, or in any other grammatical marking. Unusual contrasts, like the contrast between velar [g] and uvular [ɢ] plays a role in TAM marking (see §5.5.3.1), and until we are sure about voicing in causativization, we will err on the side of caution and continue to write the intervocalic uvular as / ɢˤ / in causative contexts. Following are examples:

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[13] B. K. Rana (2002) transcribes this as *ngyangdi* [ŋyaŋdi], and claims that initial *ŋ-* is evidence of TB origins for Kusunda. We have found no occurrences of initial *ŋ-* in our investigation.

(75)   INTRANSITIVE:
     a.   [byaq-n̥]
        spill-REAL   'It spilled.'

     CAUSATIVE:
     b.   [byæʁˤatn̥] ~ [byæʕatn̥]
        byaɢˤ-a-t-n̥
        spill-CAUS-1-REAL   'I spilled it.'

(76)   INTRANSITIVE:
     a.   [hyoq-n̥]
        hide-REAL   'He hid.'

     CAUSATIVE:
     b.   [hyɔʁˤɔdi] ~ [hyɔʕwɔdi]
        hyoɢˤ-o-di
        hide-CAUS-1:PAST   'I hid it.'

(77)   WITH NO INTRANSITIVE COUNTERPART:
       [myæʁˤatn̥] ~ [myæʕatn̥]
       myaɢˤa-t-n̥
       dig-1-REAL   'I dug it.'

It should also be noted that in the three examples of /ɢ/ above, all are accompanied by pharyngealization on the preceding vowel, indicating that we are dealing with [ɢ], not [q].

• *[G] and semivowels.* Where [ɢ] occurs intervocalically between [a] and [o], or between two [o]s, an approximate like sound [w] surfaces between the vowels, and /o/ is lowered to [ɔ], as in (see also (69b)):

(78)   a.   haɢˤo   [haʕwɔ]   'rhesus monkey'
       b.   toɢˤon   [toʕwɔn]   'day before yesterday'

• *Uvular [q].* The voiceless uvular consonant [q] occurs in a variety of contexts – syllable initially, syllable finally, and in a few cases, intervocalically. As already mentioned, it is difficult to distinguish between [q] and post-velar [k̠] which occurs before [o] or [a]. Following are examples of [q] in various environments:

(79)   SYLLABLE INITIAL:
     a.   [qasti]   'one'
     b.   [qotu]   'bird'

(80)   SYLLABLE FINAL:
     a.   [giɲaq]   'trousers'
     b.   [goloq]   'sheep'
     c.   [abəq]   'greens'
     d.   [ukʰiqn̥]   'ruined'
     e.   [ɲaqtsin]   'I wait'

(81)   INTERVOCALICALLY:
     a.   [aqa]   'below'
     b.   [yaqa]   'porcupine'

Where [q] occurs word finally with a preceding [h] it surfaces as [χ], as in *mehaq* [mehaχ] 'Ban Raja' or *haq* [haχ]'leaf.'

• *Uvular [N].* The uvular nasal consonant [N] has many of the characteristics and concomitant features found in [ɢ] – pharyngealization of preceding vowels, lowering of fundamental frequencies, and harmony with palatal nasals. Most of these features have already been illustrated, as in (72d–g). In addition, the nasal consonant [N] imposes nasalization on the preceding vowel. In some words, it is this feature alone that distinguishes [N] words from [ɢ] words, as in:

(82) a. [ɲaɢˤan]   'You will go.'
      b. [ɲãNˤan]   'You sat.'

Even with a good digital recording it is extremely difficult for us to hear the difference between (82a) and (82b). Our informants, however, insist that they are able to distinguish the two. No word begins with nasal [N]. In this sense it is parallel to [ŋ].

4.4.5.   Liquids, flaps, glides, etc.

Kusunda has the liquid [l], the flap [r], and glides [y] and [w]. Following are examples:

(83) LIQUID:
      a. laɢˤan   'village'
      b. ligin   'nettle, burlap'
      c. balṇ   'descend'
      d. dzəgəl   'old woman'

(84) FLAP:
      a. rəktsa   'Chettri'
      b. pʰurluŋ   'red'
      c. ərəq   'garlic'
      d. kãwər   'light weight'

Glides (semi-vowels) occur as non-peak elements in vocalic sequences belonging to the same syllable, as in:

(85) GLIDES:
      a. yeŋgu   'stone'
      b. yaq   'snow, hail'
      c. pəyet   'leech'
      d. waŋ   'firefly'
      e. liŋwa   'heavy'
      f. witʰu   'slippery'
      g. pəwi   'bamboo'

5.   Word classes

The major word classes, noun, verb, and adjective are well represented in Kusunda. We will deal with them one at a time in this section with a separate sub-section for pronouns. We will also look at some minor word classes, like adverbs, numerals, and question words. We were unable to determine the extent to which Kusunda makes use of "ideophones" or "rhyming couplets" for modifying verbs. This is a category of the type in which basic verbs like 'go' are modified by ideophonic adverbs to mean things like 'saunter,' 'stomp away,' 'go in long strides,' etc. The phonomenon is well represented in the region, both in Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages. The category needs study in Kusunda; indeed, it has not yet been determined if it exists at all.

5.1.   Pronouns

There are five basic pronouns in Kusunda — three persons with singular number and only first and second persons with plural number. Plural number does not occur with third person pronouns.[14] The five pronouns are:

(86)   FIRST PERSON:
   a.   tsi   'I'
   b.   tok   'we'

   SECOND PERSON:
   c.   nu   'you'
   d.   nok   'you (plural)'

   THIRD PERSON:
   e.   gina   'he, she, that'
   f.   (for the equivalent of 'they,' see (89))

The first and second plural in Reinhard and Toba's description is [toʔi] and [noʔi] respectively. In Kamala's speech the two plurals are [toʔ] and [noʔ]. Syllable final [q] also occurs in verb paradigms as a plural marker (see §5.5.2.2, *Class II person and number marking*). The segment [-k ~ -ʔ] is certainly a plural marker, and the [-i] is of uncertain origin. Van Driem (2001), in refuting some of the fanciful notions that have been suggested for genetic relationships with Kusunda, argues reasonably that it would make just as much sense to posit TB origins for certain morphemes. He cites the "final element" in *toʔi* and *noʔi* as a possible reflection of the PTB first and second person plural morpheme *-i. Given, however, our current knowledge of [-k ~ -ʔ] as a pronominal plural marker, this is now unlikely.

The pronouns *tok*, *nok*, and *gina* can be modified by special pronominal numbers[15] which are different from cardinal numbers[16] – thereby creating duals, plurals, and other

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[14]   In Reinhard and Toba's report (1970), based on Gorkha and Surkhet dialects, third person singular is *git* and third person plural *gidəi*. The difference between their data and ours may be attributable to dialectal differences or to further erosion of grammatical categories in the language.

[15]   These numbers resemble the numbers in Hodgson's (1857) list: *ghinga* 'two,' *daha* 'three,' *pinjang* 'four,' and *pangang* 'five.'

[16]   The cardinal numbers resemble the numbers in Reinhard and Toba's (1970) list.

number combinations up to five. Following are examples:

(87) a. tok dziŋa   'we two'
      b. tok da   'we three'
      c. tok pyaŋdzaŋ   'we four'
      d. tok paŋdzaŋ   'we five'
      e. tok mənni   'we many'

(88) a. nok dziŋa   'you two'
      b. nok da   'you three'
      c. nok pyaŋdzaŋ   'you four'
      d. nok paŋjaŋ   'you five'
      e. nok mənni   'you many'

(89) a. gina dziŋa   'they two'
      b. gina da   'they three'
      c. gina pyaŋdzaŋ   'they four'
      d. gina paŋdzaŋ   'they five'
      e. gina mənni   'they many'

5.1.1. *Possessive pronouns and the genitive*

Possessive pronouns are clearly related to free pronouns, but with vocalic modification from back to front in all roots with back vowels (the two plural roots and second person singular). Thus, for example, *nu* becomes *ni-*, and *tok* becomes *tig-*. In addition, the usual genitive suffix *-yi ~ -ye* (allomorph *-i* following consonants) attaches to the pronominal root, as in the following:

(90) a. tsi-yi   'mine'   < *tsi
      b. tig-i   'ours'   < *tok
      c. ni-yi   'yours'   < *nu
      d. ʔnig-i   'yours (pl)   < *nok
      e. gina-yi   'his'   < *gina

Whitehouse, et al (2003) take the *t-* 'first person,' *n-* 'second person,' *g-* 'third person' paradigm, together with first and second person stem alternations with *-i* in possession, and the possessive suffix *-yi* as evidence that Kusunda belongs to an "Indo-Pacific" mega-language family.

5.1.1.1. *Possessive prefixes*

In first and second persons singular, the same pronominal roots (*tsi-* and *ni-*) can occur as pronominal prefixes on nouns, without the genitive. Where they do, they are possessive prefixes, and differ from the possessive pronouns shown in (90) in much the same way that 'mine' differs from 'my' in English. The "alienable–inalienable" distinction found in some languages appears to be irrelevant for Kusunda. Following are examples:

(91) a. tsi-gimi
          1SPOSS-money   'my money'

      b. ni-gimi
          2SPOSS-money   'your money'

In first and second persons plural, the possessive root cannot occur as a possessive prefix attached directly to nouns, but must be accompanied by the genitive. This is true also for third person *gina*, as in:

(92)   a.   *tig-gimi

        b.   tig-i   gimi
              1PPOSS-GEN   money   'our money'

(93)   a.   *gina-gimi

        b.   gina-yi   gimi
              he-GEN   money   'his money'

First or second person singular possession can be marked by either form – the prefixal form or the genitive marked form – though there are likely pragmatic differences between the two. The following examples show them in free variation:

(94)   a.   tsi-gimi   ~   tsi-yi gimi   'my money'
        b.   ni-gimi   ~   ni-yi gimi   'your money'

The genitive occurs also on question words, as in:

(95)   nəti-ye   gimi
            who-GEN   money   'whose money?'

5.1.1.2. *Lexicalized third person possession*

There are several lexical items in the language in which an initial *g-* is very likely the vestige of an old third person possessive prefix. Typically, such words come from the domain of body parts (and may be restricted to a general "parts" domain). Thus, for example, the default word for 'stomach' is *gimət* and the second person possessed form, 'your stomach,' is *ni-gimət*. From this we might expect *tsi-gimət* for 'my stomach,' which, indeed is possible, but the preferred form is *ts-imət*.

(96)   a.   gimət   'stomach'
        b.   ni-gimət   'your stomach'
        c.   ts-imət   'my stomach'

Interestingly, in Reinhard's 1976 list, 'stomach' is listed as *imat*, without a prefix. In contrast, 'knee' in Reinhard's list is *t-uputu* with a prefix (likely meaning 'my knee'), while we have elicited *upto*.

The word for 'wind' is *qai*, while the word for 'breath' is either *ata qai* 'mouth wind,' or *ge-qai* 'its wind.'

(97)   a.   qai   'wind'
        b.   ata qai   'breath' (lit. 'mouth wind')
        c.   ge-qai, [gya-qai]   'breath' (lit. 'its wind')

A word that commonly occurs in combination with other words to mean something like 'fluid' or 'juice,' is very likely the etymon for 'water' with a lexicalized third person prefix, as in the following:

(98)   a.   taŋ   'water'
        b.   gidaŋ   'sap' (lit. 'its water')
        c.   ata gidaŋ   'saliva' (lit. 'mouth water')

d.	iŋ gidaŋ	'tears' (lit. 'eye water')
e.	twi-yi gidaŋ	'honey' (lit. 'bee water')

Other candidates for a lexicalized third person prefix are the following:

(99)	a.	gemehaq[17]	'Ban Raja'
	b.	gidzaŋ	'body'
	c.	gidzi	'name' < ? *g-i-dzi 'he says'
	d.	gitət	'skin'
	e.	gipən[18]	'word, language'
	f.	gisi	'fat'
	g.	gitsi	'thorn'

5.1.2.   *Oblique forms and the accusative*

First and second person pronouns have an oblique form that occurs with the accusative, and third person has a slightly reduced form. Thus, taken together with the genitive form, Kusunda has two "oblique" modifications of the pronoun, one for the genitive and another for the accusative, as summarized in Table 2:

FREE PRON.	GENITIVE	ACCUSATIVE
tsi	tsi-yi	tən-da
tok	tig-i	(toʔ-da)
nu	ni-yi	nən-da
nok	nig-i	(noʔ-da)
gina	(gina-yi)	gin-da

Table 2. OBLIQUE PRONOMINAL FORMS IN KUSUNDA

5.1.3.   *Interrogative pronouns*

The interrogative pronouns of Kusunda correspond to the so-called WH-words of English and include the following seven:

(100)	a.	nəti	'who, what'
	b.	nən	'what, why'
	c.	nətn̩	'what, why'
	d.	hampe	'where'
	e.	əsa	'how'
	f.	əsi	'how much'
	g.	əsaːʕi	'when'

The semantic domain of some of these interrogatives is not yet clear. 'What,' for example, can be expressed by *nəti*, *nən*, or *nətn̩*, all obviously related forms, but it is not clear what their semantic differences are.[19] Used with an animate demonstrative, *nəti* is

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[17]   The basic form for this word is *mihaq ~ mehaq*, and it is not clear to us what the function of the prefix *ge-* might be.

[18]   B. K. Rana (2002) claims similarity between this word and the Kham word *ge-paŋ* 'our language.' Granted, *pən* and *paŋ* bear some similarity, the himitial element in Kham is a first person plural prefix, while in Kusunda it is a third person singular.

translated by 'who,' and with an inanimate demonstrative, by 'what,' as in the following (see §5.1.3):

(101) a. nəti   na
           who this (animate)   'Who is this?'

       b. nəti   ta
           what this (inanimate)   'What is this?'

Likewise, *nətn̩*, which usually means 'what' can also mean 'why,' as in:

(102) gʰərun   nətn̩   n-əm-əo,   kʰəŋgu   qwon
       hot   why   2-eat-NEG:IRR,   cold   drink:IMP
       'Why won't you drink it hot? (Then) drink it cold!'

The possessive 'whose' is expressed with the interrogative pronoun *nəti*, plus the genitive suffix, as in:

(103) gina   kələm   nəti-ye
       that   pen   who-GEN
       'That pen is whose?'

The forms in (100e–g) are obviously related, all beginning with *əs*. The semantic relation between 'how much' and 'when' seems plausible, but a semantic relation between 'how' and 'how much' seems odd, although it occurs also in English.

• *Negative indefinite pronouns.* Negative indefinite pronouns are derived from the more basic interrogative pronouns seen in the preceding section. The "nobody, nothing, nowhere" series, for example, uses the interrogative pronoun plus an existential negative. The pattern is pervasive in South Asia and often appears with an emphatic marker on the question word as well, as in IA Nepali *ke-hi chhaina* [what-EMP is.not] 'nothing,' or TB Kham *su-zə male* [who-EMP is.not] 'no one.' Though it occurs without an emphatic in Kusunda, its basic form is the same, as the following examples show:

(104) a. nətn̩   kʰaːˤu   tsimən-gya
           what   not   touch-OPT
           'Nothing will happen, let him touch it!'

       b. nətn̩   qʰaiya   kʰaːˤu
           what   danger   not
           'There is no danger.'

       c. nəti   kʰaːˤi
           who   not
           'no one'

       d. hampe   kʰaːˤu
           where   not
           'nowhere'

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[19] The finals *-ti* and *-n̩* may be old classifier morphemes and occur in other sequences like *qas-ti* 'one' and *qas-n̩* 'one'.

5.1.4.   Demonstrative pronouns

As far as we can tell, there are only two demonstrative pronouns in Kusunda – *na* and *ta*. The distinction does not appear to be deictic, as in the usual "proximate" and "distal" distinctions in both IA and TB languages of Nepal. Rather, the distinction appears to be based on animacy, *na* being an animate demonstrative, and *ta* an inanimate demonstrative. Here we repeat the examples in (101):

(105)   a.   nəti na
             who this (animate)   'Who is this?'

        b.   nəti ta
             what this (inanimate)   'What is this?'

Unfortunately, this generalization breaks down in many contexts, and the two terms seem to be interchangeable, as in <u>na</u> *p^{h}urluŋ tsu* 'This is red' to refer to an inanimate object. It is possible that *na* is the functionally unmarked member of the two.

We are not aware of a way, using demonstrative pronouns, to distinguish between 'this' and 'that.' However, the third person pronoun sometimes occurs as a demonstrative, and in that function appears to express a distal demonstrative 'that':

(106)   gina   kələm   gina-yi
        that   pen   he-GEN
        'That pen is his.'

There are no plural demonstrative pronouns. Plurality in pronouns, like plurality in nouns, can be marked in the NP by numerals or quantifiers, or by plural agreement affixes in the verb. (See also §5.2.1.)

5.2.   Nouns and noun morphology

All nouns in Kusunda, as far as we currently know, have the same morphosyntactic properties. The class is composed of prototypical nouns, concrete kinds of things that can be manipulated and counted. Though they can be counted, none of them can be pluralized. There is no nominal plural marker. This sets them apart from pronouns, which we saw in §5.1.

Another class of words that might be called "nominal" (though not so in this grammar) are "action nouns." This is a highly restricted class and occurs only in constructions as a complement of the verb 'to do' – notions like 'to do thinking' or 'to do hitting.' More than half of the verbs in Kusunda are formed from such elements. Rather than referring to them as "nouns" in light verb constructions, however, we will refer to them as "non-inflecting verbs." They require the presence of an auxiliary verb 'to do, make' to carry the appropriate inflection. More investigation needs to be done on their properties. (See §6.1.4.)

In §5.2.2.3 we give some evidence, still weak, for a possible "locational" subclass of nouns.

5.2.1.   Number marking

There is no number marking for nouns in Kusunda. Plurality of referents can be marked using numerals or quantifiers, or by plural agreement affixes in the verb, as in the following (see also example (89)):

(107)   a.   gina   g-əm-ən
             he   3-eat-REAL   'He ate.'

        b.   gina   g-əm-da-n
             he   3-eat-PL-REAL   'They ate.'

        c.   gina   da   g-əm-da-n
             he   three   3-eat-PL-REAL   'They three ate.'

        d.   məɲɲi   g-əm-da-n
             many   3-eat-PL-REAL   'Many ate.'

5.2.2.   Case marking

We have already seen some case marking in pronouns – the oblique forms used for the genitive and the accusative. In both cases, in addition to being marked by suffixes, the underlying shape of the pronoun was also modified (see Table 2). This modification presumably reflects an older case marking system. As far as we know, there is no oblique modification for noun stems in Kusunda, nor are there oblique forms for pronouns other than in the genitive and in the accusative.

5.2.2.1.   The genitive

The genitive suffix *-yi/-ye* (allomorph *-i/-e* following consonants) occurs primarily on possessive pronouns (see §5.1.1) or on third person possessors in a possessor–possessee relationship. First or second person possession is marked primarily by possessive prefixes. Following are examples of third person possession:

(108)   a.   ram-e   agəi
             Ram-GEN   dog   'Ram's dog'

        b.   twi-ye   gidaŋ
             bee-GEN   water   'bee's honey'

There are numerous other cases in which the possessive relationship is not marked at all, especially in "part–whole" constructions. Thus, though 'honey' is marked for possession in (108b), the semantically similar "body part relationships" are not generally marked, as in:

(109)   a.   ata   gidaŋ
             mouth   water   'saliva'

        b.   iŋ   gidaŋ
             eye   water   'tears'

What might be termed as "type relationships" are sometimes marked by the genitive, sometimes not. We do not know if the choice is lexically determined or determined by pragmatic notions like "degree or level of semantic union." In the following examples, the first is marked by the genitive, the second two are not.

(110)   a.   aidzi-gi [20]   amba
             goat-GEN   meat   'goat meat'

        b.   numba   amba
             cow   meat   'cow meat'

      c.   qotu   getse
          bird   offspring   'chick'

From the data we have so far, it appears that the genitive is not used to mark other semantic relationships between nouns, like "composed of" or "location of," as shown in the following examples:

(111)   a.   yeŋgu   wi
               stone   house   'stone house'

           b.   duga   abəq
               ground vegetable   'mushroom'

The genitive is also used in first or second person possession where a modifier occurs between the possessor and the possessed item, as in (112b):

(112)   a.   tsi-wi
               1S-house   'my house'

           b.   tsi-yi   yeŋgu   wi
               1S-GEN   stone   house   'my stone house'

5.2.2.2. *The nominative and the accusative*

Situated in a sea of ergative marking languages, Kusunda, with its nominative-accusative case marking system, stands out as a typological island. In Kusunda, there is no distinction between transitive and intransitive subjects – both are zero marked. Nor is there a marking distinction between third and non-third persons in transitive clauses (as in "person-based" split ergatives), or between "more transitive" and "less transitive" clauses (as in "volitionality" systems, or "stative-active" systems, or "aspectually-split" systems). All of these ergative or ergative-variant systems occur in the languages of the region, but, as far as we can tell, Kusunda has no ergative of any kind.

The nominative argument in Kusunda is zero marked (unmarked), and the accusative is marked by the nominal suffix *-da*. Following are examples of nominative and accusative marking in intransitive and transitive clauses:

(113)   a.   tsi-Ø   limi-t-ṇ
               I-NOM   dance-1-REAL
               'I danced.'

           b.   gina-Ø   u-g-ən
               he-NOM   come-3-REAL
               'He came.'

           c.   pyana   tsi-Ø   nən-da   imba-d-i
               yesterday I-NOM   you-ACC   think-1-PAST
               'Yesterday I thought about you.'

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[20]   The Kusunda genitive *-yi/-ye* looks a lot like the Kham genitive *-yi/-ye*, which has been related by some to Tibetan *-ki* (DeLancey 1984). The *-gi* here seems to point to the same etymon. Without further study we do not know under what conditions the genitive surfaces and *-yi*, and under what conditions as *-gi*.

    d. gina-Ø   tən-da   təmbə-g-ən
        he-NOM   I-ACC   send-3-REAL
        'He sent me.'

    e. tsi   qotu-da   ho-wa-d-i
       I   bird-ACC   fly-CAUS-1-PAST
       'I made the bird fly.'

    f. Ø   tsi-hũkui-da   ip-da-d-i
       NOM   1S-small-ACC   sleep-CAUS-1-PAST
       '(I) put my little one to sleep.'

In fact, like many languages of the region, the same morpheme that marks accusative also marks "dative recipient" in bitransitive clauses and the subject in "dative subject" clauses. The grammatical category, then, marks the "terminus" of a causal chain, and might be better termed an "endpoint." Following are examples of both:

(114)   DATIVE RECIPIENT:
    a. gina-Ø   tən-da   haq   təmbə-g-ən
        he-NOM   I-DAT   letter   send-3-REAL
        'He sent me a letter.'

     DATIVE SUBJECT:
    b. tən-da   idaŋ   kʰaːˤu
       I-DAT   hunger   is:not
       'I am not hungry.' (lit. 'hunger is not to me')

    c. tən-da   tsya   ts-oɴˤ-ən   olaŋ   otaŋ
       I-DAT   tea   1-drink-REAL tasty   seems
       'To me drinking tea is tasty.'

Note that the verb form in (114a) is identical to the form in (113d) even though one functions in a transitive clause and the other in a bitransitive clause. (114a) adds a "secondary object" *letter*, and -*da* marks the animate "primary object," a notional indirect object (Dryer 1986).

In (114b–c), -*da* marks the "dative subject," a well established pattern both in Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages of the region (with the exception of Kham, one of Kusunda's immediate neighbors). Reinhard and Toba show this structure *without* a dative subject.

It is not known what semantic or pragmatic parameters delimit the use of -*da* in transitive clauses, but it is clear that animacy plays a big role. We have numerous cases of inanimate objects being unmarked, as in:

(115)   a. tsi wi   a-t-ṇ
        I   house   make-1-REAL
        'I built a house' / 'I make houses.'

    b. gina   taŋ   kola-g-i
        he   water   draw-3-PAST
        'He drew water.'

• *The object marker* -da *as a 'purposive' marker*. What may be regarded as the same morpheme -*da* also marks embedded clauses of purpose (glossed in the examples

as PURP). Here too, the "endpoint" of the eventuality named by the matrix verb is the semantic notion being marked. The embedded verb retains many of its finite features, and will be treated more fully in §8.2.3. In the meantime, we present the following examples:

(116)   a.   t-əm-da   t-ug-un
             1-eat-PURP   1-come-REAL
             'I came to eat.'

        b.   tsi wi   ən-da   olãnˤ-t-n̥
             I   house   make-PURP   want-1-REAL
             'I want to build a house.'

From the example in (116a) it is clear that the matrix verb need not be transitive to warrant the felicitous use of *-da*. It is likely that the marker is more attuned to the pragmatic notion of "endpoint" or "goal" than it is to the syntactic notion of transitive "object." Throughout this grammar we will continue to gloss *-da* as ACC, DAT, or PURP, depending on its usage.

5.2.2.3.   *Local case markers*

In our data set, only three locative case markers have emerged. Reinhard and Toba list more, though some of them are suspect. The so-called "preposition" *inside*, for example, given as *gemət*, is very likely the word for 'stomach.'[21]

None of the locative case markers appear to be obligatory, especially if the semantic connection is sufficiently understood by the collocation of the verb and the locational noun. This may constitute some evidence for a separate "locational" subclass of nouns (see §5.2).

(117)   a.   goraq   tsi daŋ   tʃ-aGˤ-an
             tomorrow   I   Dang   1-go-IRR
             'Tomorrow I will go to Dang.'

        b.   dzʰola g-oGˤ-on
             bag   3-put-REAL
             'He put it in the bag.'

• *The locative* -da. The marker *-da*, discussed in §5.2.2.2 as an accusative, marks at least one other kind of relationship, a locative one. The marker occurs rarely, but seems to occur almost obligatorily on the word for 'road'[22] and also commonly on the word for 'forest.'

(118)   a.   un-da   myaq   pərmə-d-i   qʰai-tsi-n
             road-LOC   leopard   meet-1-PAST   afraid-1-REAL
             'I met a leopard on the road and was frightened.'

_____

[21] The word for stomach can, of course, serve as a 'relator noun' for *inside* in the same way that the word for buttocks in our data serves as a relator noun for *behind*. Very likely it is a kind of noun. See §5.3.

[22] It appears possible that the frequent combination *un* 'road' and *-da* 'locative' may be the source for the verb 'to show' *unda a-d-i* [show do-1-PAST] 'I showed it.'

  b. gin-da təmbə-ə-go un-da miː-d-wa
    he-ACC send-do-IMP road-LOC lose-REAL-NEG
    'Send him, he won't lose the way.'

  c. un-da   ip-dzi
    road-LOC sleep-3:PAST
    'He slept on the road (on the way).'

  d. tsi-gimi gilaŋ-da me-ə-g-ən
    1S-money forest-LOC lose-do-3-REAL
    'He lost my money in the forest.'

Notice that in (118b), *-da* occurs twice. In its second occurrence it marks what appears to be an inanimate object – 'road.' In fact, we are interpreting it as a locative marker. Recall that *-da* is obligatory on most occurrences of 'road.'

Comparing locative *-da* with locative *-ga* (following), the distinction may be that *-da* marks distal, diffuse locations, while *-ga* marks nearby, specific locations.

• *The locative* -ga/-gə. The locative marker *-ga* appears to mark a nearby, specific location, and will be glossed IN, as in the following:

(119) a. wi   ə-g-i   tʰəwə-gə ipən u-g-i
      house make-3-PAST place-IN corn come-3-PAST
      'In the place where he built a house corn came up.'

  b. haɢˤo yi-gə tsi
    monkey tree-IN is
    'The monkey is in the tree.'

  c. gagəri-ga taŋ   oɢˤ-to
    jug-IN   water put-IMP
    'Put water in the jug!'

  d. wi-gə   dzuŋ-dzi
    house-IN hang-3:PAST
    'It's hanging from the house.'

  e. ao-gə   ləbə-ə-go
    dirt-IN   bury-do-IMP
    'Bury it in the dirt!'

• *The ablative*. The ablative, marked by the suffix *-əna*, indicates direction 'away from' or 'out of,' as in the following:

(120) a. wi-əna   əg-a
      house-ABL come-IMP
      'Come out of the house!'

  b. tsya-əna ɲã-əgo
    tea-from   extract-IMP
    'Remove it from the tea.'

Reinhard and Toba (1970) list the word for 'from' as *aaʔpiaadana* [aʔpiadənə]. This is probably the concatenation of several morphemes, the final one of which, *-əna*, cor-

responds with our data.

House, as a destination or location, has its own special suppletive form which incorporates location – *wa*. This contrasts with the nominative form *wi*. Reinhard and Toba (1970) list 'to the house' as *wəhaa*.

(121)   a. tsi wa   sip-tsi-n
              I   house:in enter-1-REAL
              'I entered into the house.'

         b. wa   u-g-i
              house:in   come-3-PAST
              'He came home.'

         c. wa   ts-oɢˤ   ə-d-n̪
              house:in   1-put   do-1-REAL
              'I put it in the house.'

• *The allative*. The form given in (121) for house, *wa*, may include the vestige of an old allative marker *-a*. The allative appears to be no longer productive, but occurs also in the following:

(122)   aõ-a   sip-tsi-n
        inside-ALLT   enter-1-REAL
        'I entered (to) inside.'

5.2.2.4.   Other case markers

Here we will treat a few nominal suffixes that do not neatly fall into the grammatical or locative class of markers. They are: the "comitative," the "benefactive," the "comparative," and the "instrumental."

• *The comitative*. The comitative marks a notion of association, or doing an action *with* another actant, as in the following:

(123)   gina-ma   tsi ts-əg-ən
        he-WITH   I   1-go-REAL
        'I went with him.'

As in most other languages of the region, the comitative also marks possession, as in 'With me is one rupee' meaning 'I *have* one rupee.'

(124)   tsi-ma   qasti tsi/tsu
        I-WITH   one   is
        'I have one.' (lit. 'with me is one')

The language is ambivalent in how it interprets *-ma*. As a location, it collocates with the locational copula *tsi*. As a possessive, it collocates with the existential copula *tsu*.

In "reciprocal" kinds of verbs, *-ma* marks the reciprocal actant. Such verbs, morphologically, behave like intransitives, as in:

(125)   tsi gina-ma   limu-tsi-n
        I   he-WITH   fight-1-REAL
        'I fought with him.'

There is at least one bitransitive verb in Kusunda in which *-ma* marks the "source."

The verb is 'beg,' as in:

(126) tsi-ma   gimi   ai-dzi   d-əg-əi
       I-WITH   money   beg-3:PAST   3-go-PAST
       'He begged money from me and left.' (lit. 'with me')

• *The "benefactive"*. What we refer to here as the "benefactive" is a case marker that occurs on NPs without concomitant valence adjusting modifications on the verb. For details on the latter kind of benefactive construction, see §10.2.3. Here, the benefactive case marker is based on the Nepali *ko lagi*, as in the following:

(127) tsi-lage   limu-dzi
       I-FOR   fight-3:PAST
       'He fought for me.'

• *Comparative*. The comparative in Kusunda is based on the Nepali *bʰənda*, as in the following:

(128) na   bʰənda   õⁿʕən   oɢʕ-da-n
       this   than   big   come-PL-REAL
       'Bigger than this come.' (in reference to mosquitos)

• *Instrumental*. It seems strange that we have been unable to elicit an instrumental marker. All attempts have yielded nothing. Reinhard and Toba list a morpheme *-ya* as the instrumental. Following is an example of the *lack* of an instrumental:

(129) na   kʰurpa-Ø   kisə-g-ən
       this   knife   cut-3-REAL
       'This is cut by a knife.' / '(He) cut this with a knife.'

(See §8.1 for the "neutral" conjugation of this verb – something that yields an intransitive reading.)

5.3.   *Locative postpositions*

Most locative postpositions are specialized nouns that specify some kind of location – notions like 'on top of,' 'beside,' etc. Some have referred to such nouns as "relator nouns" (Starosta 1985; Watters 2002). Where these nouns still function elsewhere in the grammar as full nouns with their original, literal sense, their nominal source is transparent. In other cases, the word ceases to function as a full noun, and serves only in a locative function.

A transparent case of a noun serving as a postposition is the word for 'behind,' *səmba* derived from *səmba* 'buttocks.' (See *fn*. 21.) The word has a temporal function, too, meaning 'after' or 'later.'

That many such words are basically nouns can be shown by the fact that they are capable of supporting the genitive or the locative case marking suffixes shown in §5.2.2. Thus, for example, *aõ* 'inside' and *bãdza* 'outside' can take the ablative in the same way that 'house' can take the ablative. Thus, we can get:

(130) a. aõ-əna   bãdza   əg-a
         inside-ABL   outside   come-IMP
         'Come out from the inside!'

> b. wi-yi   bãdza
> house-GEN   outside
> 'outside the house' / 'the house's outside'

Other words that are probably nouns, though we do not have enough data to prove it, are the following:

(131)   a.   gidzaq   'between'
         b.   kampya   'to one side'
         c.   pinda   'in front of'
         d.   aɢˤkə   'on top of, above' (see the spectogram under §4.3.2)

The last word, (131d), also occurs in our elicitation lists as the noun for 'sky.' Again, we are dealing with a noun that has become grammaticalized as a locational postposition. Likewise, *pinda* in (131c) can be used to mean 'first,' as in *pinda duksi* 'the first/eldest son.'

We have two lexemes for 'down, below, or under,' and another two for 'up, or above.' We have nothing to indicate what the difference might be. The words are:

(132)   a.   aqa   'down, below, under'
         b.   amaɢˤa   'down, below, under'

(133)   a.   nõɴˤdze   'up, above'
         b.   ãɴˤdze   'up, above'

Another three locational nouns are the following:

(134)   a.   akpəi   'across'
         b.   asne   'uphill'
         c.   paːtse   'downhill'

• *Deictic pronouns/locatives*. There may be a three-way deictic distinction – proximate, distal, remote – in the Kusunda deictic locatives, but we have been unable to verify this.

There are two sets, one for static location and another for "direction to." The three forms in each set do not form regular paradigms, the individual members being suppletive. The forms *ape* 'there,' *tape* 'to there,' and *sape* 'to here' may have formed a paradigm at one time in the language, but in the modern language the forms are semantically disparate. The modern paradigms are as follows (it is not known how (135b) and (135c) differ):

(135)   STATIC:
         a.   təisa   'here'
         b.   ape   'there'
         c.   nupa   'there'

The locatives in (135) occur with verbs like 'sit' or 'sleep' in constructions like 'Sit here!' or 'Sleep there!'

(136)   DYNAMIC:
         a.   tape   'to here'
         b.   təwa   'to here'
         c.   sape   'to there'

d. isna   'to there'

The locatives in (136) occur with verbs that include motion – like 'Come here!' or 'Go there!' or even 'Give it here!' We have examples of both *tape* and *təwa* occurring with the command 'Come here!'

5.4.   Adjectives

Like Indo-Aryan, but unlike Tibeto-Burman, Kusunda has a distinct "adjective" class. That is, the property notions of "size," "shape," "color," etc., form an inherent class of words not derived from other word classes (as with the class of stative verbs in TB). This does not mean, of course, that the class of adjectives in Kusunda matches the class of adjectives in any other language. There are several words that occur as adjectives in English, for example, that occur as verbs in Kusunda. 'Fat,' for example, is a verb in Kusunda, but an adjective in English. (See also §9.1.4 for derived *Adjectivals*.)

Adjectives in Kusunda, when occurring in a modifying function, precede the noun they modify, and in a predicative function they occur with the existential copula *tsu* (or *kʰaːˤu*, its negative counterpart). Following are examples:

(137)   MODIFICATION:
a. huigin   taŋ   pokʰla-yin
    dirty   water   bathe-PROH
    'Don't bathe in dirty water!'

b. tsi   əgi   tu   ts-ãNˤ-dzi
    I   live   snake   1-see-PAST
    'I saw a live snake.'

c. hũkun   suta   bʰəra-q-ṇ
    small   thread   break-AC-REAL
    'The small thread broke.'

(138)   PREDICATION:
a. na   amba   olaŋ   tsu
    this   meat   tasty   is
    'This meat is tasty.'

b. tsi   gyaGˤai   tsu,   gina-ma   limu-tsi-n
    I   strong   am,   he-WITH   fight-1-REAL
    'I am strong, I fought with him.'

c. nu   ta   kam   ən   weyən   kʰaːˤu
    you   this   work   do   good   not
    'It's not good for you to do this work.'

We spent very little time studying adjectives, and may encounter surprises in a later study. One thing that did catch our attention was the paucity of basic color terms – black, white, and red. Even the simplest TB systems have a four-term system – black, white, red, and green. Still, black, white, and red are the colors predicted by Berlin and Kay's (1969) study for a three-term system.

Yellow and green are also possible in Kusunda, but only as secondary innovations. Yellow, as in some of the TB languages of the region,[23] is based on the color of tumeric powder. The Kusunda word for tumeric is *kəpəŋ*, and 'yellow' is *kəpəŋ bəyo*. The

word *bəyo* is similar to the Nepali *bʰəyo* 'became,' but we have found it in no other contexts.

Our informants, for several weeks, claimed that Kusunda had no word for 'green.' Eventually, they produced the word *hərgun*, which appears to be related to Nepali *həriyo*. The likelihood of this being true is more convincing in the light of a second word for 'red' – *kʰərgun* – based on a Kham corruption of the Nepali word for 'rust.' In Kham the word for 'reddish-brown' is *kʰəiryaso* 'rust-like.' The words *hər-gun* and *kʰər-gun*, then, may mean something like '*har*-like' (from Nepali 'green') and '*kʰər*-like' (from Kham 'reddish-brown'). The words for 'black' and 'white' respectively are *soksodi ~ soksogərəm* and *kasige*.

The Kusunda word for 'bad' stands out as unique in the languages of the region. In both IA and TB, 'bad' is commonly expressed only as NEG-good. In Kusunda, 'bad' *qolom* is a separate lexical item from 'good' *weyən*.

Most verbs, too, can be used in a modifying function. For a treatment of these, see §9.1 on *Adnominals and relative clauses*.

5.5. Verbs and verb morphology

Verbs in Kusunda are morphologically complex with a fair bit of morphological irregularity reflecting varying layers of grammaticalization. Person agreement marking can be prefixing or suffixing, depending on the verb, and where the patterns are suffixing they interact with the tense-aspect-modality (TAM) system in complex and unpredictable ways.

TAM systems, too, are of at least two types – an older system which marks a basic distinction between realis and irrealis events, and a newer system which adds a past distinction to realis events.

5.5.1. Person marking in verbs

Person agreement patterns in the Kusunda verb are of two basic types, a prefixing pattern and a suffixing pattern. The prefixing pattern occurs with a limited set of "high frequency" verbs – verbs like 'come,' 'go,' 'eat,' and 'sleep' – and appears to be the older of the two patterns. The suffixing pattern is modeled closely on the conjugational pattern of the verb 'to do,' and has every appearance of being, or having developed on an analogy with, "light verb" constructions – constructions like 'to do hunting,' 'to do breaking,' or 'to do thinking.' More than half the verbs in Kusunda take this form and we will present them as "non-inflecting verbs," all inflection being carried by the auxiliary 'to do, make.' It is impossible to speculate on the source of such verb roots and whether they were inflecting at an earlier stage or not.

5.5.1.1. Prefixing patterns (Class I)

Verbs are marked for the person (first, second, or third) and number (singular or plural) of the subject argument. There is no object agreement. Person and number are separate indices. Class I verbs are defined as those in which person is marked by prefixes and number is marked by suffixes.

The underlying syllable shape of the verb root appears to have at least some bearing

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[23] In Kham, for example, the word for tumeric is borrowed from Nepali *həlidə*, and 'yellow' is built off that word – *həlidyaso* 'tumeric-like.'

on affixation type. The prefixing pattern occurs primarily, but not exclusively, on verb roots that begin in a vowel, and the suffixing pattern occurs primarily on verb roots that begin in a consonant. Thus, the (a) forms in (139) and (140) illustrate the rule, and the (b) forms illustrate the exception:

(139)   PREFIXING PATTERN:

	BASE FORM	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	GLOSS
a)	am	t-əmən	n-əmən	'eat'
b)	da	ts-əgən	n-əgən	'go'

(140)   SUFFIXING PATTERN:

	BASE FORM	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	GLOSS
a)	pumbə	pumbə a-d-i	pumbə a-n-i	'beat'
b)	a	a-d-i	a-n-i	'do, make'

In general, first person agreement is signaled by *ts-* or *t-* in the first prefix slot, second person by *n-* in the same slot, and third person by *g-*, *d-*, or zero. Plural number is indicated by a suffix *-da* immediately following the root. Following are examples of all persons and all numbers for 'eat,' 'sleep,' 'come,' and 'go' in realis mode:

(141)

	EAT	SLEEP	COME	GO
1s	t-əm-ən	ts-ip-n̩	t-ug-un	ts-əg-ən
1p	t-əm-da-n	ts-ip-da-n	t-ug-da-n	ts-iʔ-da-n
2s	n-əm-ən	n-ip-n̩	n-ug-un	n-əg-ən
2p	n-əm-da-n	n-ip-da-n	n-ug-da-n	n-iʔ-da-n
3s	g-əm-ən	g-ip-n̩	ug-ən / ugi	d-əg-ən / d-əg-əi
3p	g-əm-da-n	g-ip-da-n	u-dəi	d-əg-əi

The verbs 'eat' and 'sleep' are the most regular of the four verbs shown in (141) and will serve as our starting point. The first element, a prefix, is *t-/ts-*, *n-*, or *g-* according to whether the actant is first, second, or third person, respectively. The forms are clearly based on the shape of the free pronouns *tsi* 'I,' *nu* 'you,' and *gina* 'he, she, it.' The determination of first person *ts-* vs. *t-* is purely lexical and cannot be determined by rule – phonological, grammatical, or otherwise.

Other Class I verbs with first person *ts-* are the following: *ts-oˤN-ən* 'I drank,' *ts-oGˤ-on* 'I put,' etc. Other Class I verbs with first person *t-* are the following: *t-oGˤ-ən* 'I died,' *t-uk-an* 'I knew,' etc.

With the third verb, 'come,' the pronominal agreement forms are *t-*, *n-*, or *Ø*, and with the final verb, 'go,' the forms are *ts-*, *n-*, and (seemingly) *d-*. In the latter case, however, though *d-* possibly fills a person slot in the synchronic grammar, historically it is the first element of the root and still surfaces in certain forms like the imperative – *da* 'Go!' *D-* as a third person marker, then, can be discounted on historical grounds.

Again, as in first person *ts-* vs. *t-*, the determination of third person *g-* vs. *Ø* is lexical and cannot be determined by rule. Other Class I verbs with third person *Ø-* are the following: *oGˤ-ən* 'he died,' *uk-an-dzi* 'he knows,' etc. Many others take *g-*.

Class I verbs are generally messy, with many irregular and suppletive forms. This is very likely a consequence of their considerable age and maintained by high frequency

usage. A case in point are the plural forms for 'go' – *ts-iʔ-da-n* 'I went' and *n-iʔ-da-n* 'You went.' The vocalism [i] in the plural root [iʔ] cannot be explained in the synchronic grammar and nothing of the original root *da* remains. We end up with a suppletive form.[24]

Another irregular verb is the verb 'sit,' with first person *s-*, second person *ɲ-*, and third person *h-*, as in the following:

(142) 1s s-ãɴˤan   'I sit.'
       1p s-ãɴˤan   'We sit.'
       2s ɲ-ãɴˤan   'You sit.'
       2p ɲ-ãɴˤan   'You [pl] sit.'
       3s h-ãːdzi   'He/she sits.'
       3p h-ãːdei   'They sit.'

It is possible that the underlying root in this case has an /h/ onset. The /h/ emerges also in the imperative, as in: *hãˤɴ-no* 'Sit!'

5.5.1.2.   Suffixing patterns (Class II)

In contrast to Class I verbs, Class II verbs are characterized by person marking *suffixes*. The majority of verbs in Kusunda belong to this class.

• *Transitive patterns*. For Class II transitive verbs, the agreement patterns appear to be modeled on the verb 'to do, to make,' which is given in (143). The *-ṇ* symbol is a syllabic 'n' – i.e. it forms its own syllable without the aid of vowels (see the discussion on *Syllabic 'n'* under §4.4.2.4).

(143) 1s a-t-ṇ   [make-1-REAL]   'I made.'
       1p a-d-ə-n   [make-1-PL-REAL]   'We made.'
       2s a-n-ṇ   [make-2-REAL]   'You made.'
       2p a-n-ə-n   [make-2-PL-REAL]   'You [pl] made.'
       3s ə-g-ən   [make-3-REAL]   'He/she made.'

As in Class I, the pronominal elements here are first person *-t/-d*, second person *-n*, and third person *-g*, the difference being that in Class II they are suffixed while in Class I they are prefixed. Numerous transitive verbs are patterned on this paradigm, as in the following:

(144)   BUY   CARRY   CUT
      1s   dza-a-t-ṇ   abi-a-t-ṇ   kis-a-t-ṇ
      1p   dza-a-d-ən   abi-a-d-ən   kis-a-d-ən
      2s   dza-a-n-ṇ   abi-a-n-ṇ   kis-a-n-ṇ
      2p   dza-a-n-ən   abi-a-n-ən   kis-a-n-ən
      3s   dza-ə-g-ən   abi-ə-g-ən   kis-ə-g-ən
      3p   dza-ə-g-ən   abi-ə-g-ən   kis-ə-g-ən

In the pronunciation of these verbs, there are distinct syllabic peaks on each of the vowels – one on the final vowel of the root (as in *dza* 'buy') and the second on the vowel which belongs to the onset of the verb 'to make' (as in *a-t-ṇ*).

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[24] A root *i-*, meaning 'fetch' is often interchangeable with 'go' and is likely the source for this form.

• *Intransitive patterns*. A slightly different suffixing pattern emerges for Class II intransitive verbs. The pronominal marker is more complete, very nearly a complete copy of the free pronoun. Following are examples:

(145)   ENTER   DANCE   DESCEND   FALL
  1s   sip-tsi-n   limi-tsi-n   bəl-tsi-n   pʰep-tsi-n
  2s   sip-n-in   limi-n-in   bəl-n-in   pʰep-n-in

Very commonly, such verbs occur in "neutral" conjugations, bereft of person markers, as in: *tsi sip-ṇ* 'I entered,' *nu sip-ṇ* 'You entered'; *tsi bəl-ṇ* 'I descended,' *nu bəl-ṇ* 'You descended.' Such conjugations are developing yet another set of pronominal markers, tacking them on at the end, as in: *tsi sip-ṇ-tsi* 'I entered,' and *nu sip-ṇ-nu* 'You entered.'

Thus, we get considerable variation for intransitive person markers, as illustrated in the following:

(146) a. tsi sip-ṇ
          I   enter-REAL   'I entered.'

       b. tsi sip-tsi-n
          I   enter-1-REAL   'I entered.'

       c. tsi sip-ṇ-tsi
          I   enter-REAL-1   'I entered.'

• *Transitive–intransitive distinction*. There are several transitivizing devices in Kusunda (see §7.1), but here we will treat the transitive–intransitive distinction which is marked by affixation type. That is, the transitive vs. intranstive reading of some verbs depends solely on whether the affixation pattern used is a transitive pattern or an intransitive pattern. In a sense, then, they are ambitransitive. Most inherent intransitive verbs fall into this class.

In the following examples, the same verb root is used in both a transitive and an intransitive sense. The correct reading (transitive or intransitive) depends on the type of affixation. As mentioned earlier, the transitive pattern is fashioned after the verb 'to do, to make,' and may, in fact, be a verb concatenation (as we treat it in the following glosses):

(147) a. INTRANSITIVE
          tul-tsi-n
          dress-1-REAL   'I dressed.'

       b. TRANSITIVE
          tul-a-t-ṇ
          dress-do-1-REAL   'I dressed (someone).'

(148) a. INTRANSITIVE
          bem-tsi-n
          fall-1-REAL   'I fell.'

       b. TRANSITIVE
          bem-ə-t-ṇ
          fall-do-1-REAL   'I made (someone) fall.'

(149)   a. INTRANSITIVE
             hyoq-tsi-n
             hide-1-REAL   'I hid.'

        b. TRANSITIVE
             hyoɢˤ-a-t-ṇ
             hide-do-1-REAL   'I hid (something).'

Until now, we have illustrated person marking patterns only in realis mode. There is also an irrealis mode, and for all transitive verbs a past tense. Though first person *-t*, second person *-n*, and third person *-g* are constant across all TAM categories, the combinatory patterns that emerge are slightly different for realis, irrealis, and past tense. These differences will be discussed in §5.5.3 on TAM marking.

5.5.2. *Number marking*

Number marking in Class I and Class II verbs is basically the same, with slight and definable variation. The variation is due to the fact that in Class I verbs, person marking is prefixed and number marking is suffixed, keeping the two systems separate. In Class II verbs, both systems are suffixed, causing the two systems to intersect.

5.5.2.1. *Class I number marking*

In Class I verbs, realis plural (S/A only) is marked by *-da* while singular goes unmarked, as shown in the following contrastive pairs:

(150)   FIRST PERSON
        a. t-əm-ən
            1-eat-SG:REAL   'I ate.'

        b. t-əm-da-n
            1-eat-PL-REAL   'We ate.'

(151)   SECOND PERSON
        a. n-əm-ən
            2-eat-SG:REAL   'You ate.'

        b. n-əm-da-n
            2-eat-PL-REAL   'You [pl] ate.'

(152)   THIRD PERSON
        a. g-əm-ən
            3-eat-SG:REAL   'He/she ate.'

        b. g-əm-da-n
            3-eat-PL-REAL   'They ate.'

For irrealis mode, the singular realis morpheme *-ən* is replaced by *-du*, and the plural realis morpheme *-da-n* is replaced by *-da-k*, as in the following:

(153)   FIRST PERSON
        a. t-əm-du
            1-eat-SG:IRR   'I will eat.'

b. t-əm-da-k
   1-eat-PL-IRR   'We will eat.'

(154)   SECOND PERSON
         a. n-əm-du
            2-eat-SG:IRR   'You will eat.'

         b. n-əm-da-k
            2-eat-PL-IRR   'You [pl] will eat.'

(155)   THIRD PERSON
         a. g-əm-du
            3-eat-SG:IRR   'He/she will eat.'

         b. g-əm-da-k
            3-eat-PL-IRR   'They will eat.'

Here, too, at least in the synchronic system, singular is marked by zero (or unmarked) and plural is marked by *-da*. There is some evidence to suggest that the plural function was originally marked by *-k*, much as it is in free pronouns. Nevertheless, in the synchronic system, realis *t-əm-da-n* 'We ate' contrasts with irrealis *t-əm-da-k* 'We will eat,' in which plural *-da* remains invariant and realis *-n* changes to irrealis *-k*.

5.5.2.2.   *Class II person and number marking*

In Class II irrealis mode, the sequences *-d-u* (157a) and *-d-ək* (157b) may appear superficially to be equivalent to the *-du* (153a–155a) and *-da-k* (153b–155b) of Class I verbs. In fact, however, the Class I and Class II forms are composed of different morpheme sequences (clearly as a consequence of reanalysis due to person suffixation in Class II – see also summary in (166–167)):

(156)   SINGULAR   PLURAL
        Class I   -du   (SG:IRR)   -da-k (PL-IRR)
        Class II   -d-u (1-SG:IRR)   -d-ək (1-PL:IRR)

The Class II *-d-u* / *-d-ək* forms are in paradigmatic opposition to second person *-n-u* / *-n-ək* and third person *-g-u* / *-g-ək*, as in:

(157)   FIRST PERSON
         a. pumba-d-u
            beat-1-SG:IRR   'I will beat (someone).'

         b. pumba-d-ək
            beat-1-PL:IRR   'We will beat (someone).'

(158)   SECOND PERSON
         a. pumba-n-u
            beat-2-SG:IRR   'You will beat (someone).'

         b. pumba-n-ək
            beat-2-PL:IRR   'You [pl] will beat (someone).'

(159)   THIRD PERSON
         a. pumba-g-u
            beat-3-SG:IRR   'He/she will beat (someone).'

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b. pumba-g-ək
    beat-3-PL:IRR   'They will beat (someone).'

Likewise, the realis forms also distinguish between *-d* 'first person,' *-n* 'second person,' and *-g* 'third person,' as in:

(160) FIRST PERSON
       a. pumba-d-ṇ
           beat-1-REAL   'I beat (someone).'

       b. pumba-d-ən
           beat-1-PL:REAL]   'We beat (someone).'

(161) SECOND PERSON
       a. pumba-n-ṇ
           beat-2-REAL   'You beat (someone).'

       b. pumba-n-ən
           beat-2-PL:REAL   'You [pl] beat (someone).'

(162) THIRD PERSON
           pumbə-g-ən
           beat-3-REAL   'He/she/they beat (someone).'

Class II verbs also have a past tense. As is true for irrealis and realis modes, so too in past tense the suffixes *-d*, *-n*, and *-g* mark first, second, and third person, respectively. Following is the paradigm:

(163) FIRST PERSON
       a. pumba-d-i
           beat-1-SG:PAST   'I beat (someone).'

       b. pumba-d-ei
           beat-1-PL:PAST   'We beat (someone).'

(164) SECOND PERSON
       a. pumba-n-i
           beat-2-SG:PAST   'You beat (someone).'

       b. pumba-n-ei
           beat-2-PL:PAST   'You [pl] beat (someone).'

(165) THIRD PERSON
       a. pumba-(g)-i
           beat-3-SG:PAST   'He/she beat (someone).'

       b. pumba-(g)-ei
           beat-3-PL:PAST   'They beat (someone).'

Thus, in Class I verbs, where person markers are prefixed, the sequences *-da* and *-du* are indivisible, single morphemes – *-da* functions as a plural marker and *-du* as a singular irrealis marker. In Class II verbs, *-da* and *-du* are forced to coalesce with suffixed person markers *-d*, *-n*, and *-g*, resulting in a reinterpretation of the data. The *-du* of Class I becomes the *-d-u*, *-n-u*, and *-g-u* of Class II; the *-da-n* of Class I becomes the *-d-ən*, *-n-ən*, and *-g-ən* of Class II; and, finally, the *-da-k* of Class I becomes the *-d-ək*, *-n-ək*, and *-g-ək* of Class II.

In summary, we can identify the following person, number, and mode affix patterns for the two classes of verb:

(166) REALIS:
    a. FIRST PERSON: Class I   Class II
        singular   t- Σ -ən Σ -d -ṇ
        plural   t- Σ -da-n Σ -d -ən

    b. SECOND PERSON:
        singular   n- Σ -ən Σ -n -ṇ
        plural   n- Σ -da-n Σ -n -ən

    c. THIRD PERSON:
        singular   g- Σ -ən Σ -g -ən
        plural   g- Σ -da-n Σ -g -ən

(167) IRREALIS:
    a. FIRST PERSON: Class I   Class II
        singular   t- Σ -du Σ -d -u
        plural   t- Σ -da-k Σ -d -ək

    b. SECOND PERSON:
        singular   n- Σ -du Σ -n -u
        plural   n- Σ -da-k Σ -n -ək

    c. THIRD PERSON:
        singular   g- Σ -du Σ -g -u
        plural   g- Σ -da-k Σ -g -ək

5.5.3. *Tense-aspect-modality (TAM)*

For most verbs in Kusunda there is, what appears to be, a three-way tense distinction – past, present, and future. By contrast, and central to our understanding of the three-way distinction, however, Class I verbs have only a two-way distinction. Past and present time are generally grouped together into a "realis" mode, and its opposite, "irrealis," marks future time and possibility. Realis, in some cases, however, can also occur with future events, especially where certainty is high; such events are "perceptually located in the real world" (Elliott 2000). Elliott claims that this is the case for a number of Australian languages; "tense does not necessarily reflect reality status" (Elliott 2000:68).

Evidence suggests that the realis–irrealis distinction is older and more primary than the so-called a "past–present–future" distinction. In fact, past tense (see Table 3) appears to be only an added category; it occupies some of the same semantic space as realis (see §5.5.4 on *Negation*) and, more significantly, its absence does not constitute a "present" tense (indicated by the "strike through" in Table 3). Rather, the absence of "past" is only realis. The major difference between past and realis is that *past* has an unequivocal past–completive reading, while *realis* is used more frequently in utterances with a kind of "neutral" or "timeless" sense, as in the verb 'build' in the following sentences:

(168) a. pyana   tsi   wi   a-t-ṇ,   təĩna   ts-ip-du
           yesterday   I   house   build-1-REAL,   today   1-sleep-IRR
           'Yesterday I built a house, today I will sleep.'

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   b.   pyana   tsi   wi   a-d-i,   təĩna   ts-ip-du
        yesterday   I   house   build-1-PAST,   today   1-sleep-IRR
        'Yesterday I built (finished) a house, today I will sleep.'

Past–present–future in Kusunda, then, is only the fiction of a three-way division. The real distinction is past–realis–irrealis. Thus, in Table 3, Class I verbs are those with a two-way distinction, and Class II verbs add a further distinction for a total of three.

		-n			*-du* / *-dak*	
Class I	|<————————	realis	————————>		|<———	irrealis ———>|
		-n			*-u* / *-k*	
Class II	|<————————	realis	————————>		|<———	irrealis ———>|
	-i					
	|<———	past	———>|	~~present~~	~~future~~	

Table 3. TWO-WAY CLASS I DISTINCTION, AND THREE-WAY CLASS II DISTINCTION

From Table 3 we see that both verb classes mark future and unrealized (irrealis) events with *-u* / *-k*, and realis events with *-n*. Class II verbs, in addition, mark past completive events with *-i* (singular) or *-ei* (plural).

The realis form is partially compatible with future time adverbials, although not in independent utterances as in (169a). It can be used, however, with future time adverbials in what appears to be a kind of neutral, timeless sense, as in (169b):

(169)   a.   *goraq   tsi   ts-əg-ən
             *tomorrow   I   1-go-REAL
             *'I went tomorrow.'

        b.   təĩn   wi   a-t-ṇ,   goraq   ts-ip-ṇ
             today   house   1-make-REAL,   tomorrow   1-sleep-REAL
             'Today I build a house, tomorrow I sleep.'

Irrealis, on the other hand, is fully compatible with future time. Thus, it can occur with future time adverbials, or with present time adverbials extendable to a future reading, as in the following:

(170)   a.   goraq   tsi   tʃ-aGˤ-an
             tomorrow   I   1-go-IRR
             'Tomorrow I will go.'

        b.   dəbaq   tsi   tʃ-aGˤ-an
             now   I   1-go-IRR
             'I will go now.' ('I haven't started yet, but I'm ready to go.')

Irrealis is not compatible with past time, (unless it occurs with incompletive *-da*, in which case it carries a sense of 'would have' or 'was about to' – see §5.5.3.6). Its incompatibility with past time adverbials is illustrated in the following example:

(171)   *pyana   tsi   tʃ-aGˤ-an
        *yesterday   I   1-go-IRR
        *'Yesterday I will go.'

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5.5.3.1. *Mutation*

In a small subset of Class I verbs (high frequency verbs like 'go' and 'come') a process of "mutation," is used in marking the realis–irrealis distinction.[25] Apparently, the process is old; it is being replaced by a newer and more regular affixation pattern. For "mutating" verbs, then, there are two equivalent irrealis forms – those marked by mutation (172b, 173b, and 175) and those marked by *-k* (176).

Beginning with the realis conjugation as the default, all consonants and vowels used for the irrealis form are "shifted" back one point of articulation – apical becomes laminal, velar becomes uvular, *ə* becomes *a*, and *u* becomes *o* (see *fn.* 25). In such cases the irrealis morpheme is a kind of autosegmental harmony process which spreads across the whole of the root affecting all consonants and vowels. Following are examples:

(172)   FIRST PERSON
       a. REALIS
           tsi   ts-əg-ən
           I   1-go-REAL   'I went.'

       b. IRREALIS
           tsi   tʃ-aɢˤ-an
           I   1-go-IRR   'I am going.'

(173)   SECOND PERSON
       a. REALIS
           nu   n-əg-ən
           you 2-go-REAL   'You went.'

       b. IRREALIS
           nu   ɲ-aɢˤ-an
           you 2-go-IRR   'You are going.'

5.5.3.2. *Non-mutating Class I verbs*

In contrast to the mutating Class I verbs, the realis–irrealis distinction in the majority of Class I verbs is marked by affixation patterns. Following are examples of irrealis forms marked by the affixes *-du* (for singular) and *-dak* (for plural):

(174)   REALIS   IRREALIS
       a. t-əm-ən   t-əm-du
          1-eat-SG:REAL   1-eat-SG:IRR
          'I ate.'   'I will eat.'

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[25] Whatever the original function of 'mutation' may have been, it shows evidence of having later been morphologized to operate in several grammatical systems, not restricted to the realis–irrealis distinction alone. In some transitivity diathesis alternations, for example, the marked parameter is marked by mutation, as in: *dzuŋ-dzi* 'It hangs' vs. mutated *dzoɴ-a-dzi* 'He hung it.' See also sections §8.4, §9.2.1, §9.3.4, and §9.3.8 for the 'mutating' pattern in subordination.

Though such marking systems are rare in the languages of the world, similar phenomena have been reported in isolated cases. Jim Watters (1987) reports that in Tlachichilco Tepehua, a Totonacan language of Mexico, second person subject agreement in verbs is marked by glottalizing all glottalizable consonants – p, t, ts, ch, k, and q become p', t', ts', ch', k', and ʔ, respectively.

b. t-əm-da-n   t-əm-da-k
    1-eat-PL-REAL   1-eat-PL-IRR
    'We ate.'   'We will eat.'

c. n-əm-ən   n-əm-du
    2-eat-SG:REAL   2-eat-SG:IRR
    'You ate.'   'You will eat.'

d. n-əm-da-n   n-əm-da-k
    2-eat-PL-REAL   2-eat-PL-IRR
    'You [pl] ate.'   'You [pl] will eat.'

e. g-əm-ən   g-əm-du
    3-eat-SG:REAL   3-eat-SG:IRR
    'He ate.'   'He will eat.'

f. g-əm-da-n   g-əm-da-k
    3-eat-PL-REAL   3-eat-PL-IRR
    'He ate.'   'He will eat.'

It turns out that mutating verbs, too, can participate optionally in this conjugational pattern. This is seen as a trend away from the older mutating pattern to a more modern and widespread affixation pattern. Following are examples of verbs participating in both patterns (with no apparent difference in meaning):

(175)   MUTATING PATTERN   (176)   AFFIXATION PATTERN
        a. tsi tʃ-aGˤ-an   a. tsi tʃ-aGˤ-ak
            I   1-go-IRR   I   1-go-IRR
            'I will go.'   'I will go.'

        b. nu   ɲ-aGˤ-an   b. nu   ɲ-aGˤ-ak
            you   2-go-IRR   you   2-go-IRR
            'You will go.'   'You will go.'

Comparing the forms in (175) and (176) with the base forms in (172a) and (173a), we see that even the irrealis conjugation utilizing the basic affixation pattern (174) also retains mutating characteristics – ts > tʃ, n > ɲ, g > Gˤ, and ə > a.

5.5.3.3.   TAM in Class II verbs

For Class I verbs, we have already seen (as in 153–155 and in 174) that *-du* marks irrealis for all singular participants and *-dak* for all plural participants (thereby distinguishing number in the suffixes, but not person). Likewise, *-di* marks past tense for singular participants, and *-dei* past tense for plural participants. As we saw in §5.5.2.2, however, in Class II verbs the *-d* is separable as a distinct person marking morpheme – a first person morpheme (see 157–165). In Class II, then, the actual TAM marking is only *-u* and *-ək* for irrealis (singular and plural respectively), and *-i* and *-ei* for past (singular and plural respectively).

5.5.3.4.   TAM in subordinate clauses

The distinction between realis and the more specific (more "marked") past-completive is relevant to subordinate clauses as well. With the so-called "implicative" verbs, those in which the matrix verb implies that the subordinated event actually happened, the tense

apparatus of both verbs must be matching. This can be illustrated by the following:

(177)　a.　wi　　　a-t-ṇ　　　　　tumbə-d-ṇ
　　　　　　　house　make-1-REAL　finish-1-REAL
　　　　　　　'I finished making the house.'

　　　　b.　wi　　　a-d-i　　　　　tumbə-d-i
　　　　　　　house　make-1-PAST　finish-1-PAST
　　　　　　　'I finished making the house.'

　　　　c.　*wi　　a-t-ṇ　　　　　tumbə-d-i
　　　　　　　*house make-1-REAL　finish-1-PAST
　　　　　　　(ungrammatical)

In other constructions, where the eventuality named by the matrix verb and the eventuality named by the subordinate verb are different events, the TAM marking need not match, as in the following:

(178)　a.　tsi　wi　　　a-t-ṇ　　　　　ləmba-d-u
　　　　　　　I　　house　make-1-REAL　1-learn-IRR
　　　　　　　'I will learn how to build houses.'

　　　　b.　gina　amba　habə-g-i　　　tsi　ts-ãɴˤ-dzi
　　　　　　　he　　meat　roast-3-PAST　I　　1-see-TAM
　　　　　　　'I saw him roasting meat.'

For further discussion on subordination, see §11.2 and §11.3.

5.5.3.5.　Imminent aspect

"Imminent" aspect, meaning 'about to,' is marked by *ben*, and collocates only with realis or past tense. The event, though not yet realized, is, in some sense, already asserted to be fact, as in the following:

(179)　a.　bem-dzi　　　ben
　　　　　　　fall-3:REAL　IMM
　　　　　　　'He's about to fall.'

　　　　b.　tsi　ts-əg-ən　　　ben
　　　　　　　I　　1-go-REAL　IMM
　　　　　　　'I am about to go.'

　　　　c.　tsi　gin-da　　pumba-d-i　　ben
　　　　　　　I　　he-ACC　beat-1-PAST　IMM
　　　　　　　'I am about to beat him.'

5.5.3.6.　Incompletive

Another aspect, marked by *-da*, collocates with both realis and irrealis modalities. (See also §11.3.) We have not yet determined all the variables, but tentatively we have glossed it as a kind of incompletive (or imperfective). In realis mode, *-da* yields a kind of "past imperfective," or "past continuous" sense with habitual overtones, as in the following:

(180)   a.   tsi   ts-əg-ən-da
             I   1-go-REAL-INCOMP
             'I was going.' / 'I used to go.'

        b.   tsi   wi   a-d-i-da
             I   house   make-1-PAST-INCOMP
             'I was making a house.'

        c.   tsi-agəi   pumbə   ə-g-i-da   oɢˁ-dzi
             1S-dog   beat   be-3-PAST-INCOMP   die-TAM
             'He used to beat my dog, and he died.'

        d.   pinda   t-əm-da   e-g-aːˁu-da,
             earlier 1-eat-PURP   give-3-NEG:REAL-INCOMP

                 yeodzi   t-əm-da   e-g-i
                 now   1-eat-PURP   give-3-PAST
                 'He didn't used to let me eat, now he lets me.'

In the right context, the construction can also mean 'while X was happening,' as in the following:

(181)   tsi   ts-ip-ṇ-da   nəti   aoda   dəi-ən
        I   1-sleep-REAL-INCOMP   who   door   knock-NEUT
        'While I was sleeping, someone knocked on the door.'

The same *-da*, used with irrealis, yields a reading of 'would have,' or 'was about to,' both senses compatible with non-fact modality. Following are examples:

(182)   a.   tok   ts-ip-dək-da
             we   1-sleep-PL:IRR-INCOMP
             'We would have slept.'

        b.   nu   e-n-u-da
             you   give-2-SG:IRR-INCOMP
             'You would have given it.'

With a non-volitional verb like 'fall,' the interpretation is more often the latter sense – 'was about to,' as in the following:

(183)   gina   nu   bem-dzi-da
        that   person   fall-3:IRR-INCOMP
        'That person was about to fall.'

Other verbs that behave the same way are *ip-dzi-da* 'was about to sleep,' and *nuŋ-dzi-da* 'was about to get up.' It is not clear how this form contrasts with the "imminent" aspect illustrated in §5.5.3.5.

5.5.4.   *Negation*

There are two negation patterns – one for realis and another for irrealis. In Class II verbs the distinction between past and realis is neutralized in the negative, i.e. past does not have a negation pattern distinct from realis. This lends support to our earlier hypothesis that realis and irrealis are the original and basic distinctions in Kusunda, while past is a later development.

It also becomes more clear under negation that the distinction between realis and irrealis is, in fact, not related to "real" and "not real," but is more closely related to "actual" and "possible." Thus realis affirmative statements assert something to be factual, and irrealis affirmative statements assert something to be possibly true. In the negative, "realis" asserts as true that something did not happen (or is not happening), while irrealis asserts that even possible truth is not likely to become fact.

5.5.4.1.   Negative realis in Class II verbs

Negative realis-assertion is marked by a suffix *-a:ˁu*, with pharyngealization on the first vowel and falling–rising pitch on the full sequence.[26] (See also §6.1.2.2 *Negative existential*.)

As in the affirmative, the affixation type of person markers (i.e. prefixing or suffixing) affects other affixation patterns as well. Thus, recall from (153–155) that with fully contrastive prefixed person markers in the affirmative (Class I verbs) the only distinction marked by suffixes is the number distinction. The suffix *-du*, then, marks singular actant for first, second, and third persons, while *-dak* marks plural actants. In Class II verbs *-d* is separated off as a first person marker.

In Class II negative verbs, too, *-d* (along with *-n* and *-g*) belongs to the person marking system and not to the negative suffix. Note, too, that in the negative there is no marking in the verb to distinguish between singular and plural actants. Such information is signalled by the free pronoun. Following is a Class II negative–realis paradigm:

(184)   CLASS II — NEGATIVE–REALIS:

a. tsi e-d-aˁu
    I give-1-NEG   'I did not give.'

b. tok e-d-aˁu
    we   give-1-NEG   'We did not give.'

c. nu   e-n-aˁu
    you give-2-NEG   'You did not give.'

d. nok   e-n-aˁu
    you.pl give-2-NEG   'You [pl] did not give.'

e. gina   e-g-aˁu
    he/she give-3-NEG   'He/she did not give.'

5.5.4.2.   Negative realis in Class I verbs

As already alluded to, Class I verbs mark negative realis in all persons with the suffix *-da:ˁu*. In Class II verbs, of course, we have already seen repeatedly that *-d* is a person marker – first person negative is *-d-a:ˁu*, second person is *-n-a:ˁu*, and third person is *-g-a:ˁu*. In Class I verbs, the *-d* has become part of the negative suffix. Following is a Class I negative–realis paradigm:

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[26] This suggests that the original sequence is something like *-aɢu*, which interestingly, is precisely the mutated form of *-əgo*, the imperative marker. Recall that the mutated form is related to several marked structures – something also true of negation. (See §5.5.3.1 on Mutation.)

(185)   CLASS I — NEGATIVE–REALIS:
    a.   tsi t-əm-daːˁu
           I   1-eat-NEG:REAL   'I did not eat.'

    b.   tok t-əm-daːˁu
           we   1-eat-NEG:REAL   'We did not eat.'

    c.   nu   n-əm-daːˁu
           you 2-eat-NEG:REAL   'You did not eat.'

    d.   nok   n-əm-daːˁu
           you.pl 2-eat-NEG:REAL   'You [pl] did not eat.'

    e.   gina   g-əm-daːˁu
           he/she 3-eat-NEG:REAL   'He/she did not eat.'

    f.   gina mənni   g-əm-daːˁu
           he   many   3-eat-NEG:REAL   'They did not eat.'

See §10.1.2 for a second negation pattern found frequently on negated medial verbs of a clause chain. It is derived from the negative existential or locative copula *kʰaːˁu* or *kʰaːˁi* and may be a past negative as opposed to a realis negative.

5.5.4.3.   *Negative realis in mutating verbs*

All mutating verbs belong to Class I, i.e. person marking indices are prefixed to the verb root. (But not all Class I verbs are mutating.) Significantly, negative realis in mutating verbs employs mutation as part of its marking strategy, and the negative suffix *-u* is added to the mutated root. Thus, *both* irrealis and negative are marked/mutated patterns.

(186)   a. REALIS   b. IRREALIS   c. NEGATIVE
            n-əg-ən   ɲ-aɢˁ-an   ɲ-aɢˁ-u > [ɲ-aːˁ-u]
            2-go:REAL-IND   2-go:IRR-IND   2-go:IRR-NEG
            'You went.'   'You are going.'   'You did not go.'

Here we encounter a few clues about the composition of the more elaborate negative suffixes. The most basic (and probably original) negative marker is a simple *-u* suffix added to the *marked* form of a mutating verb – yielding *-aɢˁ-u* (as in 187a, c) and phonetically yielding [-aːˁ-u]. (See also *Negative indefinite pronouns* under §5.1.3.)

Next, in Class II verbs, the slightly elongated form *-aːˁu* follows person markers yielding sequences like *-d-aːˁu* for first person, *-n-aːˁu* for second person, and *-g-aːˁu* for third person. Finally, in non-mutating Class I verbs, the modern realis negative marker includes *-d* as part of the negative sequence – *-daːˁu* for all persons (as in 185a–f). Mutation is part of the history of negation and occurs in both the simple and in the more elaborated forms of the morpheme.[27]

Following is a negative–realis paradigm for mutating verbs (illustrating the simplest of the negative suffixes):

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[27]   See footnote 26.

(187) a. tsi   tʃ-aːˤ-u   <   tʃ-aGˤ-u
           I   1-go:IRR-NEG
           'I did not go.'

       b. tok   ts-id-aːˤu
           we   1-go:PL-IRR:NEG
           'We did not go.'

       c. nu   ɲ-aːˤ-u   <   ɲ-aGˤ-u
           you   2-go:IRR-NEG
           'You did not go.'

       d. nok   n-id-aːˤu
           you.pl 2-go:PL-IRR:NEG
           'You [pl] did not go.'

       e. gina   d-aːˤ-i   <   d-aGˤ-i
           he/she go-IRR-NEG
           'He/she did not go.'

Unlike the non-mutating verbs, here we see a distinction between the singular and plural forms of the negative – distinct plural forms occur in (187b) and (187d). Parsing the forms, however, is far from transparent. From (141) we saw that the plural forms for 'go' involve a vowel change in the verb root from *ə* to *i*. We also saw from (150–152) that plurality is regularly marked by *-da*. In (187b) and (187d) both processes occur – thus *-id-* is glossed as 'go:PL'.

Note, too, that the negative in third person uses an *-i* suffix in place of the *-u* suffix. The negative *-i* occurs also in other persons, but it seems to be more prevalent in third person contexts. We do not know if there is an implied semantic distinction between *-i* and *-u*. This problem will require more study. One possibility that suggests itself is that *-i* and *-u* are somehow related to the existential and locative copulas (see §6.1). There may be evidential distinctions here.

5.5.4.4. Negative irrealis

Negative irrealis-assertion is marked by a suffix *-wa*, as in (188) and (189) below. This *-wa* is very likely related to the negative *-u* discussed immediately above. Negative irrealis-assertions can arise either from low probability or, in the case of first person, from refusal, as in the following examples:

(188) CLASS I:
       a. tsi   ts-ip-wa
           I   1-sleep-NEG:IRR
           'I won't sleep.'

       b. tsi   t-əm-wa
           I   1-eat-NEG:IRR
           'I won't eat it.'

(189) CLASS II:
       a. tsi   a-d-u-wa
           I   make-1-IRR-NEG
           'I won't make it.'

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b. nu   a-n-u-wa
you   make-2-IRR-NEG
'You won't make it.'

It should be mentioned that the irrealis negative morpheme *-wa* is often contracted to *-u*, sometimes giving rise to potential ambiguities, as in:

(190)   a. tsi t-ug-u   b. tsi t-ug-u   < t-ug-wa
I   1-come-IRR   I   1-come-NEG:IRR
'I will go.'   'I won't go.'

There is also a possibility that *-wa* is a bimorphemic sequence (< *-u-a), with *-u* the negative, and *-a* some, as yet, undiscovered morpheme. Recall that historically *-u* has been posited as the negative morpheme in (187) (see the discussion surrounding those examples).

• *Refusal*. Negatives with a strong component of "refusal" sometimes mark the pronoun twice on the verb – the old prefixed form and a newer suffixed form, as in:

(191)   tsi   t-əm-wa-tsi
I   1-eat-NEG:IRR-1
'I won't eat it.'

5.5.4.5.   Negative perfect

Another aspectual category is the negative perfect, translated as 'not yet.' It is formed by suffixing a pronominal copy at the end of the realis negative verb, as in:

(192)   a. tsi t-əm-daːʕu-tsi
I   1-eat-REAL:NEG-1S
'I haven't eaten yet.'

b. tok   t-əm-daːʕu-tok
we   1-eat-REAL:NEG-1P
'We haven't eaten yet.'

c. nu   n-əm-daːʕu-nu
you 2-eat-REAL:NEG-2S
'You haven't eaten yet.'

The same construction can also convey a sense of negative habitual:

(193)   numba   amba   t-əm-daːʕu-tok
cow   meat   1-eat-REAL:NEG-1P
'We don't eat cow meat.'

5.5.5.   Imperatives

There are a large number of irregular, suppletive forms for marking the imperative, especially in old, high frequency verbs (e.g. see (197)), and each has to be learned separately. Still, most verbs follow regular patterns and we will deal with those first.

5.5.5.1.   Intransitive imperative

The regular marker for the imperative in intransitive verbs is the suffix *-to*, varying

with -*do*. In fact, the suffix occurs also with verbs that one would expect to be transitive. Following are examples of -*to* (-*do*) on intransitive verbs:

(194)   a. ip-to   'Sleep!'
            b. oɢ^{ʕ}-do   'Die!'
            c. bem-to   'Fall!'
            d. hyoq-to   'Hide!'
            e. bəl-to   'Descend / Come down!'
            f. limi-to   'Dance!'
            g. dzoq-to   'Swim / Get wet!'
            h. tul-to   'Dress (yourself)!'
            i. sip-to   'Enter!'
            j. pʰu-to   'Jump!'
            k. yuŋ-to   'Lie down!'
            l. libũ-to   'Play!'
            m. nuŋ-to   'Get up!'
            n. dʰuŋ-to   'Stand!'
            o. byoŋ-to   'Squat!'
            p. dzʰəm-to   'Weep!'
            q. pʰep-to   'Drop!'
            r. hu.u-do   'Fly!'

• *Nasal allomorph* -*no*. Where the verb root ends in a uvular nasal consonant, the form of the imperative is -*no*, as in the following:

(195)   a. hãɴ^{ʕ}-no   'Sit!'
            b. gãɴ^{ʕ}-no   'Look!'

Some verbs which seem to be transitive in force also take the intransitive imperative marker (as in (195b) 'look'). Another such verb is 'to climb, mount,' as in *soq-to* 'Climb!' In the case frame of this verb, however, the thing climbed is marked for locative case, not as an object, as in:

(196)   tsi-hũkui-da   yi-gə   soq-indzi
          1S-child-ACC   tree-ON   climb-let
          'Let my child climb in the tree.'

Another two verbs that are transitive in force but intransitive in morphology are the verbs 'to beg,' the imperative of which is – *ai-to* 'Beg!' – and 'to fight.' In both cases, the notional object is marked with the comitative morpheme: 'to beg *with* someone' and 'to fight *with* someone.' Apparently, verbs without a fully affected object are both semantically *and* morphologically "less than transitive" (Hopper & Thompson 1980).

Other verbs which might be expected to take transitive morphology are the verbs 'to eat' and 'to wait.' Their imperatives, however, are formed by -*to*: *am-to*[28] 'Eat!' and *ɲaq-to* 'Wait!' It may be that these two verbs are ambitransitive, though we lack the data to make that claim. More difficult verbs to "explain" are *kham-to* 'Bite!' and *oɢ*^{ʕ}-*to* 'Set it aside!'

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[28] The imperative of 'eat' is also *am*, a bare root without affixation.

• *Irregular and suppletive forms.* There are several imperatives formed by irregular or suppletive conjugation. Among them are the following:

(197) 1ST PERSON FORM   IMPERATIVE FORM   VERB GLOSS
  a. ts-oˤN-ən   qon   'Drink!'
  b. ts-i-di   əiga   'Bring!' / 'Fetch!'
  c. t-ug-un   əga   'Come!'
  d. ts-əg-ən   da   'Go!'
  e. t-əm-ən   am   'Eat!'

In (197a), the form *qon*, compared to the rest of the paradigm, is unrecognizable: *tsoˤNən* 'I drank'; *noˤNən* 'You drank'; *goˤNən* 'He/she drank.' For (197b), the regular conjugated forms have *i-* as a root, as in: *ts-i-di* 'I brought it'; *n-i-di* 'You brought it'; *g-i-di* 'He/she brought it.' For (197c), the regular conjugated forms have *ug-* as a root, as in: *t-ug-un* 'I came'; *n-ug-un* 'You came'; *ug-ən* 'He/she came.' In (197d), the 'd' element in the imperative form *da* surfaces only in some third person forms, as in: *ts-əg-ən* 'I went'; *n-əg-ən* 'You went'; *d̲-əg-ən* 'He/she went.' Apart from the shared 'd' in third person forms, the imperative occurs in an unrecognizable form. Finally, in (197e) the imperative takes almost the same form as the bare verb root.

5.5.5.2. *Transitive imperatives*

Transitive imperatives are much more regular than their intransitive counterparts. Most transitive imperatives are fashioned after the imperative of the verb 'to make, to do,' whose root form is *ə-* or *a-*. The morpheme *ə-go* transfers across to (almost) all transitive imperatives, as in the following sample:

(198) a. bem ə-go   'Trip him!'
  b. pumba ə-go   'Beat him!'
  c. dãba ə-go   'Find it!'
  d. kisa ə-go   'Cut it!'
  e. unda ə-go   'Show it!'
  f. habə ə-go   'Roast it!'
  g. təmbə ə-go   'Send it!'
  h. borlə ə-go   'Boil it!'
  i. dzaː ə-go   'Buy it!'
  j. abi ə-go   'Carry it!'
  k. toba ə-go   'Sew it!'

Because most transitive verbs take the syntactic form of a "light verb" (i.e. some nominal notion plus the semantically empty verb 'to do'), many such verbs are intransitive in force, as in the following:

(199) a. imba ə-go   'Think!'
  b. nikʰe ə-go   'Laugh!'
  c. lolə ə-go   'Cry out!'
  d. yaŋ ə-go   'Defecate!'
  e. an ə-go   'Urinate!'

An exception to the generalization that transitive imperatives are fashioned after the verb 'to do' is in the case of Class I verbs – those with prefixed person marking. In such cases the imperative verb is conjugated for second person. This phenomenon is

much more common in intransitive verbs, as can be seen in §5.5.6.1. We have a single example in transitive verbs:

(200)   n-ukan[29]   'Know it!' / 'Figure it out!'

5.5.6.   Prohibitives

Prohibitives, both transitive and intransitive, are marked by the suffix *-in* (allomorphs *-en*, *-ən*, *-yin*) following the verb root. As with imperatives, most (but not all) transitive prohibitives are built on the prohibitive form of the verb 'to do, make' – *ə-yin* 'Don't do it!' Following are examples:

(201)   a.   bem ə-yin   'Don't trip him!'
         b.   pumba ə-yin   'Don't beat him!'
         c.   dãba ə-yin   'Don't allow it!'
         d.   kisa ə-yin   'Don't cut it!'
         e.   unda ə-yin   'Don't show it!'
         f.   habə ə-yin   'Don't roast it!'

5.5.6.1.   Intransitive and transitive Class I prohibitives

Intransitive prohibitives and Class I prohibitives are simpler than those illustrated in (201) in that they occur without the "helping" verb 'to do, make.' In addition, with Class I verbs (see (202–203)), the root is preceded by the second person pronominal prefix *n-*. (Note that the pronominal prefix also occurs potentially on transitive imperatives, though only a single example has been found – 'Know it!' (see (200).)

(202)   CLASS I INTRANSITIVES (includes pronominal prefix):
         a.   n-ip-in
              2-sleep-PROH   'Don't sleep!'

         b.   n-oɢˤ-ən
              2-die-PROH   'Don't die!'

(203)   CLASS I TRANSITIVES (includes pronominal prefix):
         a.   n-im-in
              2-forget-PROH   'Don't forget it!'

         b.   n-əm-in
              2-eat-PROH   'Don't eat it!'

         c.   ɲ-aɴˤ-yin
              2-look-PROH   'Don't look at it!'

(204)   CLASS II INTRANSITIVES (without pronominal prefix):
         a.   bem-in
              fall-PROH   'Don't fall!'

         b.   ɸhu-yin
              jump-PROH   'Don't jump!'

A strange alternative set is available for the forms in (202) which, on the surface,

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[29]   This form is identical with second person realis *n-uk-an* (2-know-REAL). First person realis is *t-ukan*, and third person *ukan-dzi*.

appear to include the first person affix *-tsi*. Could this possible mean something like 'I say to you, don't sleep!'? If not, *-tsi* marks some unknown category:

(205)   CLASS I INTRANSITIVES (alternative pattern from (202)):

a. n-ip-tsi-n
    2-sleep-1-PROH   'Don't sleep!'

b. n-oɢˤ-tsi-n
    2-die-1-PROH   'Don't die!'

5.5.6.2.   *Verbs that participate in both* -in *and* ə-yin *prohibitive*

Some verbs are capable of taking either the *-in* prohibitive or the prohibitive *ə-yin* based on the verb 'to do.' In the majority of cases, this makes for an intransitive/transitive difference, as in: *bem-in* 'Don't fall!' vs. *bem ə-yin* 'Don't make him fall!' (See §9.2 on *Periphrastic causatives*.)

The verbs that concern us here, however, are those which take either ending without a perceptible difference in meaning. Following are examples:

(206)   a. n-oɢˤ-ən / n-oɢˤ ə-yin   'Don't die!'
            b. n-oˤN-ən / nõˤN ə-yin   'Don't drink!'
            c. pumba-n-in / pumba ə-yin 'Don't beat him!'
            d. hab-en / habə ə-yin   'Don't roast it!'
            e. tsim-in / tsimə ə-yin   'Don't touch it!'

Further research may reveal varying levels of transitivity or even levels of intentionality in such verb pairs.

5.5.7.   *Hortatives and optatives*

The "hortative" and "optative" in Kusunda specify similar semantic notions, differing primarily in the person involved in the predication. The hortative is a kind of first person imperative expressing notions like 'Let's go!' whereas the optative is a kind of third person imperative expressing a notion of 'Let him go!' or 'May he go!'

5.5.7.1.   *Hortative*

Our understanding of the hortative in Kusunda is still tentative. Part of the problem is due to a close similarity in form between hortatives and first person past forms. In Class I verbs, i.e. those with prefixed person marking, there is generally a defective or poorly developed past perfective marking (sometimes missing altogether). Recall from examples like (163–165) that past marking is characterized by *-d-i* 'first person,' *-n-i* 'second person,' and *-g-i* 'third person.' In verbs *without* the past distinction (some of the Class I verbs) there is only a realis–irrealis distinction. It is in precisely these cases that *-di* marks hortative, not first person past.

Thus, with a Class I verb like 'eat,' realis and irrealis forms occur predictably as follows, paralleling the forms for 'beat':

(207)   Class I - EAT   Class II - BEAT
         REALIS:
         a. t-əm-ən   pumba-d-ṇ   'I eat.' / 'I beat.'
         b. t-əm-da-n   pumba-də-n   'We eat.' / 'We beat.'
         c. n-əm-ən   pumba-n-ṇ   'You eat.' / 'You beat.'

d.	n-əm-da-n	pumba-nə-n	'You [pl] eat.' / 'You [pl] beat.'
e.	g-əm-ən	pumba-g-ən	'He/she eats.' / 'He/she beats.'
f.	g-əm-da-n	pumba-g-ən	'They eat.' / 'They beat.'

(208)   IRREALIS:

a.	t-əm-du	pumba-d-u	'I will eat.' / 'I will beat.'
b.	t-əm-da-k	pumba-də-k	'We will eat.' / 'We will beat.'
c.	n-əm-du	pumba-n-u	'You will eat.' / 'You will beat.'
d.	n-əm-da-k	pumba-nə-k	'You [pl] will eat / beat.'
e.	g-əm-du	pumba-g-u	'He/she will eat.' / 'He/she will beat.'
f.	g-əm-da-k	pumba-gə-k	'They will eat.' / 'They will beat.'

In the past paradigm, however, Class I forms are defective – i.e. *-di* and *-dei* mark singular and plural hortatives, not past tense:

(209)   Class I - EAT   Class II - BEAT
PAST:

a.	t-əm-di	pumba-d-i	'Let me eat!' / 'I beat.'
b.	t-əm-dəi	pumba-d-əi	'Let's eat!' / 'We beat.'
c.		pumba-n-i	'You beat.'
d.		pumba-n-əi	'You [pl] beat.'
e.		pumba-g-i	'He/she beats.'
f.		pumba-g-əi	'They beat.'

Forms *-di* and *-dəi* (209a–b) mark the hortative in Class I, but past tense in Class II. Furthermore, the forms expected in (209c–f) are generally missing from Class I, though there appears to be some confusion on that count. Gyani Maiya and Kamala are in disagreement on whether a form *n-əm-di* is possible – Gyani Maiya says "yes" (as a past tense); Kamala says "no". The analogy between Class I hortative and Class II past tense apparently confuses them. Though the forms *n-əm-di* and *g-əm-di* have a familiar ring to them, they are unsure about their grammaticality and where to place them.

A question arises as to how the hortative is marked in Class II verbs. Unfortunately, our notes are sketchy and inconsistent on this matter and we cannot give a definitive answer. For some verbs we have homophonous forms for the hortative and first person past:

(210)

a.	a-d-i	'I made it.' / 'Let me make it!'
b.	e-d-i	'I gave it.' / 'Let me give it!'
c.	dzaː-d-i	'I bought it.' / 'Let me buy it!'
d.	tsimə-d-i	'I touched it.' / 'Let me touch it!'

For other verbs we have the homophonous form *plus* a disambiguated form that makes use of the Class I hortative form of the verb 'get, go get, fetch':

(211)   a.   pumba-di / -d-i
             beat-HORT / -1-PAST   'Let me beat it!' / 'I beat it.'

         b.   pumba   ts-i-di
             beat   1-get-HORT   'Let me (go/get) beat it!'

The grammaticalization of a hortative from verbs like 'come,' 'go,' and 'get' is not unusual and has been reported in numerous languages (see Aikhenvald forthcoming: on

Origins of imperatives). What *is* unusual is a formal similarity between past tense and hortative. In the languages surrounding Kusunda, and following universal expectations, the hortative has formal ties to future tense.

5.5.7.2. Optative

• *Optative in Class I verbs*. The optative, especially in Class I verbs, has a paradigmatic relationship to the imperative. The negative imperative (the prohibitive), for example, employs the second person prefix *n-*, whereas the optative (either the negative, positive, or both) employs the third person prefix *g-*. Apart from this simple generalization, the paradigm is very irregular. Following are examples:

(212)

		PROHIBITIVE	OPTATIVE
a.	'go'	n-iw-ən	g-ya
b.	'come'	n-ug-in	g-u-ya
c.	'die'	n-oɢˤ-ən	g-oɢˤ-ya
d.	'sleep'	n-ip-in	g-ip-da
e.	'drink'	n-õɴˤ-əni	g-oɴˤ-na
f.	'put'	??	g-oɢˤ-ta
g.	'see'	ɳ-ãː-yin	g-ãɴˤ-na

Notice here, too, that Class I verbs, whether transitive or intransitive, follow similar conjugational patterns. Class II verbs, mostly transitive, are the ones that diverge.

There are also negative optatives in our data set (as in 'Let him not go'), but generally they are so confused and incomplete that we will not attempt to present them here, except to say that some of them appear to take the prohibitive suffix *-in*, and others the irrealis negative suffix *-wa*:

(213)

		POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
a.	'go'	g-ya	də-wə
b.	'sleep'	g-ip-da	ip-d-wa
c.	'die'	g-oɢˤ-ya	oɢˤ-wa
		---	
d.	'come'	g-u-ya	g-u-yin
e.	'eat'	g-əm-ə	g-əm-in

Our data is insufficient to make any predictions, but it is interesting to note that negative *-wa* occurs only in the absence of third person *g-*. Wherever *g-* occurs, the negative suffix used is the prohibitive *-in*.

• *Optative in Class II verbs*. The most regular optative forms are those for Class II transitive verbs, i.e. those patterned after the verb 'to do, make.' Recall that such verbs were also very regular in the imperative, empoying the suffix *ə-go* 'Do it!' / 'Make it!' (see examples in (198)). Here the suffix empoyed is *-əge*, fashioned after the optative form of 'do': *ə-ge* 'May he do it!' Following are examples:

(214)

		IMPERATIVE	OPTATIVE
a.	'do, make'	ə-go	ə-ge
b.	'give'	e-go	e-ge
c.	'beat'	pumba əgo	pumba əge
d.	'buy'	dzaː əgo	dzaː əge
e.	'carry'	abi əgo	abi əge

f.	'cook'	holə əgo	holə əge
g.	'find'	dãbə əgo	dãbə əge
h.	'hear'	məbə əgo	məbə əge
i.	'kill'	oGˤda əgo	oGˤda əge
j.	'roast'	habə əgo	habə əge

There is some confusion about another optative form *-gya* that occurs on the verb 'to be, to become,' as in: *ə-gya* 'Let it be!' The form occurs erratically on other intransitive verbs as well, which might suggest that this is an intransitive form. Among them are *lim-gya* 'Let him dance!'; *bəl-gya* 'Let him descend!'; *sip-gya* 'Let him enter!'; and *dziu-gya* 'Let it leak!' Significantly, however, the form occurs just as frequently on transitive verbs, as in *kisə-gya* 'Let him cut it!'; and *tsimən-gya* 'Let him touch it!.' Are we dealing here with a transcription error, with *əgya* being the same form as *əge*? Probably not.

Interestingly, the form, wherever it occurs, is almost always transcribed without the intervening schwa: *-gya*, but not *ə-gya*. Given further that the optative form of the verb 'to go' is *g-ya*, with *g-* being separable as a third person prefix (which, as we saw earlier, occurs in the optative form of all Class I verbs; see (212)), it is probable that we are looking at a grammaticalized verb 'go' tacked on as a suffix as in: *hui-gya* 'Let it go fly!'; *məbə-gya* 'Let him go hear!'[30] (We also saw in (211b) that 'go/get' is used as a basis for some hortative constructions.)

Assuming that our analysis is correct, and that *-gya* is a 'go' optative, we are left with a residue of intransitive verbs that form the optative with the suffix *-ta* (allomorphs *-da* and *-na*), or *-ya*. This is analogous to the intransitive imperative formed by the suffix *-to* (allomorphs *-do* and *-no* in the same environments as optative *-da* and *-na*) and fits our analysis well. Following are examples:

(215)			IMPERATIVE	OPTATIVE
	a.	'be afraid'	kʰai-to	kʰai-da
	b.	'die'	oGˤ-do	goGˤ-ya
	c.	'dress, wear'	tul-to	tul-ya
	d.	'fall'	bem-to	bem-ta, bem-ya
	e.	'hide'	hyoq-to	hyoq-ta
	f.	'see'	gãɴˤ-no	gãɴˤ-na
	g.	'sleep'	ip-to	gip-ta
	h.	'squat, sit'	byoŋ-to	byoŋ-da
	i.	'weep'	dzʰəm-to	dzʰəm-ta, dzʰəm-ya

5.6.   Adverbs

There are several heterogeneous classes of words traditionally called adverbs that have in common that they modify events or states (i.e. verbs or adjectives). The more traditional ones are relatable to question words like 'how,' 'where,' 'when,' and 'how many' as adverbs of 'manner,' 'place,' 'time,' and 'quantity' respectively, and will be organized as such here.

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[30]   It is possible, even likely, that the source for the transitive Class II opative *-əge*, too, is based on the optative form of 'go.'

In our current data set we do not have *hui-da* 'Let it fly!' or *məbə əge* 'Let him hear!' If we could confirm these kinds of forms our analysis would be on safer ground.

5.6.1.   Adverbs of manner

Two adverbs of manner that are generic are based on 'this' and 'that' and combine with the 'make' verb root to form pro-forms – 'in this manner,' and 'in that manner':

(216)   a.   ai ədi   'doing like this'
         b.   gin ədi   'doing like that'

Other adverbs of manner have to do with the relative speed in which an event occurs, as in the following:

(217)   a.   məstəmə   'slowly'
         b.   məlaŋ   'tardily'
         c.   siba   'fast, quickly'

Others adverbs refer to the associative aspect of the referents performing the action:

(218)   a.   myaqa   'alone'
         b.   qaɢˤtse   'together'

Still others adverbs of manner answer questions about an event's level of certainty or necessity, and if the event did not occur, about the margin of possibility by which it failed to occur, as in:

(219)   a.   REALIS:
              kəpʰera   'again'

         b.   IRREALIS:
              hunko   'almost'

5.6.2.   Adverbs of time

Adverbs of time are broader in scope that manner adverbs, and characterize entire events, as in: *Yesterday, Prem Bahadur went to the forest*. In the following examples, we list them in broad semantic domains, though it must be pointed out that the different domains have no significance or relevance in grammatical terms:

(220)   DAYS:
              təina, təndin   'today'
              goraq   'tomorrow'
              qoturaq   'day after tomorrow'
              pyana, pene   'yesterday'
              toɢˤon   'day before yesterday'

(221)   TIME WITHIN A DAY:
              deosi   'later today'
              goradze   'morning, early'
              isi, iskin   'evening'
              oNˤtsə   'afternoon'

(222)   YEARS:
              təinan bəsə   'this year'
              oran bəsə   'next year'
              pyai dəgən bəsə   'last year'

(223)   GENERAL:

səmbaq	'later'
pya	'earlier'
pinda	'before, earlier'
pyai pyai	'long ago'
pinda pinda	'long ago'
yeodze	'in a moment'
dəbaq	'now'
əsae	'always'

5.6.3.   Adverbs of location

Adverbs of location specify the physical location of an event or of its participants, as in: *Kamala sat across from me*. Locative suffixes also specify location or direction, as in 'in the tree' or 'to the house' and were treated in §5.2.2.3. Those listed here are locative postpositions. Locative postpositions were treated more generally in §5.3 as a class of nouns – "relator nouns" – and will not be repeated here.

We will add here two other adverbs – adverbs of relative distance – that are somewhat different from physical location:

(224)   a.   hũtu   'far'
            b.   istə   'near'

5.6.4.   Adverbs of quantity

Following are examples of adverbs of quantity:

(225)   a.   godzaŋ   'few'
            b.   mənni   'many'
            c.   hũku hũku   'a little bit'
            d.   swəttəi   'all'
            e.   məta, mə   'only'

6. Basic clause types

Basic clause types in Kusunda are 1) verbless equative constructions, 2) existential and locative copular constructions, and 3) intransitive, transitive, and bitransitive constructions. In §5.5 we have already noted several distinctions between transitive and intransitive verbs, but in this section we will attempt to summarize and bring together all the salient features that serve to define them.

6.1. Copular constructions

There are three basic copular constructions in Kusunda: a verbless equative, an existential copula, and a locative copula.

6.1.1. Equative clauses

The equative clause is most commonly expressed without a copula (though, as we shall see, an infrequently used equative copula does exist). The construction is formed by the juxtaposition of two noun phrases (NPs) without grammatical case marking. The first NP in the sequence is the copula subject and the final NP is the copula complement. The order of the elements has grammatical implications – the subject is the presupposed, topical element, and the complement functions as the predicator, as in the following:

(226) a. nəti   na
         what   this
         'What is this?'

      b. na   gimi   tsi-yi
         this   money   I-GEN
         'This money is mine.'

      c. gina   kələm   nəti-ye
         that   pen   who-GEN
         'That pen is whose?'

      d. na   tsi   kila-d-ṇ   gimi
         this I   steal-1-REAL   money
         'This is money that I stole.'

      e. nu   məbə-n-i   gipən   nətṇ
         you   hear-2-PAST   talk   what
         'What is the matter/talk you heard?'

A reordering of elements in any of these equative clauses makes for a slight difference in meaning. A reording of (226d), for example, yields *tsi kila-d-ṇ gimi = na* [I steal-1-REAL money = this] 'The money I stole is this,' in which 'this' is the predicator.

6.1.1.1 Negative equative

The negative equative copula is *odoq*, which can occur virtually anywhere the zero copula occurs. The negative of (226b) and (226d), for example, is as follows:

(227) a. na   gimi   tsi-yi   <u>odoq</u>
         this   money   I-GEN   is.not
         'This money is not mine.'

    b. na   tsi   kila-d-ŋ   gimi   <u>odoq</u>
         this I   steal-1-REAL money is.not
         'This is not money that I stole.'

We have recorded a few cases in which the equative copula (Ø or *odoq*) occurs with adjectives, an environment in which one might expect the "predicate adjective" copula. Of course, the predicate adjective copula *does* occur in this environment (as in *na pʰurluŋ <u>tsu</u>* 'This is red'; see example (237a) below), but where the equative occurs, the implication is that one particular item is chosen from among many as having the relevant feature – '*This* one is long' or 'This is the long one.' In effect, the adjective is rendered as a nominal. This is similar to what occurs in Nepali and other languages of the region, like Kham. In Kusunda, however, because the positive construction is verbless, it is more difficult to determine the correct interpretation in that context:

(228)   a. na   liŋwa   Ø
           this heavy   (copula)
           'This one is heavy' / 'This is the heavy one.'

        b. na   ləŋka odoq
           this long   is.not
           'This one is not long' / 'This is not the long one.'

There is still a possibility that we have interpreted (228a) incorrectly. Perhaps adjectives are "verbal" enough in their semantics that they can be used as simple predicators, in which case (228a) should be interpreted to mean 'This is heavy.' Given, however, that the negative equative is possible here, we are assuming that the adjective in the verbless construction, too, is functioning as a nominal.

6.1.1.2 An equative copula

There is an equative copula *bət*, which is in some ways the positive counterpart of the negative equative described above. However, the copula *bət* occurs only rarely, and there may be pragmatic constraints on its use. Following are examples:

(229)   a. tsi <u>bət</u>
           I   equative
           'It's me.'

        b. tsi moŋ <u>bət</u>
           I   king equative
           'I am the king.'

        c. ta   hol-di   amba   <u>bət</u>
           this cook-ADJ meat   equative
           'This is cooked meat.'

Note that in (229b) the implication is similar to what we described for (228a) – the referent is singled out from among many – 'I am the one who is king,' not just 'I am a king.' Likewise, the equative copula *bət* can also occur with adjectives, in which case the adjective functions as a nominal:

(230)   tsi   hũkui   <u>bət</u>
         I   small   equative
          'I am a small/unimportant (person).' / Not *I am small.

We are unaware of any tense distinctions for this copula or for the Ø equative copula.

6.1.2   Existential copula

The existential copula is *tsu* in the positive and *kʰaːˤu* in the negative. It does not conjugate for person, number, or for tense (that we are aware of), although there are some limited aspectual notions supported by it. The same copulas (positive and negative) used for existential senses are also used in predicate adjective constructions.

6.1.2.1   Existence

It is important to distinguish in Kusunda the difference between "existence in a location" and "location." The former expresses that something exists in a given location, like 'In the tree is a monkey,' whereas the latter focuses on the actual location of a given referent, as in 'The monkey is in the tree.' The existential copula is used primarily to express the former – existence in a location. Pure existence, as in any language, is rare in Kusunda:

(231)   a.   tsi-əi   tsu
                my-father   exist
                'My father is' / 'My father is living' / 'I have a father.'

         b.   wu   tsi-əi   tsu
                home   my-father   exist
                'My father is (at) home.'

         c.   yi-gə   haɢˤo   tsu
                tree-IN   monkey   exist
                'In the tree is a monkey' / 'There is a monkey in the tree.'

         d.   tu   dukʰu   tsu
                snake   two   exist
                'There are two snakes.'
                (*tsi* would mean 'Two snakes are there' / 'There are two snakes there')

6.1.2.2   Negative existential

The negative existential is *kʰaːˤu*. We noted earlier (see the discussion following example (74) and §5.5.4.1) that the actual negative sequence is *-aːˤu*, with pharyngealization on the first vowel and falling-rising pitch on the full sequence. This suggests that the original negative sequence is something like *-aɢˤu*, with *kh-aɢˤu* as the negative existential. This leaves *kh-* as the negative existential verb root, a suppletive form with no apparent relationship to *tsu*. Following are examples:

(232)   a.   taŋ   tsu
                water   exist
                'There is water.'

         a.   taŋ   kʰ-aːˤu   <   kʰ-aɢˤu
                water   neg.exist-not
                'There is no water.'

6.1.2.3   Possession

As reflected in the glosses in (231a) pure existence is rare, and used in conjunction with possessive clauses, the interpretation is one of possession – 'I have a father' (though the literal translation is 'My father is'). Following are examples of typical possessive clauses:

(233)   a.   tsi-hũkui   dahat   tsu
            my-small   three   exist
            'I have three children.' (lit. 'my little ones three exist')

    b.   nu-ma   əsi   tsu?
            you-WITH   how.many   exist
            'How many do you have?' (lit. 'with you how many exist?')

    c.   tsi-ma   qasti   tsu
            I-WITH   one   exist
            'I have one.' (lit. 'with me one exists')

Negative possession uses the same negative existential verb that we saw earlier – $k^ha:^ʕu$. Following is an example:

(234)   tsi-hũkui   qasti   bə $k^ha:^ʕu$
          my-little   one   even   is.not
          'I don't have even one child.'

6.1.2.4   Dative subject constructions

In "dative subject constructions" feelings/emotions/pain are construed as existing 'to' a referent, as in 'Hunger is to me.' In terms of syntax, the construction is similar to the possessive clause construction, the major difference being in the marking of the topical argument – 'with me' in possessive clauses, and 'to me' in dative clauses.

(235)   tən-da   idaŋ   tsu
          me-DAT   hunger   exist
          'I am hungry.' (lit. 'hunger is to me')

The negative uses the same existential negative $k^ha:^ʕu$ that we saw earlier:

(236)   tən-da   idaŋ $k^ha:^ʕu$
          me-DAT   hunger   is.not
          'I am not hungry.' (lit. 'hunger is not to me')

6.1.2.5   Predicate adjective

The "predicate adjective" construction – 'He is tall,' 'I am big,' etc. – predicates adjectival notions through the help of the existential copula *tsu*, as in:

(237)   a.   na p^hurluŋ   tsu
            this   red   is
            'This is red.'

    b.   tsi-hũkui   liŋwa   tsu
            my-small   heavy   is
            'My child is heavy.'

The negative uses the same existential negative $k^ha:^Su$ we saw earlier:

    c. tsi-hũkui   liŋwa $k^ha:^Su$
       my-small   heavy   is.not
       'My child is not heavy.'

    d. ben   amba   olaŋ $k^ha:^Su$
       raw   meat   tasty   is.not
       'Raw meat is not tasty.'

The predicate adjective construction is also used to predicate attributes designated by "participles" (here partially-finite adnominals), as in the following:

(238)   a. suta b^həra-q-ṇ   tsu
             string   break-AC-REAL   is
             'The string is broken.'

          b. kəre   kəla-q-ṇ   lan   tsu
             pot   break-AC-REAL   like   is
             'The pot is about to break.' (lit. 'is like it will break')

As shown in (228a), the adjective can occur also without the copula, in which case it is interpreted as a nominal in an equative clause – 'I am a small person.' (See also (230).)

6.1.3   *Locational copula*

The locational copula is used to predicate the location of a referent – it is in such and such a place. It differs from the existential copula, in that the latter expresses that the referent exists, whether explicitly in a place or not.

The locational copula is *tsi* in the positive and $k^ha:^Si$ in the negative. Recall that the negative existential was $k^ha:^Su$. Contrasting $k^ha:^Su$ with $k^ha:^Si$ we have further evidence that the sequences were originally tri-morphemic – k^h-aG^S-u versus k^h-aG^S-i. Following are examples:

(239)   POSITIVE:
        a. tsi tsi
           I   loc.copula   'I am (here).'

        b. tsi təisa   tsi
           I   here   loc.copula   'I am here.'

        c. nu   tsi?
           you   loc.copula   'Are you (there)?'

        d. nu   isna   tsi?
           you   there   loc.copula   'Are you there?'

(240)   NEGATIVE:
        a. haG^So   yi-gə $k^ha:^Si$
           monkey   tree-LOC   loc.neg
           'The monkey is not (located) in the tree.'

b. gina   kʰaːˤi
he/she   loc.neg
'He is not (there).'

Notice that sentences (239a) and (239b) are very nearly synonymous, as are (239c) and (239d). What is implied in sentence (a) and (c) is made explicit by a locative adverb in (b) and (d). Notice, too, how this copula contrasts with the existential copula. Following are contrastive examples:

(241)   a.   EXISTENTIAL:
yi-gə   haɢˤo   tsu
tree-LOC monkey   exist
'In the tree is a monkey.' / 'There is a monkey in the tree.'

        b.   LOCATIONAL:
haɢˤo   yi-gə   tsi
monkey   tree-LOC   loc.copula
'The monkey is in the tree.'

In §5.2.2.4, example (124), we saw that in possessive clauses marked by the comitative *-ma* 'with,' both existential and locational locatives can be used felicitously. Where the existential is used the assertion is concerned with the *existence* of the item; where the locational is used the assertion is concerned with the *location* of the item:

(242)   a.   EXISTENTIAL POSSESSIVE:
tsi-ma   gimi   tsu
I-WITH   money   exist
'I have some money on me.' (lit. 'money exists with me.')

        b.   LOCATIONAL POSSESSIVE:
tsi-ma   gimi   tsi
I-WITH   money   loc.copula
'I have money.' (lit. 'money is located with me.')

6.1.4   *The inchoative and the causative*

The inchoative and the causative are treated here as subtypes of copular constructions because 1) they serve frequently as verbs in "light verb" constructions (i.e. where the real predication is done by a nominal and the verb is semantically empty), 2) they have an intransitive–transitive paradigmatic relationship to one another, and 3) they form the basis for verbal conjugation in "non-inflecting verbs" (see §5.5.1.2). Following are some light verb constructions, all transitive, and all of which utilize the verb 'to do,' as in the following:

(243)   a.   pəidzi   bunə   ə-g-ən
cloth   weave   do-3-REAL
'She is weaving cloth.' (lit. 'does weaving')

        b.   tap   gimi   gwa   ə-g-ən
chicken   female   egg   do-3-REAL
'The hen layed an egg.' (lit. 'did an egg')

c. tsi duŋdzi a-d-i
  I drum do-1-PAST
  'I beat the drum.'

There is some question about whether there is a phonological distinction between the inchoative 'become' and the causative 'make.' Under careful articulation we recorded distinct paradigms, but on the following day our informants would often give either interpretation for either paradigm. There may be a single ambi-transitive verb with the interpretation based on pragmatics. It is difficult to say at this stage. Nevertheless, we give here two separate paradigms:

(244) <u>INCHOATIVE</u> ('become') <u>CAUSATIVE</u> ('make')

a. PAST:

	INCHOATIVE		CAUSATIVE
1s	ə-d-i	1s	a-d-i
1p	ə-də-i	1p	a-də-i
2s	ə-n-i	2s	a-n-i
2p	ə-nə-i	2p	a-nə-i
3s	ə-g-i	3s	a-g-i
3p	ə-gə-i	3p	a-gə-i

b. REALIS:

	INCHOATIVE		CAUSATIVE
1s	ə-ni-n, ə-nə-n, ə-ni	1s	a-t-ṇ
1p		1p	a-də-n
2s		2s	a-n-ṇ
2p		2p	a-nə-n
3s	ə-gi-n, ə-yi-n	3s	ə-gə-n
3p		3p	ə-gə-n

c. IRREALIS:

	INCHOATIVE		CAUSATIVE
1s	ə-d-u	1s	a-d-u
1p	ə-də-i	1p	a-də-k
2s	ə-n-u	2s	a-n-u
2p	ə-nə-k	2p	a-nə-k
3s	ə-g-u	3s	a-g-u
3p	ə-gə-k	3p	a-gə-k

We have a few sentences in our corpus in which there is a clear distinction between "inchoative" and "causative" roots:

(245) tsi moŋ ə-d-u   səhər a-d-u
    I king become-1-IRR:SG city make-1-IRR:SG
    'I will become king and I will make a city.'

The status of the inchoative realis is confusing, with what appears to be a lot of variation, and we can say nothing substantive about it.

As we have shown earlier (see §5.5.1.2), Class II transitive conjugations are patterned after the "causative" paradigm, i.e. based on the auxiliary verb 'to do, make,' as in the following contrastive examples ('do' marks the Class II auxiliary verb root):

(246) a. MAKE (CAUSATIVE)   b. CLASS II TRANSITIVE
         tsi a-t-ṇ   tsi dzoɢˤ-a-t-ṇ
         I   make-1-REAL   I   wet-do-1-REAL
         'I made it.'   'I soaked it.'

       c. CLASS II TRANSITIVE   d. CLASS II TRANSITIVE
         tsi abi-a-t-ṇ   tsi hulə-d-ṇ < hulə a-t-ṇ
         I   carry-do-1-REAL   I   cook-1-REAL
         'I carried it.'   'I cooked it.'

Where the verb root ends in a consonant, (246b), or in a vowel radically different from the first vowel [a] of the causative root 'make,' (246c), the causative root surfaces unscathed – *a-t-ṇ* [make-1-REAL]. Where the verb root ends in [ə] or [a], the two vowels tend to coalesce, as in (246d).

We have a few examples in which the inchoative version of the verb root [ə-] can be used in a kind of "passive" sense, but this is almost expecting too much of the distinction between [ə] and [a] where the distinction is almost non-existent elsewhere. The construction is rare in our corpus and needs more research. Following are examples:

(247) a. tsya   dəbaq   ə̲-g-u
           tea   later   be-3-IRR:SG
           'Tea will be made later.'

       b. tsya   dəbaq   hulə   ə̲-g-u
           tea   later   cook   be-3-IRR:SG
           'Tea will be cooked later.' / 'will cook later'

       c. gina   tsya   dəbaq   hulə   a̲-g-u
           he   tea   later   cook   make-3-IRR:SG
           'He/she will cook tea later.'

The difference between the verb in (247b) *hulə ə̲-g-u* and its active counterpart in (247c) *hulə a̲-g-u* is so minimal that the contrast may depend more on contrastive syntax than anything else – the "passive" version is without an agent.

    • *Benefactive light verb.* The verb 'give' is the prototypical bitranstive verb and forms the basis for some benefactive constructions in Class II verbs. In much the same way that 'do' functions as a transitive marker in Class II verbs, so too 'give' functions as a bitransitive marker for some of the same verbs. The paradigm is identical to the "causative" paradigm given in (244), with the exception that the root is *e-*, not *a-*. Most Class II verb, however, cannot participate in this construction, and we do not yet know what the constraints are. Following are examples (see also §10.2.3.2. example (356):

(248) a. BASE FORM:
           nu   tsi-wi   ukʰə   a-n-i
           you   1S-house   ruin   do-2-PAST
           'You ruined my house.'

       b. BENEFACTIVE FORM:
           nu   tsi-wi   ukʰə   e-n-i
           you   1S-house   ruin   give-2-PAST
           'You ruined my house for me.' (malefactive)

(249) a. BASE FORM:
     ni-ipən   abi   a̱-d-u
     2S-corn carry do-1-IRR:SG
     'I'll carry your corn.'

    b. BENEFACTIVE FORM:
     ni-ipən   abi   e̱-d-u
     2S-corn carry give-1-IRR:SG
     'I'll carry your corn for you.'

There are at least two verbs in the language whose transitive morphology is based on the verb 'to give' (in much the same way that Class II transitive verb conjugations are based on the verb 'do'). This may be because both verbs imply a dative goal – 'write to someone' and 'laugh at someone,' as in the following:

(250) a. tsi haq lekʰ e̱-d-i
     I   letter write give-1-PAST
     'I wrote a letter.'

    b. tok nikʰ   e̱-d-ək
     we laugh give-1-PL:IRR
     'We will laugh (at him).'

6.2 *Intransitive–transitive clauses*

Morphologically, there are few differences between transitive and intransitive verb types. Both are indexed for a single referent – the subject referent. There is no object marking. The major morphological differences for verbs, then, lie in the distinction between Class I and Class II – those with prefixed or suffixed person marking, respectively. We have already seen some of those differences in §5.5.1.1 and §5.5.1.2. The differences have implications for number marking as well (see §5.5.2). For Class I there are both transitive and intransitive verbs, and for Class II there are both transitive and intransitive verbs.

However, though there are no morphological differences between transitive and intransitive Class I verbs, there are minor differences between transitive and intransitive Class II verbs. Thus, in terms of morphological differences, the Class I–Class II distinction is primary, and the transitive–intransitive distinction is secondary. The differences between Class II transitive and Class II intransitive verbs lie in person marking patterns, as shown in Figure 2:

```
              ┌── intrans    ts-                    first person prefix
  ┌─ Class I ─┤              n-                     second person prefix
  │           │              g-                     third person prefix
  │           │
  │           └── trans      ts-                    first person prefix
  │                          n-                     second person prefix
  │                          g-                     third person prefix
  │
  │           ┌── intrans    -(ŋ) / -ts-(in)        first person suffix (+ realis)
  └─ Class II ┤              -(ŋ) / -n-(in)         second person suffix (+ real.)
              │              -dzi / -(ŋ)-dzi        third person suffix (+ realis)
              │
              └── trans      -t-(ŋ)                 first person suffix (+ realis)
                             -n-(ŋ)                 second peron suffix (+ real.)
                             -g-(ən)                third person suffix (+ realis)
```

Figure 2. Person agreement inflections in the Kusunda verb

6.2.1   Intransitive suffixing pattern 1

In the most basic pattern, Class II intransitive verbs are bereft of person marking – the suffix -ŋ shown in Figure 1 is a realis marker; there is no person marker. The distinction between persons lies only in the free pronoun:

(251)   a. FIRST PERSON: b. SECOND PERSON:
             tsi   sip-ṇ   nu   sip-ṇ
             I   enter-REAL   you   enter-REAL
             'I entered.'   'You entered.'

(252)   a. FIRST PERSON: b. SECOND PERSON:
             tsi bəl-ṇ   nu   bəl-ṇ
             I   descend-REAL   you   descend-REAL
             'I descended.'   'You descended.'

6.2.2   Intransitive suffixing pattern 2

In what was probably a later, secondary development, person marking distinctions developed in these ambiguous cases, analogous to the distinctions found elsewhere in the grammar. As we have already seen in example (146), a pronominal marker, very nearly a copy of the free pronoun, is suffixed to the root, immediately before the realis marker, as in:

(253)   a. FIRST PERSON:
             tsi sip-<u>tsi</u>-n
             I   enter-1-REAL
             'I entered.'

         b. SECOND PERSON:
             nu   sip-<u>ni</u>-n
             you   enter-2-REAL
             'You entered.'

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6.2.3   *Suffixing pattern 3*

In yet another development, a full copy of the free pronoun is tacked on to the end of the verb complex, *following* the realis marker, as in:

(254)   a.   FIRST PERSON:
         tsi   sip-ṇ-<u>tsi</u>
         I   enter-REAL-1
         'I entered.'

       b.   SECOND PERSON:
         nu   sip-ṇ-<u>nu</u>
         you   enter-REAL-2
         'You entered.'

• *Pattern 3 in transitive verbs*. The suffixing pattern described in §6.2.3 is also available to Class II transitive verbs, as in the following:

(255)   a.   TRANSITIVE FIRST PERSON:
         tsi   hulə-d-ṇ-<u>tsi</u>
         I   cook-1-REAL-1
         'I cooked it.'

       b.   TRANSITIVE SECOND PERSON:
         nu   hulə-n-ṇ-<u>nu</u>
         you   cook-2-REAL-2
         'You cooked it.'

The triple *-n-ṇ-n* in (255b), though morphologically accurate, is a bit of phonological fiction. Except in very carefully articulated speech, *hulə-d-ṇ* and *hulə-n-ṇ* (the basic forms) are pronounced identically – as *hulə-d-ṇ* – giving rise to the need for disambiguation. This is true of all second person forms in Class II transitive verbs: *pumba-n-ṇ* 'You hit him'; *dãba-n-ṇ* 'You found it'; *məbə-n-ṇ* 'You heard it'; *unda-n-ṇ* 'You showed it,' etc. Except in careful speech, all are pronounced with a *-d*.[31]

6.2.4   *Bitransitive verbs*

The only convincing bitransitive verb in Kusunda is the verb 'to give,' with all other bitransitive notions being benefactive constructions that utilize the verb 'to give.' Morphologically, the verb 'give' is identical to Class II transitive verbs (see Figure 1), the only exception being the verb root itself.

6.3   *Clausal syntax*

Syntax in Kusunda follows a basic SV, AOV constituent order, the verb coming last. This order is typologically pervasive throughout South Asia. In Kusunda, because the person and number of the subject (S or A) referent is marked in the verb, the subject NP, even as a pronominal form, is usually elided. This is in keeping with universal expectations that in unmarked clauses, the subject is usually excluded from the scope of assertion (Givón 1984, 1991). Where the subject NP does occur, especially in connected speech,

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[31]   We have not recorded "suffixing pattern 3" (§6.2.3) for all these verbs, though they may exist. This needs further verification.

it is either contrastively marked, or it serves as an anchor, say, for an earlier question:

(256)　tsi　tʃ-aɢˤ-an
　　　　I　1-go-IRR
　　　　'I'll go.' (I'm volunteering)
　　　　'I'll go.' (That's what I'll do)

In general, however, more topical elements occur early and less topical ones later. (The order in (256), then, is also a basic, unmarked order.) This is relevant to clauses that have peripheral elements like time or location. Peripheral elements tend to attract the focus of assertion. Thus, in (257a–c) the peripheral elements, time, place, and comitative, occur closer to the verb than the pronominal referent. This is the least marked order:

(257)　a.　tsi　pyana　　ts-əg-ən
　　　　　　I　yesterday　1-go-REAL
　　　　　　'I went yesterday.'

　　　　b.　tsi　daŋ　　tʃ-aɢˤ-an
　　　　　　I　Dang　1-go-IRR
　　　　　　'I will go to Dang.'

　　　　c.　gina　　tok-ma　　u-g-i
　　　　　　he/she　us-WITH　come-3-PAST
　　　　　　'He/she came with us.'

Where both peripheral elements occur – time and location – the element with closer semantic ties to the verb occurs next to the verb, and the other element occurs as an adverbial specification to the whole predication. This order mirrors the basic order for transitive predications too – the object occurs next to the verb, and temporal elements which occur outside the case frame also occur *syntactically* outside:

(258)　a.　INTRANSITIVE:
　　　　　　goraq　　　tsi　daŋ　　tʃ-aɢˤ-an
　　　　　　tomorrow　I　Dang　1-go-IRR
　　　　　　'Tomorrow I will go to Dang.'

　　　　b.　TRANSITIVE:
　　　　　　pyana　　tsi　agai-da　　pumba-d-i
　　　　　　yesterday　I　dog-ACC　beat-1-PAST
　　　　　　'Yesterday I beat the dog.'

• *Case marking*. Case marking in Kusunda follows a basic nominative–accusative alignment – S and A arguments are unmarked (nominative) and the O argument is marked by the accusative suffix *-da* (see example (258b)). For more details and examples, see §5.2.2.2.

There are a few transitive verbs in Kusunda which appear to be "less-than-transitive" – they have some of the morphosyntactic characteristics of intransitive verbs. 'Climb,' 'beg,' and 'fight,' for example, all take intransitive imperative markers. All happen to be non-accusative in case marking; that is, the notional object is marked by a locative 'on' for 'climb' and a comitative 'with' for 'beg' and 'fight'. (See the discussion following example (196).)

7. Transitivity alternations – causatives, anti-causatives, and reflexives

There are a number of derivational operations by which intransitive verbs can be made transitive, and transitive verbs made intransitive. We will deal here only with morphological operations, leaving periphrastic causatives and other syntactic devices to §9.2.

7.1   Causative

There are a number of verbs in Kusunda that occur in alternating pairs, one member of which is transitive and the other intransitive, with morphological rules for deriving one from the other. In some cases the basic, unmarked form is intransitive, in which case the transitive member is derived by a process of causativization. In other cases the base form is transitive, and the intransitive member is derived by a process of anti-causativization. The former process increases the valence of the verb and the latter decreases its valence.

It is not immediately obvious from the general semantics of a verb whether its inherent status will be transitive or intransitive. How such things are lexicalized is a matter of cultural specific construal and depends in some way on whether the eventuality named by the verb can be conceptualized as occurring without an agent. In Kusunda, for example, the 'break' type verbs are inherently agentive and can be made intransitive only by derivation. In Kham, the language which surrounds Kusunda on all sides is the opposite – most events, even the 'break' type ones, are lexicalized as inherently spontaneous intransitive events and are made transitive only by causativization.

7.1.1   Morphological causative -a

In §5.5.1.2 (in the subsection on *Transitive–intransitive distinction*) we saw that some verbs appear to be ambi-transitive and can take either transitive or intransitive affixation patterns. With intransitive affixation they are intransitive verbs, and with transitive affixation they are transitive verbs. Such verbs have been classified primarily as Class II intransitives (see Figure 1) for the simple reason that the transitive forms closely resemble the verb 'to do, make,' tacked onto the intransitive root. This suggests that they originally derive from a periphrastic causative construction. (A periphrastic causative using the verb 'to do, make' still occurs and will be treated in §9.2.) The example we gave in (147) is representative and is repeated here as (259):

(259)   a.   INTRANSITIVE
              tul-tsi-n
              dress-1-REAL   'I dressed.'

         b.   TRANSITIVE
              tul-a-t-ṇ
              dress-TR-1-REAL   'I dressed (someone).'

Recall that most transitive verbs, including many which are not causativized, take the form of the structure in (259b).

7.1.2   *Morphological causative* -da

Most intransitive verbs can be made transitive by adding the morphological causative suffix *-da*. Where such verbs belong inherently to Class I, i.e. having prefixed person marking, after derivation they become Class II verbs – i.e. having suffixed person marking. Thus, in the following examples, the (a) sentences are inherently Class I verbs and their transitive (b) counterparts are Class II. Prefixed person marking is lost:

(260) a. INTRANSITIVE
           ts-ip-ṇ
           1-sleep-REAL   'I slept.'

       b. TRANSITIVE
           ip-da-d-i
           sleep-CAUS-1-PAST   'I put him to sleep.'

(261) a. INTRANSITIVE
           t-oɢ ˤ-ən
           1-die-REAL   'I died.'

       b. TRANSITIVE
           oɢ ˤ-da-d-i
           die-CAUS-1-PAST   'I killed him.'

Note that the causative of 'die,' i.e. the verb 'kill' illustrated in (261b) is very often pronounced *ora-* and is an example of a verb developing what may someday become a suppletive pair whose developmental pathway is opaque – *-oɢ ˤ* 'die' versus *ora-* 'kill.'

For Class II intransitive verbs there is no shift from prefixing to suffixing under causativization – they begin with suffixed person marking. Such verbs can be made transitive either by the morphological causative *-a* or by the morphological causative *-da*. The choice of one over the other does not seem to be based on phonological factors or the syllable type of the root. The verbs 'sleep' and 'die' both end in consonants and the causative is formed by *-da*. But so also do 'fall' and 'wear' end in consonants, but the causative is formed by *-a* (though *-da* is also possible with no apparent difference in meaning, though, of course, there may be a difference in "force" for "directness" of causation). 'Scorch' and 'swell' end in vowels, but both form the causative by *-da*. There is a great deal of variation between the two forms. Following are verbs which can take either form:

(262) a. INTRANSITIVE
           hyoq-tsi-n
           hide-1-REAL   'I hid.'

       b. TRANSITIVE I
           hyoɢ ˤ-a-t-ṇ
           hide-CAUS-1-REAL   'I hid (something).'

       c. TRANSITIVE II
           hyoɢ ˤ-da-t-ṇ
           hide-CAUS-1-REAL   'I hid (something).'

(263) a. INTRANSITIVE
               sip-ts-in
               enter-1-REAL   'I entered.'

        b. TRANSITIVE I
               sip-a̱-t-ṇ
               enter-CAUS-1-REAL   'I inserted (something).'

        c. TRANSITIVE II
               sib-da̱-d-ṇ
               insert-CAUS-1-REAL   'I inserted (something).'

Some verbs, in addition to a causative morpheme, manifest some phonological change in the root morpheme itself. The pair 'to survive' versus 'to rescue' is one such pair (from *əigi-* to *əgi-*):

(264)   a. əigi-d-ṇ
               live-1-REAL   'I survived.'

        b. əgi-da̱-d-ṇ
               live-CAUS-1-REAL   'I rescued (him).'

Some intransitives when causativized yield unexpected meanings. Two examples are the verbs 'to laugh' and 'to say.' Causativized by the morphological causative they do not mean 'make laugh' or 'make say,' but rather 'laugh at' and 'say to.' (Similar semantic shifts occur in Nepali, suggesting the possibility of contact induced meanings.)

(265)   a. gin-da   nikʰ-e-d-i
               he-ACC   laugh-CAUS-1-PAST
               'I laughed at him.'

        b. nətṇ gipən ts-oGˤ-da-d-ṇ   dzʰəm-in-dzi
               what word   1-say-CAUS-1-REAL   weep-<??>-HAB
               'No matter what I say to him, he cries.'

It should also be noted that morphological causativization in Kusunda works even on intransitive "process" verbs which would normally require a periphrastic causative in English – verbs like 'rot.' The implication is that the subject is ultimately responsible for the eventuality, even if only by neglect or inadvertence. Such causatives are typologically common in the area, in both TB and IA languages:

(266)   tsi yi-da   qau-da-d-i
           I   wood-ACC   rot-CAUS-1-PAST
          'I rotted the wood.'

7.2 *Anti-causative*

The anti-causative is a detransitivizing derivation on inherently transitive verbs yielding intransitive and middle senses. In such verbs the "middle" or "anti-causative" <AC> is marked by the suffix -*q*. The 'break' verbs are among them, as in the following sets of contrastive pairs:

(267)   a.   TRANSITIVE:

tsi kəreː   kəla-d-n̥
I   jug   break-1-REAL
'I broke (shattered) the jug.'

        b.   INTRANSITIVE (MIDDLE):

kəreː   kəla-q-n̥
jug   break-AC-REAL
'The jug broke.'

(268)   a.   TRANSITIVE:

tsi ipən   sola-d-n̥
I   corn   break-1-REAL
'I broke (harvested) the corn.'

        b.   INTRANSITIVE (MIDDLE):

ipən   gimdzi   sola-q-n̥
corn   self   break-AC-REAL
'The corn broke by itself.'

(269)   a.   TRANSITIVE:

suta   bʰəra-g-ən
string break-3-REAL
'(He/she) broke the string.'

        b.   INTRANSITIVE (MIDDLE):

na   suta   bʰəra-q-n̥   lan   tsu
this string break-AC-REAL like is
'This string is like it will break.'

7.2.1   *Anti-causative* -q *versus lexical* -q

Somewhat problematic are intransitive verb roots in which a final *-q* is part of the underived lexical representation. On the surface, such verb roots look like derived middles, but, in fact, there are no corresponding transitives without the *-q*. In such cases, *-q* is not a derivational marker *per se*. Rather, the marker is semantically motivated, occurring on verbs whose inherent status is middle. We will not separate the *-q* in these cases, but treat it as part of the underlying root. (If we do find occasion to dissect such forms, we will mark them as "middle marked" <MM>, recognizing that we are not dealing with a derivation.) Under causativization, the middle marking remains (often becoming *-G*), followed by the morphological causative *-a*, as in the following:

(270)   a.   wi   gyaq-n̥
house   collapse-REAL
'The house collapsed.'

        b.   tsi wi   gyaGˤ-a-d-n̥
I   house collapse-CAUS-1-REAL
'I collapsed/razed the house.'

(271)   a.   taŋ   byaq-n̥
water spill-REAL
'The water spilled.'

    b. tsi   taŋ   byaɢˤ-a-d-i
       I   water   spill-CAUS-1-PAST
       'I spilled the water.'

It is important to notice the contrast between verbs whose underlying root ends in *-q* and verbs whose underlying root is an open syllable. In the former case, *-q* (or *-ɢ*) occurs in both transitive and intransitive forms, whereas in the latter case *-q* occurs only in the intransitive. Thus, in (272) *-q* is lexical and the *transitive* form is derived, and in (273) *-q* is derivational and the *intransitive* form is derived:

(272)   UNDERLYING -Q:

    a. taŋ   byaq-ņ
       water   spill-REAL
       'The water spilled.'

    b. tsi   taŋ   byaɢˤ-a-d-i   <— transitivized by *-a*
       I   water   spill-CAUS-1-PAST
       'I spilled the water.'

(273)   OPEN SYLLABLE:

    a. kəreː   kəla-q-ņ   <— detransitivized by *-q*
       jug   break-AC-REAL
       'The jug broke.'

    b. tsi   kəreː   kəla-d-ņ
       I   jug   break-1-REAL
       'I broke (shattered) the jug.'

Another verb with lexical *-q* in the intransitive member is *soq-* 'climb,' as in:

(274)   a. tsi   soq-ņ
       I   climb-REAL
       'I climbed.'

    b. yi-gə   soq-a-d-ņ
       tree-IN   climb-CAUS-1-REAL
       'I treed him.'

7.2.2   *Anti-causative* -t

More difficult to interpret are intransitive verb roots which end in *-t*. Recall that in many transitive verb conjugations (like *a-t-ņ* 'I made'), *-t* followed by syllabic *-ņ* signifies first person followed by realis. There are numerous intransitive verbs, however, in which a stem final *-t* followed by syllabic *-ņ* does not indicate first person:

(275)   a. dimi   nõdze   gwi-t-ņ
       smoke   above   gather-<T>-REAL
       'Smoke (soot) gathered above.'

    b. gagəri-ga   taŋ   pʰiru-t-ņ
       jug-LOC   water   fill-<T>-REAL
       'Water filled in the jug.'

We have glossed *-t* in (275a–b) with a tentative <T>. The question is, "Is *-t* part of the lexical root or is it a grammatical morpheme?" We know already that *-t* here is not

first person. Following the same line of reasoning we used above, we need to compare these forms with their causativized counterparts:

(276)   a. tsi dəidzi   gwi-ə-d-i
            I   firewood   gather-CAUS-1-PAST
            'I gathered firewood.'

        b. gagəri-ga   taŋ   pʰir-a-t-n̩
            jug-LOC   water   fill-CAUS-1-REAL
            'I filled water in the jug.'

The stem final *-t* does not occur in the causativized version (**gwi-t-a-t-n̩*) and we are left to conclude that *-t* is an anti-causative morpheme analogous to the *-q* we saw earlier. It turns out, in fact, that we have no verbs in our corpus with root final *-t*. Where *-t* occurs it is always anti-causative <AC>.

In §5.5.1.2 (subsection *intransitive patterns*) we saw that Class II intransitive verbs have the option of including a person marker immediately after the root-final consonant:

(277)   a. sip-ts-in
            enter-1-REAL   'I entered.'

        b. bəl-n-in
            descend-2-REAL   'You descended.'

        c. pʰep-ts-in
            fall-1-REAL   'I fell.'

        d. hyoq-n-in
            hide-2-REAL   'You hid.'

Significantly, where the same optional person marking is employed in intransitive verbs with anti-causative *-t*, the *-t* occurs *after* person marking, separating the *-t* from the verb root. This strengthens our hypothesis that *-t* is not part of the intransitive root:

(278)   a. nok   gwi-ni-t-n-a-n
            you[pl]   gather-2-AC-2-PL-REAL
            'You all gathered.'

        b. hampe   tʃ-aGˤ-an   kʰai-tsi-t-n̩
            where   1-go-IRR   fear-1-AC-REAL
            'Wherever I go I get scared.'

        c. un-da   ts-əg-ən   miː-tsi-t-n̩
            road-LOC   1-go-REAL   lost-1-AC-REAL
            'Going along the road I got lost.'

We have numerous other examples, too, of "floating" *-t* in our data base, but we will not list them all here.

It would, of course, be satisfying to our claims if anti-causative *-q* also floated to the right of person markers, thus demonstrating that it too is an element divisible from the verb root. In fact we have no data in our corpus to prove this. (Nor do we have anything to disprove it.) We have examples of person marking only on verbs in which *-q* is part of the root, and as our claims would predict, *-q* remains attached to the root, as in: *borloq-tsi-n* 'I got boiled,' and *gyaq-tsi-n* 'I collapsed.'

7.2.3 Passive

There is no canonical passive in Kusunda (of the English sort) in which the former object is promoted to subject status. The closest analogue is the detransitivizing, anti-causative derivation discussed in §7.2 which produces a kind of "middle." The derivation, however, appears to be available only to select transitive verbs.

Another structure which is not well understood applies to transitive and intransitive verbs alike. On Class II transitive verbs, the "auxiliary" ending 'to do, make,' is replaced by a sequence *-in-dzi*. *-Dzi* occurs elsewhere as a "present tense" marker (also not well understood; see example (265b)). The first affix, *-in*, resembles the Nepali passive marker *-in*, but the resemblance may be accidental. It might be equally plausible to think of *-in* as the intransitive (inchoative) version of 'to do, make' (see (244b)). We will label it as <INCHO> for "inchoative." Following are examples of its usage (but with no attempted explanation on how the construction works)[32]:

> (279) a. ACCOMPANIED BY AN ANTI-CAUSATIVE:
> dza   hõ:-ə-go   borlo-q-in-dzi
> fire   burn-CAUS-IMP   boil-AC-INCHO-TAM (?)
> 'Stoke the fire, it (the water) will boil.'
>
>   b. WITHOUT ANTI-CAUSATIVE:
> qai   u-g-i   ipən   sola-in-dzi
> wind   come-3-PAST   corn   break-INCHO-TAM (?)
> 'Wind comes and the corn breaks.'
>
>   c. ON AN INTRANSITIVE:
> nən   gipən   ts-oɢˤ-da-d-n̩   dzʰəm-in-dzi
> what   word   1-say-CAUS-1-REAL   weep-INCHO-TAM (?)
> 'Whatever I say to him, he cries.'

Note that (279a) is made intranstive by virtue of the <AC> marker *-q*, and (279c) is intransitive already. (279b) begins as a transitive verb, and appears to be detransitivized by the inchoative *-in*.

We have several examples of intransitive verbs marked by this construction, but are uncertain about how the meaning differs from ordinary intransitive conjugation without *-in*: *kʰai-in-dzi* 'He is afraid'; *me:-in-dzi* 'He gets lost'; *dʰũ-in-dzi* 'He stands, rises'; *byõ-in-dzi* 'He sits, squats.'

7.2.3.1 "Passive" in ambi-transitive verbs

It is difficult to say unequivocally whether some verbs are inherently transitive or intransitive. They can be conjugated as transitive or intransitive without mediating derivational morphology, and the intransitive version is passive-like. The verb 'to burn, roast' is one such verb, as in the following contrastive pair:

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[32] My anonymous reviewer has suggested that because the *-in-* marker in all the examples listed occurs on the second clause of a complex sentence, it might indicate that the second clause event is a consequence of the first clause event. The suggestion warrants looking into.

(280)   a. TRANSITIVE:

          tsi   amba   dza-gə   habə-d-ṇ
          I   meat   fire-IN   burn-1-REAL
          'I roasted meat in the fire.'

        b. INTRANSITIVE:

          dza-gə   ts-əg-ən   habə-tsi-n
          fire-IN   1-go-REAL   burn-1-REAL
          'I went into the fire and got burned.'

The intransitive version, illustrated in (280b), is passive in force and must be translated in English as 'got burned.'

7.2.3.2   *A "functional" passive*

In §8.1 we will discuss verbs that occur without person marking – our so-called "neutral" inflection. In subordinate structures like the "purposive" clause, neutral inflection on the subordinated verb indicates an identity of person (same subject) with the matrix verb, as in the following:

(281)   tok   <u>hyoq-ṇ</u>   ts-i-da-n
        we   hide-NEUT   1-go-PL-REAL
        'We went to hide.'

In Class I verbs, however, it is not normally possible to be rid of all person marking – person marking occurs as a prefix. In such cases, the most neutral inflection is a generic third person prefix (see §8.1.3), as in the following verb used in a modifying function:

(282)   g-əm-ən   kʰaidzi
        3-eat-REAL   food
        'eaten food' / 'food eaten by (someone)'

In like manner, independent verbs in coordinate structures (see §11.1) can be interpreted as having passive force where the medial "passive" verb is inflected as a generic third person and the final verb is specific for person, as in:

(283)   pyana   hulə-g-ən,   təĩna   t-əm-ən
        yesterday   cook-3-REAL,   today   1-eat-REAL
        'Yesterday it was cooked, today I'll eat it.'

Many third person realis forms, pronounced as *-əgən* by Gyani Maiya, are pronounced simply as *-ən* by Kamala, as in (284). (On this topic see also sections §4.4.4.1, examples (63–64), and §9.1.2,1.)

(284)   pyana   hulə-n,   təĩna   t-əm-ən
        yesterday   cook-REAL,   today   1-eat-REAL
        'Yesterday it was cooked, today I'll eat it.'

7.3   *Reflexive*

The reflexive construction in Kusunda does not require detransitivizing morphology in the verb, but relies on the reflexive pronoun *gimdzi* 'self.' The reciprocal uses the same mechanism, but with two occurrences of the reflexive pronoun, as in:

(285)   a.   REFLEXIVE:
gimdzi   pʰo-ə-g-ən
self   beat-TR-3-REAL
'He hit himself.'

b.   RECIPROCAL:
gimdzi   gimdzi   oɢˤ-da-ə-g-əi
self   self   die-CAUS-TR-3-PAST
'They killed each other.'

This is not to say that detransitivized constructions are not compatible with the reflexive pronoun; they are. If, however, the speaker wishes to express that the agent acted on him/herself, the construction requires a fully transitive verb, as in the examples of (285). Used with intransitive constructions, inherent or derived, the reflexive pronoun only signifies that the eventuality named by the verb happened without outside agency (not that it acted upon itself):

(286)   ANTICAUSATIVE WITHOUT REFLEXIVE PRONOUN:
a.   gagri   pʰiru-t-ṇ
jug   fill-AC-REAL
'The jug filled.'

ANTICAUSATIVE WITH REFLEXIVE PRONOUN:
b.   gagri   gimdzi   pʰiru-t-ṇ
jug   self   fill-AC-REAL
'The jug filled on its own.'

c.   tsi a-d-aːˤu,   ipən   gimdzi   suml-ə-q-ṇ
I   do-1-NEG,   corn   self   break-TR-AC-REAL
'I didn't do it, the corn broke by itself.'

The same reflexive pronoun is used to indicate exclusive ownership, in which case the reflexive pronoun precedes the possessed item, as in:

(287)   a.   gina   gimdzi   gimdzi   wi-nu   t-ei-dzi
he/she   self   self   house-TO   go-PL-TAM (?)
'They each go to their own houses.'

b.   nu   ni-gimdzi   wa   ɲ-aɢˤ-an
you   2S-self   home   2-go-IRR
'You will go to your own home.'

8. Morphology of subordinate structures

Clauses which are subordinated or embedded in other structures – adnominals in relative clauses, sentential complements, periphrastic causatives, purposive clauses and the like – are cast in one of three basic construction types. In one, the verb is cast in a "neutral" non-finite form without person marking; in another, the subordinated verb root is marked by a suffix -*da*; and in a third type the subordinate verb is fully finite. None of the structures appear to have any kind of nominalizing morphology, although it might be argued that the presence of -*da* is sufficient evidence to assume some kind of nominalization – -*da* is also an NP object marker (see §5.2.2.2).[33]

Lack of nominalized structures makes Kusunda typologically exceptional. Languages of the region, both Nepali and TB languages like Kham, nominalize all sorts of embedded clauses, and in some TB languages there are multiple types of nominalization.

Here we will explore the basic morphological structure of subordinate structures and talk later (in §9) about how they function within hosting structures. Though presented from different points of view, there will necessarily be some overlap.

8.1   Neutral forms

We will define a neutral form in Kusunda as having no person inflection. Such forms are not "citation" forms, nor do they include any kind of nominalizing morphology (unless, of course, the neutral form itself is a nominalized form). Neutral forms occur in subordinated clause environments (or as modifiers) where person–number and tense–aspect specifications are not relevant – such specifications are marked in the matrix verb. In Class I verbs neutral marking is not always possible, in which case -*da* marking is still an available option (see §8.2.1).

8.1.1   In Class II intransitive verbs

One verb type in which "no marking" is possible is in Class II intransitive verbs, as described in §6.2.1. Recall that such verbs are bereft of person marking, a state of affairs that is modified in finite contexts (see §6.2.2 for the modification), but which is well suited for non-finite contexts. Such verbs are marked only with a suffix -*n* (variant -*ən*), which may or may not be the realis marker -*n*. Here we will gloss it <NEUT> for "neutral," as in the following:

(288)   a.   wi-gə   sip-n̩   g-ya
                house-LOC   enter-NEUT   go-OPT
                'Let him go enter the house!'

         b.   tok   hyoq-n̩   ts-i-da-n
                we   hide-NEUT   1-go-PL-REAL
                'We went to hide.'

         c.   tul-n̩   pəidzi
                wear-NEUT   cloth
                'worn clothes'

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[33] This may not be the same -*da*. -*Da* occurs in many contexts in Kusunda; there is an accusative -*da*, a plural -*da*, a causative -*da*, an aspectual -*da*, and here a subordinate -*da*.

8.1.2   In Class II transitive verbs

Class II transitive verbs, too, for the most part, can occur in a neutral form. This is especially true if the verb root ends in a consonant, as in:

(289)   a.   tok   kʰaidzi   <u>dzaɢˤ-ən</u>   ts-i-da-n
                 we   food   <u>buy-NEUT</u>   1-go-PL-REAL
                 'We went to buy food.'

         b.   tsi   amba   <u>hab-ən</u>   t-ug-un
               I   meat   <u>roast-NEUT</u>   1-come-REAL
               'I came to roast meat.'

         c.   amba   <u>pad-ən</u>   ts-i-də-i
               meat   <u>hunt-NEUT</u>   1-go-PL-HORT
               'Let's go hunting (for animals).'

In these Class II transitive verbs, it is difficult to know if the so-called neutral forms are only contracted third person realis forms – *ə-g-ən* (do-3-REAL) > *-ən*. Many third person realis forms, pronounced simply as *-ən* by Kamala, are pronounced *-əgən* by Gyani Maiya. The third person *-g* tends to surface more readily in open syllable roots:

(290)   kʰaidzi   <u>ai-g-ən</u>   t-ug-un
         food   <u>beg-3-REAL</u>   1-come-REAL
         'I came to beg for food.'

Forms like the one in (290) are problematic in that they use a third person form in the complement ('to beg'), a form technically incompatible with first person in the matrix verb ('I came'). Thus, although forms like *ai-g-ən*, too, are neutral or generic in function, we will reserve the label "neutral" to those forms that are without third person marking (as in (289)); especially where the form is incompatible with third person. (For less finite forms for some of these verbs see §8.2.2.)

8.1.3   In Class I verbs

Class I verbs are the least amenable to non-finite conjugation for the simple reason that such verbs normally include a prefixed person marker. In such cases, a third person form is used (somewhat analogous to the form in (290) in which third person seems to be understood as generic, as in:

(291)   g-əm-ən   kʰaidzi
         3-eat-REAL   food
         'eaten food' / 'food eaten by (someone)'

8.1.4   Bare roots (concatenative structures)

There are a few verbs for which only the bare root occurs in neutral constructions, without the final *-n*, in a concatenative structure. This possibility is apparently lexically determined and is not available for all verbs:

(292)   a.   taŋ   <u>kola</u>   t-ug-un
               water   <u>draw</u>   1-come-REAL
               'I came to draw water.'

b. hol   t-əm-du
    cook   1-eat-IRR:SG
    'I'll cook and eat.'

In a sense, all Class II transitives modelled after the verb 'to do' are a special case of bare-root neutral verbs (i.e. "non-inflecting verbs") – here followed by a conjugated form of the verb 'to make, to do.' Following is an example of a typical Class II verb:

(293)   qaːi   u-g-i   ipən   sumlə   ə-gə-n-dzi
        wind   come-3-PAST   corn   break   do-3-REAL-TAM (?)
        'Wind comes and breaks the corn.'

8.2   Embedded structures marked by -da

There are several subordinate clause types – like the purposive, the desiderative, and non-implicative causatives – that are marked by the suffix *-da* on the embedded verb. We will refer to this morpheme as the "purposive" <PURP> morpheme. This *-da* may be related to the verb 'go,' in which case it would be analogous to purposive constructions in some TB languages, as in the following Kham example:

(294)   ŋaː   zya-na   ŋa-hu-ke
        I   eat-GO   1-come-PFV
        'I came to eat.'

An alternative is to identify *-da* with the object marker *-da*. (Ultimately, of course, the two may be etymologically related, the object marker itself having derived from 'go,' not unusual in the world's languages.) Interestingly, *-da* does not occur on relatives, but is exclusive to complements, and it is in these kinds of contexts that *-da* 'go' begins to specialize as *-da* 'object.'

8.2.1   Non-finite forms marked by -da

Some types of subordinate clauses are marked by the purposive morpheme *-da* suffixed to the non-finite, bare root of the embedded verb. The *-da* suffix, however, occurs in this "pure" form (we will see modified forms later) on Class I verbs (i.e. those with potential prefixed person marking), and only after the person marking prefix has been stripped away (an exception is given in §8.2.2). Thus, the verb 'to sleep,' for example, occurs in its inflected forms with prefixed person marking – *ts-ip-ṇ* 'I sleep'; *n-ip-ṇ* 'You sleep'; *g-ip-ṇ* 'He sleeps.' In the non-finite *-da* structure, however, only the bare root *ip-* occurs with *-da* suffixed:

(295)   a. tsi   ip-da   t-ug-un
            I   sleep-PURP   1-come-REAL
            'I came to sleep.'

        b. nu   ip-da   n-ug-un
            you   sleep-PURP   2-come-REAL
            'You came to sleep.'

        c. gina   ip-da   u-g-i
            he   sleep-PURP   come-3-PAST
            'He came to sleep.'

Likewise with the verb 'to eat':

(296)   a. tsi <u>am-da</u>   t-ug-un
             I   eat-PURP   1-come-REAL
             'I came to eat.'

        b. nu <u>am-da</u>   n-ug-un
             you eat-PURP   2-come-REAL
             'You came to eat.'

        c. gina <u>am-da</u>   u-g-i
             he   eat-PURP   come-3-PAST
             'He came to eat.'

        d. no-k   kʰaidzi hul-ak   to-k   <u>am-da</u>   t-ug-da-k
             you-PL food   cook-IRR we-PL eat-PURP   1-come-PL-IRR
             'If you cook the food, we'll come to eat it.'

The important thing to notice in examples (295) and (296) is that the embedded verb occurs without person agreement prefixes, and that -*da* occurs invariant, as -*da* throughout. Both of these points will contrast with "inflected -*da* structures" in §8.2.3.

The bare root forms for these Class I verbs are the same suppletive forms we saw earlier in §5.5.5.1 (*Irregular and suppletive forms*). 'To drink' is another such verb:

(297)   tsya qon-da   tʃ-aɢˤ-an
             tea   drink-PURP   1-go-IRR:SG
             'I will go to drink tea.'

8.2.2   *Non-finite Class II verbs marked by* -da

Recall from §8.1.2 that the -*ən* "neutral" forms for Class II transitive verbs may, in fact, be generic third person forms whose full form is -*əgən*. For at least some verbs of that class there is also a suppletive form of the verb which combines with -*da* to form a non-finite structure. The transitive verb *par excellence* 'to do, make' is one such verb. Where the inflected forms of the verb are *a-d-i* 'I made'; *a-n-i* 'You made'; *ə-g-ən* 'He made'; the non-finite form is *ən-* as follows:

(298)   a. tsi wi   <u>ən-da</u>   õNˤla-t-ṇ
             I   house make-PURP   want-1-REAL
             'I want to build a house.'

        b. kam <u>ən-da</u>   təmbə-d-i
             work do-PURP   send-1-PAST
             'I sent him to do work.'

Likewise, there is also a less finite structure for the verb 'to beg' than the one illustrated in example (290) of §8.1.2. It is as follows:

(299)   <u>ai-da</u>   t-ug-un
             beg-PURP 1-come-REAL
             'I came to beg.'

8.2.3   *Inflected forms marked by* -da

The forms in this section will contrast with those described in §8.2.1. Furthermore, the structures described in this section are available to both Class I and Class II verbs.

• *On Class I verbs.* The embedded verbs that we saw in §8.2.1 can also appear in their person-inflected forms. There is no apparent difference in meaning (though there certainly may be subtle differences). In such cases, the purposive morpheme *-da* participates in a person agreement paradigm, such that *-d-a* marks first person environments and *-n-a* marks second person environments. Third person reverts back to *-da* (there is no *-g-a*). Thus, this form contrasts with the uninflected *-da* forms in the following way:

(300) UNINFLECTED -DA:

    a. tsi am-<u>da</u>   t-ug-un
        I   eat-PURP 1-come-REAL
        'I came to eat.'

    INFLECTED -DA:

    b. tsi <u>t</u>-əm-<u>d-a</u>   t-ug-un
        I   1-eat-1-PURP 1-come-REAL
        'I came to eat.'

    c. nu <u>n</u>-əm-<u>n-a</u>   n-ug-un
        you 2-eat-2-PURP 2-come-REAL
        'You came to eat.'

    d. gina <u>g</u>-əm-<u>da</u>   u-g-i
        he   3-eat-PURP come-3-PAST
        'He came to eat.'

In (300b) and (300c) the purposive marker is no longer simply *-da*, as we had in §8.2.1 and also in (300a). Rather, the forms are inflected for first and second persons – *-d-a* and *-n-a*, respectively. Also, the form of the embedded verb includes prefixed person markers – *t-*, *n-*, and *g-*.

The paradigms for these verbs are irregular, as is generally true for all Class I verbs. Thus, the third person form of 'eat' includes a third person prefix *g-*. With the verb 'to sleep,' however, such a form is disallowed. We get *ip-da* but not **g-ip-da*. With the verb 'to fetch, get' there is no first, second, third person inflection for the purposive morpheme *-da*. Rather, all forms take the second person *-na* form of the purposive and a third person *g-* prefix on the verb stem irregardless of person:

(301) a. g-i-na   t-ug-un
       3-fetch-PURP   1-come-REAL
       'I came to get (it).'

    b. g-i-na   n-ug-un
       3-fetch-PURP   2-come-REAL
       'You came to get (it).'

    c. g-i-na   u-g-i
       3-fetch-PURP   2-come-REAL
       'He came to get (it).'

That *g-* is a person prefix can be seen in the following inflections: *ts-i-di* 'I fetched it'; *n-i-di* 'You fetched it'; *g-i-di* 'He fetched it.'

Some Class I verbs have suppletive roots that are used with the *-da* construction. The verb 'to go' is one of them. (302a) shows the base form as a benchmark, and (302b) shows the suppletive form:

(302) a. sape   ts-əg-ən
           there 1-go-REAL
           'I went there.'

       b. sape   ts-i-da   odoq
           there 1-go-PURP   neg.equative
           'I wouldn't go there.'

• *On Class II verbs.* To our knowledge, the *-da* structure in Class II verbs is always an "inflected *-da*," i.e. the morpheme has different representations for first, second, and third persons. (An exception can be found in §8.2.2.) Here, a third person *-g-a* is also possible:

(303) a. tsi amba hulə-<u>d-a</u>   t-ug-un
           I   meat cook-1-PURP   1-come-REAL
           'I came to cook meat.'

       b. nu   amba hulə-<u>n-a</u>   n-ug-un
           you meat cook-2-PURP   2-come-REAL
           'You came to cook meat.'

       c. gina amba hulə-<u>g-a</u>   u-g-i
           he/she meat cook-3-PURP   come-3-PAST
           'He/she came to cook meat.'

Recall that in Class II verbs the suffix *-d* is almost always a marker of first person, contrasting with second person *-n* and third person *-g*. In Class I verbs, the *-d* that occurs in an identical phonological sequence is not the same *-d*, but part of the following morpheme. So far, we have seen the following distinctions:

(304) CLASS I: CLASS II:
       -di   'past'   -d-i   'first person–past'
                                   -n-i   'second person–past'
       -da   'plural'   -d-a   'first person–plural'
                                   -n-a   'second person 'plural'
       -du   'irrealis'   -d-u   'first person–irrealis'
                                   -n-u   'second person–irrealis'
       -da   'purposive'   -d-a   'first person–purposive'
                                   -n-a   'second person–purposive'

8.3   Finite embedded structures

Many constructions whose embedded verb can be marked by a neutral, non-finite form, or marked by *-da*, can also be marked as finite. Thus, the following (a) and (b) sentences contrast in form, but we are unaware of any semantic differences:

(305) a. tsi wi   ən-da   õNˤla-d-i
           I   house make-PURP   want-1-PAST
           'I wanted to build a house.'

       b. tsi wi   a-t-ṇ   õNˤla-d-i
           I   house make-1-REAL want-1-PAST
           'I wanted to build a house.'

For some verbs, especially Class II transitives, there are three contrasing forms, as in the following:

(306)   a. kʰaidzi   habə-ən   t-ug-un
            food   cook-NEUT   1-come-REAL
            'I came to cook food.'

        b. kʰaidzi   habə-d-a   t-ug-un
            food   cook-1-PURP   1-come-REAL
            'I came to cook food.'

        c. kʰaidzi   habə-d-ṇ   t-ug-un
            food   cook-1-REAL   1-come-REAL
            'I came to cook food.' / 'I cooked food and came.'

There are limits on the finiteness of the subordinated verb. In general, the more finite the embedded verb, the greater the likelihood that two different events are being coded. The sentence in (306c), for example, could also be interpreted to mean 'I cooked food and came.' Based on the same principle, the embedded verb in some constructions must be marked with the same TAM as the matrix verb. Both verbs convey the same event:

(307)   a. wi   a-t-ṇ   tumbə-d-ṇ
            house   make-1-REAL   finish-1-REAL
            'I finished building the house.'

        b. wi   a-d-i   tumbə-d-i
            house   make-1-PAST   finish-1-PAST
            'I finished building the house.'

        c. *wi   a-t-ṇ   tumbə-d-i
            *house   make-1-REAL   finish-1-PAST

We will deal more with the specifics of TAM interplay when we deal with specific constructions in §9, and in §10 on co-subordinate structures.

8.4   Embedded structures marked by mutation

We have noted already that mutation is a grammatical "mark" in Kusunda. (See §5.5.3.1, §5.5.4.3, and *fn*. 25.) Here we see that the mark applies not only to the marked member of the realis–irrealis dichotomy, but also the marked member of the independent–subordinate dichotomy. In the following examples, the mutated variants of *nəgən* and *tsəgən* do not indicate irrealis, but subordination:

(308)   a. nən-da   ɲ-aɢˤ-an   e-g-i
            you-ACC   2-go-SUBORD   give-3-PAST
            'He let you go.'

        b. tən-da   wi-gə   tʃ-aɢˤ-an   ə-g-i
            me-ACC   house-LOC   1-go-SUBORD   make-3-PAST
            'He made me go home.'

9.   Syntax of subordinate strucutures

In this section we will look at individual grammatical categories – periphrastic causatives, relative clauses, various complements, etc. – and explore the different ways in which they can be encoded. Most have a one-to-many relationship, i.e. a single category can be encoded in more than one way. In some cases, different encodings imply different nuances of meaning, and in other cases we are unaware of any semantic differences.

9.1   Adnominals and relative clauses

Kusunda has no relative pronouns. So-called "relative clauses" are composed of a finite verb in adnominal function which modifies the following head noun, as in: 'the *I-kicked-it* ball' in place of 'the ball *that* I kicked.' In other languages of the region, both IA and TB, adnominals formed from verbs are typically nominalized structures. Kusunda is exceptional in this respect and does not fit the areal typology. (Santali also, apparently, has fully finite verbs used in modification (see Masica 1976:121).)

9.1.1   Finite adnominals formed from verbs

The adnominal modifier in Kusunda utilizes at least two of the structures we saw in §8 – they can be cast as "neutral," or they can be fully finite. Neither appears to be a nominalization (although the "neutral" form may, in fact, turn out to be a nominalization). Though such adnominals are formed from verbs and are modifying in function, they have no morphological form that can be said to be different from an ordinary finite verb (and hence not strictly speaking 'participles') – they are fully inflected for person, and can be TAM-marked either as realis or past tense. Following are examples of finite verbs in past tense functioning as modifiers within relative clauses:

(309)   a.   habə-g-i   amba
             roast-3-PAST   meat
             'meat that he roasted'

         b.   na   tsi dãba-d-i   gimi,   nən-da   e-d-u-wa
             this   I   find-1-PAST   money,   you-ACC   give-1-IRR-NEG
             'This is money that I found, I will not give it to you.'

Realis marked adnominals are similar in structure:

(310)   a.   tsi   t-əm-ən   kʰaidzi
             I   1-eat-REAL   food
             'food that I ate'

         b.   tsi   e-d-ṇ   gimi   hampe   hurə-n-i
             I   give-1-REAL   money   where   throw-2-PAST
             'Where did you throw the money I gave you?'

We have no examples of irrealis marked adnominals (though they may exist – further research needs to be done here). Relative clauses, of course, are the locus of presupposed propositions, and it would not be surprising to find a preponderance of "factitive" verb forms coding them, i.e. those denoting established fact.

9.1.2   Non-finite adnominals formed from verbs

In non-finite (or "neutral") adnominals, the embedded verb has no person inflection, but does have what appears to be a realis marker *-ən*. As in §8.1.1, however, we will gloss the marker as <NEUT> for "neutral" (recognizing too that it may be a nominalization or a true morphological participle). The following two forms we have seen before in non-embedded structures:

(311)   a.   tul-n̩   pəidzi
                wear-NEUT   cloth
                'worn clothes'

         b.   dzaɢˤ-ən   tsya
                buy-NEUT   tea
                'purchased tea'

The verb form in (311a) occurs on a Class II intransitive, a verb type that is inherently bereft of person marking (see §8.1.1). Person marking is not deleted to create a neutral form. The form in (311b), however, occurs on a Class II transitive verb, a verb type that inherently *includes* person marking. Its lack is a kind of deletion. Notice, too, that the lack (or deletion) of subject person marking in transitive verbs, as in (311b), yields a result semantically equivalent to a passive participle.

9.1.2.1   'Passive participles'

Earlier (§7.2.1 and §7.2.2), we saw an anti-causative derivation for some transitive verbs, marked by a suffix *-q* or *-t.* For such verbs, then, a construction semantically equivalent to a "passive participle" is available (in which detransitivization is also marked), as in:

(312)   a.   kəla-q-n̩   kəre
                break-AC-NEUT jug
                'broken jug'

         b.   gwi-t-n̩   dimi
                gather-AC-NEUT   smoke
                'accumulated soot'

This derivation, however, appears to be unavailable for many transitive verbs, and it is precisely in these verbs that the deletion of third person affixes from "neutral" forms is significant (see §8.1.1 and §9.1.2). In the section on phonology, especially §4.4.4.1, we noted the tendency in Kamala of using third person verb forms *-ən* (REAL) or *-əi* (PAST) where Gyani Maiya uses *-əg-ən* (3-REAL) or *-əg-i* (3-PAST), respectively. Third person *-g* is missing.

The possibility exists that Kamala is reacting to the lack of a semantic equivalent for a passive participle in some transitive forms, and is in the process of creating a new one by the deletion of third person – what we refer to in this grammar as "neutral." A past neutral form also occurs, as in:

(313)   a.   REALIS:
                habə-n   amba   <   habə-g-ən
                roast-REAL   meat   roast-3-REAL
                'roasted meat'

b. PAST:

habə-i	amba	<	habə-g-i
roast-PAST	meat		roast-3-PAST

'roasted meat'

In §8.1.3 we noted that Class I verbs are not as vulnerable to the erosion of third person markers as Class II verbs for the simple reason that they occur as prefixes. There, third person forms are commonly used in a generic sense. The difference between a generic and specific sense seems to lie with the presence of a free pronoun:

(314) a. SPECIFIC:

gina	g-əm-ən	kʰaidzi	n-əm-du?
he/she	3-eat-REAL	food	2-eat-IRR:SG

'Will you eat food eaten (defiled) by him?'

b. GENERIC:

g-əm-ən	kʰaidzi	n-əm-du?
3-eat-REAL	food	2-eat-IRR:SG

'Will you eat eaten (defiled) food?'

In Gyani Maiya's speech, the same principle seems to hold for Class II verbs. In Kamala's speech, there may be a detransitivization of generic transitive forms, or there may be an erosion of her phonology.

9.1.2.2   *Levels of transitivity in adnominal modifiers*

There can be various levels of transitivity in adnominals derived from verbs. The most transitive are those with fully finite transitive verbs (315e), and the least transitive are those with Class II intransitive verbs where S equals O (315a). (Not all transitive verbs have a Class II intransitive counterpart as the following verb does.) It will be easier to describe transitivity levels (a), (b), and (c) by using Nepali equivalents in addition to English. We begin with the least transitive:

(315) a. yo-ən   amba
cook-REAL   meat
'cooked meat' / Nep. 'pakeko masu' (intransitive)

b. hol-di   amba
cook-ADJ   meat
'cooked meat' / Nep. 'pakeko masu' (intransitive)
'cooking meat' / Nep. 'pəkaune masu'

c. hul-ən   amba
cook-REAL   meat
'cooked meat'
'meat that has been cooked (by s.o)'
Nep. 'pəkaeko masu' (transitive)

d. hulə-g-ən   amba
cook-3-REAL   meat
'cooked meat' / 'meat cooked by someone' / 'meat cooked by him'

  e. hulə-d-ṇ   amba
    cook-1-REAL meat
    'meat that I cooked'

  The verb in (315a) is a suppletive intransitive form of the verb 'to cook' and always implies intransitivity with S equalling O. The *-di* form in (315b) is an adjectival form that is available to only a few transitive verbs. The form in (315c) is a neutral form, used primarily by Kamala and derived from an earlier third person generic form. It is transitive, but with no agent in view. The third person generic form is given in (315d). It can also be a specific third person form. The form in (315e) is a first person form which is never used in a generic sense, and implies full transitivity.

  It is instructive to contrast the 'cook' verb above with another verb whose intransitive semantics implies that S equals A. The Kusunda verb for 'hide' is such a verb. Furthermore, the inherent form of the verb is intransitive. (For 'cook' there are two inherent forms – an intransitive *yo-* and a transitive *hol-*.) With 'hide,' because S equals A, the intransitive adnominal must modify an animate noun, as in:

(316) a. hyoq-ṇ   amba
    hide-REAL animal
    'hidden / hiding animal'

   b. *hyoq-ṇ gimi
    *hide-REAL money

  Our informants' explanation for the ungrammaticality of (b) is "because money cannot hide itself." Thus, where there is no inherent O intransitive verb, the passive adnominal must be formed off the causativized version of the verb, and the only "passive" form available to such verbs is Kamala's "neutral" form or Gyani Maiya's "generic third person" form:

(317) a. Kamala:
    hyoɢˤ-a-ən   gimi
    hide-CAUS-REAL money
    'hidden money'

   b. Gyani Maiya:
    hyoɢˤ-a-g-ən   gimi
    hide-CAUS-3-REAL money
    'hidden money' (by someone)

  This contrasts sharply with those forms that are inherently transitive and are detransitivized by anti-causative derivation, like the forms in (312).

9.1.3 Case recoverablility strategies for relative clauses

  All relative clauses, whether they are "subject relative clauses" or "object relative clauses," are coded in the same ways – as neutral or as fully finite. There is no morphological marker in the embedded verb to distinguish different types. Rather, the distinction is based entirely on the identity of the role of the argument that occurs as the head of the NP. Based on this criterion, we have at least three relative clause types in our data set – a "subject relative clause," an "object relative clause," and a "locative relative clause."

9.1.3.1   Subject relative clause

In a subject relative clause the erstwhile *subject* is extracted and made head of a new NP. The rest of the embedded clause, along with its predicate (a fully finite verb without derivational morphology), modifies the new head noun, as in the following:

(318) a. də-g-ən   nu   hampe
           go-3-REAL   person   where
           'Where is the person who went?'

       b. gimi   təmbə-g-i   nəti
           money   send-3-PAST   who
           'Who sent the money?' / 'Who is the money sender?'

       c. həra-q-ṇ̥   aota
           open-AC-REAL   door
           'open door'

       d. wi   ə-g-i   nu
           house   make-3-PAST   person
           'the person who built the house'

9.1.3.2   Object relative clause

In an object relative clause the erstwhile *object* is extracted and made head of a new NP. The rest of the embedded clause, along with its predicate (again, a fully finite verb without derivational morphology), modifies the new head noun, as in the following:

(319) a. tsi kəla-d-ṇ̥   dəidzi   kila-ə-g-ən
           I   chop-1-REAL   firewood   steal-TR-3-REAL
           'He stole the firewood I chopped.'

       b. nu   pumbə-n-i   ipən
           you   beat-2-PAST   corn
           'corn that you beat (thrashed)'

9.1.3.3   Locative relative clause

In a locative relative clause, a peripheral argument is made head of the noun phrase – in this case a location, as in:

(320) hi   oGˤ-da-g-i   tʰəwə
       pig   die-CAUS-3-PAST place
       'the place where he killed a pig'

9.1.4   Adjectivals

We include adjectivals under *Adnominals and relative clauses* because of their close formal similarity. Some intransitive and detransitivized verbs can form adjectives by the suffix *-di*. The derivation, however, seems not to be available to all intransitive verbs, and it is not yet known what the parameters are. We give the following examples:

(321) a. hab-di
           roast-ADJ   'roasted'

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b. hol-di
cook-ADJ   'cooked'

c. hyoq-di
hide-ADJ   'hidden'

d. bem-di
fall-ADJ   'fallen'

e. həra-q-di
open-AC-ADJ   'open'

f. borlo-q-di
boil-AC-ADJ   'boiled'

We have two examples of *-di* acting as a formative for nominalization:

(322)   a. kila-di
steal-NML   'thief'

b. sokso-di
black-NML   'black'

Some intransitive verbs make use of a suffix *-dzi* for adjectivals. This is one of the most puzzling suffixes we have encountered because of its occurrence in numerous and varied contexts. Following are examples of its occurence in adjectival contexts:

(323)   a. oGˤ-dzi
die-ADJ   'dead'

b. hyo-dzi
swell-ADJ   'swollen'

c. qai-dzi
dry-ADJ   'dry'

d. qau-dzi
spoil-ADJ   'spoiled, rotten'

9.2 Periphrastic causatives

In addition to the morphological causative discussed in §7.1.1 and §7.1.2, Kusunda also has at least two periphrastic causatives. As with universal expectations, the periphrastic causative implies less direct causation than the morphological causative. One of the Kusunda periphrastic causatives implies that the event coded in the embedded clause already occurred; whereas we are unsure of the level of implicature in the second causative type.

9.2.1 Implicative causative – "make"

The implicative causative is a complement verb structure whose matrix verb is the verb 'to make.' The embedded verb is coded in much the same way as the clauses we saw in §8.1 and §8.2 – either as "neutral" or finite (or as a mutating structure as we saw in §8.4). There is, however, none of the *-da* encoding we saw on "purposive" clauses. Following are neutral forms:

(324)   a.   tən-da   amba   hab-ən   ə-g-i
             me-ACC   meat   roast-REAL   make-3-PAST
             'He made me roast meat.'

        b.   tsi-gimtsi-da   limu-n   a-d-i
             1S-friend-ACC   fight-REAL   make-1-PAST
             'I got my friend to fight.'

The following embedded forms are finite, realis mode. We do not seem to have any examples of the embedded form in past tense. Whether it is possible or not needs to be verified.

(325)   a.   tən-da   wi   a-t-ṇ   ə-g-i
             me-ACC   house   make-1-REAL   make-3-PAST
             'He made me build a house.'

        b.   gin-da   limi-dzi   a-d-i
             he-ACC   dance-3:REAL   make-1-PAST
             'I made him dance.'

In an unexpected twist, the embedded form of "mutating" verbs (see §5.5.3.1) is the irrealis form, something that needs to be accounted for (we broached this topic first in §8.4). In Class II verbs, like the verb in (325a), the form of the embedded verb is realis (which is what one would expect for an implicative verb). Irrealis would seem to imply a non-implicative status for the embedded verb.

Earlier (see *fn*. 25, 26), we noted that the mutating pattern very likely originated in an old "marked–unmarked" distinction and was later morphologized in various systems. The marked modality is irrealis, the marked polarity is negative, and here, the marked dependency is dependent. In the "permissive" construction (see §9.3.4) we will see the pattern again.

(326)   a.   tən-da   wi-gə   tʃ-aGˁ-an   ə-g-i
             me-ACC   house-LOC   1-go-IRR:SG   make-3-PAST
             'He made me go home.'

        b.   d-aGˁ-an-dzi   a-d-u
             3-go-IRR-TAM   make-1-IRR:SG
             'I will make him go.'

        c.   d-aGˁ-an-dzi   a-d-aːˁu
             3-go-IRR-TAM   make-1-NEG:REAL
             'I didn't make him go.'

9.2.2   Causative "send"

The "send causative" uses, as its matrix verb, a transitive verb which means 'send' in its literal sense. The embedding structure, however, is something we have not yet encountered, and will not properly discuss until §10.1, and specifically in §10.2.5. We introduce it here simply as an "overlapping converb." Following are two examples:

(327)   a.   gina   tən-da   wi   a-de   təmbə-g-u
             he   me-ACC   house   make-CNV   send-3-IRR:SG
             'He will get me to build a house.'

    b. nu   gin-da   wi   a-de   təmbə-n-i
        you him-ACC house make-CNV send-2-PAST
        'You got him to build a house.'

The causative use of 'send' contrasts with the literal sense of 'send' through the complementation type used. With literal 'send,' the complement is cast as a "purposive" clause, as in:

(328)   tsi gin-da   am-da   təmbə-d-i
        I   him-ACC   eat-PURP   send-1-PAST
        'I sent him to eat.'

This latter sense of 'send' is non-implicative; it does not imply that the event named by the embedded verb occurred.

9.3   Complements

There are numerous verbs which are capable of supporting sentential complements as an object (or destination) argument – 'go/come for the purpose of,' 'want,' 'be able to,' 'allow,' 'finish,' 'see/hear that,' 'think that,' and 'know how to.'

9.3.1   Purposive

The "purposive" clause is a complement to matrix verbs 'go/come,' or 'send/bring.' We have already seen numerous examples of this clause type when we illustrated the morphology of *-da* in §8.2. The purposive can also be marked by "neutral" morphology (see §8.1). Here we reiterate some of the examples used elsewhere:

(329)   a. WITH GO:
           tsya qon-da   tʃ-aG^ʕ-an
           tea   drink-PURP   1-go-IRR:SG
           'I will go to drink tea.'

        b. WITH COME:
           nu   n-əm-n-a   n-ug-un
           you 2-eat-2-PURP   2-come-REAL
           'You came to eat.'

        c. WITH SEND:
           gin-da   kam   ən-da   təmbə-d-i
           he-ACC work do-PURP   send-1-PAST
           'I sent him to do work.'

9.3.2 Desiderative

The desiderative embeds complements to the matrix verb 'to want.' Literally, when used with non-sentential arguments, the Kusunda verb means 'to search for.' As with the purposive, complements of the desiderative can be marked "neutral" or with the suffix *-da*:

(330)   a. gina wi   əg-ən   õN^{ʕ}la-g-ən
           he   house make-REAL want-3-REAL
           'He wants to build a house.'

b. tsi wi   ən-da   õɴˤla-d-ŋ
   I   house   make-PURP   want-1-REAL
   'I want to build a house.'

c. tsi gin-da   pərmə-da   õɴˤla-d-i
   I   him-ACC   meet-PURP   want-1-PAST
   'I want/wanted to meet him.'

As in many other languages of the region, with 'want' the subject of matrix and embedded clauses must be the same. Thus, it is not possible with this structure to say 'I want him to go' – only 'I want to go' or 'He wants to go.'

9.3.3   Abilitive

The verb 'to be able' is homophonous with the intransitive verb 'to hide'; indeed, by strange circumstances, it may be the same verb. The abilitive conjugates as an intransitive verb. Syntactically, though, the verb allows a sentential complement marked either with *-da* or as neutral, as in the following:

(331)   a. tsi wi   ən-da   hyoq-tsi-n
        I   house   make-PURP   able-1-REAL
        'I can build houses.'

       b. t-əm-ən   hyoq-wa
        1-eat-REAL   able-IRR:NEG
        'I can't eat.'

       c. tsi amba   padə-n   hyoq-tsi-n
        I   meat   hunt-REAL   able-1-REAL
        'I can hunt animals.'

• *Opportunitive*. A second "abilitive" construction contrasts with the one above in §9.3.3. The former implies physical ability, whereas this one implies "finding opportunity." It uses the matrix verb 'to find':

(332)   a. tʃ-aɢˤ-an   dãba-d-aːˤi
        1-go-SUBORD   find-1-NEG:REAL
        'I wasn't able to go.'

       b. t-əm-ən   dãba-d-aːˤi
        1-eat-REAL   find-1-NEG:REAL
        'I wasn't able to eat.'

Notice that in (332a) that the mutating verb 'go' is marked by the mutated form of 'go,' indicating that it is subordinate. (See §8.4.)

9.3.4   Permissive

The permissive construction employs the matrix verb 'to give.' As in the other complements we have seen, the embedded verb is marked by *-da* or as neutral:

(333)   a. gina tən-da   wi   ən-da   eg-i
        he   me-ACC   house   make-PURP   give-3-PAST
        'He allowed me to build a house.'

    b. pinda   t-əm-da   e-g-auː-da,   t-əm-da   e-g-i
        before 1-eat-PURP give-3-NEG-INCMP, 1-eat-PURP give-3-PAST
        'He didn't used to let me eat, now he lets me eat.'

As we saw earlier in §8.4, and also with the implicative causative in §9.2.1, this construction casts embedded mutating verbs in the "marked" form (elsewhere, the "irrealis").

(334)   a. tən-da   tʃ-aGˤ-an   e-g-i
           me-ACC   1-go-SUBORD give-3-PAST
           'He allowed me to go.'

        b. tən-da   tʃ-aGˤ-an   e-g-aːˤu
           me-ACC   1-go-SUBORD give-3-PAST:NEG
           'He didn't allow me to go.'

9.3.5   Preventative

The preventative construction employs the causative of the verb 'to stand,' and means 'to stop someone doing something.' Two separate events are coded, and both are fully finite. Following are examples:

(335)   a. g-əm-ən   dʰoNˤ-a-d-i
           3-eat-REAL   stand-CAUS-1-PAST
           'I stopped him eating.'

        b. g-u-ya,   dʰoˤN-a-yin
           3-come-OPT,   stand-CAUS-PROH
           'Let him come, don't stop him.'

9.3.6   Completive

The completive matrix verb is the transitive verb 'to finish.' As far as we know, only this complement structure requires both verbs (the matrix verb and the embedded verb) to be coded in the same TAM. We repeat here example (177):

(336)   a. wi   a-t-ṇ   tumbə-d-ṇ
           house make-1-REAL   finish-1-REAL
           'I finished building the house.'

        b. wi   a-d-i   tumbə-d-i
           house make-1-PAST   finish-1-PAST
           'I finished building the house.'

        c. *wi   a-t-ṇ   tumbə-d-i
           *house   make-1-REAL finish-1-PAST

9.3.7   See and hear

The verbs 'see' and 'hear' regularly support complements in which the embedded clause is a separate, autonomous event from the matrix verb event. Not surprisingly, both verbs are marked as fully finite, each of them expressing person–number and TAM specifications for the immediate clause only. Following are examples:

(337) a. tsi-gimtsi   wi   ə-g-ən   tsi   ts-ã:-dzi
           1S-friend   house   make-3-REAL   I   1-see-TAM (?)
           'I saw my friend building a house.'

       b. tsi-gimtsi   tən-da   wi   a-t-ṇ   g-ã:-dzi
           1S-friend   me-ACC   house   make-1-REAL 3-see-TAM (?)
           'My friend saw me building a house.'

In (337a) the main clause event is 'I saw,' while the embedded event is 'He builds a house.' Likewise, in (337b) the main clause event is 'He saw,' while the embedded event is 'I build a house.' The events are entirely autonomous. The same holds for the verb 'hear,' as in the following:

(338) a. tsi   wa   t-ug-un   məbə-g-i
           I   home   1-come-REAL   hear-3-PAST
           'He heard me coming home.'

       b. lo:lə-g-i   məbə-d-i
           cry.out-3-PAST   hear-1-PAST
           'I heard him cry out.'

9.3.8   Think

The verb 'think' in Kusunda also means 'to remember,' as in *tsi nən-da imba-d-i* (I you-ACC think-1-PAST) 'I remembered you.' We have only one example of the verb with a sentential complement:

(339) tsi   daŋ   tʃ-aGˤ-an   imba-d-i
       I   Dang   1-go-SUBORD   think-1-PAST
       I think I will go to Dang.'

Notice that here, too, like we saw in (329) and (334), the embedded "mutating" verb 'go' takes the marked case.

9.3.9   Know how

The verb 'to know' in Kusunda expresses the notion of 'how to do something' and can include abstractions like *gina gipən uk-an-dzi* (he language know-REAL-<??>) 'He knows Kusunda (= He knows how to speak Kusunda)'. Knowing a person employs a different verb *tsiṛma-* 'recognize,' which is used as a matrix verb for 'believe.' (See §9.3.10.)

In our corpus of data we have only cases in which both the matrix verb 'know' and the embedded complement verb are coded as realis:

(340) a. tsi   wi   a-t-ṇ   t-uk-an
           I   house   make-1-REAL   1-know-REAL
           'I know how to build a house.'

       b. nu   wi   a-n-ṇ   n-uk-an
           you   house   make-2-REAL   2-know-REAL
           'You know how to build a house.'

<div style="margin-left: 2em;">

c. nu   ipən   sola-n-ṇ   n-uk-wa
   you corn break-2-REAL   2-know-NEG:IRR
   'You won't know how to break (harvest) corn.'

</div>

9.3.10   *Believe*

The complement construction 'to believe something' employs the matrix verb whose literal meaning is 'recognize.' We have only one example:

<div style="margin-left: 2em;">

(341)   taŋ   g-i-wən[34]   tsirma-t-ṇ
         water 3-go-REAL recognize-1-REAL
         'I believe it will rain.'

</div>

9.3.11   *Show how, teach*

'Showing' or 'teaching how' to do something employs a complement construction we have not yet seen (except briefly in §9.2.2), and we will hold off discussing it till we get to §10.2 on *Overlapping events*.

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[34] The verb for 'rain' is surprising in Kusunda – 'water goes' instead of 'water comes'.

10. Clause chaining

"Clause chaining" is a clause combining strategy very common in the languages of South Asia and syntactically distinct from English-type "co-ranking" structures like *He went to the forest and set traps*. A basic feature common to classical clause chaining languages is the distinction between chain-medial and chain-final verbs. Typically, the verb belonging to the chain-final clause is the most finite, being marked for things like person/number agreement and tense/aspect distinctions. Verbs belonging to chain-medial clauses, on the other hand, are less finite, sometimes pared down to a simple verb root plus some kind of non-final marker. Thus, it is termed "co-subordinate." It is subordinate in that it depends on the final verb for certain finite specifications, but coordinate in that it lacks many features of true subordinates (Haspelmath 1995).

With respect to clause chaining, Kusunda is typologically distinct from the languages immediately surrounding it. First of all it distinguishes on a temporal scale between "sequential" events and "overlapping" events, and secondly, it marks sequential events as "co-ranking" and overlapping events as "co-subordinate." In the surrounding languages, like Nepali and Kham, there is no formal distinction between sequential and overlapping events, and the only strategy employed is the co-subordinate one.

10.1   Sequential events

Sequential events occur in temporal chronology – *Having eaten he left* is an example; eating occurs first and leaving second. Kusunda has such sequences, but all verbs in the chain – medial and final – are fully finite. Furthermore, medial verbs have no special marker to distinguish them from final verbs. As such, these are "co-ranking" structures (Longacre 1985) and differ from the "co-subordinate" structures we will look at in §10.2. Following are examples:

(342)   a.   hyoq-ts-in   ts-ip-ṇ
              hide-1-REAL   1-sleep-REAL
              'I hid and I slept.' (I hid and slept.)

          b.   borlo-q-di   taŋ-da   sip-ts-in   hul-ts-in
              boil-AC-ADJ   water-LOC   enter-1-REAL   cook-1-REAL
              'I entered boiling water and I got cooked.'

          c.   wa   u-g-i   ip-dzi
              home   come-3-PAST   sleep-PAST
              'He came home he and slept.'

          e.   õɴˤla-d-i   dãba-d-aːˤi
              search-1-PAST   find-1-PAST:NEG
              'I searched and/but I didn't find it.'

          f.   gina   poχla-g-i   g-əm-ən
              he   bathe-3-PAST   3-eat-REAL
              'He bathed and he ate.'

          g.   aota   həra-g-ən   tən-da   daha-g-i
              door   open-3-REAL   me-ACC   seat-3-PAST
              'He opened the door and he seated me.'

All of the sequences above retain the same subject for both verbs and would occur in other languages of the region as classic clause chains – the first verb would occur as a non-finite medial verb (plus linking morphology), and only the final verb would occur as fully finite with person inflection. English, too, would treat all the sentences in (342) as "same-subject" chains by deleting the second pronoun — 'You hid and ~~you~~ slept.'

The kinds of sequences illustrated in (342) are not formally different from the coordinated structures we will look at in §11.1. The only difference, if any, might be based on semantic inferences. The structures here were elicited as sequential chains (using Nepali *-erə*), while the structures in §11.1 were elicited as non-chains like *After I eat I will go*.

10.1.1   *Negation in sequential chains*

One consequence of having finite marking on both verbs is their logical independence of one another. Under negation, it appears (tentatively, at least) that the scope of the negative applies only to the negated verb, something not necessarily true for classical clause chaining languages. In classical clause chaining languages, negation on the final verb can extend backwards to the medial verb as well, as in the following example from Kham (Watters 2002:327):

(343)   mədə   cʰokoraː   o-də   ta-sə-mɨ̃ːh-si-c-yo
         wine   beer   drink-NF   PROH-CAUS-drunk-DETRANS-2P-IMP
         'Don't get yourselves drunk drinking beer and wine!'

The inference is that you should not drink and get drunk – drinking is also prohibited. However, cause and effect must be semantically well integrated before the scope of negation on the final verb extends back to include the medial verb. Unfortunately, our corpus of data does not include examples of negative clause chains where the two events can be thought of as semantically well integrated, and under such circumstances it is impossible to know if the scope of the negative in semantically integrated events is more inclusive than it is in semantically discontinuous events.

10.1.1.1   *Negation of the medial verb*

Where the medial verb in a clause chain is negated, the scope of negation is local – it applies to that verb alone. Following are examples:

(344)   a.   tsi   t-əm-daːˤu   t-ug-un
               I   1-eat-REAL:NEG   1-come-REAL
               'I came without eating.' (lit. 'I didn't eat, I came.')

         b.   poχla-g-aːˤi   g-əm-ən
               bathe-3-REAL:NEG   3-eat-REAL
               'He ate without bathing.' (lit. 'He didn't bathe, he ate.')

         c.   teina   tumba-d-aːˤu,   goraq   tumbə-d-u
               today   finish-1-REAL:NEG,   tomorrow   finish-1-IRR
               'Not finishing it today, I'll finish it tomorrow.'

10.1.1.2   *Negation of the final verb*

We have very few examples of this structure, but the ones that we do have often imply "condition," which will be treated more fully in §11.2. Following are two

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examples:

(345)   a.   okti   t-əm-da-k   t-oɢˤ-də-o
             medicine   1-eat-PL-IRR   1-die-PL-NEG:IRR
             '(If) we eat the medicine we won't die.'
             (lit. 'We will eat the medicine and we won't die.')

          b.   nu   tən-da   pumba-n-u   tsi   qʰai-d-wa
             you   me-ACC   beat-2-IRR,   I   fear-1-NEG:IRR
             '(Even if) you beat me I won't be afraid.'
             (lit. 'You will beat me, I won't be afraid.')

A third example implies opposition:

(346)   gina poχla-g-i   g-əm-daːˤu
         he   bathe-3-PAST   3-eat-REAL:NEG
         'He bathed (but) he didn't eat.'

10.1.2   *A second negative*

Both medial and final verbs sometimes employ a second negative. Though we can surmise on the origin of its structure, we do not know how this negative differs semantically from the one illustrated in §10.1.1 above. We give two examples of a medial verb negated by this second negative (a–b), and one example of a final verb (c):

(347)   a.   gina poχla   kʰaːˤi   g-əm-ən
             he   bathe   be:REAL:NEG 3-eat-REAL
             'He didn't bathe and he ate.' (He ate without bathing.)

          b.   wa   uga   kʰaːˤi   un-da   ip-dzi
             home come   be:REAL:NEG trail-LOC   sleep-TAM
             'He didn't come home and he slept on the trail.' OR
             'Not coming home, he slept on the trail.'

          c.   gimi   meː-d-i   dāba-nə   kʰaːˤi
             money   lose-1-PAST, find-2   be:REAL:NEG
             'I lost the money and you didn't find it.'

Beginning with (347a), the expected negative form for a finite, realis Class II verb would be *poχla-g-aːˤi* (bathe-3-REAL:NEG), the *-g* being a third person agreement marker. The negative *kʰaːˤi*, on the other hand, is the negative existential copula, now used as negation marker on non-copular verbs. (See *Negative existential* under §6.1.2.1.) The use of copular verbs in modality systems, of course, is widespread in the languages of the world, South Asia included. This is the first instance, however, that we have seen it in Kusunda.

In §8.1.4 we saw examples of bare verb roots used in concatenative structures like *hol t-əm-du* (cook 1-eat-IRR:SG) 'I'll cook and eat.' The first root, *hol*, is followed by a second finite root, *t-əm-du*, without intervening morphology of any kind. The negative construction that we are dealing with here is a parallel structure – the negative copula follows the bare root. It is reasonable that such "bare root" verbs should be negated by the existential, without all the finite machinery of conjugated verbs.

The form of the final verb in (347c) is also unexpected. We would expect *dāba-n-aːˤi* (find-2-REAL:NEG). Final verbs are always finite, being marked for TAM and person/num-

ber information, and (347c) manages to tack a second person marker *-nə* onto the end of the first root. It is very likely, in fact, that the grammaticalization pathway for *dãba-n-aːˤi* is < **dãba-nə kʰaːˤi.*

It may turn out, then, after further study, that the "concatenative" structure is the "real" clause chaining device and the structures illustrated in (342) are coordinated "co-ranking" structures on the English model.

10.2   Overlapping events

Kusunda has a second kind of clause chaining device whose structure (but not function) is more in keeping with areal expectations. In this second device, medial verbs are non-finite and marked by a clause-chaining suffix *-de*[35], while final verbs are fully finite for person marking and TAM. The surprising thing about Kusunda, however, is that this structure does not mark sequential events. (This was far from obvious in our early work because of the perceived similarity with Nepali sequential events.) The non-sequential nature of the structure was especially difficult to detect in contexts like the following where it is difficult to imagine anything *but* a sequential reading:

(348)   a.   am-de   u-g-i
              eat-CNV   come-3-PAST
              'He came while eating.' (i.e. before finishing his meal)[36]

         b.   ip-de   t-ug-un
              sleep-CNV   1-come-REAL
              'I came while sleeping.' (i.e. before the night was over)

         c.   hyoq-de   ts-ip-ṇ
              hide-CNV   1-sleep-REAL
              'I slept (while) hiding.'

In the linguistic literature, the opposite of a sequential event has often been referred to as a "simultaneous" event, as in *While she was cooking she tended the baby*. As we will show, however, the term "overlapping" event represents the data in Kusunda better than the term "simultaneous," and is the one we will use throughout. Thus (346a) does not necessarily mean (though it can mean) that he was eating while coming down the road, which is what a simultaneous reading would give.

10.2.1   Cause and effect

For expressions of "cause and effect" it might seem that a sequential event structure would be more appropriate than an overlapping event structure. But presumably because of close topic continuity between the events in a cause–effect vector, they are frequently coded as overlapping, as in:

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[35]   The suffix *-de* is also the converbal marker for some dialects of Kham (with variants *-di* and *-də* in other dialects). Classical Tibetan has *(s)-te*.

[36]   When asked for the meaning of sentences like these, our informants' response in Nepali would typically be *khaerə ayo* 'Having eaten he came.' But when asked for the Kusunda equivalent of *khaerə ayo* they were prone to respond with the sequential construction *g-əm-ən u-g-i* (3-eat-REAL come-3-PAST) 'He ate and he came.'

(349) a. pumba   pumba-de   gina   hãː   hyo-da-d-i
           beat   beat-CNV   he   face   swell-CAUS-1-PAST
           'I made his face swell by beating and beating him.'

       b. dzõ-wa-de   oɢˤ-da-d-i
           hang-CAUS-CNV   die-CAUS-1-PAST
           'I killed it by hanging it.'

       c. tsilgari   soq-de   katʰməndu   t-ug-un
           airplane   climb-CNV   Kathmandu   1-come-REAL
           'I came to Kathmandu by climbing (riding) a plane.'

       d. na   am-de   t-oɢˤ-da-k
           this   eat-CNV   1-die-PL-IRR
           'Eating this we will die.'

10.2.2   Temporal overlap

Here we give examples of sequences in which the overlap is more temporal than topical:

(350) a. hãː-de   ts-ip-ṇ
           sit-CNV   1-sleep-REAL
           'I slept sitting up.'

       b. hol-de   t-əm-du
           cook-CNV   1-eat-IRR:SG
           'I will eat while cooking.'

       c. tsi   amba   hulə-de   t-ug-u
           I   meat   cook-CNV   1-come-NEG:IRR
           'I won't come while cooking meat.'

       d. am-de   gipən   a-t-ṇ
           eat-CNV   talk   make-1-REAL
           'I talked while eating.'

       e. gilas-ga   sib-a-de   g-oɢˤ-on
           glass-IN   enter-CAUS-CNV   3-put-REAL
           'He put it in the glass by stuffing it.'

The last sentence, (350e), is a good example of the "adverbial" reading of some converbs. Such a reading comes as a result of overlap or simultaneity. The 'putting' and the 'stuffing' occur at the same time, but 'stuffing' describes the manner in which it was put.

The benefactive construction and the 'teach' converbal (which we will treat in §10.2.3 and §10.2.4 respectively) give further evidence of the "overlap" reading of the Kusunda converb.

10.2.3   The benefactive construction

The benefactive construction is marginal in Kusunda, and compared with the surrounding languages, is typologically exceptional. Except in a restricted case (which we will see in a subsection below), the benefactive requires no derivational machinery.

Usually, all that is required is the addition of a dative argument[37] to a transitive clause, as in the following:

(351)   a. BASIC TRANSITIVE:

        tsi wi   a-t-ṇ

        I   house   make-1-REAL

        'I built a house.'

    b. BENEFACTIVE:

        tsi gin-da   wi   a-t-ṇ

        I   him-DAT   house make-1-REAL

        'I built a house for him.'

Such a construction is also available to some TB languages, but only on verbs that are marginally bitransitive – verbs like 'send' or 'show.' Such verbs have transitive and bitransitive uses, as in the following example from Tamang:

(352)   TAMANG (from Taylor 1973:106-107)

    a. TRANSITIVE USE:

        apa-ce   the-ta   buh-ri   pit-ci

        father-ERG he-DAT   field-to send-TAM

        'Father sent him to the field.'

    b. BITRANSITIVE USE:

        the-ce   apa-ta   chiTi   pit-ci

        he-ERG   father-DAT   letter   send-TAM

        'He sent a letter to Father.'

In other TB languages, like Kham, the transitivity of verbs is fixed, and even verbs like 'send' and 'show' are inherently transitive. For such verbs to be used in a bitransitive (benefactive) sense requires an applicative derivation in the verb. The derivation employs the verb 'to give' (with a non-literal reading) in a clause chaining construction:

(353)   KHAM (from Watters 2002:239)

    a. TRANSITIVE USE:

        no-e   ŋa-lai   pərĩ-na-ke-o

        he-ERG   me-OBJ   send-1S-PFV-3S

        'He sent me.'

    b. BITRANSITIVE DERIVATION:

        no-e   ŋa-lai   cʰiti   pərĩ-d-y-ãː-ke-o

        he-ERG   me-OBJ   letter   send-NF-GIVE-1S-PFV-3S

        'He sent me a letter.'

Nepali, like Tamang, has transitive and bitransitive senses for verbs like 'send' and 'show.' For verbs with a fixed transitive reading, however, Nepali, like Kham (and Tamang), requires a benefactive derivation which employs a non-literal usage of the verb 'to give.'

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[37] It is also possible to use a modification of the Nepali *-ko lagi*, as in: *tsi-lage limu-dzi* (me-FOR fight-TAM) 'He fought for me' (on my behalf). See the 'benefactive' under §5.2.2.4.

10.2.3.1 A deceptive look-alike

Kusunda has a construction which, on the surface, appears to be almost identical to the benefactive construction used in Nepali and Kham (as illustrated by Kham in (353b)). Structurally, it uses the converb *-de* on a medial verb, followed by the verb 'to give' as a final verb. Careful probing, however, reveals that 'give' is not benefactive, but retains its literal sense.[38] We first began to realize this when sentences like the following created confusion and heated debate:

(354)   a.   ?tsi-kolde   du-ga   ləbə-de   e-g-ən
             1S-knife   dirt-IN   bury-CNV   give-3-REAL
             ?'Burying my knife in the dirt he gave it to me.'

        b.   ?tsi-gimi   kila-de   e-g-ən
             1S-money   steal-CNV   give-3-REAL
             ?'Stealing my money he gave it to me.'

        c.   *tsi-gimi   sabe   təmbə-de   e-g-ən
             1S-money   there   send-CNV   give-3-REAL
             *'Sending my money there he gave it to me.'

The verb 'to give' in all three sentences in (354) is incompatible with a literal meaning for 'give' – hence their ungrammaticality or questionable grammaticality. Our informants could force a reading of sentences (a) and (b), but insisted that they represented two very incompatible events – for (a), the knife would have to be uncovered. Sentence (c) they rejected outright, saying that the money could not be given after it had already been sent.[39]

For a language like Kham, the benefactive is required on all sentences in (354) for the simple reason that doing something to one's possessed item is equivalent to doing it to the person – it forces an extra argument. The sentence in (c) would be a "malefactive." None of these observations apply to Kusunda.

We were able to verify our hypothesis on the following sentences which are *not* incompatible with a literal reading of 'give':

(355)   a.   gina   tən-da   wi   a-de   e-g-ən
             he   me-ACC   house   make-CNV   give-3-REAL
             'Building a house he gave it to me.'
             (not 'He built a house for me.')

        b.   tsi-kʰaidzi   hulə-de   e-go
             1S-food   cook-CNV   give-IMP
             'Cooking my food give it to me!'
             (not 'Cook my food for me!')

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[38] Recall from §9.3.4 that 'give' is used in Kusunda in a permissive sense with the embedded verb marked by *-da*. Interestingly, Masica (1976:148) notes that throughout the Indian area, only Telegu "appears to lack the benefactive use of give." He further notes that as an auxiliary, 'give' has a permissive meaning only.

[39] Interestingly, they can produce such sentences based on a Nepali template, but after discussion they reject them on the basis that they are incompatible events.

    c. tsi nən-da   ts-i-de   e-d-u
       I   you-ACC   1-bring-CNV give-1-IRR:SG
       'I'll bring and give it to you.'
       (not 'I'll bring it for you.')

10.2.3.2   A lexical benefactive

Recall from §6.1.4 that many transitive verbs are modelled after the verb 'to do, make,' as in: *abi a-t-ṇ* (carry do-1-REAL) 'I carry it.' Some of the same verbs (but apparently not all of them) can substitute the verb 'to give' in place of 'to do.' Where this occurs, we get a benefactive reading, as in:

(356) a. ni-bʰari   abi   e-d-u
         2S-load   carry   give-1-IRR:SG
         'I'll carry your load for you.'

        b. tən-da   hulə   e-g-ən
           me-DAT   cook give-3-REAL
           'He cooked (it) for me.'

        c. tsi-wi   nu   ukʰə   e-n-i
          1S-house   you ruin   give-2-PAST
          'You ruined my house.

        d. pumbə   e-go
          beat   give-IMP
          'Beat it (for me).'

10.2.4   The "teach" converbal

The "teach" converbal employs the overlapping converbal marker *-de*, followed by a finite form of the verb 'to show.' The following examples show that the verb 'show' is not in a sequential relationship with the preceding verb, but an overlapping relationship. It implies teaching by example, 'showing how':

(357) a. tsi nən-da   wi   a-de   unda-d-u
         I   you-ACC   house make-CNV   show-1-IRR:SG
         'I'll show you how to build a house.'
         (not: 'I'll build a house and show you.')

        b. nu   tən-da   ipən sula-de   unda-n-u
           you me-ACC   corn break-CNV show-2-IRR:SG
           'You'll show me how to harvest corn.'
           (not: 'You'll break corn and show me.')

        b. gina tən-da   amba hulə-de   unda-i
           he   me-ACC   meat   cook-CNV   show-3:PAST
           'He showed me how to cook meat.'
           (not: 'He cooked meat and showed me.')

10.2.5   Causative converbal – 'send'

We saw the periphrastic causative 'send' earlier in §9.2.2, but we are now in a position to discuss it more fully. The 'send' causative contrasts with the 'make'

causative in at least two ways. First of all, the 'make' causative is an implicative causative, i.e. it implies that the embedded event also occurred. With the 'send' causative, such an implication seems to be weaker (though we are not yet sure). Secondly, the 'send' causative employs the "overlapping converb" as part of its structure. (The 'make' causative did not.)

The overlapping converb carries with it the implication that the two verbs in the clause chain are at least partially continuous, both temporally and thematically. This contrasts with a sequential interpretation, in which the initial verb-event occurs first and the final verb-event later. These clauses are bitransitive with a hierarchical structure. The accusative marked object is an object of the higher verb and the embedded object is unmarked. Following are examples:

(358)   a.   tsi   nən-da   wi   a-de   təmbə-d-u
              I   you-ACC   house   make-CNV   send-1-IRR:SG
             'I'll make/have you build a house.'
             (not: 'I'll make a house and send you.)

        b.   nu   gin-da   wi   a-de   təmbə-n-i
              you   him-ACC   house   make-CNV   send-2-PAST
             'You made/had him build a house.'
             (not: 'You built a house and sent him.')

Part of the force of the 'send' causative is captured in the English idiomatic expression (from Shakespeare) *She sent him packing*, which means something like, 'She made him leave.'

11. Combinations of finite clauses

In §10 we looked at clause chains of two types – 1) those that code events which occur in temporal sequence, and 2) those that code events in which there is some kind of temporal or semantic overlap. There is a formal structural difference – the former are "co-ranking" in structure, all verbs being finite (and hence equal in rank, Longacre 1985), and the latter are "co-subordinate," making a distinction between medial verbs (non-finite) and final verbs (finite).

In this chapter we will look further at co-ranking structures – those clause combinations in which both verbs are finite. These are clauses of coordination, of condition, of adversity and concession. But because there are no explicit clause connectors, like 'and' or 'but,' in Kusunda, the semantic relationship between any two co-ranking clauses is a matter of inference. This is not to say that the inferences are not dependent on certain grammatical and pragmatic factors; they are. Two very broad factors that are relevant to our study are 1) the level of continuity between clauses, and 2) the particular TAM marking employed. Continuity between clauses implies conjunction, and discontinuity implies disjunction. It also turns out that irrealis marking on the final clause of a two-clause construction almost always implies a conditional construction.

11.1   Coordination

Where the person reference in both verbs of a co-ranking structure is identical we get something equivalent to coordination, especially where there is also continuity of time reference between the two verbs. We looked briefly at coordination in §10.1, but there we were contrasting it with co-subordinate strucures; here we contrast coordination with other co-ranking structures. Following are examples of coordination, translated by English 'and':

(359)   a.   wa   u-g-i   ip-dzi
               home   come-3-PAST   sleep-3:PAST
               'He came home and slept.'

         b.   hyoq-ts-in   ts-ip-ṇ
               hide-1-REAL   1-sleep-REAL
               'I hid and slept.'

Thus, though in Kusunda, the person and number of the subject is marked on both verbs, their English translations elide the second pronominal reference, as in: *He came home and slept*. The same Kusunda sentences could also be translated as, for example, 'He came home, he slept' or 'He came home and he slept.' Subject continuity allows, but does not require, the elided translations given in (359). (The sentences were originally elicited as sequential chains using Nepali *-erə*, hence, the same subject in both verbs and their English translations.)

• *The adversative*. The adversative is based entirely on semantic inference. It has a basic coordinate structure, but one in which the second event of the bi-clausal structure can be thought of as an unexpected outcome of the first event:

(360)   tsi   yuŋ-tsi-n   ts-ip-daːˤu
              I   lie.down-1-REAL   1-sleep-REAL:NEG
              'I laid down, (but) I didn't sleep.'

11.1.1   Discontinuity of person reference

Where two verbs in a sequence are marked for different subjects, a disjunction of events is implied by the two verbs in the co-ranking structure, as reflected in the following translations (here the second pronoun *cannot* be elided):

(361)   a.   tǝn-da   un   unda-g-i   t-ug-un
              me-ACC   road   show-3-PAST   1-come-REAL
              'He showed me the road and I came.'

         b.   nu   n-ug-un   tsi   hyoq-ts-in
              you   2-come-REAL   I   hide-1-REAL
              'You came and I hid.'

In examples (359–361) all verbs were cast in past time – either as realis or past tense. In the following example both clauses are in future time, but with the same discontinuity of person reference. Here, the second clause implies "reason":

(362)   tǝn-da   tǝmba-yin,   tsi   un   meː-d-u
         me-ACC   send-PROH,   I   road   lose-1-IRR:SG
         'Don't send me, I'll lose the road.'

11.1.2   Discontinuity of time

Where one or both clauses are marked by adverbs of time, a disjunction of events is implied, even where the pronominal reference for both events is identical. Again, there are no explicit coordinators marking such predications; the relationship between the two events must be inferred:

(363)   SAME PRONOMINAL REFERENCE:
         a.   tsi   kʰaidzi   t-ǝm-ǝn,   dǝbaq   a-t-ṇ   wi
              I   food   1-eat-REAL,   now   make-1-REAL   house
              'I ate food, now I'll build the house.'

         b.   tsi   wi   a-t-ṇ,   sǝmba   ts-ip-ṇ
              I   house   make-1-REAL,   later   1-sleep-REAL
              'I'm building a house, I'll sleep later.'

         c.   pyana   nǝn-da   imba-d-i,   tǝĩna   pǝrmǝ-d-a-n
              yesterday   you-ACC   think-1-PAST,   today   meet-1-PL-REAL
              'Yesterday I thought of you, today we met.'

(364)   DIFFERENT PRONOMINAL REFERENCE:
         nu   n-ug-u   sǝmba   tsi   t-ǝm-du
         you   2-come-IRR   later   I   1-eat-IRR:SG
         'After you come I will eat.' (lit. 'You'll come, I'll eat later')

11.1.3   Discontinuity of TAM marking

Where there is discontinuity of time (as in §11.1.2), there can also be an accompanying discontinuity in TAM marking between the two verbs of the construction. The semantic inference to be drawn in such cases is not different from the inferences we saw in (363) and (364). In the following examples, the first verb is marked for realis or past, and the second verb for irrealis:

135

(365) a. pinda   poχla-d-i,   dəbaq tʃ-aɢˤ-ak
           before   bathe-1-PAST,   now   1-go-IRR
           'Earlier I bathed, now I'll go.'

       b. kʰaidzi   t-əm-ən,   səmba   a-d-u   wi
           food   1-eat-REAL,   later   make-1-IRR:SG   house
           'I'm eating food, I'll build the house later.'

       c. tsi ts-ip-d-a:ˤu,   səmba   ts-ip-du
           I   1-sleep-REAL-NEG,   later   1-sleep-IRR:SG
           'I haven't slept (yet), I'll sleep later.'

There are also cases of discontinuity in TAM marking which are *not* accompanied by time adverbials – such often imply "condition" and will be dealt with next.

11.2   Conditionals and concessives

In a language like English, conditional and concessive clauses are subordinate, the protasis and apodosis elements depending upon one another. In Kusunda, there is no formal dependency marking – both verbs are fully finite – but there is an implied semantic dependency.

Where the final (i.e. main) clause of a bi-clausal structure is marked for irrealis, it is often implied that the first clause is a kind of conditional with the main clause its apodosis. An exception to this is in a bi-clausal structure having the same properties but with an explicit temporal specification on one clause. We saw such an example in (361), where the semantic relationship is '*after this... then that*.' Without the explicit adverbial specification, however, the default relationship is a conditional one.

11.2.1   Continuity of person in irrealis mode

Irrealis marking on the final verb of a bi-clausal construction can occur with or without person continuity between the two clauses. The result in both cases is the same – it implies condition. The following example, then, a conditional, contrasts with the examples shown in (365):

(366)   na   t-əm-da-n   t-oɢˤ-da-k
         this 1-eat-PL-REAL   1-die-PL-IRR
         'If we eat this we will die.'

11.2.2   Discontinuity of person in irrealis mode

Disjunction of person in irrealis contexts for bi-clausal constructions can occur with or without continuity in the TAM marking of the two verbs. In the following sections we present both types.

11.2.2.1 With continuity of TAM

We have numerous examples in our corpus in which both sides of a conditional clause, the protasis and the apodosis, are marked for irrealis. We have already seen in §11.2 that the final clause of a conditional construction must be marked irrealis, and it is not at all surprising that in a language for which irrealis marking is available, the protasis side of the conditional should also be marked irrealis. (The surprising thing is that irrealis marking is *not* always required on the protasis, a matter that we will discuss in

the next subsection.) Following are examples:

(367)   a.   nok   kʰaidzi   hul-a-k   tok   am-da   t-ug-da-k
             you.pl   food   cook-PL-IRR   we   eat-PURP   1-come-PL-IRR
             'If you cook food we will come to eat.'

        b.   nok   n-ug-da-k   qaGˤtse   bəjar   ts-i-da-k
             you.pl   2-come-PL-IRR   together   bazaar   1-go-PL-IRR
             'If you come we will go together to the bazaar.'

        c.   goraq   taŋ   g-i-wu   tsi   ts-əg-wa
             tomorrow   water   3-go-IRR:SG   I   1-go-NEG:IRR
             'If it rains tomorrow I won't go.'

11.2.2.2   With discontinuity of TAM

In conditional constructions it is also possible that the protasis side of the construction be marked for *realis*, replacing the expected irrealis. Here we get a disjunction of TAM marking, as in the following:

(368)   a.   goraq   taŋ   g-iw-ən   tsi   ts-əg-wa
             tomorrow   water   3-go-REAL   I   1-go-NEG:IRR
             'If it rains tomorrow, I won't go.'

        b.   nu   tən-da   pumb-ən   tsi   hyoq-ts-u
             you   me-ACC   beat-REAL   I   hide-1-IRR
             'If you beat me I will hide.'

        c.   n-əm-daːˤu   kʰəŋ-g-u
             2-eat-NEG:REAL   cold-3-IRR:SG
             'If you don't drink it, it will get cold.'

It is not known how the semantic interpretation of the sentences in (368) should differ from those in (367). Some kind of evidential might be implied here. For example, it might be that with realis marking in the protasis the speaker is stating something about general knowledge – "If you don't drink the tea, it will get cold" – or even about his level of commitment to the outcome – "If it rains tomorrow (and I expect it to do so), I will not go." In any event, it is likely that the speaker is more strongly committed to the possibility that the event in the first clause, though conditional, will actually occur – something similar to the differences reflected in the English saying "Not if, but when!" With *irrealis* in the conditional, nothing is certain, and the speaker makes no commitment about the outcome.

11.2.3   A concessive

The concessive in Kusunda is no more than a conditional with implied contra-expectation between the protasis and the apodosis, as in the following:

(369)   nu   tən-da   pumba-n-u   tsi   qʰai-d-wa
            you   me-ACC   beat-2-IRR:SG   I   fear-1-NEG:IRR
            'Even if you beat me I won't be afraid.'
            (lit. 'You will beat me, I won't be afraid')

11.3   Bi-clausal residue

There are other bi-clausal constructions in Kusunda in which one or both clauses are bounded by a suffix *-da*. *-Da* appears to be a subordinator and may, in fact, make explicit some of the dependency relationships we have already discussed. On the other hand, it may be that the *-da* here is no more than the same "incompletive" aspectual marker *-da* we saw in §5.5.3.6. We have one example in which only the medial verb is marked by *-da*, and the translation given to us was a time adverbial, as in:

(370)   tsi   ts-ip-n̩-da   nəti   aoda   dəi-ən
          I   1-sleep-REAL-ADV   who   door   knock-REAL
          'While I was sleeping someone knocked at the door.'

In other cases, both verbs are marked by *-da*. Here, *-da* may be an irrealis subordination marker. We saw earlier, under section §11.2.2.2 *Discontinuity of TAM* that a bi-clausal construction with a subjunctive for the first clause can mark that clause as realis – a seeming contradiction of terms (see 367). The difficulty is resolved if the subjunctive is marked as an add-on category, a notion superimposed upon the "lower level" TAM marking which is relevant to individual clauses. Thus:

(371)   a.   gina   hul-ən-da   tok   t-əm-da-k-da
                he   cook-NEUT-SUB   we   1-eat-PL-IRR-SUB
                'If he cooks we will eat.'
                OR 'If he had cooked we would have eaten.' (??)

          b.   taŋ   g-iw-ən-da   tsi   sowa-t-n̩-da
                water   3-go-REAL-SUB   I   bathe-1-REAL-SUB
                'If it had rained I would have bathed.'

It appears that the difference between the (a) and (b) sentences in (371) is the TAM of the main verb – in (a) it is irrealis and in (b) it is realis. This has direct bearing on the overall interpretation, a future subjunctive in (a) versus a past subjunctive in (b).

There must certainly be many more co-subordinate and co-ranking constructions in Kusunda, but for the time being, those reported in §10 and §11 are all that our current data base will support. This is a topic that clearly needs more study.

Appendix A

Kusunda Vocabulary

Following is a basic vocabulary of about 850 items in Kusunda. Entries with multiple words separated by a forward slash (/) are variants of the same word. For example, *əraq / əraχ* are variant pronunciations of the word for 'garlic.' In some cases the variants represent different interpretations by different members of the research team.

There is no citation form for verbs, and we have tried to list first person realis forms (usually *-d-ŋ*), followed by first person past (if one exists) (usually *-d-i*), followed by the imperative form (usually *-to* or *-ə-go*). Forms ending in *ə-g-ən* are third person realis forms.

ə

-ə *vt.* root of the verb 'talk, speak'
   (see also ts-ə ə-d-ŋ and n-ə ə-n-i)
-əg *vi.* root of the verb 'go'
   (see also ts-əg-ən, n-əg-ən, d-əg-əi)
əgi *adj.* live, living
əgi-da-d-ŋ, əgi-da-d-i *vt.* to make live, to rescue
əiga *vt.* imperative form of 'fetch, bring'
   (see also ts-iw-ən and -i)
əigi-d-ŋ, əigi-d-i; əigi-no (imp) *vi.* to live, to survive
əina (Nep) *n.* mirror
əitsi *n.* dove, pigeon
əmbyaq *n.* mango
-əna *suff.* from
ənin, əini, ayin; əniyu (neg) *vi.* to be, become (Nep bən-nu)
əŋgago *n.* armful
əolə-d-i; əolə ə-go (imp) *vt.* to sell
əraq / əraχ *n.* garlic
ərdzo ə-g-ən *vt.* to squeeze
ərtsa *n.* needle
əsa *interrog.* how
əsae *adv.* always
əsaGˤi, əsaːˤi *interrog.* from when, when
əsi *interrog.* how much, how many
əubaŋ *n.* nostril
əubaŋ ə-go *vt.* to pierce, make hole

A

abəq / əboχ *n.* greens, vegetable
abi a-t-ŋ, abi a-d-i; abi ə-go (imp) *vt.* to carry
ãdze *pp.* up, above
agəi *n.* dog
agəi getse *n.* dog pup
ai ədi *adv.* this manner
ai-t-ŋ, ai-d-i, ai-dzi; ai-to (imp), ai-yin (proh) *vt.* to beg
aidzi *n.* alms
aidzi *n.* other
aidzi / əidzi *n.* goat
akpəi / akʰpe *pp.* across
alu (Nep) *n.* potato
amaːˤa, amaqa *pp.* below
amba / əmba *n.* flesh, meat
amba padə-g-ən *vt.* to hunt (lit. to hunt meat)
ambu / ambo *n.* breast, udder, milk
ambu tsilip ə-g-ən *vt.* to milk (lit. to squeeze udder)
amdzi *n.* carrying net
an *n.* urine
anə-d-i; anə-g-ən (3rd); anə-go (imp), ənə-yin (proh) *vi.* to urinate
aŋga ə-go (imp) *vt.* to embrace
aŋgi *n.* shirt (Nep bhoʈo)
ao *n.* dirt, ground
aõ / waha *pp.* inside
ao bʰaŋ *n.* hole in ground
ao-da-d-i; ao-da ə-go (imp), ao-da ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to burn food
ao-dzi *vi.* to burn (of food)
aõla (Nep) *n.* finger

aoqa *pp.* on top of

aosi / aose / əusi *n.* fingernail

aota / awata *n.* door

ape *loc.* there

aqa / akʰa *pp.* down, under, beneath

asne *pp.* uphill

at *n.* headstrap, noose, snare

ata gi *n.* mustache, beard

ata gidaŋ / atta gitaŋ *n.* saliva (lit. mouth water)

ata, atta *n.* mouth

ataŋ *n.* footprint, track

a-t-ṇ, a-d-i; ə-go (imp), ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to make

at-to *vt.* imperative form of 'say' (see also ts-oɴˤ-on)

awi / awəi *n.* hand, wrist, arm

awən / əhun, ahun *n.* feather

B

bə *adv.* also

bəkək ə-go *vt.* to fold

bələ-d-i; bələ-go (imp), bələ-yin (proh) *vt.* to remove from fire

bəm *n.* sky, cloud

bəmlu / bamlo *n.* frog

bəsə (Nep) *n.* year

bət *vi.* to be (predicational)

bətsʰəi *adj.* wide

bãdza *pp.* outside

bai *n.* elder sister

bãkʰa, bãkʰə *n.* type of bird (Nep lãcʰe)

bal-ṇ, bəl-tsi-n; bəl-to (imp) *vi.* to descend, climb down

bãqa *n.* sickle (kʰurpa)

begəi *n.* ginger

begəi *n.* Kusunda

begən *n.* chilli, pepper

begən *adj.* spicy, hot

beho *vt.* to winnow

bem-ṇ, bem-tsi-n, bem-to *vi.* to fall, trip

bemə-g-ən *vt.* to fall

ben *adj.* raw, uncooked

bewə-d-ṇ, bewə-d-i *vt.* to bear child

bewə-tsi-n *vi.* to be born

bi it-ṇ *vi.* to dawn

bibi-dzi, bibi-to *vi.* to walk

binəi *n.* younger sister

biyãχ *n.* tobacco leaf

budi aõla (Nep) *n.* thumb

budun *n.* father-in-law

bukʰra *n.* type of bird

bul-dzi (3rd) *vi.* to emerge

bultsum *n.* flea

bunə ə-g-ən (3rd) *vt.* to weave (lit. 'do loom')

burmə-d-i; burmə-go (imp) *vt.* to uproot

bwãk, bwãkʰ, bwãχ *n.* goiter

bya *adj.* spicy, hot

byagorok *n.* radish

byaq-a-t-ṇ, byaq-a-d-i; byaqa ə-go (imp) *vt.* to overturn, spill

byaq-ṇ *vi.* to overturn, spill

byoŋ-dzi, byoŋ-tsi-n; byoŋ-ni-n (2nd); byoŋ-to (imp) *vi.* to squat

BH

bʰəĩra (Nep) *n.* sparrow

bʰəpsar *n.* fox

bʰəra ə-go (imp) *vt.* to snatch

bʰəra-d-ṇ, bʰəra-d-i *vt.* to break rope, pull in two

bʰəra-q-ṇ *vi.* to break (of rope)

bʰəya *n.* younger brother

bʰab ə-go (imp) *vt.* to mend, patch

bʰiŋga ə-g-ən *vt.* to carry wound in a coil

bʰorlo-q-ṇ *vi.* to boil

bʰorlə-d-ṇ, bʰorlə-d-i; bʰorlə ə-go (imp), bʰorlə ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to boil water

bʰyon-to *vi.* to stop, halt

C

(See TS)

CH

(See TSH)

D

dəbaq, dəbakʰ, dəbaχ, dəwak *adv.*
  now
d-əg-əi *vi.* third person form of 'go'
  (see also ts-əg-ən and da)
dəi ə-g-ən (3rd) *vt.* to shoot a bow
dərpu ə-go (imp) *vt.* to hit, strike
dəsə-d-i, dəsə-go *vt.* to quit doing,
  release
dəũre, kaiu *n.* sari
dəŋga *n.* walking stick, whip
da *num.* three
da *vi.* imperative form of 'go'
-da *aff.* object marker, causative
  suffix, plural suffix, purposive
  marker
dãba-d-ṇ, dãba-d-i; dãbə ə-g-ən (3rd)
  vt. to meet, find, get
dãbəi / daŋbəi *n.* shaman
daha-d-ṇ, daha-d-i *vt.* to seat s.o., set
  load down
dahat *num.* three
daŋbwa *adj.* dark
deidzi *n.* firewood
deosi, dəbəsi *adv.* later today
dibaŋ *n.* mountain, cliff
dibʰaŋ *n.* crowd
dimi *n.* smoke
dimtu / dəmtəu *adj.* sour
dõdziləq *n.* Badi (beggar caste)
doko (Nep) *n.* basket
doma *n.* a kind of tree
dowa-d-i, dowa-go *vt.* to stop
dõwədzi / duŋdzi *n.* drum (Nep madal)
dõwədzi ə-g-ən *vt.* to beat drum (lit. to
  do drum)
duga, dugə *n.* ground, floor
dugə abəq *n.* ground mushroom
dui *n.* husband
duidze, dui getse *n.* human male, man
dukʰu *num.* two
duktsi / duktse *n.* son, brother's son

dum *n.* soil, sand, earth
dusə ə-d-i; dusə ə-go (imp) *vt.* to push

DH

dʰəbə-d-ṇ, dʰəbə-d-i; dʰabə (imp),
  dʰəb-in (proh) *vt.* to cover; to shut,
  close
dʰap ə-g-ən *vt.* to trap
dʰapa gipan *n.* rhododendron
dʰaː a-t-ṇ, dʰaː ə-d-i; dʰaː ə-go (imp)
  vt. to put on fire
dʰundi *n.* fog
dʰya *n.* old man
dʰũ-tsi-n; dʰuŋ-to (imp) *vi.* to stand
dʰũ-wa-d-ṇ, dʰũ-wa-d-i *vt.* to make
  stand

DZ

dzəgəl *n.* old woman
dzəi migo *n.* charcoal, coal
dzəpak *n.* a kind of yam
dzəu *n.* pain, sickness
dzəu-dzi, dzəu-tsi-n; dzəu ə-g-ən (3rd)
  vi. to hurt, feel pain, be sick
dzəŋgəl (Nep) *n.* weeds
dzəŋtəl / dzaŋtal *n.* Gaini, traditional
  singer
dzəŋən / dzaŋ *adj.* new
dza *n.* fire
dza hõː-d-i *vt.* to burn fire
dzapin ə-g-ən, dzapin ə-g-i (3rd);
  dzapin ə-go (imp) *vt.* to leave,
  abandon
dzandza *n.* wild man
dzaː-d-ṇ, dzaː-d-i; dza ə-go (imp) *vt.* to
  buy
dzei / dzəi *n.* ashes
dzidzyon *vi.* to bloom, blossom
dziŋ *n.* oil
dziŋa *num.* two
dziu a-t-ṇ *vt.* to leak
dzogoroq, dzogoroχ *n.* splinter
dzoɢˁ-a-d-ṇ, dzoɢˁ-a-d-i *vt.* to soak,
  make wet
dzoŋdzo ə-g-ən *vi.* to bear fruit,

flourish

dzõɴˤ-a-d-ṇ, dzõɴˤ-a-d-i; dzõɴˤ-ə-g-ən
(3rd); dzõɴˤ-ə-go (imp) *vt.* to hang

dzoq-ṇ; dzoq-to (imp) *vi.* to get wet

dzõwə-d-ṇ, dzõwə-d-i *vt.* to blow on
fire

dzugui / dzugəi *n.* sickness, illness

dzulo *n.* tinder

dzuŋ-dzi (3rd) *vi.* to hang

dzwã ə-go *vt.* to weigh

dzyahãde *n.* maternity

DZH

dzʰəm ə-g-ən (3rd); dzʰəm-to (imp),
dzʰəm-in (proh) *vi.* to weep, cry

dzʰõ *n.* louse egg

E

e-d-ṇ, e-d-i; e-go (imp), e-yin (proh)
vt. to give

eirak *adj.* poor

emblaq, eblaq / emblak *n.* witch

eyəŋ *n.* upper back

G

gəi (Nep) *n.* wound

gəini *adj.* thick

gəkʰya ə-go *vt.* to force

gəki *n.* kidney

gəndzi *n.* smell, odor, aroma

gəndzibur *n.* stench, bad smell

gəndzi ə-go (imp) *vt.* to smell
something

gəndzi u-g-i (3rd) *vi.* to smell, give off
odor (lit. 'smell comes')

gərəm-d-i, gərəm-dzi *vt.* to knock
down

gəsa *n.* tobacco

gəũtsi *n.* a kind of tree

gaŋno (imp) *vt.* to encircle, fence in

gãɴˤən yeŋgu *n.* whetstone

gãɴˤ-no (imp) *vt.* imperative form of
'see', look'
(see also ts-aɴˤ-dzi)

garo *n.* wall

gebʰusa *n.* breast, milk

gebon *n.* grandchildren

gebusa *n.* curd

gemət dzəu *n.* diarrhea

gemət, tsi-mət, ni-gimət *n.* belly,
stomach, intestine

gesala *n.* wife's younger brother

gesali *n.* wife's sister, sister-in-law

getse *n.* offspring, child

getse, hũkui *n.* baby, child

getsebəi *n.* daughter-in-law

gi *n.* hair, fur

giban *n.* bond friend

gida: (Nep) *n.* seed

gidaŋ *n.* sap

gidzaq *loc.* between

gidzaŋ *n.* body

gidzi *n.* name

gidət, gitət *n.* skin, bark, leather

gilaŋ / gelaŋ *n.* forest

gilaŋ abəq *n.* forest mushroom

gilaŋ tap *n.* Kalij Pheasant

gimdʰər *n.* father's brother, uncle

gimdzamba / gimtsamba *n.* police

gimdzi *pron.* self, his own

gimi *n.* female of a species

gimi *n.* money (< gimi haq 'female
leaf')

gimi e-d-i *vt.* to pay (lit. 'to give
money')

gimi ə-go (imp) *vt.* to earn

gimtsi *n.* friend

gimihaq-ni / gimyaχni *n.* female Ban
Raja

gin a-di *adv.* that manner

gina *dem.* that

gina *pron.* he, she, it

gina-yi *pron.* his

giɲaq / giŋyak, gʰiŋgʰyak *n.* trousers

gipan *n.* flower

gipən / gepən *n.* word, language

gisi *n.* fat

gisəkəla *n.* oats

gitaŋ *n.* sweets

gitsi *n.* thorn

gobba / gʰoχbaχ, gʰokʰba *adj.* tall,

gobloq *n.* heart, lung

godoq / gorok, gorokʰ, goroχ *n.* root

godzaŋ *adv.* few

g-oɢˤ-on *vt.* third person form of 'put, set aside' (see also ts-oɢˤ-on)

goloq / goləχ *n.* sheep

goləŋdəi *n.* soya bean

goradze *adv.* morning, early today

goraq / gorəχ *adv.* tomorrow

gotoŋ, gotəŋ *n.* soup

gu.u, guhu *n.* bone

guben *n.* log

gudzaŋ *adv.* little bit

gudzãŋ *vt.* to reduce

g-ug-un (3rd), g-oɢˤ-an (irr) *vt.* to take

guhu masi *n.* bone marrow

guidzi / goidzi *n.* turtle, tortoise

gulundi *n.* allowance

guluŋ *adj.* round

gumə-d-ṇ, gumə-d-i; gumə ə-go (imp) *vt.* to chase

guneŋgi / gunaŋge *n.* langur monkey

gwa *n.* egg

gwa ə-g-ən *vt.* to lay egg (lit. 'do egg')

gwame *n.* centipede

gwi ə-d-ṇ, gwi ə-d-i; gwi ə-go (imp) *vt.* to gather, keep, save

gwi-t-ṇ, gwi-tsi-t-ṇ *vi.* to gather

gya *n.* male of a species

gya numba *n.* ox

gya-d-ṇ, gya-d-i; gya ə-go (imp), gya ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to press, hold

gya-ɢˤa, gya-ɢˤai, gyaːi / gyakʰa *n.* strength

gya-qai, ata qaːi *n.* breath

gyaɢˤo, gyaːwo *n.* pus

gyakʰər ə-g-ən *vi.* to rest

gyao *n.* brain

gyaq-ṇ; gyaq-to (imp) *vi.* to collapse

gyaq-a-d-ṇ, gyaq-a-d-i; gyaq ə-go (imp), gyaq ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to make collapse

gyaudzi *n.* mother-in-law

GH

gʰəi *n.* boil

gʰərun taŋ *n.* raksi

gʰərun, gʰərəo *adj.* hot

gʰərə-d-ṇ, gʰərə-d-i; gʰərə-go (imp) *vt.* to make hot, heat

gʰəsa *n.* tobacco

gʰa-o (imp) *vt.* to thrash, beat

gʰãː-d-ṇ, gʰãː-d-i; gʰãː ə-go (imp), gʰã-yin (proh) *vt.* to grind

gʰak əgo *vt.* to pierce

gʰan yeŋgu *n.* grindstone

gʰãs (Nep) *n.* grass

gʰu a-t-ṇ, gʰo ə-go *vt.* to move

gʰu-t-ṇ *vi.* to move

gʰue ə-go (imp) *vt.* to plough

gʰurma ə-go *vt.* to sting

gʰyaŋ *n.* female genitals

gʰyã-d-ṇ *vt.* to copulate

H

həbə-o (imp) *vt.* to hold in hand

həgədzun *n.* humming bird

həilaŋ ə-go *vt.* to shake

həmətsi / həmitsi, həmdzi *n.* bat

hər-a-d-ṇ, hər-a-d-i; haraŋ ə-go (imp) *vt.* to open, cause to open

hərdze a-t-ṇ *vt.* to win

hərgun *adj.* green

hərə-q-ṇ *vi.* to open on its own

hãː *n.* cheek

hãː / haŋ *n.* face

hãː / tsi-haŋ *n.* forehead

habə-d-ṇ, habə-d-i; habə-go (imp) *vt.* to burn, roast

haɢˤo, haʕwo *n.* rhesus monkey

hai-t-ṇ; hai-dzi (3rd) *vi.* to yawn

hampe *interrog.* where

hampe kʰaːu *pron.* nowhere

hanti *n.* cummerbund

haŋki *n.* neck

haŋki gun *n.* adams apple

haŋki ə-g-ən *vi.* to snore

haŋnuŋ *n.* shadow

haɴˤ-no *vi.* imperative form of 'sit'

(see also s-aɴˤ-an and ɲ-aɴˤ-an)

haq / haχ *n.* leaf, book

haq a-d-n̥ *vt.* to read

haq gimi *n.* paper, paper note (lit. female leaf)

het ə-go (imp) *vi.* to call out

hi / he *n.* pig, wild boar

hi gimi *n.* sow pig

hilaŋ *n.* a kind of tree

hoigən, huigin *adj.* dirty, filthy, rubbish, litter

hugyaŋ *n.* spade, shovel

huki / hukki *n.* salt

huki am *adj.* salty

hũku hũku *adv.* little bit

hũkui / huŋkəi *adj.* small

hũkun kolde *n.* knife

hũkun əota *n.* window

hulə-d-n̥, hulə-d-i; hulə-go (imp) *vt.* to cook

hulən *n.* cook

humba ə-g-ən *vt.* to chase

hunko *adv.* almost

hurə-d-i / hurra ə-g-ən (3rd) *vt.* to throw, throw away

huː-dzi; huː-do (imp), huː-in (proh) *vi.* to fly

hũtu *adv.* far

huŋkəi bai *n.* the youngest elder sister

hyo-da-d-n̥, hyo-da-d-i *vt.* to swell

hyo-wən, hyo-dzi *adj.* swollen

hyoGˤ-a-d-n̥, hyoGˤ-a-d-i *vt.* to hide

hyoq-a *vt.* to be unable to

hyoq-n̥, hyoq-tsi-n *vi.* to hide, be able

hyu-dzi *adj.* fat

I

-i *vt.* root form of the verb 'fetch, bring'
    (see also ts-iw-ən and əiga)

idaŋ *n.* hunger
    tən-da idaŋ 'I am hungry' (lit. hunger is to me)

idu / idəu *n.* liver

-ig- *vt.* root form of the verb 'put in'
    (see also ts-ig-ən)

ihəŋ / ehəŋ *n.* Newar

ima *n.* field, farmland

imala *n.* father's second younger brother

imba-d-n̥, imba-d-i; imbə ə-go (imp) *vt.* to think, remember

imbə-d-n̥, imbə-d-i; imbə ə-go (imp) *vt.* to exchange, return

in-da-d-n̥, in-da-d-i; in-da ə-go (imp), in-da-yin (proh) *vt.* to feed, nurse

ĩnorət / inoərət *n.* Tharu

inu / inəu *n.* nose

inəŋ getse *n.* eyeball

inəŋ gi *n.* eyelash

iŋ *n.* sun

iŋ / inəŋ *n.* eye

iŋ gidaŋ *n.* tears

iŋ ipdzi *vi.* to doze

iŋ iŋ-dzi *adj.* sleepy

iŋ miː-dzi *vi.* to set (of sun)

iŋao / iŋau *n.* night

iŋdzũ, idziŋ / idzəŋ *n.* tongue

iŋgidat / iŋgidət *n.* Sarki, shoemaker caste (lit. foot leather)

-ip- *vi.* root form of the verb 'sleep'
    (see also ts-ip-n̥ and n-ip-n̥)

ipən *n.* corn, maize

ip-da-d-n̥, ip-da-d-i; ip-da ə-go (imp) *vt.* to put to sleep

ipi *n.* head

ipi gidzaŋ *n.* horn

ipi guhu *n.* skull

ippa kadzi *n.* wheat flour

ip-to *vi.* imperative form of 'sleep'

iraŋ ə-go *vi.* to stretch

ĩsala *n.* father's third brother

isi, iskin *adv.* evening

isna *pp.* to there

-it- *vi.* root form of the verb 'say'
    (see also ts-it-n̥ and n-it-n̥)

istə *adv.* near

iyu *n.* ear

iyu əndoq *adj.* deaf

J

(See DZ)

JH

(See DZH)

K

kəba *n.* lie, falsehood

kəba aːdzi / kaba-dze ə-g-ən *vt.* to lie (lit. to say a lie / to do a lie)

kəbdzaŋ / kəpdzaŋ *n.* gold

kəbule *vt.* to offer

kəita, qaida *n.* other

kəla-d-ṇ, kəla-d-i; kəla-g-ən (3rd); kəla ə-go (imp), kəla ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to break, smash (as a jug); to cut, split wood

kəla-d-ṇ, kəla-d-i *vt.* to separate

kəla-q-ṇ *vi.* to break, smash

kəla-q-tsi-n; kəla-q-dzi (3rd) *vi.* to separate

kəlã ə-g-ən *vt.* to distribute, divide

kələŋgu *n.* Jugi

kəmba-d-ṇ, kumba-d-i; kəmba ə-go (imp) *vt.* to dump

kəmboi *n.* hornet

kəpaŋ *n.* tumeric, besar

kəpaŋ bəyo *n.* yellow

kəpʰera *adv.* again

kəre / kəri *n.* pot, vase, water container

kəreː *n.* jug

kərəŋ (Nep) *n.* rib

kəu ə-g-ən *vt.* to promise god

kaitʰo ə-go *vt.* to pile up

kaitʰwa əgo (imp) *vt.* to join

kamkəm *n.* leprosy

kampa kampe *adv.* everywhere

kampya, kampe *pp.* to one side

kan *adj.* sharp

kanə ə-go *vt.* to sharpen

kapu *n.* a kind of fruit tree (Nep kapʰəl)

kasa *n.* a kind of tree (Nep sajʰə)

kasi, kasige / kasigi *adj.* white, light color

katse *n.* crab

katse gumbo *n.* scorpion

katəŋ *n.* itch

kawa ə-go (imp) *vt.* to hold under arm

kãwər *adj.* light weight

kawət *n.* bangle

kayak *n.* a kind of tree (Nep bʰəlayo)

ki *n.* louse

kila-d-ṇ, kila-d-i; kila ə-g-ən (3rd); kila ə-go (imp), kila ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to steal

kiladi *n.* thief

kiptsak *n.* Sesi Kham

kirna (Nep) *n.* tick

kisa-d-ṇ *vt.* to cut meat, clear brush

kiwə a-d-ṇ; kiwə ə-go (imp), kiwə-n (proh) *vt.* to pinch

kog *n.* crow

koidzu *n.* red deer

kok ə-go *vt.* to raise, rear

kola ə-g-ən (3rd) *vt.* to stir

kola-d-ṇ, kola-d-i; kola ə-go (imp) *vt.* to draw water

kolde *n.* khukri, knife

kolom, qolom *adj.* bad

kolumu / kolomu *n.* owl

komba komba ə-g-ən (3rd) *vt.* to tease

kon-da-d-ṇ, kon-da-d-i *vt.* to cause to drink, to give drink

konda-gi *vt.* to water animals

kondok ə-g-ən *vt.* to make tall

konˤodi / kəũdəi *n.* Blacksmith, kami

koyu *n.* whistle

kulum *n.* lie, flasehood

kum kum ə-g-ən *vi.* to quarrel

kya.aŋ *adj.* thin, skinny

KH

kʰərgun *adj.* red

kʰərkəla *n.* Brahmin

kʰərwi / kʰərugəi *n.* wheat

kʰəŋgu, χəŋgu *adj.* cold (of food)

kʰa ə-d-i; kʰa ə-g-i (3rd); kʰa ə-go (imp) *vt.* to parch grain

kʰaidzi *n.* food, cooked rice

kʰaiya, χaiya *n.* danger

kʰam-tsi-n, kʰam-tsi-du, kʰam-dzi; kʰam-to (imp), kʰam-in (proh) *vt.* to bite, chew

kʰaːu, χaːu *v.* not (existential)
kʰola (Nep) *n.* stream
kʰomba *adj.* mad
kʰomba dəmdzi *vi.* to go mad
kʰurpa *n.* khukri, knife
kʰya ə-g-ən *vi.* to be shy

L

lə a-d-ṇ, lə ə-g-ən / lãhãgo *vt.* to apply,
   rub in
ləbu u-g-ən / ləbbo *vi.* to be angry (lit.
   anger to come)
ləbə-d-i *vt.* to stamp, print
ləbə-d-ṇ, ləbə-d-i; ləbə ə-go (imp) *vt.*
   to bury
ləmba-d-ṇ, ləmba-d-i; ləmba ə-go (imp)
   vt. to learn, teach
ləp-dzi *vi.* to adhere, stick
ləp-ṇ *vi.* to be stamped, imprinted
ləpa, ləppa *n.* blood
ləŋgəi / lənkəi *n.* cigarette
ləŋka, ləŋkəi *adj.* long
lab ə-g-ən *vt.* to plant
laGˤan / laŋ *n.* village
laː ə-d-i; laː ə-n-i (2nd); laː ə-go (imp)
   vt. to taste
laĩ / lãɲe, ləŋkan *n.* cucumber
lãsi *n.* wild cherry
lekʰa-d-ṇ / lekʰe-d-ṇ *vt.* to write
leː *n.* lie, falsehood
leː ə-g-ən *vt.* to lie (lit. to do a lie)
leː ə-g-ən (3rd); leː ə-go (imp) *vt.* to
   sweep
libʰə ə-g-ən *vi.* to move
libũ-dzi, libũ-tsi-n; libũ-to (imp),
   libũ-nin (proh) *vi.* to play
libuŋdzi *n.* player
ligən / ligin *n.* nettle, burlap
lime-d-ṇ; limi ə-go (imp) / ləima ə-go
   vt. to make dance; make hop around
limit-ṇ, limi-tsi-n; limi-to (imp) *vi.* to
   dance
limu-dzi, limu-tsi-n *vi.* to fight, quarrel
liŋwa *adj.* heavy
lolə ə-d-ṇ, lolə ə-d-i; lolə ə-go (imp),
   lolə ə-yin (proh) *vi.* to cry out

M

məhi a-t-ṇ, məhi ə-go *vt.* to mix
məhi, məih *n.* buffalo
məhi-dzi *adj.* mixed
məi *n.* mother
məimi *n.* anxiety
məina (Nep) *n.* month
məiti əgəi *adj.* naked
məlaŋ *adv.* slowly
məlli bai *n.* second elder sister
məla a-t-ṇ, məla a-d-i; məla ə-yin (proh)
   vi. to be late
məndu, mədəu *n.* elder sister's
   husband
mənni / məni *adv.* many, much
məstəmə *adv.* slowly
məta, mə *adv.* only
məːbə-d-ṇ, məːbə-d-i; məːbə-go (imp),
   məːbə-yin (proh) *vt.* to hear, listen
məŋ / maŋ, maŋlaŋ *n.* song
məŋ ə-g-ən *vt.* to sing (lit. 'do song')
-ma *aff.* with
malu *n.* Nepali cap, topi
mame, mami *n.* bread
maqʰadzi / maχkadzʰi *n.* father's
   younger brother's wife
mãχ / mãkʰ *n.* dream
mãχ ts-ãɴˤ-dzi *vi.* to dream (lit. see a
   dream)
matsa *n.* blood vessel
mehaq, gemehaq / gimyaχ *n.* Ban Raja
meː-t-ṇ, meː-d-i *vt.* to lose
-mi *vt.* root form of the verb 'forget'
   (see also tsə-mi-n)
miː-to *vt.* imperative form of 'forget'
   (see also tsə-mi-n)
miː-t-ṇ *vi.* to lose, be lost
mihaqtse / mʰaq-tse / maktse *n.* boy
mitʰiŋ *vt.* to make mistake
mitʰu ə-g-ən *vi.* to drown
miu / myiu *n.* arrow
mom *n.* elder brother
moŋ / muŋ *n.* king
motʰa ə-go (imp) *vt.* to swallow
motsa *n.* banana, plantain
mundo (Nep) *n.* ring

murutəŋ ə-g-ən *vt.* to release

muruŋ-to, mərəŋ əgo *vi.* to turn over,
  roll over

muŋni *n.* queen

mwɔ ə-d-ṇ, mwɔ ə-d-i; mwɔ ə-go
  (imp), mwɔ ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to boil
  food

myaq / myaχ *n.* leopard

myaqa / myakʰa, myaka *adv.* alone

myaqə-t-ṇ, myaqə-d-i; myaqə-g-ən
  (3rd); myaqə-go (imp) *vt.* to dig

myaqo getse *n.* cat

N

n-ə ə-n-i *vi.* second person form of
  'speak'

nəbʰəi *n.* feast

nəbə-d-i; nəbə ə-go (imp) *vt.* to marry

n-əg-ən *vi.* second person form of 'go'

nən-da *pron.* accusative case of second
  person pronoun

nən kʰaːu *pron.* nothing

nən nohən *conj.* because

nən, nətṇ *interrog.* what, why

nəsa *n.* fish

nəsa (Nep) *n.* sinew

nəti *adv.* which, who

nəti kʰaːi *pron.* no one

nəti-ye *interrog.* whose

na *dem.* this (animate thing)

nep *n.* grandfather

n-ig-ən *vt.* second person form of 'put
  in' (see also ts-ig-ən and -ig-)

ni-gimdzi *pron.* your own

nig-i *pron.* yours plural

nikʰe a-t-ṇ, nikʰe-d-i; nikʰe ə-g-ən (3rd)
  vi. to laugh

niku, nigu *n.* moon

nimbu *n.* lemon

ni-mi-n *vt.* prohibitive form of 'forget'
  (see also tsə-mi-n)

niŋgitse / niŋtsi *n.* daughter

n-ip-ṇ *vi.* second person form of
  'sleep'
  (see also ts-ip-ṇ and -ip-)

n-it-ṇ *vi.* second person form of 'say'

(see also ts-it-ṇ and -it-)

n-iw-ən *vi.* prohibitive form of 'go'
  and 'bring'
  (see also -əg and əiga)

ni-yi *pron.* yours

nõdze, nõwdze *pp.* up, above

n-oGˤ-on *vt.* second person form of
  'put, set aside' (see also ts-oGˤ-on)

nok *pron.* you plural

nokok, noχok *n.* maternal grandfather

nu, niu *n.* person, human, man,
  mankind

nu, nən-da *pron.* you, thou

numba *n.* cow

numba getse *n.* calf

nupa *pp.* there

nuŋ-tsi-n; nuŋ-to (imp) *vi.* to rise, get
  up

nwatsiu *adj.* deep

nya *n.* grandmother

nya ə-go (imp) *vt.* to hold in two
  hands

nyabi, nyabe *n.* mother's brother's
  wife

nyam *n.* mother's brother

nyase *n.* occasion

ɲ

ɲãː-d-ṇ, ɲãː-d-i; ɲãː ə-go (imp), ɲãː
  ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to lift, remove,
  extract, expel, pick up

ɲãNˤdi / ɲãŋdi *n.* wife

ɲãNˤdidze, ɲãNˤdi getse *n.* human
  female, woman

ɲ-aNˤ-dzi *vt.* second person form of
  'see'
  (see also ts-aNˤ-dzi and gaNˤ-no)

ɲaq-tsi-n; ɲaq-ni-n (2nd); ɲaq-to (imp),
  ɲaq-nin (proh) *vi.* to wait

O

odoq *v.* not (equative)

oGˤ-da-d-ṇ, oGˤ-da-d-i *vt.* to kill (see
  also orə-d-ṇ)

oGˤtsi, oːˤtsi *n.* upper body, chest

okti (Nep) *n.* medicine

ola-d-n̪, ola-d-i; ola-g-i (3rd) *vt.* to step on

olaŋ *adj.* sweet, tasty

olum *n.* pilgrim

omoq, oməq / omok / omokʰ *n.* arm, wing, branch, sleeve

oməq / omaχ *n.* blouse, woman's garment

õːɲi *adj.* big

oɴˤla-d-n̪, oɴˤla-d-i; oɴˤla ə-go (imp) *vt.* to search for; to want

oɴˤtaŋ *n.* smoking pipe

oɴˤtsə, õwtsə / əũtsa *adv.* afternoon

oɴˤɲi *n.* umbrella

oqtsi, oɢˤtsi, oːˤtsi / okʰtsi *n.* chest

orə-d-n̪, ora-d-i; orə-g-ən (3rd) *vt.* to kill (see also oɢˤ-da-d-n̪)

oran bəsə *adv.* next year

osenti *n.* girl

otisge *n.* ghost, spirit

otok *vt.* to reject

P

pəidzi *n.* cloth, clothing

pəidzi ɲãː ə-go (imp) *vt.* to undress (lit. 'remove clothing')

pəidzəbo *n.* lentil (Nep mas)

pəitoba / pəitokba *n.* Damai, tailor

pənahak *n.* a kind of tree (Nep malu)

pəo-tsi-n *vi.* to be tired

pərmə-d-n̪, pərmə-d-i *vt.* to meet

pəsəo *adj.* hard

pətsʰe haq *n.* leafy vegetable, green leaf

pətsəidzi *adj.* upside down

pətse a-d-i; pətse ə-go (imp) *vt.* to return; to give back (lit. 'do return')

pətse e-d-i *vt.* to return, give back (lit. 'give return')

pəwi / pəui / pəuəi *n.* bamboo

pəyet *n.* leech

pəyãkʰ *n.* hay

pəŋga *n.* spider

pəŋgyu *n.* lizard

pãgo *num.* five

papdore abəq *n.* a tree mushroom

paː-d-i; paː ə-go (imp) *vt.* to pick, pluck

paːtse / patsʰe *pp.* downhill

paŋdzaŋ *num.* five

pãsula (Nep) *n.* shin

pãːyi / pãi *n.* cloud

pewa əgən *vt.* to scrub outside

pimba ə-go (imp) *vt.* to count

pimpiŋdzi *vi.* to feel drowsy

pinda *adv.* before, in front of

pinda duktsi *n.* eldest son

pinda pinda *adv.* long ago

pit ə-go (imp) *vi.* to leave, depart

pita-d-i; pita-n-i (2nd); pita ə-go (imp) *vt.* to untie

pitta *n.* bile

piːəgu *num.* four

piwə ə-go (imp), piwə ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to peel

põtʰa ə-go (imp) *vt.* to jump over

poχla-d-n̪, poχla-d-i, poχla ə-go (imp), poχla ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to bathe

pui *n.* iguana

pumba-d-n̪, pumba-d-i, pumba ə-go (imp), pumba ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to beat

pumba-d-n̪, pumba-d-i; pumba ə-go (imp), pumba ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to hit, strike

purano (Nep) *adj.* old

pwahan *n.* graveyard, cemetary

pya *adv.* earlier

pyadz (Nep) *n.* onion

pyai dəgən bəsə *adv.* last year

pyai pyai *adv.* long ago

pyana, pyene / peni *adv.* yesterday

pyaŋdzaŋ *num.* four

PH

pʰəlaq *n.* bed

pʰəu-n *vi.* to finish (be consumed)

pʰəŋ, pʰɔ̃ ə-g-ən *vt.* to digest

pʰã ə-g-ən *vt.* to help, give aid

pʰeb-a-d-n̪, pʰeb-a-d-i *vt.* to make fall, knock over

pʰeladəŋ *n.* lentil (Nep gəgət)

pʰelaŋ *adj.* flat

pʰelãde *n.* beaten rice

pʰep-a-d-n̩, pʰep-a-d-i *vt.* to drop

pʰep-n̩; pʰep-to (imp), pʰeb-in (proh) *vi.* to drop, fall over

pʰira-d-n̩, pʰira ə-go *vt.* to fill

pʰirun, pʰirut-n̩ *v, adj.* full

pʰo a-d-n̩; pʰo ə-g-ən (3rd) *vt.* to hit, strike; to shoot a gun

pʰotoq / pʰoqtoχ, pʰokto *adj.* short

pʰurluŋ *adj.* red

pʰurpʰu-d-i; pʰurpʰu-to (imp) *vi.* to run

pʰuː-dzi, pʰuː-d-i; pʰu-to (imp), pʰu-yin (proh) *vi.* to jump

pʰwa ə-g-ən *vi.* to burst

pʰwotoq *adj.* low

pʰya ə-go (imp) *vt.* to wash clothes

pʰyaksəm *n.* horse

pʰyaləm *adj.* soft, mushy

Q

qəmba ə-d-i / qəmba ə-go *vt.* to pour

qaɢˤtse *adv.* together

qaien, qaiɢˤun, qaidzi *adj.* dry, wither

qaːi / kai *n.* wind, air, steam

qaːi hur-ən *vt.* to breathe (lit. throw breath)

qamtsi *n.* pillow

qaoli *n.* god

qaːn *n.* itch

qaːsn̩ *num.* one

qaːs-n̩ *vi.* to tear, be torn

qasə-d-i *vt.* to tear, rip off

qasti, qaːsn̩ *num.* one

qasə-d-i *vt.* to tear

qato / katəu *adj.* bitter

qatraq *n.* son-in-law

qau-ən *vi.* to decay

qau-da-d-n̩, qau-da-d-i; qauda ə-go (imp) *vt.* to make decay

qaudzi *adj.* rotten

qawai *n.* jackal

qayo *n.* skirt

qoɢˤe-d-n̩, qoɢˤe-d-i, qoɢˤe-d-u *vt.* to argue

qomə-d-i *vi.* to move from one place to another

qomba-a-t-n̩, qomba-a-d-i; qomba ə-go (imp) *vt.* to move, pour from one container to another

qon *vt.* imperative form of 'drink' (see also ts-onˤ-on)

qotu / kotou, koʈou *n.* bird

qotu uhu *n.* bird's beak

qotu wi *n.* nest

qoturaq *adv.* day after tomorrow

QH

qʰai-d-n̩, qʰai-dzi-n; qʰai-ni-n (2nd); qʰai-to (imp), qʰai-nin (proh) *vi.* to fear, be frightened

R

rəktsa / rəktsʰya *n.* Chettri

rənta *n.* swing

rəŋgunda / rəmkuna *n.* pumpkin

rãko, raŋkwa *n.* millet

rambenda (Nep) *n.* tomato

ran *n.* millet

ruga (Nep) *n.* nasal mucus

ruːə-d-i; ruːə-go (imp) *vt.* to pull, drag

S

sə ə-go (imp) *vi.* to bow; to salute

səi *n.* bear

səmba *adv.* after, later, behind

səmba *n.* buttocks

səmtoq *n.* squirrel

səũli, sə̃li *n.* pine tree

sabe *pp.* there, that direction

sa.am / sam *n.* star

sali bai *n.* third elder sister

s-aɴˤ-an; haɴˤ-no (imp) *vi.* to sit

sat *n.* comb

sat ipi bənə-d-i *vt.* to comb hair

segu (Nep) *n.* rain shield

sen *n.* paddy

seː-d-n̩, seː-d-i; seː ə-go (imp) *vt.* to

catch

siba, siwa *adv.* quickly, fast

sib-a-d-n̩, sib-a-d-i; sib-a ə-go (imp), sib-a ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to enter, pass through

sidzaŋ *n.* beer, brew

simi (Nep) *n.* beans

sip-n̩, sip-tsi-n; sip-to (imp), sip-in (proh) *vi.* to enter

sisen / sisin *n.* paddy, rice field

siŋki *n.* eagle

sodzaq *greet.* hello, greetings

sok ə-go *vi.* to graze

soksogərəm, soksodi *adj.* black

sola-d-n̩, sola-d-i; sola ə-go (imp), sola ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to break (as a pencil)

solo-q-n̩ *vi.* to break in two

soq-a-d-n̩, soq-a-d-i; soq-a-go (imp) *vt.* to cause to climb

soq-n̩, soq-tsi-n; soq-ni-n (2nd); soq-to (imp) *vi.* to climb

soqdzi yi *n.* ladder

sowa-d-n̩, sowa-d-i, sowa-go *vt.* to wash pots

supo *n.* winnowing tray

suta, sutta *n.* rope, string, thread

swəttei / swəttəi *adv.* all

sya ə-go (imp) *vt.* to hold tightly

T

təinan bəsə *adv.* this year

təmbə-d-n̩, təmbə-d-i; tambə ə-go (imp) *vt.* to send

tən-da *pron.* accusative form of first person pronoun

təwa *n.* this side

təwa *pp.* to here

təĩna, təndin / təndiŋ *adv.* today

t-əm-ən; n-əm-ən (2nd); am, am-to (imp), n-əm-in (proh) *vt.* to eat

ta *dem.* this (inanimate things)

tahu-dzi *vi.* to reach

tap *n.* chicken

tap getse *n.* chick

tap gimi *n.* hen

tap gya *n.* rooster, cock

tape, tapye *pp.* here; to this direction

taqsi *n.* boys and girls

tasin, tasi *n.* bush

taŋ *n.* rain, water

taŋ dziu-n, dziu-t-n̩ *vi.* to leak

taŋ pəiyo *n.* thirst (lit. 'thirst water')

tei saŋ-dzi *vi.* to remain

teisa *pp.* here

tigi-i *pron.* ours

toba ə-d-i; toba ə-go (imp) *vt.* to sew

tok *pron.* we

toldok *n.* rice milk

t-oɢˤ-an; oɢˤ-do (imp), nə-du (imp), n-oɢˤə-yin (proh) *vi.* to die

toɢˤon *adv.* day before yesterday

tu *n.* snake, bug, insect

tuba-o (imp) *vt.* to extinguish

t-ug-un; əga (imp), n-ug-in (proh) *vi.* to come

t-uk-an; n-ukan (imp) *vt.* to know

tul-tsi-n; tul-ni-n (2nd); tul-to (imp), tulə-yin (proh) *vi.* to dress

tul-a-d-n̩, tul-a-d-i / tul-a ə-go (imp) *vt.* to dress someone

tumbə-d-n̩, tumbə-d-i *vt.* to finish

tut *n.* bow

twi *n.* bee

twi-yi gidaŋ *n.* honey

TH

tʰəwə / tʰəwa *n.* place

tʰal (Nep) *n.* plate

tʰamdzi *pp.* between

tʰamdzi *vt.* to pierce (by a thorn)

tʰumən yeŋgu *n.* mortar

TS

ts-ə ə-d-n̩, ts-ə ə-d-i; n-ə ə-n-i (2nd) *vi.* to talk, speak

ts-əg-ən; n-əg-ən (2nd); d-əg-əi (3rd); da (imp), n-iw-ən (proh) *vi.* to go

tsə-mi-n, tsə-mi-di; ni-mi-di (2nd); mi:-to (imp), ni-mi-n (proh) *vt.* to forget

tsəmaq *n.* steel for striking fire

tsəmaq tʰagən yeŋgu *n.* flint (lit. steel striking stone)

tsəmək *n.* tinder, fire fibers

ts-aɴˤ-dzi; ɲ-aɴˤ-dzi (2nd); g-aɴˤ-dzi (3rd); gaɴˤ-no (imp) *vt.* to see, look

tsi *vi.* to be (locational)

tsi, tən-da *pron.* I

tsidan *n.* credit

ts-iw-ən, ts-i-d-i; əiga (imp), n-iw-ən (proh) *vt.* to fetch; to bring

ts-ig-ən; n-ig-ən (2nd) *vt.* to put in (Nep hal-nu)

tsi-gimdzi *pron.* my own

tsilip ə-g-ən (3rd); tsilip ə-go (imp) *vt.* to squeeze, wring, to milk

tsim tsim ə-g-ən *v.* to feel

tsimə-d-i, tsimə ə-go *vt.* to touch

tsini (Nep) *n.* sugar

tsinu *n.* a kind of tree

ts-ip-ṇ; n-ip-ṇ (2nd); g-ip-ṇ (3rd); ip-to (imp) *vi.* to sleep

tsirma-t-ṇ, tsirma-d-i; tsirma ə-go (imp) *vt.* to recognize

ts-it-ṇ; n-it-ṇ (2nd); i-dzi (3rd) *vi.* to say (quotative)

ts-iw-ən *vt.* to bring

tsi-yi *pron.* mine

ts-oɢˤ-on; n-oɢˤ-on (2nd); g-oɢˤ-on (3rd) *vt.* to put, set aside

ts-oɴˤ-on; at-to (imp) *vt.* to say

ts-oɴˤ-ən; qon (imp), n-oɴˤ ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to drink

tsu / tsiu *vi.* to be (existential)

tsula (Nep) *n.* firepit

tsya *n.* tea

TSH

tsʰãːn, tsʰãː-d-i, tsʰãː ə-g-ən *vt.* to tie, bind

tsʰut ə-g-ən *vt.* to cross river

U

ubə-go (imp) *vt.* to blow

uhu, u.u *n.* tooth

ukʰi-q-ṇ *vi.* to ruin

ukʰə ə-g-ən *vt.* to ruin

ulum-to (imp) *vi.* to roam

umbə a-t-ṇ, umbə a-d-i; umbə ə-go (imp) *vt.* to call

un *n.* trail, road

un, uŋ *n.* road, path, trail

unda-d-ṇ, un-da-d-i; unda ə-go (imp) *vt.* to show

unibai uŋnibai *n.* eldest sister

upto / opʈo *n.* knee, kneecap

uris (Nep) *n.* bedbug

usni *n.* girl

W

wak (Nep) *n.* vomit

waŋ *n.* firefly

wen, weyən *adj.* good

wi / uhi, ui *n.* house

witʰu / oitʰəu *adj.* slippery

witʰu dum *n.* mud

Y

yəi / ei *n.* father

ya ə-go *vt.* to spread, make a bed

ya.a / yakʰ, yaχ *n.* straw mat (Nep ghundro)

yaɢˤsi, yaːqsi / yase *n.* lower back, waist

yaɢˤu, yaːˤu / yaχəu *adj.* cold (weather)

yaq *n.* hail, snow

yaqa, yakʰa, yaχa *n.* porcupine

yaŋ *n.* shit, dung

yaŋ ə-g-ən / yã ə-g-ən (3rd); yã ə-go (imp), yã ə-yin (proh) *vt.* to defecate

yaŋbəru / yaŋburu *n.* Kumal

yãtsa *n.* father's younger brother

yebu *n.* yam

yegəmba *n.* civet cat

yegəmbu *n.* Magar

yekʰolak, yakələk *adj.* dumb

yen *n.* foot, leg

yen amba *n.* thigh (lit. 'leg meat')

yen gidət / yen gitət *n.* shoe (lit. 'foot
  leather')
yeodze *adv*. now, one moment
yerəŋ ə-go *vt.* to make tight
yeŋ dəi ə-g-ən *vt.* to kick (lit 'hit with
  leg')
yeŋgu *n.* coin (lit. stone)
yeŋgu / yiŋgu *n.* stone, pestle
yeŋgu əota *n.* cave (lit. stone door)
yeŋgut / yiŋgut *n.* rat, weasle, mouse

-yi, -hi, -gi *aff.* genitive
yibiu ə-g-ən *vt.* to scratch
yi: / ihi *n.* tree
yolaq *adj.* soft
yowən *vi.* to ripen
yuŋ-tsi-n, yuŋ-tsi-du; yuŋ-to (imp) *vi.*
  to lie down
yuŋsũ / gusuŋ *n.* tail

Appendix B
Verb Paradigms

Verbs in Kusunda are inflected for tense–aspect and for the person and number of the subject argument. There are three persons (first, second, and third) in two numbers (singular and plural). Basic TAM categories are past, realis, and irrealis.

We collected about 200 verbs, but have complete paradigms for only some of them. Because of our limited time, for many verbs we elicited only first person past, realis, irrealis, as well as third person realis. Other forms, especially in Class II verbs, can generally be predicted from these four. Not all verbs allow a past tense; indeed, only Class II verbs regularly allow it. For some Class I verbs, past tense forms have infiltrated some of the third person forms.

Class II transitive verbs are the most regular and were the easiest to elicit. Past forms are generally *-d-i, -d-ei, -n-i, -n-ei, -g-i*, and *-g-ei*. Realis forms are generally *-d-ṇ, -d-ən, -n-ṇ, -n-ən*, and *-g-ən*. There is no distinction between third person singular and plural unless the singular form is *-dzi*, in which case the plural will be *-dei*. Irrealis forms are generally *-d-u, -d-ək, -n-u, -n-ək, -g-u*, and *-g-ək*.

Class II intransitive verbs are partially defective, at least in our data set. In realis mode such verbs are generally bereft of person marking, as in *bal-ṇ*, 'I/you descend,' and where person marking does occur it is inserted between the verb root and the realis marker, as in *bal-tsi-n* 'I descend.' Past tense is generally missing from such verbs, unless the *bal-tsi-n* forms *are* past tense – but we have been unable to confirm such. The regular past tense markers (*-d-i, -n-i, -g-i*) may be avoided in some Class II intransitive verbs for reasons of ambiguity. Especially in verbs with a final uvular consonant (as in *hyoq-ṇ* 'I/you hide'), the difference between a would-be *hyoq-di* and the causative *hyoɢˤ-di* is minimal, and the former form is avoided altogether. Attempts to use it are interpreted as causative. There is still much to sort out in this respect.

Class I verbs, whether transitive or intransitive, are generally limited to a realis–irrealis distinction. The past tense distinction is missing, except in a few verbs like 'forget' and 'fetch.' Also, past plural forms in *-dei* have contaminated some Class I realis paradigms, as in 'see/look.' The most regular Class I verbs are 'eat' and 'sleep' – *t-əm-ən, t-əm-da-n, n-əm-ən, n-əm-da-n, g-əm-ən, g-əm-da-n, t-əm-du, t-əm-da-k, n-əm-du, n-əm-da-k, g-əm-du, g-əm-da-k* 'eat'; *ts-ip-ṇ, ts-ip-da-n, n-ip-ṇ, n-ip-da-n, g-ip-ṇ, g-ip-da-n, ts-ip-du, ts-ip-da-k, n-ip-du, n-ip-da-k, g-ip-du, g-ip-da-k* 'sleep.'

The marking of irrealis by mutation occurs only with the Class I verbs 'go,' 'come,' and 'take.' Mutation in such verbs also marks dependency (see §7.4).

Class I Mutating Verbs

Past

	GO	COME	TAKE
1s	....	....	....
1p	....	....	....
2s	....	....	....
2p	....	....	....
3s	*d-əg-əi*	*u-g-i*	....
3p	*te-i-dzi*	*u-dei*	....

In general, Class I verbs do not have a Past tense. However, the third person forms for 'go' and 'come' have what appears to be both past and realis forms.

Realis

	GO	COME	TAKE
1s	*ts-əg-ən*	*t-ug-un*	*t-ug-un*
1p	*ts-i-da-n*	*t-ug-da-n*	*t-ug-da-n*
2s	*n-əg-ən*	*n-ug-un*	*n-ug-un*
2p	*n-i-da-n*	*n-ug-da-n*	*n-ug-da-n*
3s	*d-əg-ən*	*ug-ən*	*g-ug-un*
3p	....	*ug-da-n*	*g-ug-da-n*

Only in third persons is there a difference between the verbs 'come' and 'take'

Irrealis

	GO	COME	TAKE
1s	*ts-aɢˤ-an*	*t-oɢˤ-an*	*t-oɢˤ-an*
1p	*ts-iʔ-da-n*	*t-oɢˤ-da-n*	*t-oɢˤ-da-n*
2s	*ɲ-aɢˤ-an*	*n-oɢˤ-an*	*n-oɢˤ-an*
2p	*n-iʔ-na-n*	*n-oɢˤ-da-n*	*n-oɢˤ-da-n*
3s	*d-aɢˤ-an-dzi*	*oɢˤ-da-n-dzi*	*g-oɢˤ-an*
3p	*t-aɢˤ-ã-dei*	*oɢˤ-da-n-dei*	*g-oɢˤ-da-n*

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Class I Mutating Verbs with newer morphology

Past

	GO	COME
1s	....	....
1p	....	....
2s	....	....
2p	....	....
3s	*d-əg-əi*	*u-g-i*
3p	*te-i-dzi*	*u-dei*

In general, Class I verbs do not have a Past tense. However, the third person forms for 'go' and 'come' have what appears to be both past and realis forms.

Realis

	GO	COME
1s	*ts-əg-ən*	*t-ug-un*
1p	*ts-i-da-n*	*t-ug-da-n*
2s	*n-əg-ən*	*n-ug-un*
2p	*n-i-da-n*	*n-ug-da-n*
3s	*d-əg-ən*	*ug-ən*
3p	....	*u-dəi*

Irrealis

	GO	COME
1s	*ts-aɢˤ-ak*	*t-ug-u*
1p	*ts-i-dak*	*t-u-da-k*
2s	*ɲ-aɢˤ-ak*	*n-ug-u*
2p	*n-i-dak*	*n-u-da-k*
3s	*g-iɢˤ-ak*	*g-ug-u*
3p	*g-i-dak*	*g-u-da-k*

Class I Intransitive Verbs

<div align="center">Realis</div>

	SIT	DIE	SLEEP
1s	*s-a$_N$^{ʕ}-an*	*t-o$_G$^{ʕ}-ən*	*ts-ip-ṇ*
1p	*s-a$_N$^{ʕ}-an*	*t-o$_G$^{ʕ}-da-n*	*ts-ip-da-n*
2s	*ɲ-a$_N$^{ʕ}-an*	*n-o$_G$^{ʕ}-ən*	*n-ip-ṇ*
2p	*ɲ-a$_N$^{ʕ}-an*	*n-o$_G$^{ʕ}-da-n*	*n-ip-da-n*
3s	*h-a$_N$^{ʕ}-dzi*	*o$_G$^{ʕ}-ən / o$_G$^{ʕ}-dzi*	*g-ip-ṇ / (g)-ip-dzi*
3p	*h-a$_N$^{ʕ}-dei*	*o$_G$^{ʕ}-dei / o$_G$^{ʕ}-ən-dei*	*(g)ip-da-n / (g)-ip-dei*

<div align="center">Irrealis</div>

	SIT	DIE	SLEEP
1s	*s-a$_N$^{ʕ}-du*	*t-o$_G$^{ʕ}-du*	*ts-ip-du*
1p	*s-a$_N$^{ʕ}-də-k*	*t-o$_G$^{ʕ}-də-k*	*ts-ip-da-k*
2s	*ɲ-a$_N$^{ʕ}-du*	*n-o$_G$^{ʕ}-du*	*n-ip-du*
2p	*ɲ-a$_N$^{ʕ}-də-k*	*n-o$_G$^{ʕ}-də-k*	*n-ip-da-k*
3s	*h-a$_N$^{ʕ}-du*	*g-o$_G$^{ʕ}-du*	*g-ip-du*
3p	*h-a$_N$^{ʕ}-də-k*	....	*g-ip-da-k*

The *-dzi* forms in third singular 'die' and 'sleep' – *o$_G$^{ʕ}-dzi*, *(g)-ip-dzi* – are alternative realis forms occurring frequently with certain verbs. The verb 'see,' for example regularly uses *-dzi* in place of *-di*, *-ni*, and *-gi*. Where such occur, the plural forms are usually *-dei*, based on analogy with the plural forms in past paradigms – *o$_G$^{ʕ}-dei*, *(g)-ip-dei*.

Class I Transitive Verbs

Past

	FORGET	FETCH	BRING	PUT IN
1s	*ts-əmi-di*	*ts-i-di*	....	....
1p	....	*ts-i-dei*	....	....
2s	*n-imi-di*	*n-i-di*	....	....
2p	....	*n-i-dei*	....	....
3s	*g-imi-di*	*g-i-di*	....	....
3p	....	*g-i-dei*	....	....

Realis

	FORGET	FETCH	BRING	PUT IN
1s	*ts-imi-n*	*ts-i-dṇ*	*ts-iw-ən*	*ts-ig-ən*
1p	*ts-imi-n*	*ts-i-dan*	*ts-i-da-n*	*ts-i-da-n*
2s	*n-imi-n*	*n-i-dṇ*	*n-iw-ən*	*n-ig-ən*
2p	*n-imi-n*	*n-i-dan*	*n-i-da-n*	*n-i-da-n*
3s	*g-imi-n*	*g-i-dzi*	*g-iw-ən*	*g-i-n*
3p	*g-imi-n*	*g-i-dan*	*g-iw-ən*	....

Irrealis

	FORGET	FETCH	BRING	PUT IN
1s	*ts-əmi-du*	*ts-i-du*	*ts-i-du*	*ts-i-d-u*
1p	....	....	*ts-i-dək*	*ts-ig-ək*
2s	*n-imi-du*	*n-i-du*	*n-i-du*	*n-i-d-u*
2p	....	....	*n-i-dək*	*n-ig-ək*
3s	*g-imi-du*	*g-i-du*	*g-i-du*	*g-i-yu*
3p	....	....	*g-i-dək*	....

Differences between 'fetch,' 'bring,' and 'put in' are very slight.

Class I Transitive Verbs

Realis

	EAT	KNOW	SEE/LOOK	
1s	*t-əm-ən*	*t-uk-an*	*(ts-a$_N^\varsigma$-dzi)*	The -*di*, -*ni*, -*gi* forms are
1p	*t-əm-da-n*	*t-uk-da-n*	*ts-a$_N^\varsigma$-dei*	replaced in 'see' by -*dzi*
2s	*n-əm-ən*	*n-uk-an*	*(ɲ-a$_N^\varsigma$-dzi)*	forms. So too in the third
2p	*n-əm-da-n*	*n-uk-da-n*	*ɲ-a$_N^\varsigma$-dei*	person forms for 'know.'
3s	*g-əm-ən*	*(uk-an-dzi)*	*(g-a$_N^\varsigma$-dzi)*	The -*dei* forms are on an
3p	*g-əm-da-n*	*(uk-da-n-dei)*	*g-a$_N^\varsigma$-dei*	analogy with past plural
				forms.

Irrealis

	EAT	KNOW	SEE/LOOK
1s	*t-əm-du*	*t-uk-an-(du)*	*ts-a$_N^\varsigma$-du*
1p	*t-əm-da-k*	*t-uk-da-k*	*ts-a$_N^\varsigma$-də-k*
2s	*n-əm-du*	*n-uk-an-(du)*	*ɲ-a$_N^\varsigma$-du*
2p	*n-əm-da-k*	*n-uk-da-k*	*ɲ-a$_N^\varsigma$-də-k*
3s	*g-əm-du*	....	*g-a$_N^\varsigma$-du*
3p	*g-əm-da-k*	....	*g-a$_N^\varsigma$-də-k*

Class I verbs mark the person of the subject with a verbal prefix – first person *ts-* or *t-*; second person *n-*; and third person *g-*, *d-*, or *Ø*. Realis plural in such verbs is marked by a suffix -*da* immediately following the root, and singular goes unmarked. Realis is marked by -*n* following number markers.

In Class I irrealis, singular is marked by -*du* (a singular–non-past portmanteau) and plural by -*da*. Irrealis (by a purely synchronic analysis) is marked by -*k* following the plural marker and unmarked following singular.

Class I Transitive Verbs

Realis

	DRINK	PUT	PUT 2
1s	*ts-o$_N^{ɣ}$-ən*	*ts-o$_G^{ɣ}$-on*	*ts-o$_G^{ɣ}$-a-d-ṇ*
1p	*ts-o$_N^{ɣ}$-na-n*	*ts-o$_G^{ɣ}$-da-n*	
2s	*n-o$_N^{ɣ}$-ən*	*n-o$_G^{ɣ}$-on*	*n-o$_G^{ɣ}$-a-d-ṇ*
2p	*n-o$_N^{ɣ}$-na-n*	*n-o$_G^{ɣ}$-da-n*	
3s	*g-o$_N^{ɣ}$-ən*	*g-o$_G^{ɣ}$-on*	*g-o$_G^{ɣ}$-a-d-ṇ*
3p	*g-o$_N^{ɣ}$-na-n*	*g-o$_G^{ɣ}$-da-n*	

Irrealis

	DRINK	PUT	PUT 2
1s	*ts-o$_N^{ɣ}$-du*	*ts-o$_G^{ɣ}$-du*	....
1p	*ts-o$_N^{ɣ}$-də-k*	*ts-o$_G^{ɣ}$-də-k*	....
2s	*n-o$_N^{ɣ}$-du*	*n-o$_G^{ɣ}$-du*	....
2p	*n-o$_N^{ɣ}$-də-k*	*n-o$_G^{ɣ}$-də-k*	....
3s	*g-o$_N^{ɣ}$-du*	*g-o$_G^{ɣ}$-du*	....
3p	*g-o$_N^{ɣ}$-də-k*	*g-o$_G^{ɣ}$-də-k*	....

Class II Intransitive Verbs

Realis

	FALL		HIDE	
1s	*bem-ṇ*	*bem-tsi-n*	*hyoq-ṇ*	*hyoq-tsi-n*
1p	*bem-da-n*		*hyoq-ts-ən*	
2s	*bem-ṇ*	*bem-ni-n*	*hyoq-ṇ*	*hyoq-ni-n*
2p	*bem-da-n*		*hyoq-ɲa-n*	
3s	*bem-dzi*		*hyoq-dzi*	
3p	*bem-dzi*		*hyoq-dei*	

Irrealis

	FALL	HIDE
1s	*bem-du*	*hyoq-ts-u*
1p	*bem-də-k*	*hyoq-tsə-k*
2s	*bem-du*	*hyoq-n-u*
2p	*bem-də-k*	*hyoq-ɲə-k*
3s	*bem-du*	....
3p	*bem-də-k*	....

Class II intransitive verbs have two conjugations in realis mode — one bereft of person markers (as in *bem-ṇ*) and the other with person marking added (as in *bem-tsi-n*). Further study may reveal that one is Past and the other Realis.

Class II Intransitive Verbs

Realis

	DESCEND	GET WET	LAUGH	DANCE
1s	*bal-ṇ / bal-tsi-n*	*dzoq-ṇ*	*nix-ṇ*	*limi-t-ṇ / limi-tsi-n*
1p	*bal-da-n*	*dzoq-da-n*	*nix-ṇ*	*limi-da-n*
2s	*bal-ṇ / bal-ni-n*	*dzoq-ṇ*	*nix-ṇ*	*limi-n-ṇ*
2p	*bal-da-n*	*dzoq-na-n*	*nix-ṇ*	*limi-da-n*
3s	*bal-dzi*	*dzoq-dzi*	*nix-ṇ*	*limi-dzi*
3p	*bal-dei*	*dzoq-dei*	*nix-ṇ*	

Irrealis

	DESCEND	GET WET	LAUGH	DANCE
1s	*bal-du*	*dzoq-d-u*	*nixe-d-u*	*limi-t-u / limi-tsi-du*
1p	*bal-dək*	*dzoq-d-ək*	*nixe-d-ək*	
2s	*bal-du*	*dzoq-n-u*	*nixe-n-u*	
2p	*bal-dək*	*dzoq-n-ək*	*nixe-n-ək*	
3s	*bal-du / -dzi*	*dzoq-dei*	*nix-ṇ*	
3p	*bal-dək*	....	*nix-ṇ*	

Class II Intransitive Verbs

Past

	HANG	WEEP	FEAR	WAIT
1s	....	....	....	....
1p	....	....	....	....
2s	....	....	....	....
2p	....	....	....	....
3s	....	*dzəm-dzi*	....	....
3p	....	*dzəm-dei*	....	....

Realis

	HANG	WEEP	FEAR	WAIT
1s	*dzuŋ-tsi-n*	*dzəm-tsi-n*	*kʰai-tsi-n*	*ɲaq-tsi-n*
1p	??	*dzəm-tsi-da-n*	*kʰai-tsi-da-n*	??
2s	*dzuŋ-ni-n*	*dzəm-ni-n*	**kʰai-ni-n* (neg)	*ɲaq-ni-n*
2p	??	*dzəm-ni-da-n*	*kʰai-na-n*	??
3s	*dzuŋ-dzi*	*dzəm-gi*	*kʰai-in-dzi*	??
3p	??	*dzəm-gi-da-n*	??	??

Irrealis

	HANG	WEEP	FEAR	WAIT
1s	??	*dzəm-tsi-du*	*kʰai-d-u*	*ɲaq-tsi-du*
1p	??	??	*kʰai-d-ək*	*ɲaq-tsi-dək*
2s	??	*dzəm-ni-du*	*kʰai-n-u*	*ɲaq-ni-du*
2p	??	??	*kʰai-n-ək*	??
3s	??	*dzəm-gi-du*	*kʰai-dzi*	??
3p	??	??	*kʰai-dzi*	??

Class II Intransitive Verbs

Past

	BE TIRED	RISE	STAND	ENTER
1s	*pəo-d-i*	....	....	*sip-d-i*
1p	??	....	....	??
2s	*pəo-n-i*	....	....	*sip-n-i*
2p	??	....	....	??
3s	*pəo-g-i*	....	....	*sip-dzi*
3p	??	....	....	??

Realis

	BE TIRED	RISE	STAND	ENTER
1s	*pəo-tsi-n*	*nuŋ / nuŋ-tsi-n*	*dʰuŋ-tsi-n*	*sip-ṇ / sip-tsi-n*
1p		*nuŋ-dza-n*		
2s	*pəo-ni-n*	*nu-n / nuŋ-ni-n*	*dʰũ:-n-ṇ*	*sip-ni-n*
2p				
3s	*pəo-dzi*	*nuŋ-dzi*	*dʰuŋ-dzi*	*sip-ṇ-dzi*
3p				

Irrealis

	BE TIRED	RISE	STAND	ENTER
1s		*nuŋ-dz-u*	*dʰuŋ-tsi-du*	
1p				
2s		*nuŋ-n-u*	*dʰũ:-ni-nu / dʰuŋ-n-u*	
2p				
3s		*nuŋ-dzi*	*dʰuŋ-du*	
3p				

Class II Intransitive Verbs

Past

RUN

1s *pʰurpʰu-d-i*

1p *pʰurpʰu-d-ei*

2s *pʰurpʰu-n-i*

2p *pʰurpʰu-n-ei*

3s *pʰurpʰu-dzi*

3p *pʰurpʰu-dei*

Realis

RUN

1s *pʰurpʰu-d-ṇ*

1p *pʰurpʰu-d-ən*

2s *pʰurpʰu-n-ṇ*

2p *pʰurpʰu-n-ən*

3s *pʰurpʰu-g-ən*

3p ....

Irrealis

RUN

1s *pʰurpʰu-d-u*

1p *pʰurpʰu-d-ək*

2s *pʰurpʰu-n-u*

2p *pʰurpʰu-n-ək*

3s *pʰurpʰu-dzi*

3p *pʰurpʰu-dei*

Class II Derived Intransitive Verbs

Past

	GATHER	BE LOST	MOVE	BREAK
1s	....	....	....	....
1p	....	....	....	....
2s	....	....	....	....
2p	....	....	....	....
3s	*gwi-dzi*	....	....	....
3p	*gwi-dei*	....	....	....

Realis

	GATHER	BE LOST	MOVE	BREAK
1s	*gwi-tsi-t-ṇ*	*miː-tsi-t-ṇ*	*gʰwi-tsi-t-ṇ*	*kəla-q-tsi-n*
1p	*gwi-tsi-da-n*	*miː-tsi-t-na-n*	*gʰwi-tsi-t-da-n*	??
2s	*gwi-t-na-n*	??	*gʰwi-n-ṇ* ??	??
2p	*gwi-ni-t-na-n*	??	*gʰwi-ni-t-na-n*	??
3s	*gwi-t-ṇ*	??	??	??
3p	....	....	....	....

Irrealis

	GATHER	BE LOST	MOVE	BREAK
1s	*gwi-tsi-du*	*miː-tsi-du*	??	??
1p	*gwi-tsi-dək*	*miː-tsi-dək*	??	??
2s	*gwi-ni-t-nu*	*mi-t-ni-du*	??	??
2p	*gwi-ni-t-nək*	*mi-t-ni-dək*	*gʰwi-ni-t-də-k*	??
3s	??	*miː-du* ??	??	??
3p	*gwi-t-dək* ??	*miː-dək* ??	??	??

Class II Transitive Verbs

Past

	MAKE	GIVE	BEG	CUT
1s	a-d-i	e-d-i	ai-d-i	kisa-d-i
1p	a-d-ei			kisa-d-ei
2s	a-n-i	e-n-i	ai-n-i	kisa-n-i
2p	a-n-ei			kisa-n-ei
3s	ə-g-i	e-g-i	ai-g-i	kisa-g-i
3p	ə-g-ei			kisa-(g)-ei

Realis

	MAKE	GIVE	BEG	CUT
1s	a-t-ṇ	e-d-ṇ	ai-t-ṇ	kisa-d-ṇ
1p	a-d-ən	e-d-ən	ai-t-ən	
2s	a-n	e-n	ai-n-ṇ	kisa-n-ṇ
2p	a-n-ən	e-d-ən	ai-n-ən	
3s	ə-g-ən	e-g-ən	ai-dzi	kisa-g-ən
3p	ə-g-ən	e-g-ən	ai-dei	

Irrealis

	MAKE	GIVE	BEG	CUT
1s	a-d-u	e-d-u	ai-t-u	kisa-d-u
1p	a-d-ək	e-d-ək	ai-d-ək	kisa-d-ək
2s	a-n-u	e-n-u	ai-n-u	kisa-n-u
2p	a-n-ək	e-n-ək	ai-n-ək	kisa-n-ək
3s	a-g-u	e-g-u	ai-n-dzi	kisa-g-u
3p	a-g-ək	e-g-ək	ai-n-dzi / ai-g-ək	kisa-g-ək

Class II Transitive Verbs

Past

	OPEN	SEND	DRAW WATER	SEARCH
FOR				
1s	*hǝra-d-i*	*tǝmbǝ-d-i*	*kola-d-i*	*oɴlã-d-i*
1p	*hǝra-d-ei*	*tǝmbǝ-d-ei*	....	*oɴlã-d-ei*
2s	*hǝra-n-i*	*tǝmbǝ-n-i*	*kola-n-i*	*oɴlã-n-i*
2p	*hǝra-n-ei*	*tǝmbǝ-n-ei*	....	*oɴlã-n-ei*
3s	*hǝra-g-i*	*tǝmbǝ-g-i*	*kola-g-i*	*oɴla-(g)-ĩ*
3p	....	*tǝmbǝ-(g)-ei*	....	*oɴla-(g)-ei*

Realis

	OPEN	SEND	DRAW WATER	SEARCH
1s	*hǝra-d-ṇ*	*tǝmbǝ-d-ṇ*	*kola-d-ṇ*	*oɴlã-d-ṇ*
1p	*hǝra-d-ǝn*	*tǝmbǝ-d-ǝn*		*oɴlã-d-ǝn*
2s	*hǝra-n-ṇ*	*tǝmbǝ-n-ṇ*	*kola-n-ṇ*	*oɴlã-n-ṇ*
2p	*hǝra-n-ǝn*	*tǝmbǝ-n-ǝn*		*oɴlã-n-ǝn*
3s	*hǝrǝ-g-ǝn*	*tǝmbǝ-g-ǝn*	*kola-g-ǝn*	*oɴlã-g-ǝn*
3p	....	....	....	....

Irrealis

	OPEN	SEND	DRAW WATER	SEARCH
1s	*hǝra-d-u*	*tǝmbǝ-d-u*	*kola-d-u*	*oɴlã-d-u*
1p	*hǝra-d-ǝk*	*tǝmbǝ-d-ǝk*	*kola-d-ǝk*	*oɴlã-d-ǝk*
2s	*hǝra-n-u*	*tǝmbǝ-n-u*	*kola-n-u*	*oɴlã-n-u*
2p	*hǝra-n-ǝk*	*tǝmbǝ-n-ǝk*	*kola-n-ǝk*	*oɴlã-n-ǝk*
3s	*hǝra-ŋ*	*tǝmbǝ-g-u*	*kola-(g)-u*	*oɴlã-g-u*
3p	....	*tǝmbǝ-g-ǝk*	....	*oɴlã-g-ǝk*

Class II Transitive Verbs

Past

	FEED	REMEMBER	LOSE	BUY
1s	*in-da-d-i*	*imba-d-i*	*meː-d-i*	*dzaː-d-i*
1p	*in-da-d-ei*	*imba-d-ei*	*meː-d-ei*	
2s	*in-da-n-i*	*imba-n-i*	*meː-n-i*	*dzaː-n-i*
2p	*in-da-n-ei*	*imba-n-ei*	*meː-n-ei*	
3s	*in-da-(g)-i*	*imba-g-i*	*meː-(g)-i*	*dzaː-g-i*
3p		*imba-(g)-ei*		

Realis

	FEED	REMEMBER	LOSE	BUY
1s	*in-da-d-ṇ*	*imba-d-ṇ*	*meː-d-ṇ*	*dzaː-d-ṇ*
1p			*meː-da-n*	*dzaː-da-n*
2s	*in-da-n-ṇ*	*imba-n-ṇ*	*meː-n-ṇ*	*dzaː-n-ṇ*
2p			*meː-na-n*	*dzaː-na-n*
3s	*in-da-g-ən*	*imba-g-ən*	*meː-g-ən*	*dzaː-g-ən*
3p				*dzaː-ga-n*

Irrealis

	FEED	REMEMBER	LOSE	BUY
1s	*in-da-d-u*	*imba-d-u*	*meː-d-u*	*dzaː-d-u*
1p	*in-da-d-ək*	*imba-d-ək*	*meː-d-ək*	*dzaː-d-ək*
2s	*in-da-n-u*	*imba-n-u*	*meː-n-u*	*dzaː-n-u*
2p	*in-da-n-ək*	*imba-n-ək*	*meː-n-ək*	*dzaː-n-ək*
3s	*in-da-g-u*	*imba-g-u*	*meː-g-u*	*dzaː-g-u*
3p	*in-da-g-ək*	*imba-g-ək*	*meː-g-ək*	*dzaː-g-ək*

Class II Transitive Verbs

Past

	SHOW	COOK	KILL	BEAT
1s	*unda-d-i*	*hulə-d-i*	*ora-d-i*	*pumba-d-i*
1p	*unda-d-ei*	*hulə-d-ei*	*ora-d-ei*	*pumba-d-ei*
2s	*unda-n-i*	*hulə-n-i*	*ora-n-i*	*pumba-n-i*
2p	*unda-n-ei*	*hulə-n-ei*	*ora-n-ei*	*pumba-n-ei*
3s	*unda-(g)-i*	*hulə-g-i*	*ora-(g)-i*	*pumba-(g)-i*
3p	*unda-(g)-ei*	*hulə-(g)-ei*	*ora-(g)-ei*	*pumba-(g)-ei*

Realis

	SHOW	COOK	KILL	BEAT
1s	*unda-d-ṇ*	*hulə-d-ṇ*	*ora-d-ṇ*	*pumba-d-ṇ*
1p	*unda-də-n*	*hulə-da-n*	*ora-d-ən*	*pumba-d-ən*
2s	*unda-n-ṇ*	*hulə-n-ṇ*	*ora-n-ṇ*	*pumba-n-ṇ*
2p	*unda-nə-n*	*hulə-na-n*	*ora-n-ən*	*pumba-n-ən*
3s	*unda-g-ən*	*hulə-g-ən*	*ora-g-ən*	*pumba-g-ən*
3p	....	....	....	....

Irrealis

	SHOW	COOK	KILL	BEAT
1s	*unda-d-u*	*hulə-d-u*	*ora-d-u*	*pumba-d-u*
1p	*unda-d-ək*	*hulə-d-ək*	*ora-d-ək*	*pumba-d-ək*
2s	*unda-n-u*	*hulə-n-u*	*ora-n-u*	*pumba-n-u*
2p	*unda-n-ək*	*hulə-n-ək*	*ora-n-ək*	*pumba-n-ək*
3s	*unda-g-u*	*hulə-g-u*	*ora-g-u*	*pumba-g-u*
3p	*unda-g-ək*	*hulə-g-ək*	*ora-g-ək*	*pumba-g-ək*

Class II Transitive Verbs

<div align="center">

Past

</div>

	BURN	WASH	BATHE	FINISH
1s	*habə-d-i*	*sowa-d-i*	*poχla-d-i*	*tumbə-d-i*
1p	*habə-d-ei*	*sowa-d-ei*	*poχla-d-ei*	
2s	*habə-n-i*	*sowa-n-i*	*poχla-n-i*	*tumbə-n-i*
2p	*habə-n-ei*	*sowa-n-ei*	*poχla-n-ei*	
3s	*habə-g-i*	*sowa-d-ei*	*poχla-(g)-i*	*tumbə-g-i*
3p	*habə-(g)-ei*	*sowa-d-ei*	*poχla-(g)-ei*	

<div align="center">

Realis

</div>

	BURN	WASH	BATHE	FINISH
1s	*habə-d-ṇ*	*sowa-d-ṇ*	*poχla-d-ṇ*	*tumbə-d-ṇ*
1p	*habə-d-ən*	*sowa-də-n*	*poχla-d-ən*	
2s	*habə-n-ṇ*	*sowa-n-ṇ*	*poχla-n-ṇ*	*tumbə-n-ṇ*
2p	*habə-n-ən*	*sowa-nə-n*	*poχla-n-ən*	
3s	*habə-g-ən*	*sowa-g-ən*	*??*	*tumbə-g-ən*
3p	....	*sowa-ei*	....	

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Irrealis

</div>

	BURN	WASH	BATHE	FINISH
1s	*habə-d-u*	*sowa-d-u*	*poχla-d-u*	*tumbə-d-u*
1p	*habə-d-ək*	*sowa-d-ək*	*poχla-d-ək*	
2s	*habə-n-u*	*sowa-n-u*	*poχla-n-u*	*tumbə-n-u*
2p	*habə-n-ək*	*sowa-n-ək*	*poχla-n-ək*	
3s	*habə-g-u*	*sowa-ɢu*	*poχla-g-u*	*tumbə-g-u*
3p	*habə-g-ək*	*sowa-ɢu*	*poχla-g-ək*	

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Class II Transitive Verbs

Past

	BREAK	BREAK II	BOIL WATER
1s	*kəla-d-i*	*bʰəra-d-i*	*bʰorlə-d-i*
1p	*kəla-d-ei*		
2s	*kəla-n-i*	*bʰəra-n-i*	*bʰorlə-n-i*
2p	*kəla-n-ei*		
3s	*kəla-g-i*	*bʰəra-g-i*	*bʰorlə-g-i*
3p	*kəla-g-ei*		

Realis

	BREAK	BREAK II	BOIL WATER
1s	*kəla-d-ṇ*	*bʰəra-d-ṇ*	*bʰorlə-d-ṇ*
1p	*kəla-də-n*		
2s	*kəla-n-ṇ*	*bʰəra-n-ṇ*	*bʰorlə-n-ṇ*
2p	*kəla-nə-n*		
3s	*kəla-g-ən*	*bʰəra-g-ən*	*bʰorlə-g-ən*
3p	....	....	....

Irrealis

	BREAK	BREAK II	BOIL WATER
1s	*kəla-d-u*	*bʰəra-d-u*	*bʰorlə-d-u*
1p	*kəla-d-ək*	*bʰəra-d-ək*	
2s	*kəla-n-u*	*bʰəra-n-u*	
2p	*kəla-n-ək*	*bʰəra-n-ək*	
3s	*kəla-g-u*	*bʰəra-g-u*	
3p	*kəla-g-ək*	*bʰəra-g-ək*	

Class II Causative Verbs

Past

	MAKE FALL	MAKE WET	HIDE
1s	*bem-ə-d-i*	*dzoɢˁ-a-d-i*	*hyoɢˁ-a-d-i*
1p	*bem-ə-d-ei*	*dzoɢˁ-a-d-ei*	*hyoɢˁ-a-d-ei*
2s	*bem-ə-n-i*	*dzoɢˁ-a-n-i*	*hyoɢˁ-a-n-i*
2p	*bem-ə-n-ei*	*dzoɢˁ-a-n-ei*	*hyoɢˁ-a-n-ei*
3s	*bem-ə-(g)-i*	*dzoɢˁ-a-(g)-i*	*hyoɢˁ-a-(g)-i*
3p	*bem-ə-(g)-ei*	*dzoɢˁ-a-(g)-ei*	*hyoɢˁ-a-(g)-ei*

Realis

	MAKE FALL	MAKE WET	HIDE
1s	*bem-ə-d-ṇ*	*dzoɢˁ-a-d-ṇ*	*hyoɢˁ-a-d-ṇ*
1p			
2s	*bem-ə-n-ṇ*		*hyoɢˁ-a-n-ṇ*
2p			
3s	*bem-ə-g-ən*	*dzoɢˁ-a-g-ən*	*hyoɢˁ-a-g-ən*
3p			*(hyoɢˁ-a-ei)*

Irrealis

	MAKE FALL	MAKE WET	HIDE
1s	*bem-ə-d-u*	*dzoɢˁ-a-d-u*	*hyoɢˁ-a-d-u*
1p	*bem-ə-d-ək*	*dzoɢˁ-a-d-ək*	*hyoɢˁ-a-d-ək*
2s	*bem-ə-n-u*	*dzoɢˁ-a-n-u*	*hyoɢˁ-a-n-u*
2p	*bem-ə-n-ək*	*dzoɢˁ-a-n-ək*	*hyoɢˁ-a-n-ək*
3s	*bem-ə-g-u*	*dzoɢˁ-a-(g)-u*	*hyoɢˁ-a-dzi*
3p	*bem-ə-g-ək*	*dzoɢˁ-a-g-ək*	

Class II Causative Verbs

Past

	DROP	OVERTURN	SURVIVE
1s	*pʰeb-ə-d-i*	*byaq-a-d-i*	*əigi / əigi-d-i*
1p			
2s	*pʰeb-ə-n-i*	*byaq-a-n-i*	*əigi-n / əigi-n-i*
2p			
3s	*pʰeb-ə-g-i*	*byaq-a-g-i*	*əigi / əigi-g-i*
3p			

Realis

	DROP	OVERTURN	SURVIVE
1s	*pʰeb-ə-d-ṇ*	*byaq-a-d-ṇ*	*əigi-d-ṇ*
1p			
2s		*byaq-a-n-ṇ*	*əigi-n-ṇ*
2p			
3s	*pʰeb-ə-g-ən*	*byaq-a-g-ən*	*əigi-g-ən*
3p			

Irrealis

	DROP	OVERTURN	SURVIVE
1s	*pʰeb-ə-d-u*	*byaq-a-d-u*	*əigi-d-u*
1p			
2s	*pʰeb-ə-n-u*	*byaq-a-n-u*	*əigi-n-u*
2p			
3s		*byaq-a-g-u*	*əigi-g-u*
3p			

Class I Mutating Verbs — Negative

Realis / Past

	GO	COME
	GO	COME
1s	*ts-aˁu*	*t-ug-aˁu*
1p	*ts-aˁu*	*t-ug-aˁu*
2s	*ɲ-aˁu*	*n-ug-aˁu*
2p	*ɲ-aˁu*	*n-ug-aˁu*
3s	*d-aˁi*	*ug-aˁu*
3p	*d-aˁi*	*ug-aˁu*

Irrealis

	GO	COME
	GO	COME
1s	*ts-əg-wa*	*t-ug-u*
1p	*tsi-dəg-wa*	*t-u-dak*
2s	*n-əg-wa*	*n-ug-u*
2p	*ni-dəg-wa*	*n-u-dak*
3s	*d-əg-wa*	*g-ug-u*
3p	*d-əg-wa*	*g-u-dak*

Class I Intransitive Verbs — Negative

Realis

	SLEEP	DIE	SIT
1s	*ts-ip-daˤu*	*t-oɢˤ-d-aˤu*	*s-aɴˤ-daˤu*
1p	*ts-ip-daˤu*	*t-oɢˤ-d-aˤu*	*s-aɴˤ-daˤu*
2s	*n-ip-daˤu*	*n-oɢˤ-n-aˤu*	*ɲ-aɴˤ-daˤu*
2p	*n-ip-daˤu*	*n-oɢˤ-n-aˤu*	*ɲ-aɴˤ-daˤu*
3s	*g-ip-daˤi*	*oɢˤ-daˤi*	*h-aɴˤ-daˤi*
3p	*g-ip-daˤi*	*oɢˤ-daˤi*	*h-aɴˤ-daˤi*

Irrealis

	SLEEP	DIE	SIT
1s	*ts-ip-wa*	*t-oɢˤ-d-wa*	*s-aɴˤ-n-wa*
1p	*ts-ip-d-wa*	*t-oɢˤ-d-əo*	*s-aɴˤ-n-wa*
2s	*n-ip-wa*	*n-oɢˤ-n-wa*	*ɲ-aɴˤ-n-wa*
2p	*n-ip-d-wa*	*n-oɢˤ-n-əo*	*ɲ-aɴˤ-n-wa*
3s	*g-ip-wa*	*oɢˤ-d-wa*	*h-aɴˤ-n-wa*
3p	*g-ip-d-wa*	*oɢˤ-d-əo*	*h-aɴˤ-n-wa*

Class I Transitive Verbs — Negative

Realis

	EAT	KNOW	SEE/LOOK
1s	*t-əm-daˁu*	*t-uk-daˁi*	*ts-ã:-daˁi*
1p	*t-əm-daˁu*	*t-uk-daˁi*	*ts-ã:-daˁi*
2s	*n-əm-daˁu*	*n-uk-daˁi*	*ɲ-ã:-daˁi*
2p	*n-əm-daˁu*	*n-uk-daˁi*	*ɲ-ã:-daˁi*
3s	*g-əm-daˁu*	*ok-daˁi*	*g-ã:-daˁi*
3p	*g-əm-daˁu*	*ok-daˁi*	*g-ã:-daˁi*

Irrealis

	EAT	KNOW	SEE/LOOK
1s	*t-əm-wa*	*t-ug-wa*	*ts-ã:-d-wa*
1p	*t-əm-wa*	*t-ug-wa*	*ts-ã:-d-əo*
2s	*n-əm-wa*	*n-ug-wa*	*ɲ-ã:-n-wa*
2p	*n-əm-wa*	*n-ug-wa*	*ɲ̃a:-n-əo*
3s	*g-əm-wa*	*ug-wa*	*g-ã:-n-wa*
3p	*g-əm-wa*	*ug-wa*	*g-ã:-d-əo*

Class II Intransitive Verbs — Negative

<p style="text-align:center">**Realis**</p>

	FALL	HIDE
1s	*bem-d-aˤu*	
1p	*bem-d-aˤu*	
2s	*bem-n-aˤu*	
2p	*bem-n-aˤu*	
3s	*bem-d-aˤi*	
3p	*bem-d-aˤi*	

<p style="text-align:center">**Irrealis**</p>

	FALL	HIDE
1s	*bem-d-wa*	
1p	*bem-d-əo*	
2s	*bem-n-wa*	
2p	*bem-n-əo*	
3s	*bem-d-wa*	
3p	*bem-d-wa*	

Class II Transitive Verbs — Negative

Realis

	MAKE	GIVE
1s	*a-d-aˤu*	*e-d-aˤu*
1p	*a-d-aˤu*	*e-d-aˤu*
2s	*a-n-aˤu*	*e-n-aˤu*
2p	*a-n-aˤu*	*e-n-aˤu*
3s	*a-g-aˤu*	*e-g-aˤu*
3p	*a-g-aˤu*	*e-g-aˤu*

Irrealis

	MAKE	GIVE
1s	*a-du-wa*	*e-du-wa*
1p	*a-du-wa*	*e-du-wa*
2s	*a-nu-wa*	*e-nu-wa*
2p	*a-nu-wa*	*e-nu-wa*
3s	*a-g-wa*	*e-g-wa*
3p	*a-g-wa*	*e-g-wa*

Class II Transitive Verbs — Negative

Realis / Past

	BEAT	KILL	SHOW
1s	*pumba-d-aˤi*	*ora-d-aˤi*	*unda-d-aˤu*
1p	*pumba-d-aˤi*	*ora-d-aˤi*	*unda-d-aˤu*
2s	*pumba-n-aˤi*	*ora-n-aˤi*	*unda-n-aˤu*
2p	*pumba-n-aˤi*	*ora-n-aˤi*	*unda-n-aˤu*
3s	*pumba-ˤi*	*ora-ˤi*	*unda-ˤu*
3p	*pumba-ˤi*	*ora-ˤi*	*unda-ˤu*

Irrealis

	BEAT	KILL	SHOW
1s	*pumba-d-wa*	*ora-d-wa*	*unda-d-wa*
1p	*pumba-d-əo*	*ora-d-əo*	*unda-d-əo*
2s	*pumba-n-wa*	*ora-n-wa*	*unda-n-wa*
2p	*pumba-n-əo*	*ora-n-əo*	*unda-n-əo*
3s	*pumba-g-wa*	*ora-g-wa*	*unda-g-wa*
3p	*pumba-g-əo*	*ora-g-əo*	*unda-g-əo*

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