

Hayu

Boyd Michailovsky

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Four corrections to the published text have been added (2018) as postscript endnotes ([*1], etc.).

CHAPTER 34

HAYU

Boyd Michailovsky

1 INTRODUCTION

The Hayu (Nepali *hāyu*, Hayu *wa:ju*) inhabit an area between 50 and 100 kilometres south-east of Kathmandu. The *Nepal Population and Housing Census 2011* (Government of Nepal 2012) reports a population of 2925 Hayus, and 2920 Hayu speakers, but the language is reliably known to be spoken in only three villages: Mudhajor (Sukajor VDC) in the valley of the Sun Kosi in Ramechhap District, where the data presented here was gathered, and Adhamara and Manedihi (Dadiguranse VDC) in the valley of the Marin Khola, in Sindhuli District. All speakers are bilingual in Nepali, the Indo-Aryan national language.

Hayu was first studied by B.H. Hodgson (1857) during his retirement in Darjeeling, and was rediscovered and studied in 1972 and 1973 by Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1973, Michailovsky 1974, 1988) in the village of Mudhajor. It has not been learned by children in Mudhajor since the late 1970s, but it is still being learned in the Marin Khola, 30km to the west across the Mahabharat Range. There is little contact between the two areas, but dialect differences are slight. The present sketch is based on the dialect of Mudhajor as spoken in the 1970s, and by older speakers since then.

Hayu is considered here to be a member of the Kiranti subgroup (see Kiranti languages, this volume).

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Syllable structure

The syllable canon is $(C_i)V(C_f)$, where C_i represents either an initial consonant C_i or a cluster.

2.2 Vowels

There are seven vowel timbres, *i, ɪ, e* (front); *a* (IPA [a]); *ɔ, ɒ, u* (back). The vowels *ɪ* and *u* are not lax; especially in open syllables they may be pronounced as close [e] and [o].

The Nepali ə vowel occurs in loanwords, where it also may also be realized as *a* or *ɔ*. Thus Nepali *əbə* ‘now’ is adopted as *abɔ* or *abə*.

Vowel quantity (length) is distinctive in open first syllables of polysyllabic words, in particular on the stem syllable of verb forms. Closed syllable vowels are phonetically short.

Nasality occurs only on open, non-final syllables. Almost all nasal vowels are long and precede an unvoiced stop or *s* initial of the following syllable. A very few words have short nasal vowels before voiced initial stops.

2.3 Consonants

There are three series of initial stops: plain (unvoiced), aspirated, and voiced. The syllable initial consonants (C_i) are as follows:

dorso-velar: *k, k^h, g, ŋ*

lamino-palatal: *c* ([tɕ]), *ɟ* ([dʒ])

apico-alveolar: *ts, ts^h, dz*

dental: *t, t^h, d, n*

bilabial: *p, p^h, b, m*

apico-alveolar tap: *r*

apico-dental laterals: *l* (voiced), *hl* (voiceless)

approximants: *j* (palatal), *w* (labiovelar)

fricatives: apico-alveolar: *s*; (labio-)velar-palatal: *x* ([x], [x^w] before *a, ɔ*; [ç] before front vowels)

aspirate: *h*.

The opposition between the apico-alveolar and lamino-palatal stop series is neutralized before front vowels, the realization being apico-alveolar. There is no aspirated lamino-palatal affricated stop.

In Mudhajor, *j* appears before all vowels (thus *ji* ‘blood’ is distinct from *i* ‘this’), and *w* appears only before the vowels *a* and *ɔ*. The Marin dialect has *w* in place of *j* before front vowels: *wi* (or *vi*) ‘blood’. [*1]

Initial clusters are relatively rare, except in phonæsthetic adverbs, where they are somewhat favoured. The following initial clusters occur: *kl, kʰl, gl, kr, kʰr, gr, pl, pʰl, bl*. All words with initial bilabial+*l* clusters have doublets with simple bilabial initials.

Retroflex and voiced aspirated initials may be noted in Nepali loan words.

The inventory of syllable finals (C_f) is *p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, r, l, x, ʔ*; of these, *x* and (with marginal exceptions) *ʔ* do not occur as word-finals. The stop finals are pronounced unreleased in word-final position, with simultaneous glottal closure. Before a voiced initial stop, either within the word or in close juncture, they have voiced allophones, realized with glottalization or laryngealization [b̥], [d̥], [g̥], as in *bepdzɛɛ* [bɛ̥bdzɛɛ] ‘bedbug’, *it bi:tɔ* [ɪ̥d̥ bi:tɔ] ‘allow him to say it’.

Consonant combinations of the form $C_f C_i$ occur in polysyllabic words. In these, and in some close junctures, *homorganic* combinations are almost totally absent. Homorganicity is defined with respect to the three place-categories bilabial, velar, and *coronal* (lamino-palatal, apico-alveolar, or dental). It is clear from the morphophonology (below) that where a homorganic $C_f C_i$ combination would be expected, an oral stop or nasal C_f has been replaced by *x, ʔ*, or a prosody (nasality, distinctive short quantity) with no place feature. It will be seen that these function as allophones of the final stops and nasals. (The resonant finals *r, l* do occur before coronal initials, but coronal nasal and stop finals are replaced before initial *r, l*.)

3 MORPHOPHONOLOGY

A lexical verb root is a monosyllable $(C_i)V(C_f)$, where C_f represents one of the absolute finals *p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, r, l*. There is no lexical opposition between roots with long vs. short, or nasal vs. oral vowels. Open roots have long quantity in polysyllabic forms. This is important for rule 4 below.

Verbal morphology is suffixal. Wherever a combination between a stop or nasal root-final and a homorganic suffix initial would be expected, the root final is replaced by an alternant as follows:

- 1 In combinations of stop+sonorant, the alternant is *ʔ*: *bɔʔŋɔ* ‘I get up’, root *bɔk*; *sɪʔnɔ* ‘I kill you’, root *sɪt*; *pɔʔluŋ* ‘tying-place’, root *pɔt*. Note that although the finals *k, t* and *p* share the same alternant, there is no neutralization, as the place feature is recoverable from the following initial. Thus *ʔ* functions as an allophone of *k, t*, or *p*, depending on the context. The alternants 2–4 below function similarly.

- 2 The C_f alternant in homorganic stop+unvoiced stop combinations is *x*: *pəxkə* ‘raise it’, root *pək*; *sixta* ‘killed’.
- 3 In nasal+unvoiced stop (also *n+s*) combinations the alternant is (long) nasality: (*pə:tse* ‘he becomes’, root *pən*; *pĩ:kə* ‘send it’, root *piŋ*).
- 4 In combinations of nasal+nasal, *t+s*, and *t+ts^h* the homorganic C_f is lost, leaving a short vowel (redundantly transcribed here): *pĩŋə* ‘he sends me’ (*|piŋ+ŋə|*); *pāts^hem* ‘they (dual) fought’ (*|pat+ts^hε+m|*); *sĩsəŋ* ‘kill me!’ (*|sit+səŋ|*) (Michailovsky 2000:Bs51¹). Compare *ma sɪ:səŋ* ‘didn’t you recognize me?’, root *sɪ* (Gs40).

Finally, the opposition between velar and bilabial suffix initials is neutralized after bilabial stem finals. The archiphonemes are represented by bilabials: *təxpə* ‘strike it’, *|təp+kə|*; *dĩmə* ‘I become’ (*|dum+ŋə|*). The resulting homorganic combinations are subject to the rules 1-4 described above.

The combinations produced by rules 1–4 above (*x* or long nasality+unvoiced stop, *ɸ*+nasal or resonant) occur frequently in the general vocabulary (e.g. *pixpi* ‘grandmother’, *naʔnum* ‘rain’), while homorganic combinations and bilabial+velar groups are marginal, limited to phonaesthetic words (*pempere* ‘disk shaped’). Thus it seems likely that the rules described have affected the general vocabulary. Although evidence from alternations is limited by the absence of suffixes with voiced stop initials, the fact that neither *x* nor long nasality is found before voiced stops in the general vocabulary suggests that the dissimilation rules did not operate in this context.

Junctures like those between verb and postposition, verb and modal, and noun and postposition are weaker than that between verb and suffix, and dissimilation rules apply only in part.

4 VERB MORPHOLOGY

Verbs are classified as belonging to one or more of the lexical categories ‘intransitive’ (vi), ‘transitive’ (vt, vtt, or both, see below), ‘deponent’ (vd) or ‘stative’ (vs) according to their agreement morphology and core arguments. Intransitive verbs, and reflexive forms of transitives, agree with an S (‘subject’); transitive verbs may agree with both an A (loosely ‘agent’) and an O (‘object’). Deponent verbs have the morphology of transitives with invariable 3sg A; their sole argument is indexed as a transitive O. Stative verbs have no finite forms and no agreement. The *tense* distinction is roughly past/completed vs. non-past.

¹ Online-accessible recorded texts (Michailovsky 2000-) are cited by capital-letter text identifier and a sentence number.

Morphological root alternation occurs in (1) four open roots C_1a (e.g. *ta* (*ta~tɔ*) vt, vtt ‘put’), and (2) verbs having both open and *t*-final roots (e.g. *bu(t)* (*bu~but*) vt, vtt ‘carry’). The choice of root is part of the paradigm of these verbs (see Michailovsky 1988:99-104 and §4.2 below).

The suffixes of the verbal morphology are presented in Table 1 (see key in table). In the transitive paradigm of the table, each row corresponds to a person and number of A, and each column to a person and number of O. Intransitive and reflexive paradigms are presented below the transitive section.

Certain suffixes in Table 1 are transcribed as morphophonemes or alternations:

1. The suffix element transcribed N (‘PST’; also see next item) transforms a root-final stop into a nasal.
2. The suffix $\eta\sim N\sim s\sigma\eta$ (‘1s→3:NPST’) has the realization η after vowel, N after stop, $s\sigma\eta$ after sonorant.
3. The reflexive suffix element $\tilde{N}ts$ nasalizes open roots.
4. *mi~m*: the assertive suffix *mi* (§6.1) may have the form *m* after a vowel.

4.1 Structure of the paradigm

Although Hayu case-marking is ergative, the verbal paradigm does not follow this principle. Most agreement markers mark person (including “clusivity”) and number without regard to function. In the transitive paradigm, the superior argument (whether A or O) according to the hierarchy $1 > 2 > 3$ is given priority (allowing that 2s and 3s markers may be zero); if this argument is singular, then the number of the second argument is indicated by addition of a *secondary number marker*: *ts^he* ‘DU’ (except in 2s↔3d forms), *nɛ* ‘2p’, *mɛ* ‘3p’. 3→3 agreement is with the argument of the greatest number: the combinations are glossed ‘3s→3s’, ‘3→3(d)’, ‘3→3(p)’.

Hierarchical marking is replaced in parts of the transitive paradigm by two sets of function-marking suffixes: (1) *transitive k-initial* and *applicative t-initial suffixes* (*kση*, *kɔ*, *ki*; *tση*, *tɔ*, *ti*), which indicate 3rd person O in some forms, and (2) 1sg→2 suffixes in *nɔ*.

4.2 Applicative forms

Applicative t-suffixes in *tɔ*, *tση*, (*ti*) are found in Table 1 in the same cells as the transitive *k*-suffixes. Transitive verbs which use the *k*-suffixes are identified as *vt*; those which use the *t*-suffixes as *vtt*. For verbs which use both (*vt*, *vtt*), the *t*-suffixes are used in ditransitive clauses (§6.5). Deponent verbs use *t*-suffixes.

TABLE 1 HAYU VERB MORPHOLOGY (SUFFIXES)

<i>Transitive</i>													
A\O:	<i>Is</i>	<i>Idi</i>	<i>Ide</i>	<i>Ipi</i>	<i>Ipe</i>	<i>2s</i>	<i>2d</i>	<i>2p</i>	<i>3s</i>	<i>3d</i>	<i>(appl)</i>	<i>3p</i>	<i>(appl)</i>
<i>1s</i>						nɔ Nno	notsʰe Nnotsʰe	nɔne Nnɔne	ɲ~N~sɔŋ kɔŋ	/tɔŋ kɔŋtsʰe	ɲ~N~sɔŋ + tsʰe kɔŋtsʰe	ɲ~N~sɔŋ + mɛ kɔŋmɛ	/tɔŋmɛ kɔŋmɛ
<i>1di</i>						tsʰɔk tsʰɔŋ			tsʰɪk tsʰɪŋ				
<i>1de</i>			/APPLICATIVE			tsʰɔk tsʰɔŋ							
<i>1pi</i>									kɛ kɪkɛŋ	/tɪkɛ /tɪkɛŋ			
<i>1pe</i>						kɔk kɪkɔŋ	/tɪkɔk /tɪkɔŋ						
<i>2s</i>	ɲɔ sɔŋ		tsʰɔk tsʰɔŋ		kɔk (kɪ)kɔŋ	∅ N	tsʰɪk tsʰe	nɛ Nnɛ	∅ kɔ	/tɔ /tɔ	mɛ kɔmɛ	mɛ kɔmɛ	/tɔmɛ /tɔmɛ
<i>2d</i>	ɲɔtsʰe sɔŋtsʰe								tsʰɪk kɔtsʰe	/tɔtsʰe /tɔtsʰe			
<i>2p</i>	ɲɔne sɔŋne								nɛ Nnɛ				
<i>3s</i>	ɲɔ sɔŋ	tsʰɪk tsʰɪŋ		kɛ (kɪ)kɛŋ		∅ N	tsʰɪk tsʰe	nɛ Nnɛ	∅ kɔ	[*2] /tɔ			
<i>3d</i>	ɲɔtsʰe sɔŋtsʰe								tsʰɪk kɔtsʰe	/tɔtsʰe /tɔtsʰe			
<i>3p</i>	ɲɔmɛ sɔŋ mɛ					mɛ Nmɛ			mɛ kɔmɛ	/tɔmɛ /tɔmɛ			

Intransitive

S:	<i>I s</i>	<i>I di</i>	<i>I de</i>	<i>I pi</i>	<i>I pe</i>	<i>2 s</i>	<i>2 d</i>	<i>2 p</i>	<i>3 s</i>	<i>3 d</i>	<i>3 p</i>
NPST	ἦϰ	tsʰik	tsʰɔk	ke	kok	∅	tsʰik	ne	∅	tsʰik	mε
PST	σῶη	tsʰiŋ	tsʰɔŋ	(ki)keŋ	(ki)koŋ	N	tsʰe	Nne	N	tsʰe	Nme

Reflexive

S:	<i>I s</i>	<i>I di</i>	<i>I de</i>	<i>I pi</i>	<i>I pe</i>	<i>2 s</i>	<i>2 d</i>	<i>2 p</i>	<i>3 s</i>	<i>3 d</i>	<i>3 p</i>
NPST	ἤ(tsɔŋ)	natsʰik	natsʰɔk	Ḥtsike	Ḥtsikok	Ḥtse	natsʰik	Ḥtsime	Ḥtse	natsʰik	Ḥtsime
PST		natsʰiŋ	natsʰɔŋ	Ḥtsikeŋ	Ḥtsikokŋ		natsʰe			natsʰe	

*2: POSTSCRIPT NOTE 2

The table above is the correct version as submitted to the publisher (and re-submitted after a seriously defective first proof). (No second proof was provided to the author.) In the published book, the transitive 3→3 section of the table is incorrectly printed as follows (appropriate row and column headers have been added):

A↓\O:	<i>3 s</i>	<i>(appl)</i>	<i>3 d</i>	<i>(appl)</i>	<i>3 p</i>
<i>3 s</i>	∅ kɔ		/to		<i>(appl)</i>
<i>3 d</i>	tsʰik kɔtsʰe		/tɔtsʰe		
<i>3 p</i>	mε kɔmε		/tɔmε		

Transitive verbs which have alternations between open and *t*-final roots may have a full paradigm (not limited to forms with *t*-suffixes) of distinctively applicative forms based on the *t*-final root. Thus, from *bu(t)* vt, vtt ‘carry’: *bu:nəm* ‘I’ll carry you [non-applicative]’ (Us11) vs. *buʔnəm* ‘I’ll carry it for you’.

4.3 Negative indicative

The negative of a finite, indicative verb is indicated by *ma* placed before the positive form (see exx. 8, 25, 29 below). Note that *ma* is intonationally independent and may even be followed by a focus particle: *ma na dzɔ:nəm* (not INTS eat:1s→2s:ASS) ‘I will absolutely not eat you!’ (Cs9). The negative *makʰr* ‘not yet, not’ is used with non-past forms only, with negative perfect sense; the corresponding affirmative is a past form (17).

4.4 Imperative, prohibitive, exhortative, optative

Imperatives are identical to 2nd person past indicative forms: *dza:kɔ* ‘eat it!’ (= ‘you ate it’); *sɪxtəme* ‘kill them!’; *tɛsəŋ* ([tet+səŋ]) ‘let me go!’ (Bs24); *bəŋne* ‘get up (PL)!’ Exception: the intransitive 2s imperative is simply the root, like the non-past: *bək* ‘get up!’ (= ‘you (SG) get up’) (Bs58).

Negative imperatives are identical to the non-past indicative preceded by the prohibitive marker *tʰa* ‘don’t!’: *tʰa bək* ‘don’t (SG) get up!’; *tʰa bəkne* ‘don’t (PL) get up!’; *tʰa dzɔ* ‘don’t eat it!’; *tʰa sɪtme* ‘don’t (SG) kill them (PL)!’; *tʰa tətŋɔ* ‘don’t (SG) let me go!’

Optatives add the suffix *ju* to non-past forms: *dzɔ:ju* ‘let him eat!’; *gɔ:tsʰik-ju* ‘[long] may we (1di) live!’ (*gɔ(t)*) (AAs134). Exhortatives are simply non-past 1st person forms (16).

4.5 Non-finite forms and verbal nouns

The infinitive takes the genitive postposition: *mitsɪ it-mɔ* ‘what to say?’ (AAs11)

Among nominalizers, the present active participle (root+*ji*) and the past/passive participle (root+*ta*) are the most generally used in relatives (§5.8): *metji* ‘dying’, *tɔpji* ‘striking, who strikes/struck’; *mexta* ‘dead, carrion’, *tɔpta* ‘struck’. They are negated by *maŋ*, e.g. *maŋ nɔxta da:bɔ* (NNEG be:PPT thing) ‘nonsense [“non-existent things”]’ (DDs13); *maŋ gɔtji* (NNEG have:ACTP) ‘poor’ (BBs3) [*3].

Verbal nouns are formed by adding suffixes to the root: agent nominal *ji*; patient nominal *taŋ*; instrument nominal *caŋ*; locative nominal *luŋ*; time nominal *siŋ*; manner nominal *si*, *sina*; descriptive nominal (of a person) *tsɔ*. Examples: *tɔpji* ‘blacksmith’ (*tɔp* ‘strike’); *tɔpcaŋ* ‘hammer’; *piptaŋ* cigarette (*pip* ‘suck’) (7); *imluŋ* ‘bed’

(*im* ‘sleep’); *ḡsiŋ* ‘time of meeting’ (*st* ‘meet’); *imsiŋ* ‘bedtime’; *hḡsina* ‘voice, manner of speaking’ (*hst* ‘speak’); *imtsɔ* ‘sleepy-head’ (6). All can also nominalize clauses (§8.1).

Verbal heads of subordinate clauses appear as non-finite gerundive forms: (1) the simple root, followed by a postposition; (2) the progressive participle root+*ni*+root (e.g. *tɔʔnitɔ* ‘(while) pursuing’); (3) the conjunctive participle, formed from the reduplicated root+*ha* ‘INST’: e.g. *tḡtɔt.ha* ‘after/by pursuing’. In this form, CV roots are reduplicated as CV:CV (*dza:dzaha* ‘after eating’); C_iVC_f roots are fully or partially reduplicated: *tɔptɔp.ha* ~ *tḡtɔp.ha* ~ *tḡptɔha* ‘having struck, by striking’ (6, 12, 22, 23, 25).

4.6 Non-productive derivational morphology

Hayu preserves traces of the well-known Tibeto-Burman causative morphology in the form of some 35 pairs of related verb roots. This morphology is not productive. In most pairs, the (roughly) non-causative member has a voiced stop initial and the causative member a plain or aspirated unvoiced one. Examples: *gik* vtt ‘tie’ vs. *kik* vt, vtt ‘tie on’; *dzɔl* vi ‘live’ vs. *tsɔl* vt ‘save the life of’; *dɔk* vi ‘fall’ vs. *tɔk* vt, vtt ‘drop’, ‘cause to fall’; *bɔk* vi ‘rise, get up’ vs. *pɔk* vt, vtt ‘rouse, raise’; *dat* vs. ‘run out’ vs. *t^hat* vtt ‘use up’; *bek* vi ‘enter’ vs. *p^hek* vtt ‘bring/take in’. A few pairs do not involve stops: *im* vi ‘sleep’ vs. *him* vt, vtt ‘put to sleep’; *st* vtt ‘meet’, ‘find’ vs. *hḡ(t)* vt, vtt ‘look for’; *rɛ* ‘be broken in pieces’ vs. *xɛ* vtt ‘break’; *ram* vi ‘be afraid’ vs. *x^wam* vtt ‘startle’.

5 NON-VERBAL MORPHOLOGY AND WORD CLASSES

5.1 Noun morphology and derivation

Nominal case is marked by postpositions. There is one nominal suffix, *k^hata* ‘plural/collective’ (cf. 20).

There are a number of derivational or taxonomic formants: *tsɔ* ‘human’, ‘collective human’, *mi* ‘female human’, *wɔ* ‘male human’, *sɪ* ‘fruit’. Examples: *t^ha:tsɔ* ‘grandson’, *ka:tsɔ* ‘friend’, *nɔnɔtsɔ* ‘pair/group of sisters’ (cf. *nɔnɔ* ‘younger sister’), *ta:wɔ* ‘son’, *ta:mi* ‘daughter’, *t^ha:mi* ‘granddaughter’, *kɔksɪ* ‘*Ficus semicordata*’.

5.2 Pronouns

The independent absolutive pronouns are: first person: *gu* ~ *guu*; second person: *gɔn* (2s), *gɔnts^he* (2d), *gɔne* (2p); third person (human) *kɔmi*. The first and third person pronouns, like nouns (29), can be followed by *nakpu* ‘two’ or *k^hata* ‘PL’ to show number. The demonstrative *mi* is often used as a third person pronoun.

Ergative forms are based on the absolutive with the postposition *ha*: *ga* ‘1ERG’, *gɔna* ~ *gɔn-ha* ‘2s.ERG’.

The oblique/possessive pronouns are: 1s *aj*; 1de *aŋtsʰe*; 1di *uŋtsʰe*; 1pe *ā:ki*; 1pi *ū:ki*; 2s *uj*; 2d *uŋtsʰe*; 2p *uni*; 3s *a*, 3d *atsʰe*, 3p *ami*. These appear before nouns (1, 11, 21, etc.) and before postpositions other than *ha* ‘ERG’ (8, 9).

5.3 Demonstratives

The demonstratives are *i-ii* ‘this’, *mi-mii* ‘that’. Only the shorter variants are used before suffixes or postpositions: *mikʰata* ‘those, they’, *mi-ha* ‘he-ERG’, ‘that-INST’. Also: *itha* ‘this much’ ‘(towards) here’, *mitha* ‘that much’; *ithara* ‘to this extent (with an adjective)’, *ibe* ‘here’. A connecting element is found in some forms: *mi-khen~min-khen* ‘then’, ‘from there’; *ine* ‘here’ (<|i+n+hε|); *ima* ‘in this manner’ (|i+m[?]+ha|).

5.4 Interrogative-indefinite words

The indefinite-interrogative words are *su* ‘who, someone’, *mitsi* ‘what, something’, and a series of words based on the indefinite-interrogative morpheme *ha* (only interrogative glosses are cited): *hanɔŋ* ‘which?’, *hatha* ‘how much?’, *hani* ‘where?’, *hakʰi* ‘when?’, *haŋa* ‘how?’. In indefinite uses these words may carry the indefinite suffix *dum* (cf. *dum* vi ‘become’): *hatha-dum* ‘however much’.

5.5 Numbers

Nepali numbers are used for numbers over four, and often for lesser numbers as well. The numbers from 1 to 4 show a rudimentary classifier system: *pu* ‘human’ vs. *uj* ‘non-human’. The numbers are: *kɔlu* ‘one’ (general); *kɔŋpu* ‘one:HUM’, *nakpu*, *naun* ‘two’; *tsʰukpu*, *tsʰuun* ‘three’; *bliun* ‘four’ (rarely used) (cf. 9). [*4]

5.6 Adjectives, adverbs

There is no lexical class of adjectives, i.e. words which serve to modify a noun without the genitive postposition *mɔ*, apart from demonstratives, although the genitive mark is occasionally omitted. Most descriptive terms are participles or phonæsthetic words (below).

Colour terms are often cited with the suffix *mi* (?< genitive *mɔ*) e.g. *dawaŋmi* ‘white’. As modifiers, they usually appear with the suffix *ba~baha~baŋa* ‘like’ and the genitive postposition: *jitsʰiŋ-baha-mɔ kʰursani* ‘red

chili-pepper' <Is52>. As predicate attributes they appear with the same suffix and a copula: *aŋ xəm jitshij-baŋ pō:tse* 'my tomb will be red [i.e. freshly excavated]' <Ys3>.

There is a very large class of phonæsthetic words. Some function as sound-effects, but most function as very specific manner adverbs (often marked by the postposition *ha*) or as adjectives (marked by the postposition *mσ*), e.g. *kulkul* 'round': *kulkul-mσ mσ:li* 'round belly'; *kulkul-ha x^wā:tse?* 'are you fully ["roundly"] sated?' Some phonæsthetic manner adverbs have a formative *sit*, e.g. *krimsit* 'in/to the right spot': *krimsit tσ:ta* 'safely put away'.

Among the basic locative adverbs are *wani~ani* 'up', *huti~uti* 'down', *wati~ati* 'across'; the corresponding directionals are *jō:k^ha* 'down', *lō:k^ha* 'up', *dōk^ha* 'across'; *hō:ku* 'before', *nōŋna* 'behind, after'.

5.7 Postpositions, particles

Postpositions serve to mark the function of an NP or a nominalized clause in a larger unit, NP or clause.

Examples: *ha* 'ERGATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL/ADVERBIAL'; *k^hen* 'from/after'; *mσ* 'GENITIVE'; *t^hik* 'like'; *nōŋ* 'at/with/after'; (*mσ*-)*li:si* 'for'; *he* 'in/while'; *bōŋ* 'as far/long/much as'; *tiliŋ* 'because of'; *b^handa* 'than' (5); *sa* 'SUBORDINATOR' (26), *nana* 'along, PROGRESSIVE' (18).

Topic, focus, and sentence particles: see §7.

6 SYNTAX

A sentence consists essentially of a finite clause, that is, a clause with a conjugated indicative or imperative verb or compound verb, and, optionally, core and non-core arguments consisting of noun phrases, adverbs, or subordinate clauses, whose function is marked by postpositions. The finite verb is last in its clause, except when a topical argument is right-dislocated after the verb (cf. 10, 20). There is no requirement that core arguments be present in the clause in lexical or pronominal form. The informational status of arguments may be marked by topic or focus particles. Functors – postpositions, discourse particles, complementizers, etc. – except the negative markers – follow what is in their scope.

6.1 Assertion, interrogation, negation

The main verb of a declarative sentence, positive or negative, may carry the assertive suffix *m~mi* (cf. 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 27). This mark is not used in interrogative, imperative, or conditional clauses.

Questions are marked by intonation, or by tags like *ki ma* ‘or not’ (cf. 17, 29).

6.2 Intransitive clause structure

The verb in an intransitive clause shows agreement with an S, in the absolutive case.

(1) *ay abə x^waptsə met* (BBs11)

1s:OBL now spouse die:23s:NPST

‘Now my wife will die.’

(2) *nukun le gu it^a bela na p^{hi}:ηəm* (AAs72)

tomorrow too 1 this.much time INTS come:1s:NPST:ASS

‘Tomorrow I will come again at this same time.’

Arguments marked by the postposition *ha* in intransitive clauses are instrumental, not ergative in case (but see 12, 13). The verb in (3) has unambiguously intransitive morphology.

(3) *mi-k^hata buti-ha benmem*

that-PL meal-INST satisfy:3p:PST:ASS

‘They had enough food’. *lit.* ‘They were satisfied by the food.’

Meteorological verbs are intransitive, with 3s morphology: *lə:gaŋ kak* (sun shine:3s:NPST) ‘the sun is shining’; *naŋnum təŋmi* (rain rain:3s:PST:ASS) ‘it rained’ or ‘it is raining’ (the past is used with inchoative sense).

6.3 Copular sentences

Identification or attributive predication requires a verb, typically the copula *nə(t)* vi (irregular) ‘be’. All such propositions use the nominal negator *maŋ* ‘not’, before either the predicate or the copula (cf. 6). Inchoative and

causative senses are expressed using verbs like *dum* vi ‘become’, *pa* vt, vtt ‘make’, *pɔn* vr ‘become, pretend to be’, etc., in place of the copula (5, 6, 9).

- (4) *ε gɔn su nɔnɔ ibɛ? – gu nɔ:ŋɔm* (BBs26) (BBs28)
 hey you who be:2s here – 1 be:1s:NPST:ASS
 [In the dark.] ‘Who are you in here? – It’s me!’

- (5) *pɔkʰɔli-bʰɔnda mi xɔ:ta dum ɪxtse* (AAs5)
 king-than that big:PPT become:23s say:REFL:23s
 ‘He became richer than the king.’

- (6) *sisit.ha gɔn maŋ sɪxtsɔ pɔ:tse*
 know:CJP you NNEG know:HUM make:23s:REFL
 ‘Although you know, you play dumb.’

Existence (8), situation (7, 27), and possession (9) are also expressed using the copula, which can be negated by *ma* ‘not’.

- (7) *mi nɔktsʰuŋ-he siktəŋ mi hɔ:caŋ-he nɔ:mi* (AAs107)
 that ear-in wear:VN:PATIENT that open:VN:INST-in be:23s:ASS
 ‘The earring is in the box.’

- (8) *ã:ki-tʰik-mɔ wa:ju hani lɛ ma nɔ:mɛ* (DDs18)
 1pe:OBL-like-GEN Hayu where also NEG be:3p
 ‘There are no Hayu like us anywhere.’

- (9) *a-mɔ kɔ lɔm-nɔŋ kɔ nakpu xʷaptsɔ dum –*
 3s-GEN TOP road-on TOP two:HUM spouse become:23s
kɛm-he kɔlu xʷaptsɔ nɔ [...] dzəmmə kɔ tsʰukpu dūmɛ (AAs35)
 house-in one spouse be:23s all TOP three:HUM become:3p
 ‘Now he had two wives on the road – he had one at home – altogether they were three.’

6.4 The transitive clause

The verb in a transitive clause shows agreement with two core arguments, A, roughly speaking the agent, marked by *ha* ‘ERGATIVE’, and O, a patient or dative object, unmarked (absolute).

- (10) *ga tʰoŋnɔmi gɔn, mine* (AAs57)
 1s:ERG convey:1s→2s:ASS 2s there
 ‘I will take you there.’

- (11) *kɔlu buqʰa mantsʰe-ha a bari-nɔŋ lalat.ha rã.pi*
 one old man-ERG 3s:OBL field-in go:CJP taro

lɔxtɔm arɛ (Bs1)
 plant:23s→3s:PST:ASS HEARSAY
 ‘An old man went to his field and planted taro, they say.’ (Beginning of a story.)

Transitive verbs may have inanimate A (12).

- (12) *tɪri nuʔma-kʰeri naʔnum-ha tʰɔpsɔŋ, gu dzũ.sa-ha ɔsɔŋ*
 today day-time rain-ERG throw:23s→1s:PST 1 fever-ERG meet:23s→1s:PST
 ‘Today, during the day, I was soaked by the rain (*lit.* ‘rain threw me to the ground’) and I caught a fever’ (*lit.* ‘fever caught me’).

Although the suffix *sɔŋ* can also index a 1sg intransitive S, the verbs *tʰɔp* and *ɔt* are transitive, as can be seen in other contexts, where they take personal A. But the deponent verb in (13), whose morphology also shows agreement with a personal O (often conveniently translated as a subject), could never take a personal A. Still, the impersonal A could be analysed as an instrument (cf. 3).

- (13) *kɔmi ti-ha tʰimtɔmɛ*
 3 water-ERG splash:(3→3)p
 ‘They got sprinkled with water’ (*tʰim* vd ‘be struck from above (by a falling object)’).

Other verbs of this type, of which there are about a dozen, are *kət* ‘be pricked’, *dzi* ‘be affected by a bad odour’.

All such verbs use the applicative *t*-suffixes rather than *k*-suffixes.

6.5 The ditransitive clause

Many transitive verbs can appear in a ditransitive clause, with an A and two absolutive arguments, PO (*primary object*) and SO (*secondary object*) (Dryer 1986). The verb shows agreement with A and PO. Semantically, SO generally corresponds to a theme or patient, and PO to a beneficiary, goal, or (rarely) a causee. In a ditransitive main clause, the applicative form of the main verb must be used if such a form is available for the particular verb and for the appropriate persons and numbers of A and PO. The lack of such a form, however, is no obstacle to the use of the construction.

The verbs *ha* vtt ‘give’, *məm* vtt ‘give (food to eat)’, *t^hun* vtt ‘give (to drink)’ are inherently ditransitive, always agreeing with the recipient as PO.

Among verbs that appear in both transitive and ditransitive clauses, transitive verbs which take an inanimate O use the ditransitive construction freely whenever a beneficiary is to be indicated. Examples are *rək* vt, vtt ‘plough’ and *kε(t)* vt, vtt ‘peel’: *ga rəksəŋmi* (−APP) ‘I ploughed it’, vs. *ga rəkətəŋmεm* (+APP) ‘I ploughed it for them’; *kε:kə* (−APP) ‘I peeled it’ vs. *kεxtə* (+APP) ‘I peeled it for him’. The verb *rək* can also take the bullock as PO: *gu rəksəŋ* ‘you used me to plow’ (Cs13) (elsewhere: ‘he/you plowed it for me’).

In general, the ditransitive construction may be used depending on the verb and on referential and semantic properties of the arguments. It is rare to find a ditransitive construction in which the SO is human, or otherwise particularly salient: first or second person SOs are never encountered. In many situations, speakers can choose between the ditransitive construction or a simple transitive with a beneficiary marked by *l:si* ‘for’. In (14) the speaker first uses a non-applicative verb with a beneficiary marked by *l:si*, but then changes to an applicative form (making the postposition redundant). Note also the condition marked as a contrastive topic (*tə*) and the conclusion marked as contrary-to-fact (*p^hen*).

- (14) *ap^hnə* *rə:mi-l:si* *i^ha-bəŋ* *tə:kə* *le* *tə*— *tə:tə* *le* *tə*
 own wife-for this-EXTENT put:23s→3s:PST also CTR put:23s→3s:APP also CTR

a rɔ:mi-mɔ a tʰum-nɔŋ hatʰa blɔsɛk nɔ pʰɛn hɔla (Zs23)
 3:OBL wife-GEN 3:OBL heart-LOC how:much joyful be:3s CFCT perhaps
 ‘Had he left even this much [gesture] for his wife — left her even this much — how much joy might
 have been in her heart!’

In a ditransitive clause, PO and SO may have the same referent. Thus, related to *pɔxkɔŋ* (–APP) ‘I raised it’, ‘I roused him’, etc., we find *pɔktɔŋ* (+APP) ‘I raised it for him’, ‘I roused him_i for him_j’ but also ‘I helped him up’ (i=j). That the latter is ditransitive is clear from the use of a distinctively applicative form.

6.6 Reflexive clauses

Reflexive forms of transitive verbs (Table 1) are very common, most with a “middle” sense. The single core argument appears in the absolutive case. Non-singular reflexive forms may have either reflexive or reciprocal sense (but see 19).

(15) *mi wɔlta caĩ u watʰe muxtsem ɪxtse (AAs45)*
 that wither:PPT TOP there over.there sit:23s:REFL:ASS say:23s:REFL
 ‘That withered one sat way over there, they say.’ (*mut* vtt ‘seat so.’)

(16) *ka:tsɔ cɔʎnatsʰik*
 friend look:2di:REFL:NPST
 ‘Friend, let us look at ourselves (reflected in the water)!’

Reflexive clauses with object NPs are clearly related to ditransitive clauses. For example, in *buti dzã:tse!* ‘eat your meal!’ (*dza~dzɔ* vt ‘eat’) the reflexive indicates identity of reference between the eater and the beneficiary; *buti* ‘cooked grain’ has the function SO. On the other hand, when a particular food item is in question (17) we find transitive forms.

(17) *ɛ, gɔna dza:kɔ ki haŋa? makʰɪ dzaŋmi bɔlɔ-i (Ls9)*
 hey 2s:ERG eat:23s→3s:PST or how? not eat:1s→3:NPST:ASS e.brother-VOC
 [Seeing that a quantity of edible flowers is diminished (in fact, the flowers have dried up):] ‘Hey,
 did you eat it or what? – I didn’t eat (/haven’t eaten) any, brother.’

Similarly, in threats – *ga gɔn dzɔ:nɔm* ‘I’ll eat you’ (cf. 26) – or when a child eats something other than food or medicine – *hak^hlehak kɔ dzɔ:mi* ‘he always eats earth’ – the reflexive is not used.

6.7 Compound tenses, auxiliaries

Compound predicates use the verbs *nɔ(t)* ‘be’ and *pa* ‘do’ as auxiliaries; this is also the usual way of integrating Nepali verbal loans (cf. *k^huwai pɔ:sɔŋmi* ‘he fed me’ in §7 < Nep. *k^huwāunu* ‘to feed’). The bare-root gerundive with the progressive marker may appear as the head of a subordinate clause, or as a main verb with a finite auxiliary.

- (18) *gɔna ka:tsɔ lɔ tu la, ga k^hɔʔ-nana paŋmi pa*
 2:ERG friend leaf pick go 1:ERG cook-PROG do:1s→3s:ASS COMP
ɪxtɔm ɪxtsɛ sjal-ha (Is32)
 say:1s→3s:ASS say:23s:REFL jackal-ERG

‘‘You, friend, go pick leaves [to make plates]. I’ll go on cooking.’’ Jackal told him (they say).’

The conjunctive participle followed by the auxiliary *nɔ(t)* can have a perfect (*mumut.ha nɔ* ‘he is/was sitting’) or, with a transitive verb, a passive sense (cf. 23).

The reciprocal is a transitive construction, formed from the fully reduplicated gerundive and the auxiliary *pa*.

- (19) ‘‘*gɔna le d^herai jiu gɔ:ju*’’ *pa nakpu-ja ‘gɔ:ts^hik-ju*’’
 2-ERG also much life live:23→3s:NPST:OPT COMP two-ERG live:1pi→3:NPST:OPT

pa ha-ha pɔ:ts^hɛ, asik ha-ha pɔ:ts^hɛ AAs134-135
 COMP give-give do:3d→3:PST blessing GIVE-GIVE do:3d→3:PST

Saying ‘May you, too, have long life! May we (DU.INCL) have long life!’ they blessed each other.’

6.8 Compound predicates; modals

A number of operators such as modals, aspectuals, directionals, etc., appear as ‘‘vectors’’ following the bare-root gerundive of either the main clausal verb or vector. In such VV concatenations, only the (last) vector has a finite form. The vector often agrees in transitivity with the governed verb and, if the latter is transitive, may agree with

its logical object. Thus, *cut* ‘finish’ appears as a reflexive with the intransitive *p^{hi}(t)* ‘come’: *p^{hi} cuxtse* ‘he has already come’, but as a transitive in (20), showing agreement with the object of ‘eat’.

- (20) *ã:ki gaĩ-mσ tsɔ-k^hata dzəmməi dza cuxtəmɛm bumi pixpi-ha* (Us2)
 1pe:OBL village-of child-PL all:INTS eat finish:(3→3)p:ASS bumi g’mother-ERG
 ‘Grandma Bumi had eaten up all the children of our village.’

The verb *la(t)* vi irr. ‘go’ has a number of uses as a vector: centrifugal: *lɔn laʔnats^hem* (run go:3d:REFL:ASS) ‘they (dual) ran away’ (Ds29); ‘go do’ (18); change of state with stative verbs (which themselves have no finite forms): *ima wɔl lăsoŋ* (thus withered go:1s:PST) ‘I have become withered up like this’ (AAs52); agentless ‘go-passive’: *ma jɛŋ la* (not see go:23s:NPST) ‘it will not be seen’. The latter construction is also used with intransitive and stative verbs: *a t^hum dzik laxtse* (3s:OBL heart break go:23s:REFL) ‘her heart broke’ (Zs43).

Modals and some other complement-taking predicates also govern the root gerundive. Examples include *dak* ‘be obliged/necessary to’, *p^hat* vi and *ɔn* vtt ‘be able’, *kɪn* vtt ‘try’, *wat* vtt ‘stop’, *piŋ* vt ‘CAUSATIVE’ (= ‘send so.’), *bi* vtt ‘permit’, *dzɔk* vi ‘know how to’, *daŋ* (invariable) ‘be about to’ (also used with the copula as a main verb). The verbs *ha* vtt ‘give/permit’, *bi* vt ‘request permission to’, *liŋ* vt ‘get to’ take infinitive complements: *gu tɔp-mσ ha:sɔŋ* ‘let me play it [a drum]’. In the causative (21) and permissive constructions, the causee appears in the absolutive case.

- (21) *gɔna aŋ ɪxta t^haũ-he t^hɔŋɔ tɔ, ga gɔn umbe*
 2s:ERG 1:OBL say:PPT place-LOC escort:IMP:2s→1s TOP 1:ERG 2 now
dza... piŋnɔm. x^wan-x^wan dzã:tse gɔn AAs54, 55
 eat... CAUS:1s→2s:ASS satisfy-satisfy eat:2s:REFL:IMP 2

You just take me to the place I say, and I’ll let you eat right now. Eat your fill!

6.9 Subordinate clauses, sentential complements

Subordinate clauses with adverbial function are non-finite. The verb is a gerundive, either the bare root followed by a postposition indicating its function (as for an NP adjunct) or a progressive or reduplicated conjunctive ‘participle’ (§4.5). The latter types tend to share an argument with the main clause.

When, as often, a core argument of the conjunctive participle is coreferent with the actor (S or A) of the higher clause, its case is determined by its role in the higher clause. Thus, in (11), the intransitive S of the subordinate is the A of the main clause, which appears in the ergative case. Much less frequently, the O of the subordinate may be coreferent with the actor of the main clause (22), in which case the conjunctive participle has a passive interpretation.

(22) *sjal hũ:pukumi-ha tsitsik.ha mɛn* (Xs15)

jackal wasp-ERG bite:CJP die:23s:PST

‘The jackal was stung by the wasps and died.’

The same construction with the copula can be used as a kind of passive.

(23) *gu kɔ xɔ:ta pɔkʰɔli.ha ima ut.ha nɔ:ŋɔm* (AAs29)

I TOP big:PPT chief-ERG thus say:CJP be:1s:NPST:ASS

‘I am commanded thus by the great king.’

Subordinate clauses marked by other postpositions have no particular tendency to share an argument with the higher clause (24).

(24) *a umu kʰɔ(k)-kʰɛn daŋdaŋ lɛ dum* (AAs112)

3s:OBL mother walk-after bright also become:23s

‘After her mother left, it became light.’

The subordinator *sa* governs a gerundive negated by *ma*, as in *kɔkɔri ma ɔk-sa* (cock NEG cry-SUB) ‘before cock-crow’.

(25) *gɔn kɛm-hɛ lalat.ha ma dza:-sa ma tɛʔnɔ* (Ds12)

2s house-in take:CJP NEG eat-SUB NEG release:1s→2s:NPST

‘I’ll take you home and I won’t let you go without eating you!’

Conditions are finite clauses usually marked by *nɔm* ‘if’ (< *nɔm* ‘be:23s:ASS’) (but cf. 14 and 21, where conditions are marked as contrastive topics).

(26) *vt nɔm dzɔ:mi ɪtsimɛ* (Ds61)

catch:23s→3s:NPST if eat:23s→3s:NPST say:3p:REFL

‘If he catches her he’ll eat her, they say.’

Conjunctive participles (with rare exceptions) and conditionals are negated using *ma* (*dza ma lɪŋlɪŋha* ‘not getting to eat’ (BBs14)), while clauses with the simple gerundive and a postposition are negated with *maan*, e.g. *dza maan bit-kʰɛn* ‘since they don’t let [me] eat’ (AAs53).

Complements of verbs implying citation usually appear as direct citations marked by the complementizer *paha-pa*, composed of the verb *pa* vt, vtt ‘do’ with *ha* ‘MANNER’ (18, 19).

(27) *dzəmmə sɪ:kɔ inɛ inɛ nɔm paha* (AAs109)

all know:23→3s:PST here here be:3s:ASS COMP

‘He knew where everything was.’ [*lit.* ‘He knew everything, that it was here and here.’]

7 INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND DISCOURSE PARTICLES

Information structure is marked by word order (including the omission of NP arguments, on which there is no syntactic restriction), intonation, and discourse particles, which follow the element in their scope.

An active topic carried over from the immediately preceding context may be omitted, or it may be placed in antitopic position after the verb. The topicalizer *kɔ* (or Nepali *caĩ*) may serve to reactivate a topic (9, 15).

There are numerous focus particles: *na* ‘INTENSIFIER’ (2); *lɛ* ‘also, even’ (2, 8, 14, 24); *dzi* ‘only’; *pai, pi* ‘counter-expectancy’: *ɛpi pi kʰuwai pɔ:səŋmi* (shit FOC feed do:23s→1s:PST:ASS) ‘he fed me SHIT!’ (Is43).

Sentence particles: *rɔ* ‘[rhetorical question]’, *rɛ, arɛ* ‘[hearsay]’, *dɛ~tɛ* ‘[encouragement]’, *tɔ~tə* ‘[contrast/implied condition/challenge]’ (14, 21).

8 THE NOUN PHRASE

A noun phrase may be followed by a postposition to mark its function, and by discourse particles. Modifiers precede the head; these include possessive pronouns, demonstratives, NPs marked by the genitive postposition *mɔ* (8, 20), participles, relative clauses, lexical adjectives, etc. Thus: *rā:pi-mɔ lɔ* (taro-GEN leaf) ‘taro leaf’;

haŋa-mə siŋtəŋ (how-GEN man) ‘what manner of man?’; *xə:ta pəkʰəli* (big:PPT chief) ‘big chief’; *əlawə pʰum* ‘huge tree’. Quantifiers may precede or follow; in the latter case any postposition is repeated, e.g. *nənətsə-ha nakpu-ha* (sister:COLLECTIVE-ERG two:HUM-ERG) (Ds19). Adverbial modifiers precede adjectives: *itʰara xə:ta le gətji* (thus big:PPT foot have:ACTP) ‘having feet big like this’ (AAs1).

Any potential nominal modifier may serve as head. That is, *xə:ta* ‘big’ (above) may mean ‘big one’ (cf. *wəta* in 15). Possessive pronouns require reinforcement by *mə* ‘GEN’ when used alone: *aŋmə nəm* ‘it is mine’ (cf. *aŋ kem* ‘my house’).

Coordination is usually realized by simple juxtaposition: *ga gət le tsiknə* (1s:ERG hand foot break:1s→2s:NPST) ‘I’ll break your arms and legs for you!’ (ditransitive). The postposition *nəŋ* ‘after,with’ may also be used: *bʰalu-nəŋ sjal tətətʰem* (bear-with jackal chase:(3→3)d:PST) ‘he chased the bear and the jackal’ (Hs6) (note the dual agreement).

8.1 Relative clause; deverbal and participial modifiers

Relative clauses (i.e. clauses which modify a noun) have their verb in a participial or deverbal nominal form; the element corresponding to the head is omitted from the relative. When the head corresponds to the intransitive S of the relative, the verb form used depends on the tense, the past/passive participle in *ta* being used for realized states or completed events, and the agentive/active participle in *ji* for non-past or ongoing ones.

(28) *āki laŋka-kʰən dzəkta deuta* (Qs9)
 1pe:OBL Sri.Lanka-from come.up:PPT god
 ‘our goddess who came up from Sri Lanka’

(29) *inəŋ jə:kʰa latji siŋtəŋ nakpu gəna jē:kə ki ma?* (Ds36)
 here below go:ACTP man two 2s:ERG see:23s→3s:PST or not

– *ma jē:kəŋ, tʰa:tsə, ga kə* (Ds37)
 – not see:1s→3s:PST grandson 1s:ERG TOP

‘Did you see two people going down here?’ – ‘I didn’t see them, grandson.’

With transitive verbs, the active participle (in *ji*) is used when the antecedent corresponds to the A of the relative: *jəsə tjesə pa:paha dzə:ji siŋtəŋ* (this.way that.way do:CJP eat:ACTP man) ‘a man who lives by chicanery’ (lit. ‘eats

by doing thus and so’) (Ns43); the passive participle (in *ta*) is used if it corresponds to the O (or other non-A): *tami-ha cupta cuḡwa-kʰata* (daughter-ERG wear:PPT clothing-PL) ‘the clothes and ornaments which the daughter wore’ (AAs83). When the antecedent is the impersonal A of a deponent verb, the active participle is also possible: *mi kətji tsu* ‘that pricking thorn’ (arguing against interpretation as an instrumental).

A pronominal S or A in the relative appears in the oblique/possessive form: *aŋ ɪxta tʰaũ* ‘the place I say’ (21).

When the antecedent corresponds to a non-core argument in the relative, the past/passive participle in *ta* can generally be used: *ima-mṵ ləxta tʰaũ-nəŋnə* (thus-GEN plant:PPT place-from) ‘from the place where it had been planted like this’ (AAs113). Often, however, the appropriate nominal (here the locative nominal) is used: *bumi mluy kem-nəŋ* (bumi sleep:NV:LOC house-at) ‘in the house where Bumi slept’ (Us33). The absolutive (not genitive) case of ‘Bumi’ shows that it is the whole clause ‘Bumi sleeps’ that is nominalized. But a pronominal argument would appear in the oblique form: *uŋ khək-siŋ-he* ‘when it’s time for you to leave’ vs. *khəkəri ək-siŋ-nəŋ* ‘at cock-crow’.

9 ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS

1s, etc.	1, 2, 3 represent persons, s singular, d dual, p plural, i inclusive, e exclusive
3s → 1de, etc.	3rd person singular A, 1st dual exclusive O.
ACTP	present/active participle
APP	applicative
ASS	assertive
CFCT	counterfactual
CJP	conjunctive participle
CTR	contrast
HUM	human classifier
INTS	intensifier (‘— itself’)
NNEG	nominal negator
NP	noun phrase
NPST	non-past
OBL	oblique/possessive (pronoun)
PPT	past/passive participle
PST	past
vd	deponent verb

vs	stative verb
vt	transitive verb using <i>k</i> -suffixes
vtt	transitive verb using <i>t</i> -suffixes

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http://lacito.vjf.cnrs.fr/pangloss/languages/Hayu_en.htm. Cited (by text code and sentence) in this chapter: AA: Merchant; B: Taro; BB Rich and poor; C: Ingratitude; D: Two sisters (v1); DD: Hayu identity; HBIS: Jackal and Bear (v1); I: Jackal and Bear (v2); L: Fratricide; M: Daughter-in-law (v1); N: Complaint; Q: Origins; U: Cannibal grandmother; X: Hornets' nest; Z: Daughter-in-law (v2).
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POSTSCRIPT NOTES (1988)

- *1 This statement is inaccurate. It should read: The Marin dialect has labiodental *v* corresponding to Mudhajor *j* before front vowels in many words, e.g. *vi* (sometimes *wi*) 'blood'.
- *2 (See note to Table 1)
- *3 This reference is incorrectly cited as DDs13 in the published version.
- *4 Reference to a system of hand-and-foot counting was inadvertently omitted here. It is mentioned in the article "Kiranti Languages" (Ch. 33, §3.6) in the same volume.