A GRAMMAR OF DHIMAL

BY

JOHN T. KING
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Goals

The aim of this grammar is to provide a linguistic description of the western dialect of Dhimal as spoken in and around Āṭhiyābārī village, Rājghāṭ, Moraṅ district. It consists of the grammar itself with sections on phonology, nominal and verbal morphology, and sentence and information structure. In the appendix appear texts from a variety of genres, riddles, songs, kinship terms, verb paradigms, a Dhimal-English glossary and bibliography. With this grammar, it is hoped that Dhimal will yield clues necessary to sort out the historical spread of Tibeto-Burman languages in this region. The complex Dhimal pronominal agreement system will also contribute to a better understanding of the development of pronominalisation in the family. Finally, this grammar will aid in determining the genetic relation of Dhimal to other languages in its family and reveal paths of interaction and influence among the lowland peoples of Nepal and the adjoining areas of India.

1.2 Dhimal

Dhimal is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by about 20,000 people of the same name in the lowland districts of Jhāpā and Moraṅ in

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1 The name Āṭhiyābārī derives from the terms Āṭhiyā ‘a type of banana’ and bārī ‘garden, plantation’. The latter term is fairly common in place names throughout the area.

2 The etymology of the ethnonym Dhimal is not clear. The first half may, however, be related to the verb dhe:li meaning ‘to split, separate’. The second half of the term stems from the morpheme bal meaning ‘man’ or ‘person’, which is found in many words such as jambal ~ jamal ‘child’ and wabal ‘man’.
southeastern Nepal at about 26° latitude and 87°-88° longitude east. In the areas in which the Dhimal are concentrated, they constitute a minority and make up less than 10% of the local population. Dhimal can be divided into two mutually intelligible dialects separated geographically by the Kankāī or Kankāī Māī river. The western dialect is primarily spoken in about 40 villages in Moraṅ and western Jhāpā districts, while the eastern dialect is only spoken in about ten villages in eastern Jhāpā and in a few communities in the adjoining areas of the Indian state of West Bengal. The speakers of the eastern dialect often refer to themselves hypocoristically as Malik (cf. Nepali mālik ‘master, owner’). The western Dhimal speakers call themselves Dhimal or, in the plural, Dhemalai, and their language dhemalai katha. In Nepali both they and their language are known as Dhimālī. Dhimal also has the distinction of being one of the few extant Tibeto-Burman speech communities indigenous to the lowlands of Nepal. The main population centres for the speakers of the western dialect lie between the towns of Belbārī and Damak on either side of the Rāj Mārg or East-West Highway and include the villages of Lālbhitti, Tārābārī, Mainabārī, Māṭṭī Gāū, Jyādā, Kārīkośi, Vayarvan, Bokre Sāniścāre, Rīnguvā, Patharī, Bākhraḵholā, Āmbārī, Āṭhiyābārī, Bhusī, Sālbārī, Sunjhorā, Tīnghare, Lākṣmījhār, Ďhukurpānī, Kharkhare, Šākinī, Ādīyāmahal, Bārhaghare, Jhārikhā, Raṅpur, LālDUngā, Lākhanpur, Soṇāpur and Jogičamān. The eastern dialect speakers are to be found primarily in Cāralī, Dhulābārī, Nakalbandā, Ḍāndā Gāū, Āyābārī, Ṭoklā and Bāhunḍāngī.

Linguistically, Dhimal is related, though mutually unintelligible, to the Rai, Limbu, Newar and other Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the hills of Nepal. Dhimals recognise these ethnolinguistic ties and consider themselves ‘younger brothers’ of their northern neighbours the Rai and Limbu, though this is more likely a result of their weak sociopolitical standing in comparison to the Kiranti-speaking hill groups than from any direct shared descent. Culturally and linguistically, Dhimals have been more heavily influenced by and feel more akin to neighbouring lowland indigenous groups such as the Northern Bengali-speaking Rajbangsi to the east and the Dehati Maithili-speaking Tharu to the west. Close economic and social ties,
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along with a shared distrust of the hill people, have ensured that these bonds continue.

The socio-economic interaction between the Dhimal on the one hand and the Tharu and Rajbangsi on the other has resulted in the borrowing of a great many words from Indo-Aryan languages, including an older stratum of Maithili (Tharu) and Bengali (Rajbangsi) loans, and more recently a stratum of Nepali, replete with Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic and English loan words. While these loans provide valuable insights into paths of cultural influence, at the same time they displace native Tibeto-Burman morphemes and reduce the available material upon which genetic relationships might be extrapolated. Perhaps not surprisingly, Dhimal has not borrowed from the Kiranti languages spoken just to the north in the Himalayan foothills. The Nepali lowlands were an epidemiological nightmare for the people based in the hills. Malaria and other deadly ailments were rife in the areas the Dhimal have called home for millennia. Consequently, contacts between the two groups were limited and only since the 1950s with massive immigration from the hills to the lowlands has there been intimate contact between the two groups.\(^3\) The Nepali loans probably date only to this period when large numbers of hill dwellers migrated to the sparsely populated lowlands. Aside from loans from Indo-Aryan languages, Dhimal does not appear to have borrowed much from Austroasiatic. It is unlikely that the Austroasiatic-speaking Santal have had much effect on Dhimal since they have only lived in southeastern Nepal since the early part of the 20th century. Lastly, the question of possible influence by the Kichak, the Gangai, or other groups that once inhabited the area but have now all but disappeared remains.

There are two things linguists are in agreement about regarding Dhimal: the first is that Dhimal is a Tibeto-Burman language and the second is that the only widely accepted grouping within Tibeto-Burman is with the poorly documented Ṭoṭo spoken in northern West Bengal—less than 100 kilometres from speakers of the

\(^3\) One important interaction between the Dhimal and the Kiranti-speaking groups to the north involves the exchange of goods. Dhimal women purchase the bamboo reeds for their looms from these groups. How long this economic exchange has been going on is not known.
eastern dialect of Dhimal. While Dhimal and Ṭoṭo are closely related, they remain distinct languages. This subgroup, Dhimal-Ṭoṭo or Dhimalish, shows apparent similarities to both the Bodic group and to groups spoken in northeastern India. This has confounded attempts at placement within a wider grouping. With little evidence to go on, scholars have proposed a variety of ultimately unsatisfying genetic classifications.

Brian Hodgson, a prolific scholar and civil servant of the British Empire in Kathmandu and Darjeeling during the 19th century, was the first to investigate and publish an account of Dhimal (1859/1880). He noted lexical similarities between Dhimal and Tibetan (p. 82) and grouped Dhimal in with his pronominalised languages (p. 105), on the mistaken belief that agreement morphology constituted an important criterion for genetic classification. Grierson and Konow (1903-28), whose data for Dhimal come directly from Hodgson’s sketch, note that Dhimal was formerly considered to belong to the Bodo-Koch group, though ‘its vocabulary, and much more especially the forms of the numerals and pronouns, however, show a much closer affinity to the Himalayan dialects.’ Based on the agreement morphology, they state vehemently that Dhimal should be ‘dealt with in connection with the pronominalised dialects of Nepal’, i.e. Kiranti. These authors also compare Dhimal with Thami as being ‘a dialect of the same description’, though on what basis is unclear. Robert Shafer (1966) groups Dhimal tentatively with the unclassified Bodic languages, stating that it may be ‘of Burmic [origin], certainly not of Baric’ (p. 3). In Shafer’s brief consideration of Dhimal, he notes only that Dhimalish vowels correspond more to Classical Tibetan than to written Burmese, but that it also has strong lexical ties to Kuki-Chin. Seemingly in despair, he states that ‘Dhimalish has ties in so many directions that, although it is vocalically similar to Old Bodish, it does not show a clear relationship with any larger group’ and concludes that ‘it seems premature to attempt to assign Dhimalish to a division of the Sino-Tibetan family’ (p. 168). Paul Benedict (1972) places it without justification in Abor-Miri-Dafla (Tani), though ‘further from the nucleus’. Jackson T. Sun (1993), on the other hand, compared his reconstructed Proto-Tani forms with Dhimal-Ṭoṭo and determined
that the two groups are not closely related. Ruhlen (1987) classifies Dhimal (along with Ṭoṭo) as a subgroup under Bodic, or as he terms it, Tibetic. And most recently, George van Driem (2001) has presented evidence for a wider grouping with the Bodo-Koch, Konyak-Nocte and Jinghpaw-Sak languages, which he calls Brahmaputran.

1.3 The Dhimal environment

The Dhimal inhabit the rich alluvial lowlands known as the Tarai or Terai (Nep. Tarāi), between the Kośī and Tista rivers, adjacent to the Siwalik (Nep. Śivālik ) foothills of the Himalayas, the start of which form the northern border of Dhimal settlements. This area is classified as tropical and averages about 150 metres above sea level. The area receives an average yearly rainfall of 250 centimeters, the bulk of which falls during the monsoon months of June, July and August. Until recently, the dominant ecosystems of the area were the riverine grasslands and Sal forests in the low-lying areas along the numerous rivers that flow down from the Siwaliks.

The Tarai has three distinct seasons: winter, pre-monsoon and monsoon. Winter begins in mid-October and lasts until mid-February, when temperatures range from lows of 5° C at night to highs of 25° C in the day. Rainfall is scarce at this time. In the pre-monsoon, which begins in late February and lasts until mid-June, daytime highs reach 36° C with nighttime temperatures rarely dropping below 20° C. Strong winds from the southwest kick up dust and dirt, bringing violent thunderstorms that become more frequent as the monsoon approaches. These storms are sometimes accompanied by hail, causing crop and house damage. With the onset of the monsoon in June, the temperature becomes more bearable, though the humidity brought on by almost daily rains creates a sultry atmosphere. Rivers and streams swell incredibly during this time.

The forests and grasslands of the upper reaches of the Gangetic plain were home until recently to a rich diversity of plant and animal life. Many of the creatures were hunted by the Dhimal, who employed a medium-sized breed of dog to track and corner game. Traps, nets
and slingshots were also used to catch birds, fish and other small animals. Natural areas around villages provided building materials, edible fruits and plants, and traditional medicinal herbs. Due to the felling of the forests and their subsequent conversion to farmland, most of the larger creatures have disappeared. The remaining fragments of forest are heavily exploited by surrounding villagers, resulting in both the loss of habitat and the reduction of wild populations. Along with the loss of wilderness goes a wealth of traditional knowledge that the Dhimal have accumulated throughout the millennia about the area and its resources.

The larger mammals once inhabiting this region were the Asian Elephant (Elephas maximus), the greater one-horned rhinoceros (Rhinoceros unicornis), wild boar (Sus scrofa) and the sloth bear (Melursus ursinus). The primary predators were the Royal Bengal tiger (Panthera tigris tigris) and the common leopard (Panthera pardus), though several other small felines and canines occurred. In the rich grasslands and forests, many type of deer abounded such as the sambar (Cervus unicolor), the chital (Axis axis), the hog deer (Axis porcinus) and the barking deer (Muntiacus muntjak). The common langur (Presbytis entellus) and the rhesus monkey (Macaca mulatta) are the only common primates native to the area. Important reptiles included the marsh mugger (Crocodylus palustris), the Indian monitor (Varanus bengalensis), the Indian python (Python mouros) and the common cobra (Naja naja), along with numerous types of soft and hard-shelled turtles. Other important fauna are the large fruit bat (Pteropus giganticus), the giant hornbill (Buceros bicornis), the red jungle fowl (Gallus gallus), the common peafowl (Pavo cristatus), not to mention vultures, kites, storks, parakeets, doves and many other kinds of birds.

1.4 Material culture

The Dhimal traditionally constructed pile dwellings of rough timber with mud-covered wattle walls and thatched rooves. These were primarily one room structures with a sleeping area and a cooking area raised above the ground three to five feet. The buildings had no
windows, but were decorated with stylised and natural representations of flowers, birds and animals. Naturally occurring soil types of different colours were used to highlight these decorations. The walls were made up of saccarum grass between a frame, or more recently woven bamboo, covered in a plaster. The houses open on the east to a covered porch, where most socialising and many household activities take place. This area may take up more than a third of the floor space beneath the roof. The porch is reached by an overturned mortar, an upturned post set into the ground, or if higher up, by steps hewn roughly into a log. The shallow-pitched roof is thatched with saccarum grass gathered from river banks. Rafters act as a repository to store combs, razor blades, pencils, jute and other small and narrow objects. Houses are generally built in clusters of related families to form villages of anywhere from five to fifty homes. Nowadays, house builders are more likely to follow the local Nepali style or current South Asian fashion.

Most traditional artefacts were made from wood, grasses, dried gourds, jute, cane and bamboo. Suprisingly, bamboo does not appear to figure importantly in the manufacture of household goods. The few bamboo items, such as the frames for fishing nets, basket containers and shoulder poles appear to be borrowed technology. In spite of the availability of cheap mass-produced goods, many traditional items continue to be produced, due in part to poor financial conditions.

Weaving is an important activity engaged in by women during the winter months. Cloth is woven in archaic pit looms that are still used in parts of Assam and Bengal. Young women weave cloth for themselves, their families, for use as wedding gifts and to earn money by selling to Tharu women. Pit looms are traditionally constructed under the house where the weaver is protected from the elements. During the dry winter season, the rhythmic clank clank of multiple heddles smacking into cloth and the clatter of the wooden nambiri pervade the village. The cloth is woven into strips approximately 2½ feet wide by fifteen feet long, one edge of which is then sewn together and cut in half to produce a wrap that is seven to eight feet long by five feet wide. Historically, the Dhimal may have employed fibre from the silk cotton tree or grown cotton to spin thread, which
was then dyed with locally available plant and mineral dyes. Nowadays, all thread is bought pre-dyed in the market. Many women still soak the black thread in an indigo bath in an iron container to generate a rich lustrous blue-black colour. In 1989, women were still travelling to Haraĩcha to purchase thread. This town, which is one of the oldest market towns in the eastern Tarai, is also where they sell their cloth to Tharu women, who fashion this plaid material into calf-length or ankle-length skirts worn under the acara or Morangiya Tharu-style sari (blues are more popular with the older Tharu women and reds are more favoured by younger women).

The bo?na or female garment is an important piece of social identity in Dhimal society. Although some younger women now eschew it in favour of the modern South Asian panjabi or sari, many women and young girls continue to wear this traditional garment. This wrap covers a woman from her breasts to below her knees and is also traditionally worn by Rajbangsi and Bodo women. The bo?na comes in five distinct styles: itanγi, samuthi, pataloi, kucini and the most popular, da:bo?na or ‘black bo?na’. Most styles employ a black background with red, orange or purple stripes as accent. Among older women and eastern Dhimals, the kucini bo?na, which is produced by Hindu or Muslim weavers, is favoured. The term kucini derives from koce ‘Rajbangsi’, and indeed, this style is commonly worn by Rajbangsi women. I have seen one Dhimal piece that had been handed down to an old woman by her mother, which was unlike any I have seen and consisted of a distinct pattern of hand-dyed and spun thread. The handwoven dhaba? cloth are invariably plaid and typically consist of two to three colours, though a weaver using up extra spools of thread may create a piece with every colour of the rainbow.

All precious jewellery worn by Dhimal women is produced by artisanal-caste Hindus, the Viśvakarmā or Sunār, who also inhabit their villages and often speak Dhimal. Consequently, many of the styles may be found in neighbouring groups, such as nose pins (nakamundi), ear tops (nadoi), earrings (kundol), neck torques (hãsuli), armlets (thoka), and ankle torques (koli) and chains (poiri). Ornaments worn above the neck were typically made of gold and
those below were of silver. Jewellery fashions have changed recently in regard to popular styles and, as is the case with clothing and hair styles, have undoubtedly done so for some time. Consequently, certain styles are more in vogue than others at any given time and location. For example, I have noticed young Dhimal women living near Tharu villages sporting the currently fashionable Tharu earring style.

Tattooing or *co:ka* was widespread among the older generation of women who often have tattoos extending from the knuckles to the shoulder. Compared to neighbouring groups such as the Tharu, however, who often sport tattoos on their shoulders, chest, back and ankles, this art was less well developed among the Dhimal. The tattoo artists were caste Hindu or Muslim women who wandered from village to village offering their services. Designs represented stylised images of plants and animals, though geometric designs also figured prominently. The tradition of body decoration has recently become moribund, with the last generation of young women to undergo this painful ordeal in the early 1980s. This tradition has died out due to changing fashions, which now view tattoos as uncouth ‘savage’ traditions, though the pain involved in the process may have been an important contributor.

Hair styles or *khopa* worn by Dhimal women include the *jor khopa*, *lotoŋ khopa*, *saitar khopa*, *binda khopa* and *jali khopa*. Traditionally, women do not wear their hair down loosely or in pigtail fashion as do the hill people, nor do they part their hair as do the plains dwellers. Instead, the hair is combed back and fashioned into a knot. In contrast to most Nepalis, they also dress their hair and skin with coconut oil rather than with mustard oil. In common with other groups in the area, they also wear flowers and scented leaves in their hair. The *lotoŋ khopa*, which is the most festive and elegant coif, represents a style popular among the Tharu, the Rajbangsi, and all the way to eastern Assam among the Nocte. This indicates that fashions popular in the Brahmaputran valley spread as far west as southeastern Nepal and is one factor among many suggesting a widespread subregional Tibeto-Burman culture.
1.5 Cosmology

The supernatural world of the Dhimal abounds with deities or dir, including a household deity or sali beraj and various clan and village deities. The deities worshipped by the later clan during the harvest celebration for example, include lɔsɔmî beraj, tistî mai, cɔudhari maharaj, buđha ṭhakur, mi-besa, parbatî and the hunting deities or jauharahagelai. These deities typify the nature of the Dhimal pantheon, which is a mix of traditional deities (river, hunting and elemental) and borrowed Hindu ones in varying states of Dhimal dress (for example, the Hindu goddess Lakṣmî appears as an old woman).

Aside from the household goddess, the deities are worshipped only during ceremonies or illness, though Dhimal women are not permitted to cross the Kānkāī river without performing a sacrifice. Worship takes the form of offerings of animal sacrifice, liquor, tobacco, rice and incense. All deities favour specific animals for sacrifice, such as a red hen for buđha ṭhakur. In addition, all sacrificial animals must willingly submit by shaking the head in acknowledgement. Should the animal prove uncooperative, consent is coaxed from it by pouring water onto its head or into the ear, which elicits the required response. Decapitation is the only acceptable method to dispatch the offering.

Construction of altars is fairly simple. The altar of the house goddess sali beraj consists of three small mounds of clay in the corner of the house. Clan deities are worshipped at small makeshift altars constructed from a small lump of clay, an oil lamp resting on a banana leaf, some rice, red powder and incense. The village of Āṭhiyābārī has a small than or temple beside a pipal and a silk cotton tree. While most worship occurs within the village, some Dhimal travel to Dharān to worship at the hilltop temple of Buḍhā ṭhakur, which is an inter-communal temple frequented by lowlander and highlander alike. And nowadays, they also visit both Buddhist and Hindu temples in Kathmandu.

More pervasive in every day life are the feared female evil spirits or mhaigelai. These nocturnal ghouls attack men, causing them to
become ill and die. Many people fear to travel alone after dusk due to the predatory nature of these malevolent spirits.

Intermediaries between the natural and supernatural worlds in Dhimal society are the ojha and the dhami. They read and interpret signs, determine the afflicting deities or spirits, and then recommend a suitable remedy, usually a sacrifice to which he is then entitled. The type of sacrifice corresponds to the severity of the problem and the socio-economic status of the family.

The two principle holiday celebrations are sirijat or asare puja, which takes place at the onset of the monsoon and parba, a harvest celebration that coincides with the Hindu holiday tihar. During the summer monsoon months, important fairs such as the bengana bajar and daŋdange bajar take place, providing a venue for young men and women to meet and court. Other holidays include the more recently adopted phaguwa or holi, a Hindu celebration loved by the young and mischievous, involving the throwing of coloured powder and water.

1.6 Socioculture

Anthropologist Rishikeshab (Ṛṣikeśav Rāj Regmī) is the only investigator to look at Dhimal culture (1985, 1991). Broadly speaking, the Dhimal are traditionally organised around thirteen or so patrilineal exogamous clans. Each of these clans has distinct origin stories and figures, and deities and rituals. The clan system appears to have been somewhat flexible, so that for instance, it permitted the incorporation of new clans and sub-clans to allow the offspring from unsanctioned couplings a way into the system. Regmi identified thirteen clans and eleven subclans in the Damak area: lenway or lembañ, tharu, talipa (with three subclans: talipa, baŋmali and colmali), later, kaser or kasar, diŋ (with two subclans: diŋ and raj diŋ), tegre, rathum, nuniya, hardiya, dōnge (with six subclans: raj dōnge, diŋ dōnge, simal dōnge, lasami dōnge, nuniya dōnge and hardiya dōnge), baŋgalaiti, jogi and motari.

As is apparent from the large number of subclans, the dōnge clan is the largest. The names of several clans show important influences on the Dhimal system. Many clan and subclan names are of
Indo-Aryan origin, while one is the name of a neighbouring ethnic group. Also, the use of the subclan qualifier *raj*, from the Indo-Aryan word meaning ‘king’, suggests some latent social stratification among the clans. Recently, some young Dhimals have begun adopting their clan name in place of the more common ethnonymic last name.

Subordinate to, yet at the same time parallel with the clan system, is the sanguineal and consanguineal kinship systems. Families are typically made up of a man, a woman and their children, but may also contain an elderly parent, married children and grandchildren, or two wives. Most of the terms for father’s and mother’s younger siblings are Indo-Aryan loans, as is the case with the term for elder brother. For younger siblings, the Dhimal term *one* makes no sex distinction, while the term for mother’s and father’s elder siblings *boi* also makes no sex distinction. A list of the kinship terms is provided at the end of this grammar.

Descent is traced through the male line, and since exogamy is the rule, women are exchanged between clans. For the privilege of marrying a woman, a man and his family must pay a bride price and make certain ritual exchanges. These exchanges and the concomittant ties that they engender strengthen the community bond by fostering ties outside one’s group, and often outside one’s village. Marriages are looked upon as one of the most important ways to uphold or, better yet, to improve the family’s socio-economic standing. This is done through social or material resources afforded by the affinal relations. The relationship between in-laws is important enough to receive linguistic coding in the form of distinct agreement markers in the affinal kin register.

The broader multi-ethnic society in southeastern Nepal is divided on the one side between caste Hindus such as the Newar and the Brahmin (*Bāhun*) and Kṣatriya (*Chetrī*) who control most of the wealth and power in Nepal and the indigenous groups such as the Tharu, Magar and Limbu, to which side the Dhimal fall. On the other hand, there is a dichotomy between the hill dwellers and the lowlanders. In this cleavage, the Dhimal do not fall into the same category as the Magar and Limbu, who now are classified with the caste Hindus. This dichotomy between the self-identified simple,
honest ādivāsi or ‘indigenous inhabitant’ and the unscrupulous caste Hindu on the one hand, and the simple, honest lowlander and the unscrupulous hill dweller on the other is important for understanding the ways Dhimals view themselves in the broader society. Many Dhimal feel themselves to be on the losing side of history as both an indigenous group and as lowlanders. Paradoxically, many Dhimal have internalised the dominant Hindu orthodoxy regarding caste position and pollution which they abhor when it is applied to themselves. While they reject a system in which they are fated to play an inferior role to other groups, many Dhimal at the same time refuse food cooked by someone from the goldsmith caste, whom they believe to be polluting.

A special mention must be made of the role that alcohol plays in Dhimal society, where it is present at all important functions, including weddings, funerals, holidays and indeed virtually any type of social activity for men. Alcohol comes in the form of bhatiya ‘rice beer’ or its sweet and fruity by-product nigar, ghyansi ‘a type of strong alcohol’ and gor ‘distilled alcohol’. Some form of alcohol is virtually mandatory for the arrival of guests, along with other stimulants such as tobacco, cigarettes and areca nut. Rice beer mash may even be given to small children and babies in small amounts. Not only does alcohol lube the wheels of society, but it also plays an important role in income generation for women.

Traditionally, during the winter months in the chill evenings, men would sit around a fire and tell tales. Some were remembered escapades or folk tales that were handed down through the generations, while others such as episodes from the Hindu epic the Rāmayāṇa were learnt from their neighbours. Several of these tales are included as texts at the end of this grammar.

Little is known about the musical instruments once used by the Dhimal. Some of the instruments include the mouth harp or gumana, large drum or dhol, the sarangi, a fiddle or urni, a type of drum known as tertere, sanai, and an instrument called a tunjai, which is apparently similar in appearance to a cane washboard. Except for the dhol, musical instruments and musicians to play them are rare.
1.7 Political history

For the greater part of their history, the Dhimal appear to have lived in small autonomous village communities that moved about as the land became exhausted. As communities grew they subdivided, either due to fractious divisions that may arise between groups or simply due to opportunities that were perceived by one group in another area. These communities were governed by a village headman and a council of senior men. While there is no strong evidence for any larger political groupings among the Dhimal, recent changes in Nepali society have occasioned a search for a ‘glorious past’. Within the past couple of years, Dhimals have begun championing the notion of an ancient capital in the town of Leṭāṅ, which lies at the base of the Siwalik hills in Moraṅ. Just outside of this small town, a pair of purported ancient water tanks have been found, which are now called rājā-rānī pokhari ‘the king and queen ponds’ in the belief that they symbolise the royal water tanks of a local polity. As evidence to support the claim of a Dhimal origin, Dhimals cite the term letay, which in Dhimal means ‘below, at the base’. When I last visited this town in the early 1990s, however, it consisted largely of people of hill origin, presumably Rai and Limbu. To my knowledge, no archaeological investigation has been conducted at this site, though I have not been there since these claims have been raised.

Dhimal territory has been fought over and switched hands for centuries, although for the greater part of their history they have remained outside of, or at least peripheral to the great empires of the plains. Indian chronicles mention the lands west of the Tista river (Dhimal territory) as forming the western border of the Kāmarūpa kingdom in Assam from the 1st century AD to the 12th. From the 15th to the 17th century, the Koch empire, with its capital at Cooch Behar in modern northern West Bengal, included southeastern Nepal in its borders, along with a good portion of Assam and Bangladesh (Hodgson 1880, 107). In 1661, the Koch kingdom was crushed by the Mughals and forced to become a tributary state (Schwartzberg 1978, 46). With the weakening of the Koch, the regional hill powers began jockeying for control of the valuable lowlands. Both the Sikkimese
and the Sen kings, with their capital at Vijaypur or ‘Bijapoor’ in the lower hills of eastern Nepal, appear to have taken control of these lowland plains. Their reign was short lived, however. Setting their sights on the rich soils and dense hardwood forests of Moraṅ, the Gorkhas advanced on the Sen kings and conquered Vijaypur in 1774 (Stiller 1973: 122-23, 137), annexing its territories to the newly unified Kingdom of Nepal. Dhimal settlements at that time may have extended up to the Kośī river, but the inhabitants of these villages fled eastward as a result of the Gorkha onslaught.

Although the Dhimal inhabited areas that were marginal to the great power centres of the subcontinent, they were far from isolated. The two groups that the Dhimal have been most in contact with historically have been the Tharu (Thāru) and the Rajbangsi (Rājvarṁśī ‘of royal descent’), through whom various Indo-Aryan loans and Hindu culturo-religious memes have come. While the Rajbangsi are widely believed to have spoken a Tibeto-Burman language, viz. Koch, the original language of the Tharu is unknown. It may have been Tibeto-Burman (possibly Western Tibeto-Burman) or it may have represented another outpost of the far-flung Austroasiatic languages, either Munda or Mon-Khmer. Unfortunately, little to no work has been done on the Tharu languages. However, judging by the lack of a clear pattern of borrowing from Bodo-Koch, the ancestors of the Dhimal and Rajbangsi were not in as intimate contact as has been the case in the historical period. Intimate contact may only date back to the rise of the Koch during the 16th century when the shift to Bengali was well underway. The Dhimal term for the Rajbangsi is kamalai, which may reflect the name of their old capitol Kāmatā. Contacts with the Tharu, at least for speakers of the western dialect, on the other hand, involve religious and other socio-economic ties, and likely goes farther back.

Until the middle of the 20th century, the Tarai was considered a frontier region — unhealthy, dangerous and inhabitable only by indigenous groups. It was integrated into the Nepali state neither economically nor socially (Gage 1975). The only markets in the area were the Koch bazaars in Bhadrapur, Jhāpā and Raṅgeli, Moraṅ. Hodgson reports that at that time, Dhimals produced most of what
they needed and traded or bartered for items which they could not produce, such as metal pots and pans, iron agricultural implements and jewellery. Only with the eradication of malaria in the early 1950s did they lose their largely autonomous existence. Since then, massive immigration of people from the hills and felling of the vast Sal forests have turned the Dhimal into a ‘backward’ minority group. In the process, they have lost much of their original land and are nowadays forced to seek work in Kathmandu, India or even the Gulf States. These socio-economic stresses have put great pressure on Dhimal cultural traditions.

1.8 Linguistic and cultural preservation

Dhimal is an endangered language with the eastern dialect facing the greatest pressures. Much of the preceding sections details a traditional existence for the Dhimal that probably continued for scores of generations. That world, however, is becoming an increasingly distant memory as Dhimals find themselves players in a new rough and tumble socio-economic environment. The traditional culture, to which the language is closely tied, is being torn apart at a rapid pace as Dhimals find themselves thrust into a cash economy without skills or a land base. Dhimals are marrying non-Dhimals, while others are only teaching their children to speak Nepali. Some individuals and families are adopting the dominant hill culture to the point of complete linguistic assimilation. Things are changing at such a pace that it is difficult to imagine this language being spoken after more than a generation or two, unless a concerted effort is made in that direction. While the prospects for long-term survival of the language look bleak, there is reason for hope.

Since the advent of democracy in 1990, Dhimals have joined the struggle for linguistic and cultural equality along with other indigenous groups of Nepal. Leaders in the Dhimal community have become concerned about maintaining a distinct identity which is daily being eroded by poverty and the homogenising forces of the national culture. In 1993 the Dhimal People’s Development Centre in Damak, Jhāpā was formed to champion the socio-economic betterment of
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Dhimals. In 2001, a parcel of government land near the town of Mañlabāri was awarded to this organisation to build a centre. This organisation, which lays claim to represent the concerns of Dhimals as an ethnolinguistic group within the Nepali state, has made efforts to promote Dhimal culture and language. For instance, this group has championed the use of the ‘traditional’ Dhimal greeting seu paka over the Indic namaste.⁴

Recently, works have been appearing in the Dhimal language. The Dhimal Literature Service Publishing, based in Ḍuhubī, Sunsarī district, has published several short stories dealing with the socio-economic problems facing Dhimal society and also works of poetry using the Devanāgarī script. Still, not all of these publications have been whole-heartedly accepted by the Dhimal community due to the authors’ often heavy-handed use of Sanskrit-based loanwords, which even an uneducated native Nepali speaker would have difficulty understanding. In 2000, a group of Dhimals were in the process of compiling a Dhimal-Nepali-English dictionary encompassing both the eastern and western dialect. While a standardised orthography has yet to be decided upon, many writers adhere to certain conventions regarding phonological distinctions not made by Devanāgarī.

In the field of entertainment, Dhimals are also recording traditional songs, which I have heard played at weddings, though generally music from the latest Hindi blockbuster is more often to be heard. New songs in the Dhimal language are also being written, albeit in an Indian or Nepali style. The old dances, which most people do not know, are also being revived and performed on special occasions.

⁴ Note that the Dhimal term seu itself derives from the Indo-Aryan word sevā ‘service’. Compare also Dhimal pareu ‘pigeon’ from the Indo-Aryan parevā.
Plate 1 Dhimal homeland
(reproduced from: G.L. van Driem, 2001, Languages of the Himalayas,
Leiden: Brill, p. 563)
Plate 2 Young girl with sieve
Plate 3 Āṭhiyābārī quartet in mustard field

Plate 4 Young girl grinding lentils
Plate 5 Woman smoking a cigarette

Plate 6 Young women grinding rice at dawn
Plate 7 Creating the warp

Plate 8 Woman weaving on a pit loom
Plate 9 Man preparing for sacrifices during parba celebration

Plate 10 Young men celebrating during phaguwa
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Plate 11 Groom’s party setting out for the bride’s village

Plate 12 Taking a break from food preparation at a wedding
Plate 13 Ritual exchange outside the bride’s village

Plate 14 Bride with helper circumambulating the groom
Plate 15 Elderly man rolling a cigarette
CHAPTER TWO

PHONOLOGY

2.1 Consonants

Dhimal has a rich array of consonant phonemes (31) with five places of articulation being distinguished: bilabial, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. In phonation, two sets of distinctions are made: voiced and breathy, and voiceless and aspirated voiceless. Diagram 1 lists the inventory of phonemic oppositions in consonants.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
\text{b} & \text{bh} & \text{p} & \text{ph} & \text{m} & \text{mh} & \text{w} & \text{wh} \\
\text{d} & \text{dh} & \text{t} & \text{th} & \text{n} & \text{nh} & \text{r} & \text{rh} & \text{l} & \text{lh} \\
\text{j} & \text{jh} & \text{c} & \text{s} & \text{y} & \text{yh} \\
\text{g} & \text{gh} & \text{k} & \text{kh} & \text{ŋ} & \text{ʔ} & \text{h}
\end{array}
\]

Diagram 1 Consonant phonemes

2.1.1 Phonetic description of Dhimal phonemes and allophones

The following table provides a phonetic description of the Dhimal phonemes and prominent allophones.

Native consonant phonemes

\[
\begin{array}{l}
/b/ \quad \text{voiced bilabial plosive} \\
\quad \text{intervocally: voiced bilabial fricative} \\
\quad \text{e.g. } \text{bebal [bebal ~ beßal]}, \text{wabal [wabal ~ waßal]}
\end{array}
\]
/bh/  
breathy bilabial plosive  
intervocalically: breathy bilabial fricative  
e.g. lekharabhari [lexaraßari]  

/p/  
unaspirated voiceless bilabial plosive  

/ph/  
aspirated voiceless bilabial plosive  
intervocally:  
voiceless labial fricative  
or voiced glottal fricative  
e.g. dophar [doΦar] ~ [doΦa]  

/d/  
voiced apico-alveolar plosive  

/dh/  
breathy apico-alveolar plosive  

/t/  
unaspirated voiceless apico-alveolar plosive  

/th/  
aspirated voiceless apico-alveolar plosive  

/g/  
voiced dorso-velar plosive  

/gh/  
breathy dorso-velar plosive  

/k/  
unaspirated voiceless dorso-velar plosive  

/kh/  
aspirated voiceless dorso-velar plosive  
intervocally and prevocally before front vowel: aspirated voiceless dorso-velar fricative  
e.g. cakhe [caxe]; lekhar [lexara]  

/ʔ/  
unreleased glottal stop  

/j/  
unaspirated voiced lamino-alveolar affricate  

/jh/  
breathy lamino-alveolar affricate  

/c/ unaspirated voiceless lamino-alveolar affricate [tε]
/s/ voiceless lamino-alveolar fricative [s]
before a fronted vowel: voiceless lamino-postalveolar fricative [ɕ]
may alternate with voiced glottal fricative [ɦ]
e.g. *asa [asa ~ afia]; baʔsar [baʔsar ~ baʔh iar]
/h/ voiced glottal fricative [ɦ]
may be realised as breathy voice on a following vowel
/m/ voiced bilabial nasal [m]
/mh/ breathy bilabial nasal [m̥]
/n/ voiced apico-alveolar nasal [n]
/nh/ breathy apico-alveolar nasal [ŋ]
/n̥/ voiced velar nasal [ŋ]
intervocally: voiced apico-alveolar nasal [n]
/l/ voiced apico-alveolar lateral approximant [l]
/lh/ breathy apico-alveolar lateral approximant [l̥]
/r/ voiced apico-alveolar flap [ɾ]
/rh/ breathy apico-alveolar flap [ɾ̥]
/w/ voiced median bilabial-velar approximant [w]
/wh/ breathy median bilabial-velar approximant [w̥]
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/y/ voiced median palatal approximant \[j\]

/yh/ breathy median palatal approximant \[j^6\]

Loan consonant phonemes

The following phonemes occur only in words borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages such as Maithili, Bengali or Nepali. Depending on an individual’s age, educational level and familiarity with these languages, these phonemes may be realised as either their Indo-Aryan counterparts or as the nearest Dhimal equivalent, viz. alveolar placement rather than retroflex.

/ḍ/ voiced retroflex [d]
voiced apico-alveolar plosive [d]

/ḍh/ breathy retroflex [d^6]
breathy apico-alveolar plosive [d^6]

/t/ unaspirated voiceless retroflex [t]
unaspirated voiceless apico-alveolar plosive [t]

/ṭh/ aspirated voiceless retroflex [ṭʰ]
aspirated voiceless apico-alveolar plosive [ṭʰ]

/ch/ aspirated voiceless lamino-alveolar affricate [cʰ]
voiceless lamino-alveolar fricative [s]

/ṇ/ voiced retroflex nasal [n]
voiced apico-alveolar nasal [n]

/r/ retroflex flap [r]
voiced apico-alveolar flap [ɾ]

/ṣ/ voiceless lamino-postalveolar fricative [s]
voiceless lamino-alveolar fricative [s]
2.1.2 Distinctiveness of consonant phonemes

One of the more striking features of the Dhimal phonemic system is the number of breathy phonemes, which include not only stops, but also nasals, laterals, flaps and glides. Systemically, breathy voice may be considered the voiced oppositional equivalent of aspiration for voiceless phonemes. The fact that breathy voice is so well represented is due in large part to conditioning factors caused by former initials or prefixes, which also accounts for its restriction to syllable-initial position. Breathy voice is characterised by loose vocal chords, which results in random energy scattered throughout the upper formants. While breathy voice is associated with delayed release of the onset, this phonation type also greatly influences the timing and articulation of the following vowel.

The absence of an aspirated voiceless affricate /ch/, palatal voiced and breathy nasals /ɲ/ and /ɲh/, and a breathy velar nasal /ŋh/ mars what would be a neat paradigm of unaspirated/aspirated and voiced/breathy oppositions in consonants. Retroflex consonants are a recent accretion to the system and exist only in Indo-Aryan loans. Older loans were either adapted to the Dhimal phonemic system or perhaps lacked retroflex articulation in the donor language. Thus, the retroflex consonants in loans from Indic languages may be expressed with either retroflex or alveolar articulation depending to some extent on the educational background of the individual speaker.

The plosives include /b, bh, p, ph, d, dh, t, th, g, gh, k, kh/. The following minimal and near-minimal pairs establish the phonetic status of the voiced, breathy, voiceless and aspirated voiceless plosives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/b/</th>
<th>/bh/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>baʔli</em></td>
<td>to carry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>beʔli</em></td>
<td>to beat (a drum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bhaʔli</em></td>
<td>to attack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bheʔli</em></td>
<td>to throw at</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 Both aspirated and breathy consonants will be represented here orthographically by the letter *h* following long-standing transliteration practice in South Asia.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/ - /ph/</td>
<td>to set fruit</td>
<td>/phaːli/</td>
<td>to shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poʔli</td>
<td>to pile</td>
<td>phoʔli</td>
<td>to blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/ - /b/</td>
<td>to snip</td>
<td>/boːli/</td>
<td>to grind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poːli</td>
<td>to pile</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ph/ - /bh/</td>
<td>to shiver</td>
<td>/bhirli/</td>
<td>to bite off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phoʔli</td>
<td>to blow</td>
<td>bhoʔli</td>
<td>to bark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/ - /dh/</td>
<td>shade</td>
<td>/dhaʔ/</td>
<td>run!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daʔ</td>
<td>deity</td>
<td>dhir</td>
<td>learn!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/ - /th/</td>
<td>to jump</td>
<td>/thoŋli/</td>
<td>to lead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toŋli</td>
<td>to be cool</td>
<td>thirli</td>
<td>to weave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/ - /d/</td>
<td>tasty</td>
<td>/daːka/</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taːka</td>
<td>to jump</td>
<td>donli</td>
<td>to weigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/th/ - /dh/</td>
<td>to weave</td>
<td>/dhirli/</td>
<td>to learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thirli</td>
<td>be hard</td>
<td>dhaŋli</td>
<td>to be hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/ - /gh/</td>
<td>to cook (rice)</td>
<td>/ghali/</td>
<td>to play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaːli</td>
<td>to bury</td>
<td>ghīŋli</td>
<td>to snatch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/ - /kh/</td>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>/khiya/</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiya</td>
<td>to attack</td>
<td>kheŋli</td>
<td>to share</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are five fricatives: /j, jh, c, s, h/. The phoneme /h/ may vary from a strongly voiced consonant with breathy articulation to a weak articulation realised in large part as breathiness of the following vowel, especially in words such as hasu ‘who’; hamu ‘stomach’, juhã ‘rat’, the perfective suffix <-hoi> and hiso ‘whither’. Thus, breathiness of vowels may be distinctive in some pairs: hiso [hiso ~ i̤so] ‘whither’ and iso [iso] ‘this direction’; hesa [hesa ~ ɛsa] ‘how’ and esa [esa] ‘like this’. This suggests that the phoneme /h/ may be in the process of losing its distinctive status, resulting in an incipient breathy opposition in vowels. The distinctiveness of the fricatives are shown in the following minimal pairs.

/\k\/-/\g/\nko take it! go brother-in-law
ka I ga: cook (rice)!

/\kh/-/\gh/
khĩlĩ to cook (a side dish) ghĩlĩ to snatch
pakha I make pagha I made

There are five fricatives: /j, jh, c, s, h/. The phoneme /h/ may vary from a strongly voiced consonant with breathy articulation to a weak articulation realised in large part as breathiness of the following vowel, especially in words such as hasu ‘who’, hamu ‘stomach’, juhã ‘rat’, the perfective suffix <-hoi> and hiso ‘whither’. Thus, breathiness of vowels may be distinctive in some pairs: hiso [hiso ~ i̤so] ‘whither’ and iso [iso] ‘this direction’; hesa [hesa ~ ɛsa] ‘how’ and esa [esa] ‘like this’. This suggests that the phoneme /h/ may be in the process of losing its distinctive status, resulting in an incipient breathy opposition in vowels. The distinctiveness of the fricatives are shown in the following minimal pairs.

/\c/-/\j/
ce:li to cut je:li to be white
ci?:li to be stingy ji?:li to be damp

/\j/-/\jh/
jeŋli to become jheŋli to become light
jo:li to stir jho:li to polish

/\c/-/\s/
ce?:li to clasp se?:li to kill
co?:li to brand so?:li to piss

/\s/-/\h/
sai cow hump hai what
siŋ tree hiŋ listen!
There are five nasal phonemes /m, mh, n, nh, ŋ/, with a voiced and a breathy distinction in the bilabial and alveolar nasals. The velar nasal /ŋ/ lacks a breathy opposition and is not permitted in syllable-initial position. Distinctiveness of the nasals is illustrated in the following pairs.

/m/ - /mh/  
- /m/ - /n/  
- /mh/ - /nh/  
- /n/ - /ŋ/  
- /m/ - /ŋ/

The approximants include flaps, laterals and glides, with each type exhibiting a voiced vs. breathy opposition: /r, rh, l, lh, w, wh, y, yh/. 

| /Ø/ - /h/ |  
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| esa | like this | hesa | how |
| oʔli | to burn | hoʔli | to remove |

| /m/ - /mh/ |  
| --- | --- | --- |
| moʔli | to mix | mhoʔli | ‘to blow |
| meʔli | to twist | mheʔli | ‘to whip |

| /n/ - /nh/ |  
| --- | --- | --- |
| na | you | nha | dance! |
| nui | mouth | nhui | swim! |

| /m/ - /n/ |  
| --- | --- | --- |
| mɪŋka | ripe, cooked | nɪŋka | tale |
| cam | gather (firewood)! | can | son |

| /mh/ - /nh/ |  
| --- | --- |
| mhali | to be drunk | nhali | to dance |

| /n/ - /ŋ/ |  
| --- | --- |
| can | son | caan | will eat |
| lokhon | clothes | lo khaŋ | come look! |

| /m/ - /ŋ/ |  
| --- | --- |
| cumli | to hold | cuŋli | to be cold |
| sim | mortar | siŋ | tree |
The distinctiveness of the voiced and breathy flaps and laterals is illustrated in the following pairs.

\(/l/ - /lh/\)
- liʔli to bury
- lo:li to be loose
- lhiʔli to ret
- lho:li to get up

\(/r/ - /rh/\)
- raili to scatter
- rimanŋ will capture
- rhaili to claw
- rhimaŋ early morning

\(/r/ - /l/\)
- raŋli to be stiff
- laniŋli to go ahead
- laŋli to be silent

While the status of the glides in Dhimal is clear, their existence post-consonantally is open to question. In non-initial position, these phonemes occur primarily in loans and only a handful of native words. Consequently, these could be interpreted as a sequence of two syllables with the second taking lexical stress and the vowel of the first syllable eliding, e.g. dyanŋ [diˈyanŋ] ‘person’ and nya [niˈyaŋ] ‘you’. While such an interpretation would simplify the overall system, it is not based on acoustic observation and will be rejected as overly formal. The distinctiveness of the glides in initial and medial position is shown below.

\(/w/ - /wh/\)
- wa he, she, it
- whaʔ put it in!

\(/y/ - /yh/\)
- yuʔli to be worn down
- yhuʔli to strip
- ya he, she, it (proximal)
- yhali to remain

\(/w/ - /y/\)
- wa 3s (dist.)
- ya 3s (prox.)
CHAPTER TWO

/CØ/ - /Cw/

\begin{align*}
gai & \quad \text{cow} \\
c\text{a} & \quad \text{eat!} \\
gwai & \quad \text{areca nut} \\
cwa & \quad \text{well (n.)}
\end{align*}

/CØ/ - /Cy/

\begin{align*}
ka & \quad \text{I} \\
na & \quad \text{you} \\
day\text{ŋ} & \quad \text{claw} \\
kya & \quad \text{I (affinal)} \\
nya & \quad \text{you (affinal)} \\
dyaŋ & \quad \text{person}
\end{align*}

The following minimal pairs illustrate the distinctiveness of open syllables and those with a final glottal stop /-ʔ/.

\begin{align*}
/O/ - /-ʔ/
\begin{align*}
culi & \quad \text{to sting} \\
seli & \quad \text{to bear fruit} \\
cuʔli & \quad \text{to whither} \\
seʔli & \quad \text{to kill}
\end{align*}
\end{align*}

2.2 Vowels

Dhimal distinguishes five primary vowel qualities. The phonological properties of the vowel may be said to consist of a phonemic bundle of features, the two primary parameters of which are length and nasality, resulting in a three-way opposition. The Dhimal vowel phonemes are listed below in Diagram 2.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{cc}
oral & nasal \\
\hline \\
i / i: & u / u: \\
e / e: & ë \\
o / o: & ō \\
a / a: & ā
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Diagram 2 Vowel phonemes

There are six diphthongs, all of which end in either a high front vowel /i/ or a high back vowel /u/. While certain diphthongs are more frequent than others (/iu/ occurs in only a few words), all are restricted to open syllables. Nasalised diphthongs are rare, occurring
primarily in loans. The Dhimal diphthongs are listed below in Diagram 3.

\[
iu \quad ui \\
eu \quad oi \\
au \quad ai
\]

Diagram 3 Diphthongs

2.2.1 **Phonetic description of Dhimal vowel phonemes**

The following table provides a phonetic description of the Dhimal vowel phonemes and prominent allophones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>Short unrounded front high vowel</td>
<td>[i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in a closed syllable: unrounded front mid-high vowel</td>
<td>[ɪ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>Short unrounded front high nasal vowel</td>
<td>[ɪ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i:/</td>
<td>Tense long unrounded front high vowel</td>
<td>[iː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>Unrounded half-long mid-high front vowel</td>
<td>[e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in a closed syllable: unrounded short mid-low front vowel</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>Unrounded half-long mid-high front nasal vowel</td>
<td>[ê]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e:/</td>
<td>Tense long unrounded mid-high front vowel</td>
<td>[eː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>Rounded half-long low back vowel</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ā/</td>
<td>Rounded half-long low back nasal vowel</td>
<td>[ā]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a:/</td>
<td>Tense rounded long low back vowel</td>
<td>[aː]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.2 Distinctiveness of vowel phonemes

Vowel length is largely distinctive only in open stem verbs and derived nominals. Hence, this opposition, which could also be cast as an opposition between lax and tense or clear and laryngealised
vowels, is highly constrained. The following minimal pairs establish
the phonetic status of the short and long vowels:

| /a| - /a:/ | cali to eat | ca:li to take |
| /e| - /e:/ | seli to bear fruit | se:li to be rough |
| /i| - /i:/ | Thili to fear | thi:li to brush off |
| /o| - /o:/ | oli tosteam | o:li to peel |
| /u| - /u:/ | culi to sting | cu:li to suck |

Nasalised vowels occur primarily with open syllables of polysyllabic
nominals. These nominals are mostly made up of animal names: cēja
‘woodpecker’, sēsu ‘insect sp.’, pāya ‘tick’, pūya ‘snake’, nhōyha
juhā ‘rat’, jihā ‘bird’ and sihā ‘seed’. The few exceptions include the
directional like dihē ‘west’, a few intransitive verbs such as jihīka
‘aligned’ and jahāka ‘snowy white’, onomatopoeia dēdu? ‘sound of a
drop’ and kū’kū? ‘sound of a rat’, and the first person future, which is
marked by nasalisation of the future morpheme.

Nasalised vowels in virtually all cases take lexical stress, but note
kinīkinīpa [ˈkɪnɪkɪnɪpa] ‘dizzy’ and dihē [ˈdɪhē] ‘west’. Acoustically,
nasal vowels are characterised by less energy in F₀ and often
increased duration. Syllables ending in a nasal consonant may result
in nasalisation of the preceding vowel, while nasals in unstressed
syllables may be realised solely as nasalisation in rapid speech: buŋ
[ˈbʊŋ ~ bʊ] ‘also’ and <-teŋ> [tɛŋ ~ tɛ] ‘SEQ’. So, while nasalised
vowels derive historically from the loss of final nasals and
synchronically some nasal finals may alternate with nasalised vowels,
the latter are clearly distinct and should not be analysed as allophones of the former. The following minimal pairs illustrate the contrast between nasal vowels and clear vowels followed by a nasal consonant.

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
/\text{ã}/ & - & /\text{a}/ \\
\text{cã} & & \text{I’ll eat} \\
/\text{ẽ}/ & - & /\text{e}/ \\
\text{dihẽ} & & \text{west} \\
/\text{ĩ}/ & - & /\text{i}/ \\
\text{kinĩkinĩpa} & & \text{dizzily} \\
/\text{õ}/ & - & /\text{o}/ \\
\text{õya} & & \text{horse} \\
/\text{ũ}/ & - & /\text{u}/ \\
\text{ũya} & & \text{snake} \\
\end{array}
\]

Many diphthongs clearly derive from the loss of syllable-final consonants, based on pronunciations of the derived forms of certain root morphemes and the cognate forms of the same root etyma in other Tibeto-Burman languages, specifically those closed by laterals or velar nasals. Compare the following alternations between closed syllables and diphthongs: *hulme* ‘wife’s younger sister’ and *hulunga* ‘wife’s elder brother’ vs. *huigo* ‘wife’s younger brother’, and *thalpuli* ‘throw away’ vs. *thaigilli* ‘throw around’: *atuŋka* ~ *atuika* ‘small’ and *mhaŋgelai* ~ *mhaigelai* ‘evil spirit’. While most cases involve the complete loss of the original nasality, sometimes it is maintained as in *aŋ* ~ *aũ* ‘okay?’.

The following pairs establish the distinctiveness of the diphthongs.

---

2 Only in the case of the diphthong /au/ does there appear to be descent from the putatively reconstructed proto-language: *sau* ‘fat’ PTB *sau and anau* ‘younger sibling’ PTB *nau.*
/oi/ - /ui/

*toi* piece, bit  
*tui* egg

/oi/ - /aɪ/

*boi* aunt, uncle  
*bai* elder sister

/oi/ - /eu/

*doipa* hanging  
*deupa* drooping

/ai/ - /au/

*sai* cow hump  
*sau* fat

/iu/ - /eu/

*ciuli* to bath  
*ceuli* to tingle

2.3 Segmental phonology

The syllable is an important constituent of Dhimal phonology. A syllable typically consists of a vowel, with or without length and nasality, and may contain an initial consonant, a glide and a final consonant. A common and important exception to this generality is the syllabic bilabial nasal morpheme *m* ‘cooked rice, meal’. All consonants are attested syllable-initially except */ŋ/ and */Ɂ/, neither of which is permitted intervocally. Geminate consonants occur only in loans. Consonant clusters, although not common, do occur due to compounding, elision and word borrowing. Except for the aforementioned cases, the only permitted medials are */y/ and */w/.

The following syllable-final consonants are permitted: */m, n, ɳ, r, l, ?/ and to a much lesser extent */k/ and */t/. Although the three nasal finals are distinctive, the final nasal of some morphemes alternates between */m/ or */ŋ/: *tairham ~ tairhaŋ* ‘shrimp’; *yumli ~ yuŋli* ‘to sit’. The alveolar nasal */n/ is uncommon in word-final position, only occurring in a few words: *can* ‘son’, *lokhon* ‘clothes’, *sigun* ‘vulture’, *mun* ‘beaten rice’ and *wajan/bejan* ‘boy/girl’. The last two examples drop the final */n/., possibly an old collective marker, in the plural:
bejan ‘girl’ > bejalai ‘girls’; wajan ‘boy’ > wajalai ‘boys’. This phoneme does, however, occur regularly in syllable final position in compounds.

2.3.1 Assimilation and dissimilation

Velar nasals assimilate regressively to place of articulation of the following consonant: jheŋli ‘become bright’ > jheŋka ‘brightness’, jhentey ‘having become light’, jhempa ‘until dawn’. Labial nasals are not affected by this rule: amli ‘to drink’ > amka ‘drink’; jimli ‘to sleep’ > jimteŋ ‘having slept’. Lexically, syllable-final velar nasals may only be followed by a stop, generally homorganic: ongalaiti ‘firefly’, dheŋgara ‘log’, dadalaŋga ‘beam’. In the verbal morphology, velar nasals dissipilate to a dental nasal /n/, when followed by a vowel as velar nasals are not permitted prevocally: khaŋli ‘to look’ > khanen ‘wep will look’, niŋli ‘to get’ > ninen ‘wep will get’.

For some speakers, verb roots ending in /ŋ/ dissipilate to /ni/ when followed by the infinitival suffix <-li>: khaŋli [khani], naŋli [nani], and to /na/ when followed by the intensive motion affix <-lha>: khaŋlhali [khanali].

The closed vowels /i/ and /u/ when unstressed may become voiceless when preceded by /s/ː sukulu [ˈsukuːlu ~ suŋˈkulu] ‘lung’; pasuŋkhenə [ˈpasuŋxena] ‘youp make’; suta [sʊ̯ˈta] ‘at home’, sipaʔpa [ɕiŋˈpaʔpa] ‘quietly’, insika [ˈɪŋsika] ‘such as that’, and sikaʔli [ɕiŋˈkaʔli] ‘to be disgusted’. In these cases the underlying whispered vowel is hardly audible. However, the palatalisation of the phoneme /s/ (or lack thereof) provides an additional acoustic clue as to the phonological identity of the whispered vowel, thereby permitting a determination of whether the vowel is /i/ or /u/.

Open verb stems which lack a coda may exhibit elision or epenthetic glides when followed by a stressed grammatical morpheme lacking an onset. Stems with a high back vowel may exhibit an epenthetic glide of /w/, while those ending in a high front vowel may

---

exhibit an epenthetic glide of $y$: 

- **coli** ‘to sting’ and 

  - **coaŋ** [coʰaŋ] ‘it will sting’,
  - **seli** ‘to fruit’ and 

  - **seay** [seʰaŋ] ‘it will set fruit’.

Open stems with **/a/** are typically elided in this environment:

- **pali** ‘to do’ > **paaŋ** [paŋ] ‘we$ will do (it)’ and 

  - **cali** ‘to eat’ > **caaine** [caine] ‘let’s$ eat’.

Note also the elision of unstressed phonemes in the following common verbs: 

- **haneli** ‘to go’ > **hanaŋ** ‘will go’,
  - **loli** ‘to come’ > **loaŋ** [loaŋ ~ lwaŋ ~ laŋ] ‘we$ will come’, and 

  - **doli** ‘to be able’ > **doã** [doã ~ dwã ~ dã] ‘I will be able’.

### 2.4 Prosody

Stress, or accentuation, will be understood here as a complex phenomenon that is characterised by the prosodic parameters of pitch, loudness and length. Word stress in Dhimal is weak and not distinctive. Never the less, there are typical prosodic patterns in Dhimal words that can be described in terms of frequently observed variations in these three parameters. Word stress is characterised by falling pitch and may occur on any syllable, though there is a tendency for words to be stressed on the initial syllable. Common exceptions to initial stress include 

- **dhimal** [dhiˈmal], 

  - **kamal** [kaˈmal] ‘Rajbangsi’, 

  - **jamal** [jaˈmal] ‘child’, 

  - **kiham** [kiˈɦam] ‘crab’, and 

  - **diham** [diˈɦam] ‘rope’,

- **bhonoi** [bhoˈnoi] ‘earth, soil’ and 

  - **khokoi** [khoˈkoi] ‘leg, foot’, all of which are stressed on the second or final syllable.

Word stress is often sensitive to the phonological or morphological structure of the word, or to the informational structure of the phrase or utterance. On the phonemic level, heavy syllables regularly receive stress: 

- **po:khe** [ˈpoːkhe] ‘she cuts’, 

  - **ra:hi** [ˈraːɦi] ‘he bound’, 

  - **teraʔ** [teˈraʔ] ‘tool for making rope’ and 

  - **satiʔ** [saˈtiʔ] ‘umbrella’.

In penultimate position, the diphthong **/ai/** frequently takes primary stress: 

- **kekalaiti** [kɛkaˈlaiti] ‘egg yolk’, 

  - **ongalaiti** [ɔŋɡaˈlaiti] ‘firefly’, 

  - **mekhonaiti** [mekhoˈnaiti] ‘ember’ and 

  - **ghuraili** [guˈraili] ‘to stroll’.

Affixal material may cause a shift in stress, particularly with open stem verbs: 

- **cakhe** [ˈçaxe ~ caˈxe] ‘he’s eating’ vs. 

  - **macakhe** [ˈmaːcaxe] ‘he’s not eating’ and 

  - **cahi** [ˈcɑhi ~ caˈfi] ‘he ate’;

  - **jamal** [jaˈmal] ‘child’ vs. 

  - **jamalai** [ˈjamalai] ‘children’. A shift in stress may
also result in a change to the acoustic quality of high front and back vowel phonemes. Presumably, the underlying vowels here are /e/ and /o/ which become raised to /i/ and /u/ when unstressed: dhimal [dhiˈmal] vs. dhemalai [ˈdheːmalai] and hindhili [ˈhindhili] ‘to stay behind’ vs. hindhe [hinˈdhe] ‘stay behind’.

Moreover, the regular or unmarked pattern of lexical stress may be overridden for contrastive or emphatic purposes. A pragmatically-stressed syllable is characterised by high level pitch and increased duration. For example, a word which regularly has syllable-initial stress with falling pitch may receive syllable-final stress with high level pitch in the emphatic form: barka [ˈbarka] ‘big’ vs. [barˈka] ‘real big’ and oso [ˈoso] ‘over there’ vs. [oˈso] ‘way over there’. An important locus for this type of emphatic stress occurs in interjections and utterance-final particles.


Intonation patterns in Dhimal may be used to encode speaker attitudes or to distinguish syntactic and modal categories such as phrasal or rhythmic groups, questions and directives. In Dhimal, four functional intonation contours are identified: communicative, focusing, delimiting and attitudinal. The four types of intonation contours are based on two pitch levels (high and low) and four contours (falling, rising, rising-falling and level). An unmarked statement typically has a slow downward drift in pitch, otherwise known as declination. Pitch may also be employed for discourse purposes of emphasis. High level pitch is a characteristic of discourse prominence. Enumeration or listing of items, whether lexical or phrasal, typically involves rising intonation.

Focalisation and emphasis may involve level (high or low), high falling or rising-falling intonation. Pitch prominence may reside within the stressed syllable or extend over the phonetic word. With the rise-fall intonation, the locus may be the stressed syllable or the
rise may be aligned with the stressed syllable with the fall taking place on the post-nuclear syllable, e.g. on a functional affix.

Attitudinal intonation has to do with subjective or speaker-oriented attitudes and emotions. The class of utterance final particles represented by be, ru, ko and u frequently take a stylised intonational contour involving a high level pitch and increased duration.

Imperatives may be divided into strong, such as commands, and weak, such as requests and invitations. The shape of a strong imperative intonation contour is a rapid fall ending with a falling tone. An invitation or weak imperative has a gradual fall with the final syllable ending on an overall high level tone. Compare the following two contrastive examples. In example (1), which is friendly or invitational, the intonational pattern is falling with the final word pronounced on a high level tone. In example (2), which is a command, the overall intonation of the sentence is falling.

1. **m ca-li lo.**
   rice eat-INF come
   Come and eat.

2. **iso lo!**
   hither come
   Come here!

Questions may be divided into those employing local intonation such as question words and utterance-final interrogative particles, and global intonation with yes-no questions and echo questions, which employ rising intonation. Tag questions occur in the form of a statement or declarative with the final particle pronounced with rising intonation, i.e. as a separate intonation unit.

2.5 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony, whereby a syllable copies the vowel of another syllable in its immediate vicinity, occurs marginally in Dhimal. If the
matrix vowel is a diphthong, then only the initial vowel is copied. The harmonic assimilation typically moves forward to affect a preceding syllable. Vowel harmony occurs most commonly with the negative prefix <ma->, though compare the pronunciations of eʔ-ghuri ~ iʔ-ghirin ‘one moment’; and mako [ma’ko] ‘it is not so’ vs. makunu [’makunu] ‘isn’t that so?’. This phenomenon does not appear to be widespread and may simply be an affectation of young girls, as all the examples presented here were spoken by two sisters aged 8 and 12. Nevertheless, this phenomenon may have important diachronic implications.

3  me-leder.
    NEG-be.shy
    Don’t be shy.

4  mu-gupugupu-khe.
    NEG-be.sweltering-IMPF
    It’s not sweltering out.

5  mi-tiŋ-nha-kha.
    NEG-see-MID-IMPF.1s
    I don’t see it.

6  doʔ-li  mi-gi-khe-na!
    say-INF  NEG-know.how-IMPF-2
    You don’t know how to say it!

7  mo-goi-aŋ.
    NEG-must-FUT
    It won’t be necessary.

There are two examples in my data where a morpheme other than the negative prefix undergoes vowel assimilation. In example (8) with the verb mhituli ‘to be hungry’, the harmonic assimilation to high back vowel moves forward to affect the high front vowel of the initial syllable. In example (9), on the other hand, the vowel harmonic
assimilation moves out in both directions from the root of the verb *khiŋli* ‘to cook’, affecting both the negative prefix <-ma-> and the future suffix <-aŋ>.

8  *mhutu-hoi-na?*

    be.hungry-PERF-2

    Are you hungry yet?

9  *mi-khin-iŋ.*

    NEG-cook-FUT

    She won’t cook [them].

2.6 Variation

Phonemic and lexical variation occur between dialect areas, villages, families, generations and continues down to the individual level. Dialect differences will not be discussed here, though some of the variation within a village may be accounted for in part by dialect mixture, e.g. *lekhara* vs. *lesara* ‘behind’ and *dopha* vs. *dosa* ‘with’. Distinct pronunciations may involve a shift in stress, phonemic assimilation and morphemic allophony: *camindi* [ˈcamindi ~ ca’mindi ~ ‘camdi] ‘daughter’; *eʔloŋ* [eʔloŋ ~ eʔnoŋ ~ enoŋ] ‘one’ and *nheʔloŋ* [nheʔloŋ ~ nheʔnoŋ ~ nhenoŋ] ‘two’; *jamal* [ja’mal ~ jam’bal] ‘child’. Other variations involve not only a change in quality, but also a reordering of the segments: *mursini* [‘mursini] vs. *munsuri* [mun’uri] ‘raptor sp.’ and *khinjara* [‘khnjara] vs. *khirinja* [khi’rinja] ‘retted jute stalk’.

Distinct layers of loans attest to the influence of two different Indo-Aryan sub-branches. The older generation and the less educated tend to employ the Maithili or Bengali pronunciations, both of which belong to the Magadhan group. More common among the younger generation and those more educated is the Nepali pronunciation, which belongs to the Western Indic group. Compare the older Magadhan loans with the more recent Nepali variants: *mon* vs. *mən ‘heart, feelings’, *baʔsar* vs. *bərsa ‘year’, and *jobapha* vs. *jəwaph ‘answer’. Nepali loans are also replacing previous Magadhan loans
among younger speakers: \textit{bis} vs. \textit{kuri} ‘twenty, score’ and \textit{dhat} vs. \textit{andhasata} ‘lie’.

2.7 Writing system

Dhimals do not have a unique orthography and instead use the Devanāgarī script. Adapted by Dhimals for writing their language, Devanāgarī is able to accommodate most all of the phonemes of this Tibeto-Burman sound system. The only phoneme not covered by this script is the glottal stop /Ɂ/. Devanāgarī, however, does have a separate set of letters for word initial vowels and it is these letters that some authors conscript to serve duty as markers for this phoneme. Others have proposed using a colon for long vowels and a dash [-] to indicate the glottal stop. Unfortunately, these conventions are also sometimes used to indicate vowel length. And while Devanāgarī provides for a distinction between long and short vowels, Dhimal writers do not consistently mark this feature.
CHAPTER THREE

NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

Morphology of the Dhimal noun phrase will be treated in this section, beginning with the major derivational processes, nominalisation, adjectives and gender. This will be followed by the category of number, including numerals, classifiers and measure words. The section will conclude with an examination of pronominals, reflexives, postpositions and comparatives.

3.1 Nouns

Dhimal nouns may be monomorphemic or polymorphemic. Many polymorphemic nouns are made up of recognisable compounds containing either another lexical noun or an affix. Compounding may be coordinate or attributive. Coordinate nouns incorporate contrasting or coordinate pairs of a cognitive domain. For example, human relationships may be viewed as those standing in either the relation \( a \) or the relation \( b \), together forming one of the axes of the relationship. Others are complementary pairs of states or activities, that is, ones that have a relationship to each other such as frequent co-occurrence.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aba-amai} & \quad \text{parents} & (\text{aba} \ ‘\text{father}’ + \text{amai} \ ‘\text{mother}’) \\
\text{bai-one} & \quad \text{sisters} & (\text{bai} \ ‘\text{elder sister}’ + \text{one} \ ‘\text{y. sibling}’) \\
\text{me-one} & \quad \text{brothers} & (\text{me} \ ‘\text{elder brother} + \text{one} \ ‘\text{y. sibling}’) \\
\text{kha:ka-di:ka} & \quad \text{flavours} & (\text{kha:ka} \ ‘\text{bitter}’ + \text{di:ka} \ ‘\text{sweet}’) \\
\text{le:ka-be?ka} & \quad \text{music} & (\text{le:ka} \ ‘\text{song} + \text{be?ka} \ ‘\text{drumming}’)
\end{align*}
\]
The term ‘attributive compound’ here refers to compound formations in which the first element, whether a nominal or verbal root, semantically modifies the second element, invariably a nominal, to produce a unique meaning. The modifier generally precedes the modified.

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{bhemti} & \quad \text{sweat} & (\textit{bhem} \ ‘\text{heat’} + \textit{ti} \ ‘\text{liquid’}) \\
\textit{bejan} & \quad \text{girl} & (\textit{be} \ ‘\text{female’} + \textit{jan} \ ‘\text{youth’}) \\
\textit{misihå} & \quad \text{eyeball} & (\textit{mi} \ ‘\text{eye’} + \textit{sihå} \ ‘\text{seed’}) \\
\textit{mimui} & \quad \text{eyelash} & (\textit{mi} \ ‘\text{eye’} + \textit{mui} \ ‘\text{body hair’})
\end{align*}
\]

Many common nouns, especially those for animals, appear to have a suffix <-a> ~ <-ya>: kiya ‘chicken’, laya ‘rhinoceros’, paya ‘pig’, dama ‘path’. This morpheme is often deleted when the root takes an affix, such as can ‘son, offspring’: kiya > kican ‘chick’ and paya > pacan ‘piglet’. A similar suffix is seen in place names and pet names for people: tin ghor (three house) > tinghoriya (village name), asi lal > asiya, khusi lal > khusiya. While homophonous, it is possible that we are dealing with two different etyma: the first of Tibeto-Burman provenance and the second a morphemic borrowing from Maithili, which has a non-honorific suffix <-ya> (cf. Bickel et al 1999).

3.1.1 Nominalisation

Basic morph: <-ka>  
Label: NOM

The most common method of creating a nominal is through the nominalising suffix <-ka>, which is affixed to a verb stem to derive gerundives, doer and abstract nouns, and adjectives. This productive affix is also widely used to derive nominals with the meaning ‘one who V/thing that V’. Verbs negated by the prefix <ma-> are also free to undergo nominalisation.

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{el-li} & \quad \text{to be good, pretty} \\
\textit{el-ka} & \quad \text{attractive, goodness}
\end{align*}
\]
Nominalised verbs have virtually all the same properties as non-derived nominals. They may take the plural suffix and be marked for case.

\[
\begin{align*}
&si-li \text{ do-li} \quad \text{to be able to die} \\
&si-li \text{ ma-do-ka} \quad \text{someone unable to die, an evil person}
\end{align*}
\]

Nominalised verbs have virtually all the same properties as non-derived nominals. They may take the plural suffix and be marked for case.

\[
\begin{align*}
&khar-li \quad \text{to cry} \\
&khar-ka-lai \quad \text{the crying ones}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&bujhe-li \quad \text{to understand} \\
&bujhe-ka-lai-he\text{ŋ} \quad \text{to those who understand}
\end{align*}
\]

When the nominalised verb acts as an adjective, it generally precedes the noun it modifies. When the nominalised verb follows the nominal, it represents a relative phrase. Nominalised verbs created with this suffix form the basis of relative clauses.

\[
\begin{align*}
&poto-ka nhat\text{ŋ} \quad \text{small ears} \\
&nhat\text{ŋ} \text{ poto-ka} \quad \text{small-eared one}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&rhi\text{ŋ}-ka pus\text{iŋ} \quad \text{long hair} \\
&pus\text{iŋ} \text{ rhi\text{ŋ}-ka} \quad \text{long-haired one}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&rhi\text{ŋ}-ka nhapu \quad \text{a long nose} \\
&nhapu rhi\text{ŋ}-ka \quad \text{long-nosed one, a pompous person}
\end{align*}
\]

Thus, the order determines whether the nominalised verb is acting as an adjective or as a relativised clause.

10  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{tole} \quad bo:-ka \quad khan\text{-khe.} \\
&\text{flour} \quad \text{grind-NOM} \quad \text{watch-IMPF}
\end{align*}
\]

She is watching the flour grinding.
CHAPTER THREE

11  \textit{kican bar-ka cum-pu-hi!}
    chick big-NOM take-DIST-P
    It carried away a chick – a great big one!

Other nominalising suffixes are attested such as the morphemes \textit{<-sa>}, \textit{<-siŋ>}, \textit{<-na>} and \textit{<-ma>}, but their use is much more limited and they do not appear to be productive: \textit{phe:li} ‘to sweep’ > \textit{phesa} ‘broom, \textit{atuili} ‘to be small’ > \textit{atuisa} ‘a little bit’; \textit{bha?li} ‘to attack’ > \textit{bha?siŋ} ‘reason’; \textit{bo?li} ‘to wear’ > \textit{bo?na} ‘female garment’, \textit{te?pali} ‘to cause to adhere’ > \textit{te?pana} ‘male garment’, \textit{oili} ‘to wind’ > \textit{oina} ‘skein winder’; \textit{bherma} ‘wind’ (from archaic \textit{bherli} ‘to fly).

3.1.2 Adjectives

Adjectives in Dhimal are created for the most part by affixing the nominalising suffix \textit{<-ka>} to a verb stem. Attributive adjectives generally precede the head nouns which they modify and are formally identical to relative clauses followed by a head noun. Adjectives not ending with the nominalising suffix \textit{<-ka>} appear largely to be borrowings.\footnote{Nono ‘unfermented’ is the only one not borrowed that I know of.} Attributive adjectives do not inflect for case or number.

12  \textit{rem-ka wajan}
    good-NOM boy
    good boy

13  \textit{ma-ta:-ka biha}
    NEG-be.tasty-NOM meat
    tasteless meat

14  \textit{da:-ka mundha}
    black-NOM stump
    blackened stump
To use an adjective predlicatively, <-ka> is suffixed to the verb stem which is followed by the auxiliary verb hili. This construction is structurally equivalent to the periphrastic resultative, with the nominalised verb acting as a headless noun phrase. The underlying structure in this type of construction is actually one of relativisation. Hence, remka wajan literally means ‘the boy who is good’ (the good one, the boy).

15 bhətiya ta:-ka hi-hi.
   rice.beer tasty-NOM be-P
   The rice beer is tasty.

16 obalai poto-ka hi-hi
   theyP be.short-NOM be-P
   TheyP are short.

Adjectives may be intensified either by means of a lexical intensifier: menaŋ akheʔka ‘really dirty’; with a shift in stress, pitch and duration: barKə ‘really big’, oso ‘way over there’; through reduplication: atuika ‘small’ > atutuika ‘very small’, remka ‘good’ > reremka ‘very good’; or with the emphatic clitic <-ŋ>: remkaŋ ‘very good.

The emphatic clitic <-ŋ> occurs primarily with adjectives, adverbs and possessive pronouns. This clitic intensifies the meaning of the word.

17 naŋ-ko-ŋ!
   you8.OBL-GEN-EMP
   It’s your8 very own!

18 tai-ko-ŋ saʔ manthu.
   REF-GEN-EMP house NEG.EXT
   [I] don’t have [my] own house.

19 edoi kəmpəni rem-ka-ŋ manthu.
   this company good-NOM-EMP NEG.EXT
   This company is not very good.
20 insa-ŋ pa-li ma-el.
   like.that-EMP do-INF NEG-be.proper
   One shouldn’t do it just like that.

21 kaŋ-ko bhai-pa-ŋ dhir-pa-khe.
   LOBL-GEN be.like-do-EMP learn-do-IMPF
   [She] teaches just like me.

Some adjectives exist only in reduplicated form and may represent calques or borrowings from Indo-Aryan languages. Here the initial consonant of the reduplicated form is changed to /ml/ or if the word begins in a vowel /ml/ is added: khijirimijirika ‘rough’; tetemeteka ‘tight’; kirimirika ‘unruly, messy’; sikeumikeupa ‘crawling with, lousy with’; adirmadirka ‘any old kind’. Another type occurs only in a reduplicated or ablauting reduplicated form: malamalaka ‘fragrant’; kabarkuburka ‘colourful’.

The diminutive morpheme <co>:² may be affixed to adjectives or adverbs describing taste and colour to encode a decreased intensity. In my corpus, <co:> is always reduplicated: kha:pa ‘bitterly’ > kha:co:co:pa ‘bitterishly’; i:ka ‘red’ > i:co:co:ka ‘reddish’; di:co:co:hi ‘It was sort of sweet.’. Note also kha:di:di:ka ‘bittersweet’.

Dhimal has four native lexemes for colour terms: da:ka ‘black’, yauka ‘yellow’, i:ka ‘red’ and je:ka ‘white’. Colours that fall between these are derived from the four basic colours. da:ka ‘black’ covers the range from black and dark brown, to dark purple and blue. The term i:ka ‘red’ ranges from red to reddish brown. The term for orange is derived from red: i:tatarpa, while pink is i:lalhaipa. These last two terms commonly occur with the suffix <pa>, which is used to generate adverbials, rather than the nominalising suffix <ka>.

---

² This morpheme appears to be cognate to the Limbu cuk-ma? ‘be small’.
3.1.3 Gender

Gender is only marked on animate nouns or body parts of animate beings, and even then generally only with humans. The most common Dhimal morphemes that indicate gender are the masculine <wa> and feminine <be>. These morphemes occur both as prefixes and as suffixes: wabal ‘man’, wajan ‘boy’, but juwa ‘father-in-law’, mhawa ‘son-in-law’, nuwa ‘older sister’s husband’; and bebal ‘woman’ bejan ‘girl’, besa ‘wife’s younger sister’s husband, but jube ‘mother-in-law’. An older full form <be?> of the female morpheme <be> is still found in Dhimal as an independent lexeme in the term be? ‘wife’.

Even though the process of marking gender on humans is widespread, two common kinship terms are not marked for gender: one ‘younger sibling’ (vocative anau) and boi ‘parent’s older sibling’. Note also the marking of gender for physical characteristics: limui ‘female pubic hair’ and tamui ‘male pubic hair’. Some of the nouns that are marked for gender are Indo-Aryan loanwords, with masculine endings in /a/ and feminine endings in /i/, e.g. nokula and nokuli ‘phoney person’ or ‘brat’. Many of the Dhimal kinship terms fall into this category.

- mamai-mami: mother’s younger brother and his wife
- mausi-mausa: mother’s younger sister and her husband
- peusai-peusa: father’s younger sister and her husband
- kaka-kaki: father’s younger brother and his wife

Animals may be marked for gender with distinct lexical items: dhangai ‘rooster’, bhundi ‘hen’, telhi ‘poulet’, and panthi ‘boar/buck’ and panthi ‘sow/doe’, which occur as nouns and as adjectives – pantha me?sa ‘billy goat’, bhundi kiya ‘hen’.³ If a specific lexical term is lacking, the gender may be specified with the generic animal gender terms danjkha ‘male’ and maini ‘female’, e.g. danjkha juhã ‘male rat’, maini juhã ‘female rat’.

³ Some of these gender-specified animal terms may be borrowings from Indo-Aryan languages.
3.2 Number

Nouns in Dhimal are unmarked for the category of number. The exception to this rule is personal pronouns which are obligatorily marked for number. Also, it is only in personal pronouns that dual number is distinguished. For the remainder, however, an unmarked noun may have a singular or plural referent. As the following examples show, unmarked nominals may indeed be notionally plural.

22 misteri nhe?-mi khunti ja?-pa-ten ara ce: -khe.
craftsmen two-HCL sawhorse stand-do-SEQ saw cut-IMPF
Two craftsmen set up a sawhorse and are sawing.

23 ede cudur nham-li thale-hi.
this snail smell-INF begin-P
These snails are starting to smell.

24 gai gho:-ka-ta-ŋ gho:-ka-ta-ŋ belha?-hi la.
cow tend-NOM-LOC-EMP tend-NOM-LOC-EMP be.dusk-P MIR
While tending the cows, evening set in.

Rai-PL be.small-NOM house build-IMPF REFR
The Rai people build small houses, you know.

3.2.1 Plural

basic morph: <-lai> ~ <-gelai>
label: PL

A speaker may choose to encode the notion of manifoldness, an inherently indefinite number encompassing the notions of plurality and indefiniteness, through suffixation and reduplication. Hence, morphological structures used to encode plurality or manifoldness function broadly to include semantics of indefiniteness,
approximateness and groupability. In some nominals the plural form has become lexicalised.

When a speaker chooses to encode the notion of plurality, then the suffix <-gelai>, sometimes pronounced <-galai>, or its allomorph <-lai> is employed. The allomorph <-lai> is non-productive and occurs only with a closed set: nominalised verbs and human referents, especially personal pronouns. The terms for several ethnic groups fall into this category: dhimal > dhemalai ‘Dhimals’, kamal > kamalai ‘the Rajbangsi’; but compare the non-native term tharu > tharugelai ‘the Tharu’. Note also bejan ‘girl’ > bejalai ‘girls’, wajan ‘boy’ > wajalai ‘boys’, bebal ‘woman’ > bebalai ‘women’, wabal ‘man’ > wabalai ‘men’; but warang > warangelai ‘old men’.

In the following examples, all of the nominals marked with the plural suffix are notionally singular. The first indicates an indefinite girl, perhaps because she is unknown or her identity is unimportant. The other two examples with singular referents but plural marking indicate groupability or membership in a group.

26 wa beja-lai khaʔ-pa-teŋ cum-pu-hi.
   3s girl-PL flee-do-SEQ take-DIST-P
   He eloped with a girl and took her away.

27 dhemal-lai doŋ!
   Dhimal-PL FOC
   It was a Dhimal!

28 bhut-gelai ya!
   ghost-PL 3s
   This one is some kind of a ghost!

Time adverbials may also be marked with the plural suffix to indicate approximate time.

29 tin baje-gelai lo-ā.
   three o’clock-PL come-FUT.1s
   I’ll come around 3 o’clock.
Some nouns may take double marking in the plural, e.g. *bejalaigelai* ‘the girls’ or ‘all the girls’. Although the semantics involved are not entirely clear, this double plural marking seems to indicate the totality of a set and is apparently limited to human referents which may take the plural morpheme <-lai>. When double plural marking does occur, the sequence of the morphemes is always <-lai> and then <-gelai>.

Dhimal also employs the plural suffix to encode semantics of a group of related objects, i.e. ‘and such’. These nominals are inherently manifold and the plural is not normally used here.

The notion of a set of related objects may be encoded with an echo formation. This type of construction is a transparent calque from the Indo-Aryan languages.
Plurality may also be indicated through reduplication, most commonly with interrogative pronouns, and as example (37) illustrates, both reduplication and suffixation may co-occur to indicate the entire set.

35 jhoraʔ-ko ali ali care-gil-gha-khe.
river-GEN side side graze-IM-PIMPF-IMPF
They went around grazing on the river banks.

36 hiso hiso hi-gil-ka hi-nha?
whither whither be-IM-NOM AUX-P.2
Where all have you travelled?

37 waran-waran-gelai jom-teŋ bisar pa-li goi-khe.
oldman-oldman-PL collect-SEQ thought do-INF must-IMPF
All the old men must gather and decide.

There is a small group of lexicalised plurals that may be used with singular referents. For example, the nominal mhaigelai ‘female evil spirit’ only occurs with plural marking, as does makhalai ‘mussel’, bansalai ‘guest’, khamalai ‘relative’ and milai ‘couple, pair’. Here again, the plural suffix encodes manifoldness or groupability.⁴

38 bansalai lo-hi.
guest come-P
Guest(s) arrived.

39 wa kaŋ-ko khamalai.
3s I.OBL-GEN clan.relative
He is my relative.

⁴ Note also kekalaiti ‘egg yolk’ from archaic keka ‘chicken’, ongalaiti ‘firefly’ and domalai ‘in the future’.

jamalai-samalai children and such
jholə-sola bags and things
There appears to be another affix that indicates a group of people associated with the person to whom it is suffixed. The suffix `<soʔkho>` occurs only with person names, e.g. `kumar-soʔkho` ‘Kumar and his associates or family’. No further information on this morpheme is available at present.

3.2.2 Numerals

Three different counting systems are used in Dhimal. Choice of system is dependent in part on the speaker’s age and the sociolinguistic context. The oldest system employs an archaic vigesimal system, and is still in use by the older generation, especially women. The native lexicon for numerals is limited to the numbers one through ten. Ordinal numbers are not attested. The cardinal numbers are given below in citation form. The morpheme `<loŋ>` is a generic classifier.

\[
\begin{align*}
eʔ-loŋ & \quad \text{one} \\
nheʔ-loŋ & \quad \text{two} \\
sum-loŋ & \quad \text{three} \\
dya-loŋ & \quad \text{four} \\
nə-loŋ & \quad \text{five} \\
tu-loŋ & \quad \text{six} \\
nhįʔ-loŋ & \quad \text{seven} \\
yeʔ-loŋ & \quad \text{eight} \\
kohą-loŋ & \quad \text{nine} \\
te-loŋ & \quad \text{ten}
\end{align*}
\]

Numbers above ten in this system, generally small roundish objects, may be counted in groups of four using the classifier `<ganda>` or `<gandi>`, an Indo-Aryan loan.\(^5\) This system should be considered archaic as it is only used by the older generation.

\[
\begin{align*}
eʔ-\text{ganda tui} & \quad \text{four eggs}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^5\) A vigesimal counting system was apparently in use throughout the Brahmaputra river basin.
nheʔ-ganda kican          eight chicks
nheʔ-ganda sum-loŋ          eleven
sum-ganda                   twelve (round objects)
sum-ganda eʔ-loŋ            thirteen
sum-ganda nheʔ-loŋ          fourteen
sum-ganda sum-loŋ           fifteen
dya-ganda                   sixteen
dya-ganda eʔ-loŋ            seventeen
dya-ganda nheʔ-loŋ          eighteen
dya-ganda sum-loŋ           nineteen
na-ganda                    twenty

More commonly, however, the numbers employed for eleven through nineteen are direct Indo-Aryan loans. Note that these loan numerals lack a classifier in citation form.

egharə                      eleven
barə                        twelve
tera                        thirteen
cəudhə                      fourteen
pəndhrə                     fifteen
sərə                        sixteen
sətrə                       seventeen
əθhərə                      eighteen
unais                       nineteen

For the numbers twenty and beyond, Dhimals traditionally count in scores, though there is increasing pressure from the Nepali numerals. The number for twenty may be inherited from the proposed proto-Tibeto-Burman *kul, but is more likely borrowed from Indo-Aryan. The numbers for one hundred and above are all Indo-Aryan loans.

eʔʔ-kuri                    twenty

---

6 Bengali has kuri for twenty, though does not count in scores.
3.2.3 Classifiers and measure words

basic morph:  
label: HCL
basic morph:  
label: CL
Dhimal groups counted objects into two primary categories: human and non-human, although as will be noted, the split is not always so neat. The classifiers used to indicate these categories are the human classifier <-mi> and the generic classifier <-loŋ>.

The human classifier <-mi> is only used with counted humans or characters in tales that have human characteristics, such as the power of speech. This classifier may also stand without a head noun.

40  *ede*  *nhe?-mi*  *ropa*  *thiŋ-khe*.
   this two-HCL transplanting transplant-IMPF
   These two people are transplanting rice.

41  *uŋko*  *miliŋ*  *e?-mi*  *pi?-teŋ*  *ca-li*  *ma-nin-anŋ*.
   that land one-HCL sell-SEQ eat-INF NEG-get-FUT
   One person may not profit from the sale of that land.

42  *e?-mi-heŋ*  *la?-pi-ka*  *hi-ka-ta*  *bhenetŋ  wajan*.
   one-HCL-DAT quit-DAT-NOM be-NOM-LOC other boy

   *dopha*  *haneru...*
   COM  go-COND
   If someone leaves someone and runs off with another boy...

The generic classifier <-loŋ> is used with counted animals and things from one to ten, except when the counted object is a time or quantity measurement:  *e?-loŋ*  *paya* ‘one pig’ vs.  *e?-mi* ‘one day’ and  *e?-toi* ‘one piece’. When the generic classifier occurs with the numbers ‘one’ and ‘two’, it may occur as its allomorph <-noŋ> for some speakers.

43  *pəndhrə*  *sai*  *gai*  *bəstukö*  *bhar*.
   fifteen hundred cow animal-GEN load

---

7 The morpheme <-mi> is cognate to the word *mi* meaning ‘man’ or ‘person’ in many Tibeto-Burman languages, while the classifier <-loŋ> appears to derive from the proposed proto-Tibeto-Burman *r-loŋ ‘stone’.
A bird carried off a load of fifteen hundred cows.

Upon seeing two roads there...

Some human nouns are also marked with the generic classifier <-loŋ> rather than with the human classifier <-mi>. The use of the generic classifier with human referents appears to be most frequent with the introduction of brand new referents in discourse. In example (45), both the generic and human classifiers <-loŋ> and <-mi> occur in the same sentence with human referents.

There once was an old man who had five daughters.

One son and two daughters were born.

There once was an old couple.

And so an old woman was sweeping the ground, they say.

For numerals eleven through nineteen, the Indo-Aryan classifier <-wada> occurs as the non-human classifier, though the modern spoken transphonologised Nepali loan suffix <-ota> is typically used by younger speakers.
NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

49  dəs barə-ota  tui-khe.
    ten eleven-CL  lay.egg-IMPF
It lays ten or eleven eggs.

Other common measure words are the Indo-Aran loans for quantitative measures for foodstuffs (mana, pela, ser), time (baje, həpta, mahina and ba?sar) and money (taka). These do not occur with a classifier.

50 kelai-ko camindi-heŋ  te-ba?sar  rhum-li  do-a-na?
  we10-GEN daughter-DAT  ten-year  wait  can-FUT-2
Can you8 wait ten years for our9 daughter?

Other referents occasionally occur without a classifier as in the following examples.

51  gota-ŋ  sum  dhir-khe.
  each-EMP  three  learn-IMPF
He’s learning all three.

52  nhe?  khur-so.
  two  hand-EL
With [my] two hands.

3.3 Pronominals

3.3.1 Personal pronouns

The Dhimal pronominal system distinguishes person, number, kinship and spatial location (in 3rd person). Pronominals make no sex distinctions. Use of personal pronouns tends to occur only when emphatic or contrastive. The personal pronominal paradigm is listed below in Diagram 4.
The dual personal pronouns are morphologically the most complex and variable in form. First and second dual consist of the non-singular morphemes <ke-> and <ne->, which undergo vowel harmony when they concatenate with the dual marker <-dhi> and the human marker <-mi>. Third person dual consists of a directional marker along with the dual and human markers. All three persons have less common dual variants that occur with the morpheme <-ni>: kidhinimi, nidhinimi, udhinimi and idhinimi. The dual pronouns also occur in the following oblique forms: kidhĩŋ, nidhĩŋ and odhĩŋ.

The first and second person plural pronouns are made up of the non-singular morphemes <ke-> and <ne-> and the plural morpheme <-lai>. The third person plural forms are made up of a directional marker, the morpheme <-bal>, indicating a human referent, and the plural marker <-lai>.

Third person has distal and proximal forms in the singular, dual and plural, while plural also makes a distal distinction. The wa forms are unmarked. The ya forms tend to occur with non-human referents or somewhat pejoratively with humans. Third person referents may also be indicated by the distal and remote demonstrative pronouns iŋko and uŋko.

First and second person singular have marked affinal forms kya and nya respectively. These pronouns are only used between affinal kin groups. Kya and nya represent archaic first person and second person plural pronouns and reflexes of these morphemes are visible in the dual and plural pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>affinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>kidhimi</td>
<td>kelai</td>
<td>kya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>nidhimi</td>
<td>nelai</td>
<td>nya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 proximal</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>udhimi</td>
<td>obalai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 distal</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>idhimi</td>
<td>ebalai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diagram 4 Personal pronouns
3.3.2 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns in Dhimal are listed below in Diagram 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>affinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kaŋ(ko)</td>
<td>kidhiŋ(ko)</td>
<td>kelaiko</td>
<td>kiŋ(ko)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>naŋ(ko)</td>
<td>nidhiŋ(ko)</td>
<td>nelaiko</td>
<td>niŋ(ko)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wako</td>
<td>odhiŋ(ko)</td>
<td>obalaiko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 proximal</td>
<td>yako</td>
<td>idhiŋ(ko)</td>
<td>ebalaiko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 distal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>imbalaiko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diagram 5 Possessive pronouns

The first and second person singular and the dual possessive pronouns have distinct oblique forms. In addition to the genitive suffix <-ko>, these forms contain a nasal suffix. Third person singular possessive is often pronounced oko (rarely as waŋko), while dual possessive pronouns also occur as kidhimiko, nidhimiko, odhimiko and idhimiko. The marking of possession with a personal pronoun may be unrealised, occur with an unmarked pronoun, with the oblique form or with the full form.

3.3.3 Demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns

3.3.3.1 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns mark a three-way distinction in the perceptual distance of referents: proximal, distal and remote. The paradigm, however, is asymmetrical in that not all possible forms are attested. In many cases only a two-way distinction is made. The primary demonstrative pronouns in Dhimal are listed below in Diagram 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>proximal</th>
<th>distal</th>
<th>remote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>inta</td>
<td>ota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>esa</td>
<td>insa</td>
<td>osa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>esalau</td>
<td></td>
<td>insalau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The salient morphemes for constructing the proximal, distal and remote forms are front vowel, front vowel with nasal and back vowel respectively. Where only a two-way distinction exists, the contrast is between front and back vowels. In some morphemes the vowel may vary between high and mid: *ede* ~ *idi*, *insa* ~ *ensa*, *ota* ~ *uta*. All of these forms also have corresponding interrogative pronouns, with the exception of *ŋko* and *uŋko*.

53 *ede* jhoko m piʔ-nha-khe.
this amount rice sell-1p-IMPF
We sell this much rice.

54 *uŋko* kam pa-li goi-a-na.
that work do-INF must-FUT-2
You’ will have to take care of that business.

55 *ŋko* nheʔ-mi-ko isika desisan jeŋ-hi.
that two-HCL-GEN like.this decision occur-P
Those two came to this kind of decision.

56 *odoŋ* bhaʔsiŋ ka ma-doʔ-t-ä.
that reason I NEG-say-FUT.1s
For that reason, I won’t say.

---

8 These forms have the following respective variants: *edoŋ* and *odoŋ*. 
3.3.3.2 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are given below.

- **hai** what
- **haipali** ~ **haibili** why
- **hasu** who
- **hasuko** whose
- **heta** where
- **hesa** ~ **hesapa** how
- **hede** which
- **hedoi** which very
- **hethe** how much
- **he?mi** how many (people)
- **he?loŋ** how many (things)
- **he?lau** when
- **hiso** where to
- **hisika** what kind

All the question words in Dhimal have the interrogative morphemes <ha-> or <he(?)->. The quantitative interrogative morpheme <he?-> is productive and freely concatenates with borrowed quantitative measures.

- **he?-baje** at what time
- **he?-mahina** how many months
- **he?-taka** how many rupees
- **he?-kosa** how many pods (of bananas)
- **he?-kilo** how many kilos

Interrogative pronouns may be used as indefinite pronouns either alone or with the morpheme **buy** meaning ‘also, even’ or the focus particle **don**.

---

9 **haipali** is transparently made up of the interrogative pronoun **hai** and the infinitival verb **pali** ‘to do’.

10 The unstressed high back vowel **ulu** in **hasuko** is typically whispered [hasuко].
57 hai do?-khe last.
   what say-IMPF last
   Whatever [they] say is final.

58 hasu-heŋ ma-pi anŋ?
   who-DAT NEG-give TAG?
   Don’t give it to anyone, okay?

59 hasu buŋ manthu.
   who also NEG.EXT
   There isn’t anyone [here].

60 hiso buŋ ma-han-ā.
   whither also NEG-go-FUT.1s
   I won’t go anywhere.

61 hai don ma-cā.
   what FOC NEG-eat.FUT.1s
   I don’t want anything to eat.

62 hai don ma-ko.
   what FOC NEG-COP
   It’s nothing.

Another set of indefinite pronouns exists, which consists of the Dhimal interrogative pronoun with an initial Indic relative pronominal loan morpheme /j-/ . This Indo-Aryan-influenced process for creating indefinite forms, however, does not appear to have been carried through fully and some interrogative pronouns do not have a corresponding Indo-Aryan-style indefinite counterpart. These indefinite pronouns are primarily employed as relative pronouns in relative clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>interrogative</th>
<th>indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hai</td>
<td>jai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heta</td>
<td>jeta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.3.3 ‘All’ and ‘other’

The word jharan indicates the totality of a set of referents, generally human ones, and may be used substantively or attributively as in the following examples.

63 jharan taŋ-hi doʔ-khe.
all climb-P say-IMPF
They all climbed up they say.

64 majhi-ko camindi jharan waran-gei-hen seu pa-khe.
chief-GEN daughter all old.man-PL-DAT greet do-IMPF
The headman’s daughter greets all the old men.

65 uŋko mili jharan-ko əilani miliŋ.
that land all-GEN ailani land
That land is everyone’s ailāni land.

When the set of referents is inanimate or non-human, then the Indo-Aryan loan\textsuperscript{12} gota ‘each’ is employed with the emphatic clitic <-ŋ>.

66 gota-ŋ arna diya lo-hi garanguruŋ-pa.
each-EMP arna water.buffalo come-P thunderous-do
All the wild water buffalo came with a thundering roar.

\textsuperscript{11} But note jelau-selau ‘sometimes, occasionally’.
\textsuperscript{12} Bengali has gota and Maithili has gota , both with the meaning ‘each’ or ‘every’. Nepali uses a different morpheme.
CHAPTER THREE

67  wa  tereŋ-bhuti  cum-pu-teŋ  wa  gota-ŋ  cum-pu-hi.
    3s  intestines  take-DIST-SEQ  3s  each-EMP  take-DIST-P
Having brought the large and small intestines, [she] brought it all.

68  gota-ŋ  muisa  hu:-hi  gota-ŋ.
    each-EMP  body.hair  fall.out-P  each-EMP
All [his] body hair fell out, all of it.

The following forms have been identified using the the native root
<bo-> to indicate the meaning of ‘other’: bomi ‘another person, a
different person’, bosa ‘other way’, boso ‘other direction’, bothame
‘other place’. The last form contains the Indo-Aryan loan thame
‘place’.

69  ba  bo-mi-ko  ulka-so  lo-nha  be?
    or  other-HCL-GEN  behest-EL  come-P.2  DUB
Or whether you^ come at another’s behest?

70  bheney  thame  boso  kana  bɔnai-teŋ  buŋ  dha?-li  do-khe.
    other  place  other.way  hole  build-SEQ  also  run-INF  can-IMPF
They can get away through holes built to other places.

71  bo-thame  hane-siŋ.
    other-place  go-ADH.DL
Let’s^ go somewhere else.

3.4 Reflexive

    basic morph: tai
    label: REF

The use of the reflexive morpheme tai is not required and in most
instances the affected body part is simply stated. And like English,
most verbs which take reflexive or middle marking in other languages
are already encoded with reflexive semantics in Dhimal.
72  ciu-hoi-na?
    bathe-PERF-2
    Have you bathed already?

73  darhi  si?-gha.
    beard  shave-P.1s
    I shaved.

74  khur  jha:-hi.
    hand  wash-P.
    He washed his hands.

75  aina-ta  rhai  khaj-hi.
    mirror-LOC  face  look-at-P
    He looked at himself in the mirror.

When a speaker wishes to emphasise reflexive semantics, an analytic construction with the morpheme *tai* is employed. The morpheme *tai* is used contrastively or emphatically, indicating that reference is to a particular participant as opposed to some other one. The reflexive also has a reduplicated form *tatai* with intensive meaning.

76  tatai-miŋ  mili-pa-nha-khe.
    REF-HCL-EMP  be.arranged-do-1p-IMPF
    We arrange it all by ourselves.

77  wa-ko  sanaiti-gelai  tai-ko  dera-ta  hane-hi.
    3s-GEN  friend-PL  REF-GEN  village-LOC  go-IMPF
    His friends went to their own villages.

78  bhagwan  pukar-teŋ  udhinimi  tatai-tatai  suta  dama la?-hi.
    Lord  exclaim-SEQ  theyd  REF-REF  home  road  quit-P
    Exclaiming ‘Lord’, theyd each set out for theird own homes.

---

13 This morpheme is very similar to the Newar reflexive *thau*, to which it may also be cognate.
One must leave one’s own home and go abroad.

3.5 Postpositions and case marking

Syntactically, most of the case markers in Dhimal function as affixes, though two function on a phrasal rather than a lexical level, indicating their morphological status as clitics. Two case markers function as independent words and appear to be of a relatively recent origin as evidenced by their phonological bulk and morphosyntactic behaviour.

3.5.1 Genitive

The genitive marks a possessive relation between nominals and is realised as the suffix <-ko>. The genitive construction generally follows a dependent-head ordering pattern, though they may also come at the end of an utterance for pragmatic reasons. Just as in French, possessive pronouns are often omitted with body parts except when emphatic or contrastive. In these cases, exactly whose body part is affected must be derived from context.

[Her] mouth is closed.

It is biting [him] on the leg.

Rub [my] back.
In the following example, the owner of the body part is indicated because its referent is important to the story. Whereas in subsequent references, the possessor of the body part is left unmarked.

83 *ede kaŋ-ko gandi-ta gha-se do?-hi do?-khe.*
   this I.OBL-GEN back-LOC play-IMP.DL say-P say-IMPF
   ‘Play on this back of mine,’ she said.

The genitive suffix may be omitted when the relation is clear or rather, when there is a strong degree of conceptual dependence between the dependent and the head: *nelai dera* ‘your^p village’, *naŋ bai* ‘your^s elder sister’, *kaŋ one* ‘my younger sibling’. This usage is most often found with first and second person pronouns.

84 *na kaŋ-ko ciṭṭhi pi-pu-li do-a-na*
   you^s I.OBL-GEN letter give-DIST-INF be.able-FUT-2
   kaŋ suta?
   I.OBL home
   Can you^s take my letter to my home?

85 *e manise o na kidhiŋ-ko pheʔ-su-ka*
   oh person o you^s we^d.OBL-GEN beat-COL-NOM
   tiŋ-nha wa la.
   see-P.2 DED MIR
   Oh mister, perhaps you^s saw our^d fight.

86 *hasu-ko hi-hi la ṭiko pusinŋ la?*
   who-GEN be-P MIR that hair MIR
   Whose hair is that then?

The genitive suffix may co-occur with other case markers in headless noun phrases.
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87 wa-ko-ta khudra-paisa manthu.
3s-GEN-LOC change-money NEG.EXT
He doesn’t have any change.

88 indira didi-ko-ta phon pa-teŋ khanŋ-lau
Indira older.sister-GEN-LOC phone do-SEQ try-TEM

‘yo hoina’ do?-hi.
yo hoina say-P
When I tried to phone Indira didi at her place, I got the wrong number.

89 betai-ko-hoi bɔnai-khe.
rattan-GEN-INST make-IMPF
They make it out of rattan.

The genitive is also used in relative clauses to mark the agent or possessor of the action.

90 kaŋ-ko do?-li goi-ka katha…
I.OBL-GEN say-INF must-NOM word
What I have to say is…

91 naŋ-ko paya pose-ka pi?-hoi la mɔ?
you⁵.OBL-GEN pig raise-NOM sell-PERF MIR TAG
They sold the pig that you⁵ raised, right?

92 e insa naŋ-ko buŋ be? bho:-ka
oh thus you⁵.OBL-GEN also wife search-NOM

bela jeŋ-hoi?!
time become-PERF
Oh, so it’s time for you⁵ to look for a wife too then?!

Dhimal also uses the genitive in a calque of the Nepali postpositional phrase -ko bāre-mā, meaning ‘about, regarding’.
93 na hai-ko bare-ta katha pa-khe-na?
you\textsuperscript{s} what-GEN bare-LOC talk do-IMPF-2
What are you\textsuperscript{s} talking about?

94 na hai do?-khe-na ku-nu ede-ko bare-ta
you\textsuperscript{s} what say-IMPF-2 COP-COND this-GEN bare-LOC
What do you\textsuperscript{s} say about this then?

3.5.2 Locative

basic morph:  <-ta>
label:  LOC

The locative marker <-ta> is predominately suffixed to inanimate
nominals to mark spatial or temporal location with the meaning ‘on’,
‘in’ or ‘at’. In the following examples, the locative marks spatial
location.

95 idi bejan sim-ta tole bo:-khe.
this girl mortar-LOC flour grind-IMPF
This girl is grinding flour in the mortar.

96 istu ci-ta thi-kha.
much water-LOC be.afraid-IMPF.1s
I get afraid in a lot of water.

97 urai-teŋ siŋ-ta nho?-khe.
fly-SEQ tree-LOC alight-IMPF
It flew up and is landing in a tree.

98 dama-ko dihē-ta apis hi-gha-khe.
road-GEN east-LOC office be-PIMPF-IMPF
The office was on the east side of the road.
The locative marker <-ta> may also be used to encode temporal location.

99  heʔ-ni-ta  thikaʔ-khe-na  suta?
    how many day LOC  arrive IMPF 2 home
How many days does it take to get to your home?

100  kalau  nhisiŋ-ta  wa  iŋko  jim-li  te
     so  night LOC  3s  that  sleep INF  TOP

   do-ka  manthu  la.
   can NOM  NEG  EXT  MIR
In the night then, he was unable to sleep.

101  sita  ci  naŋ-li  hane-ka  bela-ta...
    Sitā  water  fetch INF  go NOM  time LOC
When Sitā went to fetch water...

The locative marker is also used with nominalised verbs to mark temporal location that extends over a period of time. Here, the nominalised verb may be repeated numerous times.

102  hai  pa-hi  doʔ-ka-ta-ŋ  hi-nha-khe.
    what  do P  say NOM LOC EMP  be 1p IMPF
We keep saying, ‘what did he do?’

103  idoi  doʔ-ka  cij-gelai  gota-ŋ  laŋi  jhoraʔ-ta
    this  say NOM  thing PL  each EMP  Laŋi  river LOC

   fish  catch NOM LOC  crab  pull out NOM LOC  get IMPF
These things that [I] said are all available while fishing and crabbing in the Laŋi river.

104  mhoʔ-ka-ta-ŋ  mhoʔ-ka-ta-ŋ
    blow NOM LOC EMP  blow NOM LOC EMP
mhoʔ-ka-ta-ŋ duhã ole-khe.
blow-NOM-LOC-EMP smoke emerge-IMPF
Blowing, and blowing, and blowing, and blowing, smoke emerges.

The locative also co-occurs with many lexical locatives of the English type ‘on top of’ and ‘on the bottom of’. The last two locatives in the list below are concatenations of Indo-Aryan postpositions and the Dhimal locative.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rhuta} & \quad \text{above} \\
\text{leta} & \quad \text{below} \\
\text{liʔta} & \quad \text{inside} \\
\text{cemtaŋ} & \quad \text{near} \\
\text{majhaʔta} & \quad \text{between} \\
\text{agaʔta ~ agari} & \quad \text{in front}
\end{align*}
\]

These locatives may indicate stative location or movement to a location.

105 liʔta hai doŋ manthu.
inside what FOC NEG:EXT
There is nothing inside.

106 wa jhar liʔta dul-hi.
3s forest inside enter-P
He went into the forest.

107 wa siŋ rhuta taŋ-hi.
3s tree above climb-P
He climbed up the tree.

Lexical locatives may occur without a nominal or with other case markers.
108 *khu? leta!*
descend below
Come down here!

109 *ŋko beray leta gha-li ma-pi-tey*
that old.woman below play-INF NEG-give-SEQ

*kusti gandi-ta gha-pa-hi do?-khe la.*
wrestle back-LOC play-do-P say-IMPF MIR
Not letting them do it below, that old woman made them wrestle on her back they say.

110 *rhuta-so te bubkak-bukbak-pa hul-khe an.
above-EL TOP plop-plop-do fall-IMPF FOC1* 
From above, things are falling kerplop kerplop, they say.

3.5.3 Instrumental

basic morph: &lt;-hoi&gt;
label: INST

The morpheme &lt;-hoi&gt;, apparently derived from the verb *hoili* ‘to finish’, is affixed to nominals to indicate the instrument with which an action is carried out. Hence, the instrumental is only used with non-stative verbs.

111 *amrika-ta khur-hoi m ca-khe?*
America-LOC hand-INST rice eat-IMPF
Do they eat with their hands in America?

112 *sabun-hoi lokhon phe?t-an-ka.*
soap-INST clothes beat-FUT-1s
I’ll wash the clothes with soap.
waray kodala-hoi bhonoi en-khe.
old man hoe-INST soil press-IMPF
The old man is loosening the soil with a hoe.

gumana phalam-hoi bənai-khe kalau
jew’s harp iron-INST make-IMPF then
tooth-INST bite-SEQ hand-INST beat-INF must-IMPF
They make jew’s harps out of iron, and one has to bite it with one’s teeth and strike it with the hand.

In a few instances, the instrument is not case-marked as such.

jobə kelai ode khur-hoi mili-lo-nu te
when we our that hand-INST arrange-come-COND TOP
lathi ma-dənai-nha-khe.
staff NEG-beat-1p-IMPF
If we get it with [our] hand, we don’t beat it with a staff.

curi ba:k-a-niŋ!
knife stab-FUT-1s→2
I’m gonna stab you with a knife!

dhauŋ-ka ci bu:k-a-niŋ!
hot-NOM water scald-FUT-1s→2
I’m gonna scald you with hot water!

Dhimal has another instrumental marker <-au>, which is used by some speakers. This morpheme is not as common as the <-hoi> suffix and has been noted by Hodgson (1880) as the instrumental for the eastern dialect. The morpheme <-au> may well be the older form of the two due to its lack of similarity to any verb and its low frequency of occurrence. Incidentally, it is formally similar to the Bodo locative <-au>. 
118  eʔ-loy rumal-au  sətta  thai-pi-gil-hi
    one-CL  hanky-INST  sudden  throw-DIR-IM-P

doʔ-khe ode  bhar.
    say-IMPF  that  load
    They say suddenly he went and threw away that load for him
    with a handkerchief.

119  ode  bebal  te  odoŋ  nariya-heŋ  phesar-au
    that woman  TOP  that  elephant-DAT  broom-INST

    phutphat-pa  phe:-pi-gil-hi  doʔ-khe.
    one.by.one-do  sweep-DIR-IM-P  say-IMPF
    They say that woman swept those elephants away with a
    broom [for him].

120  khokoi-au  m  leŋ-khe.
    foot-INST  paddy  spread-IMPF
    She is spreading the paddy with her foot [to dry].

3.5.4 Elative

    basic morph:  <-so>
    label:             EL

The elative suffix <-so> is primarily used to indicate the source of an
event. This source may be spatial, temporal, figurative or logical.

121  ani  peʔsa  tu-i-so  ole-hi.
    yesterday  caterpillar  egg-EL  emerge-P
    Yesterday the silkworms hatched.

122  na  hiso-so  lo-khe-na  a  dada?
    you$  whither-EL  come-IMPF-2  VOC  older brother
    Where are you$ coming from older brother?
When used in a temporal sense, the elative indicates that an event has its source or beginning at a certain point in time. In example (124), the distal demonstrative inta ‘there’ marks location in time.

124 inta-so bimari jeŋ-hi.
there-EL sick become-P
After that he became sick.

125 ka ita hępta din agari-so-ŋ naŋ-ko
I here week day before-EL-EMP you^s.OBL-GEN
dama khan-gha.
road look-P.1s
I’ve been watching for your^s arrival here for a week.

In the following examples, the elative marker indicates a figurative source.

127 na hethe-so cuma-nha?
you^s how.much-EL take-P.2
How much did you^s get it for?

128 sukh basulį mho?-nha pa-nu
joy flute blow- P.2 do-COND
If you blow the flute of joy, we will contentedly remain grazing.

The elative marker is also used with non-finite verbs to indicate the logical source of an event. Here, the meaning is ‘due to’ or ‘since’.

And so, since it had become evening, he climbed up a tree.

So, since that is what the old men say…

3.5.5 Circumlocative

The Indo-Aryan loan suffix <bhari>\(^{14}\) indicates motion towards an amorphous goal with motion verbs, indefinite motion within a location with the indeterminite morpheme and static location with a non-motion verb. The circumlocative contrasts with the allative in that it refers to an amorphous goal such as a forest or abroad, while the allative is used with more discrete goals. In addition, while the allative refers to action up to a goal, the circumlocative morpheme <bhari> refers to the general vicinity of the nominal to which it is affixed and may be translated as ‘over by, around, towards’. The following examples illustrate the use of <bhari> in contexts referring to a stative event within a location or motion within a location.

---

\(^{14}\) Maithili has a postposition bhore ‘on’ or ‘in the direction of’.
131 kelai bhogar-bhari hi-nha-khe.
we\textsuperscript{p} stream-CIRC live-1p-IMPF
We\textsuperscript{p} live over by the stream.

132 cudur-ko tupu-bhari ciriciri-khe.
snail-GEN tip-CIRC be.crunchy-IMPF
It’s crunchy toward the tip of the snail.

133 kalau dera-bhari waraŋ-gelai hi-gil-khe
then village-CIRC old.man-PL be-IM-IMPF
gora am-gil-khe.
alcohol drink-IM-IMPF
Then the old men go around the village and drink alcohol.

134 boi-bhari ghurghurai-su-khe-na?! 
uncle-CIRC run.around-COL-IMPF-2
Are you\textsuperscript{p} running around near uncle?! 

135 hasu-heŋ ma-tiŋ-khe dama-bhari.
who-DAT NEG-see-IMPF road-CIRC
[They] don’t see anyone by the road.

In examples (136-38), the circumlocative morpheme is used with motion towards an amorphous goal. The goal in example (138) is not a physical location, but an abstract concept, and the motion is figurative.

136 bides-bhari hane-li khaŋ-laŋ buŋ henja
abroad-CIRC go-INF look-TEM also much

kharca jeŋ-hoi.
expense become-PERF
Just trying to go abroad, many expenses already occurred.
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137  a  dada  iso  lo  saneʔ-bhare.
     VOC older.brother  over.here  come  sunlight-CIRC
Older brother, come over here by the sunlight.

138  bikas-bhari  hane-ka  dama  bho:k-aîne.
     development-CIRC  go-NOM  road  look.for-ADH.PL
Let’s¹ look for the road leading towards development.

The morpheme <-bhari> is commonly found affixed to the word lekhara ‘backside’ to create the complex postpositional lekhara-bhari ‘behind’ or ‘in back’.

139  khur  lekhara-bhari  taʔ-teŋ  hi-hi.
     hand  behind-CIRC  put-SEQ  be-P
[Her] hands are behind her.

3.5.6 Dative

   basic morph:  <-heŋ> ~ <-seŋ>
   label:        DAT

Nominal object marking in Dhimal is effected by the morpheme <-heŋ>¹⁵. The allomorph <-seŋ> has a very restricted distribution, only occurring with singular pronominals, while <-heŋ> may be employed with any nominal. The dative marker is predominantly suffixed to animate nominals to mark the recipient of a bitransitive verb and some patients of a monotransitive verb. The recipient may be the goal, beneficiary or maleficiary. Examples of <-heŋ> being used to mark animate recipients follow. Note that the inanimate objects are unmarked.

¹⁵ That <-heŋ> may originally have been a directional marker can be seen in the words for the cardinal directions: dahē ‘north’, mahē ‘south’, dihē ‘west’ and nuhē ‘east’.
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140 wa-seŋ eʔ-kuri taka pi-gha.
3s-DAT one-twenty taka give-P.1s
I gave him twenty taka.

141 paya-heŋ hai hai ca-pa-su-khe-na?
What all do you⁹ feed pigs?

142 kelai-heŋ nheʔ-loŋ lumphi pi.
we⁹-DAT two-CL banana give
Give us⁹ two bananas.

143 kuṭi-teŋ kaṭi-teŋ jhaɾaŋ-heŋ bakhrai-hi.
cut-SEQ REDUP everyone-DAT portion.out-P
After they finished cutting it up, they gave a portion to
everyone.

Dative marking in bitransitive constructions appears to be reserved
for the recipient, even when not overt.

144 sona camindi doŋ pi-hoi-ga.
gold daughter FOC give-PERF-P.1s
I already gave away my golden daughter.

Most human patients of monotransitive verbs are also case-marked
with the dative. Non-human animate and inanimate patients in
folktales that have human characteristics, such as speech, may also be
case-marked with the dative as in example (145).

145 kalau ode siŋ-heŋ hiʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
so that tree-DAT ask-P say-IMPF
And so they asked that tree, they say.

146 sarihi-pa yum-teŋ ḷokt̪əɾ-heŋ rhum-khe.
order-do sit-SEQ doctor-DAT wait-IMPF
Having sat in a line, they wait for the doctor.
147 udini iskul-ko jamal-lai-heŋ gaɖi dheʔ-pa-hi.  
other.day school-GEN child-PL-DAT bus be.struck-do-P  
The other day a bus struck some school children.

148 udini hasu-heŋ kai-nha?  
other.day who-DAT call-P.2  
Who did you call the other day?

149 nelai ka-seŋ ma-khujalai-su!  
you I-DAT NEG-pester-COL  
Don’t pester me!

Although all recipients and most human patients are marked with the dative marker, unmarked human patients may also be found. The following examples illustrate this usage. The human patients in these utterances are unmarked either because the individual’s identity is unimportant or indefinite. The plural marking for a semantically singular referent as in example (150) also reinforces the notion of indefiniteness.

150 ela khusí lal beja-lai cum-pu-hoi.  
now Khuší Lāl girl-PL take-DIST-PERF  
Khuší Lāl has now taken away a girl. (he is married)

151 beja-lai khan-li hane-teŋ lo-nhịŋ.  
girl-PL look-at-INF go-SEQ come-P.1d  
We went to look at girls and returned.

152 dyan te ma-tiŋ-hi la.  
person TOP NEG-see-P MIR  
[They] didn’t see anyone then.

153 idi bejan jamal baʔ-teŋ hasu dopha  
this girl baby carry-SEQ who COM
I wonder who this girl carrying a baby is talking to.

Non-human animate patients may or may not take dative case marking. Two observations may be noted here. First, when both the subject and object are non-human, the dative marker may be employed to disambiguate the role of the actors as in example (154) below. In other cases, dative marking may be related to the notion of indefiniteness.

154  khiya  kiya-heŋ  gil-khe.
dog  chicken-DAT  chase-IMPF
The dog is chasing the chicken.

155  minkau-heŋ  thi-khe-na?
cat-DAT  fear-IMPF-2
Are you afraid of cats?

156  kiya  lui-khe.
chicken  pluck-IMPF
They are plucking chickens.

157  kabara  seʔ-li  hane-ka  jeŋ-hi.
chital  kill-INF  go-NOM  happen-P
It happened that he went to kill the chital.

In Dhimal, the inanimate object of a transitive verb is generally not marked, as in examples (158) and (159).

158  paya  mansar  du:-hoi.
pig  garlic  root-PERF
A pig has started uprooting [your] garlic.
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159 inko paisa wa mho?-khe.
that money 3s hide-IMPF
She’s hiding that money.

But in the following examples, the inanimate object is case-marked with the dative. Why this is so remains unclear.

160 e?-lonj bar-ka mundha-heŋ kaŋci-hoi
one-CL big-NOM stump-DAT scissors-INST
cikiti-pa po:-khe.
snip-do sever-IMPF
With a pair of scissors it cuts a big stump with a snipping sound. (riddle)

then that rice.beer-DAT be.cool-do-INF must-IMPF
Then you have to cool the rice beer mash.

162 kelai jharaŋ e?-thame hi-teŋ wai-heŋ khaŋ?-pa-aine.
we all one-place be-SEQ rain-DAT flee-do-ADH.PL
Let’s all wait out the rain in one place.

163 inko-heŋ pui-li goi-khe.
that-DAT weave-INF must-IMPF
One must weave that (the cane).

The dative marker <-heŋ> is also found in other environments, aside from nominal object marking. In example (164), <-heŋ> is used to encode a temporal goal. This usage appears to be marginal.

164 te nani-heŋ ethe.
okay today-DAT this.much
Okay, that’s all for today.
When there is more than one patient or recipient, only the last need be marked. Example (165) illustrates the clitic nature of the morpheme \(-\text{he}ŋ\). Note that only the last of the deities in the list is dative-marked.

165 \(\text{l}ə\text{səmi} \text{ berəŋ} \text{ tisti mai} \text{ cəudhari} \text{ maharaj}\)  
Lakṣmī o.woman  Tisti Mai  Chaudharī  Mahārāj

\(\text{buḍha} \text{ Ṭhakur} \text{ mi-besa} \text{ parbatī}\)  
Buḍha Ṭhakur  brothers-in-law  Pārvatī

\(\text{kalau} \text{ jauhara-gelai-heŋ puja pa-khe.}\)  
and  Jauhara-PL-DAT  worship  do-IMPF

They worship Old woman Lakṣmī, Tisti Mai, Chaudharī Mahārāj, Buḍha Ṭhakur, the brothers-in-law, Pārvatī and the Jauharas.

Although the parameters of humanness, animacy and definiteness are strong indicators of whether the dative marker is used, they are insufficient as predictors. The morphosyntactic behaviour of the dative marker is controlled to some extent by semantic and pragmatic factors. Objects in Dhimal are more likely to take dative case marking if higher up on the following clines:

- human > animate > inanimate  
- definite > indefinite  
- recipient > patient

Dhimal also employs a dative subject or rather experiencer subject construction using \(-\text{he}ŋ\). This is undoubtedly due to the influence of the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages, as most instances use verbs or structures borrowed from this group. Examples (166) and (167) are both calques of Indo-Aryan patterns. The first employs a loan verb, while the second uses a Dhimal verb.
insika dyəŋ ka-seŋ mon ma-pore-khe.
that.kind person I-DAT heart NEG-fall-IMPF
I don’t like that kind of person.

ka-seŋ mesa lo-khe.
I-DAT fever come-IMPF
I’m coming down with a fever.

In many cases, however, the Indic structure is modified so that the experiencer subject becomes simply the subject with no case marking employed.

you IND heart fall-IMPF-2 NEG-fall-IMPF-2
Do you like it or not?

Most verbs of emotion or sensation such as fear, hunger and thirst which use an experiencer subject in Indo-Aryan and many neighbouring Tibeto-Burman languages, take simple subject agreement in Dhimal.

istu ci-ta thi-kha.
much water-LOC be.afraid-IMPF.1s
I’m afraid of deep water.

ka mai-ka manthu-ga.
I be.tired-NOM NEG.EXT-P.1s
I’m not tired.

ci am-li ki?-hoi-na?
water drink-INF want-PERF-2
Are you thirsty?
3.5.7 Comitative

basic morph: dopha ~ dosa
label: COM

The comitative marker dopha indicates joint activity, being with or doing something with another person or object. There is another variant of the comitative, dosa, which Hodgson lists for the eastern dialect. Evidence of its unique status among Dhimal case markers is the fact that dopha may occur without a nominal host as shown in example (172). In its reduplicated or emphatic form it is an adverbial meaning ‘together’.

172 dopha-ŋ hi-ŋa sanaiti hiso hiso
COM-EMP be-NOM friend whither whither

han-a wa bhai-hi.
go-FUT DED seem-P
Where would the friend who had stayed with [us] go?

173 kelai dopha-ŋ dopha hane-nha-khe.
weŋ COM-EMP COM go-1p-IMPF
Weŋ are going all together.

When the comitative marker follows a pronoun, it may co-occur with, but does not require the genitive suffix. Although dopha is an independent word, the comitative appears to be becoming a bound morpheme as indicated by the optionality of the genitive suffix and the fact that when the comitative occurs with a monomorphemic pronoun, it is often unstressed.

174 kaŋ-ko dopha niu bho:-hi.
I.OBL-GEN COM pretext seek-P
[He] only sought a pretext with me.
Finally, while in most instances the comitative is employed with human nominals, it is not restricted to such.

Having made a snack [to eat] with rice alcohol…

3.5.8 Allative

basic morph: thekapa
label: ALL

The allative marks inanimate goals and is used to indicate a situation or action occurring up to a certain location. It is apparently cognate to the verb *thikaʔli* ‘to reach’. Like the comitative, the allative has the formal trappings of an adverb. However, its morphosyntactic behaviour is rather unlike an adverb. The goal may be spatial as in examples (180) and (181), temporal as in (182) and (183), or figurative as in examples (184) and (185).
180 wa-heŋ heta thekapa sir-pu-nha?
3s-DAT where ALL accompany-P.2
Where did you accompany him to?

181 na-heŋ buruŋ sa? thekapaŋ ta?-pa-aŋ-ka
you-DAT forthwith house ALL-EMP put-do-FUT-1s
I’ll see that you make it home right away.

182 nelai suta lo-ka bansa-lai he?lau thekapa hi-khe?
you home come-NOM guest-PL when ALL be-IMPF
How long will the guests that came to your house stay?

183 nani thekapa ciṭṭhi mha-ma-lo-khe.
today ALL letter ABS-NEG-come-IMPF
Up to today no letters come at all.

184 kalau ode bela thekapa wajan paha-ko
so that time ALL boy side-GEN
dyāŋ-gelai gora ga:k-a wa.
person-PL alcohol cook-FUT DED
So until that time, the members of the boy’s party may prepare alcohol.

185 wa-ko do-ka thekapa mamar-pa dhaʔ-teŋ lo-hi.
3s-GEN can-NOM ALL fast-do run-SEQ come-P
He came running as fast as he could.

3.5.9 Individuating postposition

Basic morph: cahi
Label: IND

The Nepali loan cahi is used to individuate a referent and may occur with subjects, objects, locatives or adjectives. When it occurs with
nominal referents it is employed to differentiate or distinguish between competing referents.

186 kalau wa-ko nokor cahi khali gai gho:-li.
so 3s-GEN job IND only cow tend-INF
And so his job, it was only to tend cows.

187 jhar-bhari hul-hi wa cahi.
forest-CIRC fall-P 3s IND
He fell out by the forest.

188 aro-ŋ jogi-heŋ cahi wase pore-hi la.
more-EMP yogi-DAT IND let.down feel-P MIR
Again the yogi was disappointed.

189 leta cahi hai pa-hi do?-khe pa-nu
below IND what do-P say-IMPF do-COND
Below, what happened was…

190 inta bajar-ta cahi beja-lai hi-hi wa la.
there fair-LOC IND girl-PL be-P DED MIR
At the fair there, there may be girls.

191 kalau iŋko-so cah na ka-heŋ ca ku-nu.
so that-EL IND you¹ I-DAT eat COP-COND
And then after that one, eat me.

With adjectives and nominalised verbs the individuating postposition indicates ‘the X one’.

192 dheu-li ma-do-ka cahi arna diya jeŋ-hi.
tie-INF NEG-can-NOM IND arna w.buffalo become-P
The ones that they couldn’t tether, they became wild water buffalo.
Occasionally, the individuating postposition may be found with verb phrases. The two examples below are the only ones in my corpus. Note in example (194) that the negative prefix <ma-> assimilates harmonically to the high front vowel of the verb gili ‘to know how, understand’.

194 kam pa-li cahi mi-gi-khe.
work do-INF IND NEG-know.how-IMPF
She doesn’t know how to work.

195 ma-do?-ka khalko hi-nu cahi donabare athawa
NEG-say-NOM such be-COND IND next.year or
kahinabare do?-ka khalko katha do?-khe.
in.two.years say-NOM such talk say-IMPF
If there is something that [they] can’t say, it’s ‘next year’ or ‘in two years’.

3.6 Comparative

Comparatives and superlatives are constructed in a similar manner using the verb khaŋli ‘to look’ and the sequential morpheme <-teŋ>. In a comparative, the structure may be illustrated as ‘compared to Z, Y is X-er’. The object being compared does not take the dative marker.

196 kalau khuwahã do?-khe na khan-teŋ ka bar-ka.
so tiger say-IMPF youª look-SEQ I big-NOM
So the tiger says, ‘I am bigger than youª.’
It’s colder over there than it is here, isn’t it?

Word order of the constituents is free as shown in examples (198) and (199), though example (198) employs the unmarked structure.

Umpai is shorter than Bhente.

Compared to Bhente Umpai is shorter.

The comparative is also used in another type of construction. Here the semantics are similar to English ‘rather than’ or ‘instead of’.

Instead of killing him, kill me!

The construction of the superlative differs only in the use of jharanŋ ‘all’.

I eat the least rice of everyone.

First of all…

that all mother big-NOM
A related construction employing the nominal *jhokoka*, from a verb meaning ‘to equal, be the size of’, is used to create comparatives which are equivalent in size or amount. This construction is similar to the English ‘as...as’ construction. The word order of constituents is not free.

204 *iŋko* nariya moṭor *jhoko-ka* hi-gha-hi.

That elephant car equal-NOM AUX-PIMPF-P

That elephant was the size of a car.

205 wa-ko bai idi *jhoko-ka* hi-hi.

3s-GEN e.sister this equal-NOM AUX-P

His elder sister is this big.

206 *ela* pahar-ko tukara bhari *jhoko-ka*

now hill-GEN piece load equal-NOM

ghase-ko bhojha cum-teŋ ...

grass-GEN burden take-SEQ

Carrying a burden of grass the size of a piece of the hill...

In example (207), one of the comparatives is omitted.

207 *iŋko* bar-ka *saʔ* jhoko-ka bənai-li kiʔ-kha.

that big-NOM house equal-NOM build-INF want-IMPF.1s

I want to build one as big as that house.

Lastly, when a predicate adjective construction is used comparatively, a synthetic construction with the word *asa* ‘more’ is used.
100

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208  aro-ŋ asa pi.
     more-EMP more give
     Give [me] some more.

209  bho-/pi-ā asa bar-ka?
     seek-DIR-FUT.1s more be.big-NOM
     Shall I look for a bigger one for [you]?

210  kalau syaile-hey kai-hi asa bherpa-ŋ.
     So jackal-DAT call-P more near-EMP
     And so he called the jackal (to come) closer.
CHAPTER FOUR

VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

This chapter addresses the morphological categories of the Dhimal verb. The section begins with an examination of morphological processes of the verb, followed by copulas and manner adverbs. Subsequently, the inflection of the finite verb, tense and aspect categories, including the periphrastic tenses, and the deictic motion morphemes will be treated. Also discussed in this chapter are valence changing operations, such as the middle, passive, causatives and the directive. The remaining sections will describe the mood categories, including optatives, adhortatives and imperatives.

4.1 Morphosyntactic processes

While many verbs are of ancient origin, Dhimal creates verbs from a variety of grammatical sources, both native and foreign. This is apparent from some recent coinings with transparent etymology. These sources include nouns, adjectives and interjections. Compare the following examples. The first two are native roots, while the others are Indo-Aryan loans.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sau} & \quad \text{fat (n.)} & \quad \text{saukhe.} & \quad \text{It’s fatty.} \\
\text{abe} & \quad \text{umh… (inter.)} & \quad \text{abedhā…} & \quad \text{I’d, uh…} \\
\text{suru} & \quad \text{start (n.)} & \quad \text{surugha.} & \quad \text{I started.} \\
\text{alsi} & \quad \text{lazy (adj.)} & \quad \text{alsigha.} & \quad \text{I felt lazy.}
\end{align*}
\]
Once constituted, the Dhimal verb may undergo a number of general morphosyntactic processes, including affixation, reduplication, compounding and subordination.

4.1.1 Affixation

Affixation is the most common and elaborated of the processes, with the verb taking up to two prefixes and as many as six or more suffixes encoding valence, person, number, tense and aspect. Each of these affixes occurs in grammatically determined positions.

4.1.2 Reduplication

There are two types of reduplication in the Dhimal verb: lexical and morphological. Lexical reduplication may occur with the entire verb, person and number affixes, and tense or aspect morphology. The reduplicated form generally occurs with ablauting reduplication and will be discussed below in Section 4.7.2.6 on completive aspect.

211  
\[\text{gilas-gelai jha:-khe jhu:-khe.}\]
glass-PL wash-IMPF REDUP
They wash up the glasses.

212  
\[\text{ela suta hane-li goi-an phuj-li phan-li.}\]
now home go-INF must-FUT roast-INF REDUP
Now one must go home to roast them up.

Morphological reduplication of the verb results in intensification of the meaning and seems to be confined to intransitive verbs involving the senses. Two types of morphological reduplication occur. The first involves reduplication of the first syllable only (213) - (214), typically employed when affixal material is present. The second involves reduplication of the entire stem (215) – (219).
213  
  golgolai-gha-khe.
  be.muffled-PIMPF-IMPF
  It sounded all muffled.

214  
  phirphirai-gha-khe    ekdöm!
  shiver.all.over-PIMPF-IMPF  very
  He was shivering all over – a lot!

215  
  jethe    ca-lau  buŋ  meumeu-khe.
  REL.how.much  eat-TEM  also  be.all.grumbling-IMPF
  However much he eats, [his stomach] still grumbles.

216  
  leta  yum-nu  ji?jì?-khe.
  below  sit-COND  be.very.damp-IMPF
  If one sits down, one gets all damp.

Some verbs only occur in the reduplicated form and appear to be lexicalised intensives.

217  
  malamala-khe.
  be.fragrant-IMPF
  It is fragrant.

218  
  kam  pa-nu  khokoi  jhamajhama-khe.
  work  do-COND  leg  tingle-IMPF
  If he works, his leg tingles.

219  
  dokara  da?-li  goi-anj  kalau  lekhara  bo?bo?-khe.
  mat  lay-INF  must-FUT  so  behind  be.warm-IMPF
  One must lay down a mat and then one’s behind stays warm.
4.2 Verb stems and the infinitive

4.2.1 Verb stems

There are two kinds of verb stem that are affected by a regular morphophonological process of final consonant deletion. The first type of verb stem involves those closed with a final glottal /Ɂ/, while the second type involves those verbs ending with a long vowel. In the case of the first type of verb, an underlying form ending in /ʔt/ is posited, e.g. *doʔli* ‘to say’ from the underlying form *<doʔt>*. When the bare stem of this type of verb is used, such as in the imperative, or the stem is followed by an affix with a consonantal onset, the second final of the stem *<doʔt>* is deleted, e.g. *doʔ-li* ‘to say’, *doʔ-khe* ‘he says’ and *doʔ* ‘say!’.

The underlying morphological identity of such verb stems, however, is revealed when they are followed by an affix lacking a consonantal onset. There are only two verbal morphemes that do not trigger this allomorphic rule of consonant deletion: the future tense suffix *<-aŋ> ~ <-a>* and the plural adhortative *<-aine>*.

Verb stems ending in a long vowel also undergo a similar morphophonological process of consonant deletion. In this case, the deleted consonant is final /k/. When a verb stem with a long vowel occurs in the root form or is followed by a suffix with a consonantal onset, then the final /k/ is deleted, e.g. from an underlying morphological form *<ga:k>* ‘cook (rice)’, Dhimal has *ga:-li* ‘to cook (rice)’ and *ga: ‘cook (rice)!’, but in the future and the plural adhortative the allomorphic forms *ga:k-a wa* ‘they may cook (rice)’ and *ga:k-aïne* ‘let’s⁹ cook (rice)’. As with verbs ending in /ʔ/, this rule extends to any verb with a long vowel, e.g. *phe:-li* ‘to sweep’ and

---

¹ Two derived nominals from verbs with long vowels should also be noted: *sa:li* ‘to sieve’ > *sakha* ‘sieve’ and *co:li* ‘to share, divide’ > *cokha* ‘share of game’. Here, the elided final /k/ appears to have influenced the character of the nominalising morpheme *<-ka>*.
*phe:* ‘sweep!’, but *phe:*ka ‘I’ll sweep’; *ci:*li ‘to bite’ and *ci:* ‘bite!’, but *ci:*kaŋ ‘it will bite’ and *ci:*kaîne ‘let’sp bite’.

4.2.2 *The infinitive*

| basic morph: | <-li> |
| label:       | INF |

In the infinitive, Dhimal verbs take the suffix <-li>, which when it co-occurs with a finite verb, marks the verb as a complement. Throughout this grammar the infinitive is employed as the citation form. The infinitival form may be used to encode a generic or impersonal event.

220 *odoŋ* *dalen-ko* *misiŋ* *juʔ-li.*

that branch-GEN firewood stoke-INF

Those branches to stoke firewood.

221 *hai* *pa-li* *ko?*

What do-INF COP

What is to be done?

222 *haipali* *leder-li?*

why be.embarrassed-INF

Why be embarrassed?

The infinitival form is also used as the complement of a finite verb.

223 *wai* *lo-li* *tom-hi.*

rain come-INF be.about.to-P

It’s about to rain.

224 *cudur* *khiŋ-li* *gi-khe-na?*

snail cook-INF know.how-IMPF-2

Do you know how to cook snails?
Compounding of infinitives may occur through verbal strings.

\[225\]
\[
\begin{align*}
ca-li & \quad pa-li & \quad te & \quad ma-them-khe. \\
\text{eat-INF} & \quad \text{do-INF} & \quad \text{TOP} & \quad \text{NEG-be.enough-IMPF}
\end{align*}
\]
It’s not even enough to survive on.

\[226\]
\[
\begin{align*}
nil-li & \quad nil-li & \quad tom-gha-kha. \\
\text{forget-INF} & \quad \text{forget-INF} & \quad \text{be.about.to-PIMPF-IMPF.1s}
\end{align*}
\]
I almost completely forgot.

4.3 Copulas and existentials

4.3.1 Existential

Dhimal employs the verb *hili* ‘be, stay, live’ to mark the existence or location of a referent. In the negative, there is a suppletive form *manthu*, which is fully conjugable. The verb *hili* may also be used in possessive ownership constructions. The range of contexts in which the existential occurs appears to be increasing.

\[227\]
\[
\begin{align*}
hi-hi. \\
\text{be-P}
\end{align*}
\]
There is [some].

\[228\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uŋko} & \quad \text{raja-ko} & \quad e?-mi & \quad \text{khiniŋ} & \quad \text{camindi} & \quad \text{hi-gha-khe}. \\
\text{that} & \quad \text{king-GEN} & \quad \text{one-HCL} & \quad \text{only daughter be-PIMPF-IMPF}
\end{align*}
\]
That king had only one daughter.

\[229\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nay-ko} & \quad \text{sa}? & \quad \text{heta} & \quad \text{hi-hi}. \\
\text{you°.OBL-GEN} & \quad \text{house where be-P}
\end{align*}
\]
Where do you live?

\[230\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ode} & \quad \text{khotar-ta} & \quad \text{hi-gha-khe}. \\
\text{that} & \quad \text{cage-LOC} & \quad \text{be-PIMPF-IMPF}
\end{align*}
\]
He was in that cage.
231 ma-ko ka iso hi-gha-kha.
NEG-COP I hither be-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
No, I was around here.

232 ede dhangai-ka pusiy hasu-ko hi-hi ku-nu?
this be.long-NOM hair who-GEN be-P COP-COND
Whose long hair is this then?

233 naŋ-ko bakhara naŋ hi-hi.
you. OBL-GEN portion you. OBL be-P
Your. portion is yours. .

The verb *hili* also appears with attributive rather than existential or locational meaning. Here presumably the structure has been interpreted as that of a predicate adjective, which in Dhimal takes the auxiliary verb *hili*. Compare example (234) with the nominalised verb *remli* functioning as a predicate adjective with examples (235) and (236).

234 wa rem-ka hi-hi.
3s good-NOM be-P
He is good.

235 gota-ŋ sərsuphai hi-hi.
each-EMP clean be-P
Everything is clean.

236 te ñhik hi-hi.
okay fine be-P
Okay, that’s fine.

Existential meaning is sometimes also encoded with a zero allomorph.
How many children do you have?

As for daughters, I have but one.

4.3.2 Negative Existential

basic morph: manthu
label: NEG.EXT

Use of the existential verb hili in the negative is restricted to interrogatives (239). Otherwise, the negative existential takes the suppletive form manthu, which denotes the non-existence or lack of something. The negative existential may take tense and aspect markers, though for non-habitual present tense meaning, no suffixes are employed. This copula also acts as an auxiliary and is used in negative resultative and past resultative constructions.

Is there any rice beer or not?

There isn’t any more rice beer.

There isn’t even one.
242 \( səŋkər \ bhəgwən\-ko \ muisa \ eʔ\-łoŋ \ manthu\-hi. \)
Saṅkar lord-GEN body.hair one-CL NEG.EXT-P
Lord Saṅkar didn’t have one hair left.

243 \( dyəŋ \ manthu\-gha\-hi. \)
person NEG.EXT-PIMPF-P
There was no one.

244 \( manthu\-khe. \)
NEG.EXT-IMPF
There isn’t any (generally).

245 \( m \ ca\-li \ manthu\-təŋ \ seŋ\-hi. \)
rice eat-INF NEG.EXT-SEQ be.dried-P
Not having had anything to eat, he grew thin.

4.3.3 **Equationals**

basic morph: \( ko \)
label: COP

Tense, animacy and negation play an important role in the occurrence or non-occurrence of copulas. In affirmative statements equationals may be signaled either by a zero copula or the equational copula \( ko \). Typically, a zero copula is used to mark predicate nominal constructions with non-human referents. In clauses with two nominal arguments, the zero copula indicates that the two arguments are equal.

246 \( naŋ\-ko \ miŋ \ hai? \)
you\(^a\).OBL-GEN name what
What is your\(^a\) name?

247 \( ede \ \text{torse.} \)
this mango
This is a mango.
They’re all the same.

This is the road that goes to Rājghāṭ.

How much are the bananas a piece?

When the referents are human or emphatic, however, the copula ko may be employed. When used emphatically, ko may be pronounced with high level pitch and increased duration, as in examples (251) and (252). This copula does not take agreement or tense markers.

What is it!?

What kind of an old man is he!?

It’s a different person, I tell you!

The copula ko is also employed when a physical object is presented to someone (254) and occurs in the adverbials kunu ‘so, then’ and makunu ‘isn’t it so?’.

Here, elder brother, have some beaten rice, I say.
255  
*te ku-nu.*  
okay COP-COND  
Okay then.

256  
*hul-hi ma-ku-nu?*  
fall-P NEG-COP-COND  
He fell out, didn’t he?

To encode a negative equational, the negative copula *mako* is used with both human and non-human referents. It is also used to make a negative claim about the truth value of a proposition.

257  
*na jɔti-ka dharma hasu ma-ko.*  
you\(^{5}\) however.much-NOM virtue who NEG-COP  
No one is as virtuous as you\(^{5}\).

258  
*wa insika dyəŋ ma-ko.*  
3s such person NEG-COP  
He’s not that kind of person.

259  
*hai doŋ ma-ko.*  
what FOC NEG-COP  
It’s nothing at all.

260  
*ma-ko ka iso hi-gha-kha.*  
NEG-COP I hither be-PIMPF-IMPF.1s  
No, I was around here.

4.4 *Negation*

4.4.1 *Prefixal negation*

  basic morph:  <ma->  
  label:  NEG
All simplex verbs are negated by using the negative prefixal morpheme <ma->. Only the resultative and the past resultative take the suppletive negative auxiliary manthu. The negative prefix is also used to form negative adjectives and adverbs: cuʔka ‘sharp’ > macuʔka ‘dull’; elka ‘attractive’ > ma-elka ‘unattractive’.

261 cudur ca-li ma-sikaʔ?-khe-na?
   snail eat-INF NEG-feel.queasy-IMPF-2
   Doesn’t eating snails make you feel queasy?

262 leder-li ma-el.
   be.shy-INF NEG-be.proper
   One shouldn’t be shy.

263 ka te ma-han-ayʔ-ka.
   I TOP NEG-go-FUT-1s
   As for me, I won’t go.

4.4.2 Absolute negative

   basic morph:   <mha->
   label:         ABS

The only attested instance of a preclitic aside from the negative prefix <ma-> is the morpheme <mha-> which has an absolutive sense. An absolute negative categorically denies that an event takes place.

264 dada-heŋ umpai mha-ma-dusu-hi doʔ-ke.
   e.brother-DAT Umpai ABS-NEG-meet-P say-IMPF
   Umpai didn’t run into older brother at all, he says.

265 mha-ma-hiŋ-khe.
   ABS-NEG-listen-IMPF
   [He] is not listening at all.
266  paya  ahar  mha-ma-ca-khe.
      pig  food  ABS-NEG-eat-IMPF
       The pig isn’t eating the slop at all.

267  na  mha-ma-lo-khe-na  kelai  suta.
    youś  ABS-NEG-come-IMPF-2  web  home
    Youś don’t come at all to ourb house.

268  mha-manthu  la.
      ABS-NEG.EXT  MIR
     There isn’t any at all.

269  mha-ma-ki?-khe  u.
    ABS-NEG-want-IMPF  REFR
  [He] doesn’t want to at all, you know.

4.5 Manner adverbs

The suffix <\-pa>, deriving from the lexical verb pali ‘to do, make’, functions both to indicate the manner in which an event occurs and to indicate a causative event, depending on the syntactic environment in which it occurs. When <\-pa> is affixed to a verbal or nominal root preceding the main verb, a manner adverbial results. When this suffix occurs on the main verb, <\-pa> yields a causative. Both of these functions share the invariant meaning of causation, the bringing about or causing of an event. In the case of the adverbial use, this suffix indicates the ‘doing’ in such a manner as to cause the event encoded by the root to come about. The semantic connection between these two functions becomes a little clearer with a slightly different, albeit awkward, glossing. Thus, examples (272) and (274) could be paraphrased respectively as ‘she teaches doing just like me’ and ‘we don’t beat like that making it die’. These paraphrases do no harm to the essential meaning of the sentences and illustrate how such a development from a verb meaning ‘do, make’ to a marker of manner might arise. As for the use of <\-pa> in causative constructions, the development of verbs meaning ‘do, make’ into causative markers is
well documented cross-linguistically. For example, both the English verb ‘make’ and the Dutch verb *doen* ‘do, make’ are used in causative constructions. Causatives formed with the <-*pa*> suffix are examined in Section 4.9.3.

Manner adverbs mark the way in which an event occurs and are constructed simply by suffixing the morpheme <-*pa*> to a verbal or nominal stem, e.g. *da:*ka ‘black’ > *da:*pa ‘darkly’, *maki?li* ‘to not want’ > *maki?pa* ‘unwillingly’. Adverbs are generally the first constituent before the verb phrase. Semantically, manner adverbs encode manner, medium or measure. In a small number of common adverbs, this suffix is realised as <-*pha*>, e.g. *rempha* ‘well’ and *lampha* ‘before’. The comitative postposition *dopha* also takes the aspirated suffix.

The manner in which an event occurs is often encoded through adverbial phrases. The modifying word may be verbal, in which case the verb is always intransitive. The restriction of adverbial <-*pa*> to intransitive verbs supports a verbal origin for this morpheme.

270  *thi-*teŋ  *rhai*  *da:-pa*  *teŋ-hi.*
be.afraid-SEQ  face  be.black-do  begin.to-P
[Her] face turned black with fear.

271  *bo?bo?-pa*  *jim*  *la*.
be.warm-do  sleep  MIR
Sleep well.

272  *kaŋ-ko*  *bhai-pa-ŋ*  *dhir-pa-khe*.
LOBL-GEN  be.like-do-EMP  learn-do-IMPF
[She] teaches just like me.

In some cases when the adverbial derives from a verbal root, the semantics involved seem to approximate the English temporals ‘until’ or ‘while’.
While going there, dusk may fall.

We don’t beat it like that until it dies.

Then [they] wait until dawn.

Thus, while apportioning it out, dusk may fall.

[He] drank until he was drunk.

[He] took him away until he was grown.

Less commonly, the adverbial <pa> may be affixed to nominal roots. Examples (279) and (280) illustrate nominal roots with <pa> indicating the manner in which the action of the verb is accomplished.

Say it in Dhimal.

Make that farting sound.
Onomatopoeia may take the adverbial suffix.

281  
\[ \text{rhuta-so te bukbak-bukbak-pa hul-khe aŋ.} \]
above-EL TOP plop-plop-do fall-IMPF FOC1
From above, [things] comes falling down ‘plop plop’.

282  
\[ \text{pok-pa donai-nha-khe.} \]
pop-do hit-1p-IMPF
We\[p\] smack it.

283  
\[ \text{gota-ŋ arna diya lo-hi garangurunŋ-pa.} \]
each-EMP arna water.buffalo come-P thunderous-do
All the wild water buffalo came with a thundering roar.’

The spatial medium by which an event occurs may be marked with the morpheme <-pa>. Example (284) illustrates three different functions of this morpheme. The first is as an adverb indicating medium, in this case the choice of route. The second appearance of <-pa> functions as a causative marker, while the third functions as the lexical verb ‘do’ acting as a topic introducing conditional.

284  
\[ \text{bhenay dama-pa hane-pa-he pa-nu jen-dhay.} \]
other path-do go-do-HYP do-COND become-IRR
If one had [him] go by another route, it would be alright.

285  
\[ \text{sanjoi-pa lo-khe.} \]
bridge-do come-IMPF
[He] is coming across the bridge.

286  
\[ \text{ka ede dama te-li pi-ka-ña} \]
I this road walk-INF give-NOM-LOC-EMP

\[ \text{pi-ka-ña aro-ŋ ede-pa buy te-pi-khe.} \]
give-NOM-LOC-EMP more-EMP this-do also walk-DIR-IMPF
I continually let them walk this road, and yet they still walk this [other] way.
Dhimal also employs the <-pa> suffix in an ablative manner to indicate the spatial location or direction through which, by which or from which an event occurs.

287  lekhara-pa  khici-hi.
    backside-do  take.photo-P
    He took a photo from behind.

288  wa te  iŋko  rhuta-pa  te  phar-hi.
    3s  TOP  that  above-do  TOP  carry.in.mouth-P
    It carried that from above in its mouth.

289  iŋko  liʔta-pa  hul-hi.
    that  inside-do  fall-P
    He fell from the inside.

290  mahẽ-pa
    south-do
    From the south (by way of the south).

The adverbia☆l <-pa> also occurs with nominals in a measurative or distributive sense. Sometimes reduplication is employed to reinforce the distributive sense, as in examples (293) and (294).

291  iŋko  jhoko-pa  jeŋ-hi.
    that  amount-do  become-P
    There was that much [for each].

292  jharanŋ saʔ-ta  taka  nheʔ-taka-pa  eʔ-mana-pa
    all  house-LOC  rupee two-rupee-do  one-mana-do

    uŋkhu  gora  eʔ-gilas-pa  mun-gelai.
    rice  alcohol  one-glass-do  beaten.rice-P
    At each of all the homes — two rupees, one mana uncooked rice, alcohol, and one glass beaten rice and such.
293  
eʔ?-ser eʔ?-ser-pa sum-mi-ŋŋ la buŋ puge-a wa
one-ser one-ser-do three-HCL-DAT MIR also arrive-FUT DED
One share each for three people may also be enough then.

294  
nheʔ?-loŋ baha-ta eʔ?-lolom-pa
two-CL arm-LOC one-CL-do

nariya gha-pu-hi la doʔ?-khe.
elephant play-DIST-P MIR say-IMPF
He went along playing with an elephant under each arm, they say.

In addition to the comitative *dopha* and allative *thekapa*, this morpheme also occurs with the relator word *bherpa* ‘near’.

295  
kalau esa bherpa bhi-ru-pu-hi doʔ?-khe bəs.
so like this near approach-DIST-P say-IMPF stop
So he went along like this approaching nearer.

296  
kalau syaile-ŋŋ kai-hi asa bherpa-ŋŋ.
so jackal-DAT call-P more near-EMP
And so he called the jackal nearer.

297  
ka ka ka ka pa-teŋ inko wajan-ŋŋ bherpa.
caw caw caw caw do-SEQ that boy-DAT near
Near that boy, it went ‘caw caw caw caw.

The suffix *<-sa>* is also attested as marking manner in a handful of words, e.g. *bolsa* ‘by force’, *hesa* ‘how’ and note also the comitative morpheme *dosa* ~ *dopha*. The restricted distribution and improductivity of *<-sa>* suggest that it may be the older of the two suffixes. This is supported by the interrogative pronoun *hesa* ‘how’, which also occurs as *hesapa*. The suffix *<-pa>* has presumably marginalised *<-sa>* to all but a few words, and it appears that the remaining holdouts are under pressure to regularise.
4.6 Participant reference marking

The Dhimal finite verb shows grammatical agreement with distinct morphological forms in the simple agreement, transitive scenario and affinal kin register systems. In the simple agreement system, which is the most common and hence unmarked, the verb indexes the single core argument of an intransitive clause and the agent of a transitive clause. Diagram 7 shows the agreement morphemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense/Aspect</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>1d</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>2d</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>3c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>-hoi-\textit{ga}</td>
<td>-hoi-\textit{niį}</td>
<td>-nha-\textit{hōi}</td>
<td>-hoi-\textit{na}</td>
<td>-hoi-\textit{niį}</td>
<td>-su-\textit{hōi}-\textit{niį}</td>
<td>-hoi</td>
<td>-su-\textit{hōi}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-\textit{ga}</td>
<td>-\textit{niį}</td>
<td>-\textit{nha}</td>
<td>-\textit{na}</td>
<td>-\textit{nha}</td>
<td>-\textit{hōi-nha}</td>
<td>-\textit{na}</td>
<td>-\textit{hōi-su}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>-\textit{kha}</td>
<td>-\textit{khe-niį}</td>
<td>-\textit{nha-khe}</td>
<td>-\textit{khe-na}</td>
<td>-\textit{nha-khe}</td>
<td>-\textit{su-khe-nha}</td>
<td>-\textit{khe}</td>
<td>-\textit{su-khe}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-\textit{a/anį-ka}</td>
<td>-\textit{a-niį}</td>
<td>-\textit{a-j}</td>
<td>-\textit{a-na}</td>
<td>-\textit{a-niį}</td>
<td>-\textit{a-niį}</td>
<td>-\textit{a-j}</td>
<td>-\textit{a-niį}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inceptive</td>
<td>-\textit{khoi-ka}</td>
<td>-\textit{khoi-niį}</td>
<td>-\textit{nha-khoi}</td>
<td>-\textit{khoi-na}</td>
<td>-\textit{khoi-niį}</td>
<td>-\textit{su-khoi-na}</td>
<td>-\textit{khoi}</td>
<td>-\textit{su-khoi}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diagram 7 Simple agreement paradigm

The five tenses or aspects listed here capture the range of distinct morphemes found in the Dhimal agreement paradigm. Note that non-plural person and number indices follow the tense or aspect suffix, while plural indices precede the suffix. Person and number markers vary with the tense or aspect, and are in many cases portemanteau suffixes indicating person, number, and tense or aspect.

4.6.1 First person singular

- **basic morph:** <-ka>  
- **label:** 1s  
- **basic morph:** <-\textit{ga}>  
- **label:** P.1s  
- **basic morph:** <-\textit{~}>  
- **label:** FUT.1s
First person singular exhibits the greatest number of distinct morphemes. In the non-past (i.e. imperfective, inceptive and future) first person singular is marked by <-ka>, which fuses with the imperfective marker <-khe> to become <-kha>. There is a first singular *portemanteau* morpheme, which is represented by nasalisation of the future and irrealis morphemes, <-ā> and <-dhā> respectively, in addition to the first singular non-past morpheme <-ka>. The nasalised *portemanteau* morpheme is the unmarked of the pair, while <-ka> marks a first singular emphatic in the future and irrealis. In the past tense forms (i.e. perfective and past), the first singular morpheme is <-ga>, which has a breathy *portemanteau* morpheme <-gha> in the past.

298  *hane-khoi-ka.*
    go-INC-1s
    I’m leaving.

299  *aro-ŋ  doʔt-aŋ-ka.*
    again-EMP  say-FUT-1s
    I’ll say it again.

300  *na  dopha  bihu  pa-dhā.*
    you³  COM  wedding  do-IRR.1s
    I’d marry you³.

301  *han-ā.*
    go-FUT.1s
    I’ll go.

302  *haya  man-li  hane-kha.*
    fish  catch-INF  go-IMPF.1s
    I’m going fishing.

303  *mhitu-hoi-ga.*
    be.hungry-PERF-P.1s
    I’m hungry.
No, I haven’t eaten.

I brought the camera.

The morphological variation in the first singular agreement markers suggests that they may be quite old. The number of distinct morphemes used can partially be explained historically. In Dhimal, the first singular markers have fused with the tense and aspect morphemes in both the past and the imperfective. From evidence in the eastern dialect and in the marking in other persons, the many instances of portemanteau morphemes are attributable to the fusing of tense and aspect markers with agreement suffixes.

4.6.2 Second person singular

basic morph:  <-na>
label:  2

The second person singular is marked by the suffix <-na> in all tenses and aspects except the past, which is marked by the breathy portemanteau morpheme <-nha>. The label is unmarked for number, as this morpheme is also employed in the second person plural. If there is no plural marking then the default value is singular.

Where are you going, little brother?

What will you do when you get there?
308  na  hai  pa-nha  la?
you\(^s\)  what  do-P.2  MIR
What did you\(^s\) do?

309  bihu  pa-hoi-na  manthu-na?
wedding  do-PERF-2  NEG:EXT-2
Are you\(^s\) married or not?

4.6.3 Third person

The third person is generally unmarked for singular, dual and plural in all tenses. The only exception to this generalisation is third person collective, which will be discussed below.

310  hane-khe.
go-IMPF
[They] are going.

311  lo-hi.
come-P
[She] came.

312  udhimi  beja-lai  khan-tey  lo-hi.
they\(^d\)  girl-PL  look-at-SEQ  come-P.
The two of them, having looked at girls, came back.’

313  hai  insa  pa-khe  be?!
what  thus  do-IMPF  DUB
What in the world is [she] doing like that?!

4.6.4 First person dual

basic morph:  <-niŋ>
label:  1d
First person dual is indexed by the morpheme <-niŋ> or in the past by the breathy portemanteau morpheme <-nhiŋ>.

314  insa-lau  te  kidhiŋ  dada-one  hi-gil-nhiŋ.
thus-TEM  TOP  we\textsuperscript{d}  o.brother-y.sibling  be-IM-P.1d
At that time we two brothers travelled around.

315  udini  kidhimi  salbari  hane-teŋ  lo-nhiŋ.
two.days.ago  we\textsuperscript{d}  Šālbārī  go-SEQ  come-P.1d
The other day we\textsuperscript{d} went to Šālbārī and returned.

316  hasu  hasu-heŋ  dusu-khe-niŋ
who  who-DAT  meet-IMPF-1d

wa-seŋ  hiʔ-li  goi-aŋ  dama-ta.
3s-DAT  ask-INF  must-FUT  road-LOC
Whoever we\textsuperscript{d} see on the road, that’s who we must ask.

317  aitabar  kidhimi  ma-yha-a-niŋ.
Sunday  we\textsuperscript{d}  NEG-remain-FUT-1d
On Sunday we\textsuperscript{d} won’t be here.

318  kidhimi  paisa  mili-pa-teŋ  pi-a-niŋ.
we\textsuperscript{d}  money  be.arranged-do-SEQ  give-FUT-1d
We\textsuperscript{d} will raise the money and give it.

It should be noted, however, that there is evidence indicating that for some speakers (younger males especially) dual number may be collapsing or at least mixing with the plural. Consequently, dual number in pronouns and in verbal morphology is not consistently distinguished, undoubtedly due to bilingualism in Nepali, which does not mark dual number.
The second person dual is marked by the morpheme <-niŋ> or, in the case of the past, by the breathy portemanteau morpheme <-nhŋ>. The second person dual is homophonous with the first person dual.

319  nidhimi  hiso  hane-khe-niŋ?
you\textsuperscript{d}  whither  go-IMPF-2d
Where are you\textsuperscript{d} going?

320  jumni  hiso  han-a-niŋ?
tomorrow  whither  go-FUT-2d
Where are you\textsuperscript{d} going tomorrow?

321  nariya-ko  puja  pa-khe-niŋ?
elephant-GEN  worship  do-IMPF-2d
Are you two performing elephant worship?

322  khali  pheʔ-su-nhŋ!
only  beat-COL-P.2d
All you two did was fight!

323  do:-nhŋ  ma-do:-nhŋ  ko?
be.finished-P.2d  NEG-be.finished-P.2d  COP
Did you\textsuperscript{d} finish or not?

324  ela  nidhŋ  hai  doʔt-a-niŋ  re?
now  you\textsuperscript{d}.  OBL  what  say-FUT-2d  ASS
What are you\textsuperscript{d} going to say now, I say?
4.6.6 First person plural

basic morph: \(<\text{-nha}\>\)
label: \(1\text{p}\)

The first person plural is indexed by the suffix \(<\text{-nha}\>\), which precedes the tense or final aspect marker. In the future tense and irrealis aspect, however, first person plural is unmarked, and hence is homophonous with third person.

325 \(\text{kelai haya maŋ-li hane-nha-khe.}\)
\(\text{we}^\text{p} \text{ fish catch-INF go-1p-IMPF}\)
We\(^p\) are going fishing.

326 \(\text{cuŋ-nha-hoi.}\)
\(\text{be.cold-1p-PERF}\)
We\(^p\) are cold.

327 \(\text{hane-nha-khoi.}\)
\(\text{go-1p-INC}\)
We\(^p\) are leaving.

328 \(\text{jumni kelai wa dopha ma-han-aŋ.}\)
\(\text{tomorrow we}^\text{p} \text{ 3s COM NEG-go-FUT}\)
Tomorrow we\(^p\) will not go with him.

4.6.7 Second person plural

basic morph: \(<\text{-su--na}\>\)
label: \(\text{COL--2}\)

The second person plural is unique among the person markers in employing two distinct morphemes, i.e. the collective marker \(<\text{-su}\>\) and the second person marker \(<\text{-na}\>\). The collective marker occupies the slot before the tense marker, with the second person morpheme
The morpheme <su> is employed not only to index a second person plural, but also to indicate a third person collective, a reciprocal event and a plural imperative. What these different functions of the collective morpheme <su> have in common are the semantic notions of manifoldness and groupability. In the case of the collective and reciprocal, two or more participants each play two roles and carry out the same type of action, in the first case as initiator and co-actor, and in the second case as both initiator and receiver or endpoint of the action. The second person plural and the plural imperative index three or more participants, each of whom typically plays only one role, but who may be thought of as acting in a group or collective manner. So, from a marker of manifoldness and groupability, the different
functions that the collective morpheme now fulfils represent the versatility of its meaning.

4.6.8 Collective

basic morph:  <-su>
label:  COL

Although third person dual and plural subjects are generally unmarked, when a speaker wishes to emphasise the group or collective action of a third person non-singular subject, then the collective morpheme <-su> is used. The third person collective marker precedes the tense or aspect marker and follows the valence markers.

334  dama  po:-pi-su-khe.
    path  sever-DIR-COL-IMPF
    [They] are blocking [her] progress.

335  do?-ka  ma-sa?-su-khe!
    say-NOM  NEG-obey-COL-IMPF
    [They] don’t listen to what’s said! (referring to two children)

336  khar-su-khe.
    cry-COL-IMPF
    [They] are crying.

337  do?-pi-su-khe.
    say-DIR-COL-IMPF
    [They] are telling it.

338  dudu  ca:~-su-khe.
    breast  grab-COL-IMPF
    [They] touch her breast.
339  *obalai ma-pi-su-khe ka-senj.*
they\textsuperscript{p} NEG-give-COL-IMPF I-DAT
They\textsuperscript{p} don’t give me any.

340  *bajar-ta paya se?-su-khe.*
market-LOC pig kill-COL-IMPF
[They] are killing pigs in the market.

4.6.9 *Reciprocal*

basic morph:  \textless-su\textgreater
label:  COL

The collective morpheme \textless-su\textgreater{} is employed to index reciprocal events and in this function precedes any valence markers. A reciprocal event involves two or more participants who act as both subject and object of the main verb.

341  *te idhinimi param ta?-su-pa-li goi-ay.*
okay they\textsuperscript{d} bond.friend put-COL-VEN-INF must-FUT
Okay, they\textsuperscript{d} must come together and become bond friends.

342  *udhinimi dong ba?-su-hi.*
they\textsuperscript{d} FOC hold.in.arms-COL-P
They\textsuperscript{d} embraced.

343  *mar-pa ci:-su-khe.*
fast-do bite-COL-IMPF
[They] are quick to bite each other.

344  *nal-su-nhij?*
know-COL-P.2d
Do you two know each other?
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345  inko  nheʔ-mi  dön  ci:-su-hi.
    fast-do  two-HCL  FOC  bite-COL-P
Those two bit each other.

346  udhinimi  laʔ-su-hi  pheʔ-su-li.
    they^d  quit-COL-P  beat-COL-INF
They^d quit fighting with each other.

347  mon  ma-pore-su-hi  la.
    heart  NEG-befall-COL-P  MIR
[They] took a dislike to each other.

348  hai  bireŋ  katha  doʔ-su-khe?
    what  ever  word  say-COL-IMPF
What ever are [they] saying to each other?

Some verbs which encode naturally reciprocal events such as dusuli ‘to meet’ and cersuli ‘to quarrel with’ may occur without a plural subject.

349  eʔ-loŋ  didi-heŋ  dusu-gha.
    one-CL  elder.sister-DAT  meet-P.1S
I met an older woman.

4.6.10 Imperious 1s→2

    basic morph:  <-niŋ>
    label:        1s→2

The 1s→2 portmanteau suffix <-niŋ> indicates the transitive relation between a first person singular subject and a second person patient. The number of the patient is not encoded and may index singular, dual or plural number. In conjunction with the future tense or irrealis morphemes, it encodes the imperious mood (cf. King 2001).
350  seʔt-a-niŋ  buruŋ!  
kill-FUT-1s→2  forthwith  
I will kill you straight away!

351  eʔ-caure  pi-a-niŋ!  
one-slap  give-FUT-1s→2  
I will give you a slap!

352  lathe-hoi  pi-a-niŋ!  
cane-INST  give-FUT-1s→2  
I will give you what for with a cane!

353  puriŋ  dhe:-pi-a-niŋ?!  
head  split-DIR-FUT-1s→2  
Shall I split your head open?!

4.6.11 Imperious 3s→2

basic morph:  <-nau>  
label:  3s→2

The 3s→2 *porte-manteau* suffix <-nau> encodes the transitive relation between a third person singular subject and a second person patient. As with the 1s→2 suffix, the number of the patient is not encoded. In conjunction with the future tense or irrealis morphemes, it encodes the imperious mood.

354  rhai-a-nau!  
claw-FUT-3s→2  
It will claw you!

355  koʔ-ca-a-nau!  
pull.close-PASS-FUT-3s→2  
It will pull you close!
4.6.12 Affinal kin register

The affinal kin register in Dhimal involves distinct conjugational affixes to index the social relation between kin groups (cf. King 1998). Aside from linguistic coding, this relationship may also be marked by prescribed behaviours, such as avoidance and distinct greetings upon meeting. Diagram 8 contains the conjugational paradigm for the affinal register.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>past</th>
<th>imperf.</th>
<th>future</th>
<th>inceptive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s -hoi-gya</td>
<td>-ghya</td>
<td>-khyya</td>
<td>-añ-kya</td>
<td>-khoi-kya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s -hoi-nya</td>
<td>-nhya</td>
<td>-khe-nya</td>
<td>-a-nya</td>
<td>-khoi-nya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s -hoi-ga-nyo</td>
<td>-gha-nyo</td>
<td>-kha-nyo</td>
<td>-ã-nyo</td>
<td>-khoi-ka-nyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d -hoi-niïj-nyo</td>
<td>-niïj-nyo</td>
<td>-khe-niïj-nyo</td>
<td>-ã-niïj-nyo</td>
<td>-khoi-niïj-nyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p -nha-hoi-nyo</td>
<td>-nha-hi-nyo</td>
<td>-nha-khe-nya</td>
<td>-ã-nyo</td>
<td>-nha-khoi-nya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p -su-hoi-na-nyo</td>
<td>-su-nha-nyo</td>
<td>-su-khe-na-nya</td>
<td>-ã-a-na-nya</td>
<td>-su-khoi-na-nya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -hoi-nya</td>
<td>-hi-nya</td>
<td>-khe-nya</td>
<td>-ã-nya</td>
<td>-khoi-nya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diagram 8 Affinal kin register agreement paradigm

In contrast to many politeness systems, the Dhimal affinal register does not distinguish a social hierarchy, but rather encodes the reciprocal relationship between in-laws. It is used between a) a man and his wife’s senior relatives, and b) between the parents of a husband and wife. In this social domain, all utterances contain affinal marking, and it is considered disrespectful to use forms from the unmarked paradigm.

Relations between a man and his senior in-laws are characterised by respect, distance and the maintenance of social harmony. In contrast to those in-laws who are senior to him in age, a man has a joking relationship with his wife’s younger siblings, his *huigo* (wife’s younger brother) and *hulme* (wife’s younger sister), and affinal forms

---

2 The past tense second person singular, and first and second person dual have alternate unfused forms that are more formal: -hi-nya and -hi-niïj-nyo respectively.
are not used between them. Although a man must employ this register with his senior in-laws, and vice-versa, a woman calls her mother and father-in-law amai and aba (mother and father) rather than jube and juwa (mother and father-in-law). Neither does she use the affinal register with her in-laws, nor they with her.

In the standard paradigm, the Dhimal verb inflects for person and number of the subject. In the affinal register, however, every form encodes the marked relationship between speaker and addressee. Only the first person singular informal and second person singular employ distinct subject agreement morphemes. All others are indexed for this relationship by the addressee suffix <-nyo>.

4.6.12.1 First person singular affinal

- basic morph: <-kya>
- label: 1sH
- basic morph: <-gya>
- label: P.1sH

In the affinal register, first and second person singular are indexed by portemanteau morphemes indicating person, number, tense or aspect, and the affinal register. For participants in this register, the suffix <-kya> encodes an informal first person singular in the future, irrealis and inceptive, with a portemanteau morpheme <-khya> in the imperfective. In the perfective and past, an informal first person singular has a voiced morpheme <-gya>, which occurs as <-ghya> in the past.

356 kya jumni lo-an-kya.
I.H tomorrow come-FUT-1sH
I’ll come tomorrow.

357 kya hate hane-khya.
I.H bazaar go-IMPF.1sH
I’m going to the bazaar.
First person also makes an informal vs. formal register distinction. The difference between the two is the degree of familiarity between the participants. If persons requiring the affinal register are seen on a regular, perhaps daily basis, then the informal form will tend to be used. When the relation is only seen on occasion, because he or she lives in a distant village for example, then the more formal and polite form with the addressee suffix tends to be used.

4.6.12.2 Second person singular affinal

- basic morph: <-nya>
- label: 2sh

A second person singular in the affinal register is indexed by the morpheme <-nya>. In the past tense, a breathy morpheme <-nhya> occurs.

358  nya  hiso  hane-khe-nya?
  you’s.H  whither  go-IMPF-2sh
  Where are you’s going?

359  ma-am-lau  buŋ  rhu:-li  goi-a-nya.
  NEG-drink-TEM  also  take-INF  must-FUT-2sh
  Even though you’s don’t drink, you’s will have to accept it.

4.6.12.3 Affinal addressee

- basic morph: <-nyo>
- label: ADR

When the subject is not an informal first person singular or a second person singular, this relationship is marked on the verb with the addressee suffix <-nyo>. In the Dhimal affinal system, the verb indexes deference to the addressee, in addition to any subject markers. The informal first person singular is not marked with the addressee suffix in spite of the fact that it falls into the addressee
category since the relationship is already indexed by <-kya> and the other first person singular morphemes. The following examples illustrate the use of the addressee suffix.

360  
gora  am-li  kera  ca:-gha-nyo.  
   alcohol  drink-INF  oath  take-P.1s-ADR  
   I swore off drinking alcohol.

361  
kya  ma-am-kha-nyo.  
   I.H  NEG-drink-IMPF.1s-ADR  
   I don’t drink.

362  
kya  dəmæk  han-ā-nyo.  
   I.H  Damak  go-FUT.1s-ADR  
   I will go to Damak.

363  
kiŋ-ko  pəriwar  bigir-hi-nyo.  
   I.H.OBL-GEN  family  be.broken-P-ADR  
   My family is broken down.

The addressee suffix exhibits distributional properties that distinguish it from the simple agreement forms. The morpheme <-nyo> behaves more like a clitic, in that it can adhere to non-finite and non-verbal elements. In the following examples, the affinal addressee suffix adheres to an adverbial, a nominalised verb and a vocative.

364  
mane  insa-ŋ-nyo.  
   meaning  thus-EMP-ADR  
   The meaning is like this.

365  
ku-nu  haipali  kera  ca:-ka-nyo?  
   COP-COND  why  oath  take-NOM-ADR  
   But why take an oath?
4.7 Tense and aspect

To encode temporal and aspectual meaning, Dhimal has a variety of morphosyntactic tools under its belt: morphological, periphrastic and reduplicative. In its finite verb morphology, Dhimal distinguishes two grammatical tenses: past and future. Due to their connections with the future and because they take agreement morphemes, the irrealis and imperious mood will be treated here with the tenses and aspects. Aspects that will be discussed are the imperfective, past imperfective, progressive, perfective, inceptive and completive. Finally, periphrastic constructions that encode aspect and tense-like meaning, i.e. the stative resultative and the dynamic resultative, will close the section.

4.7.1 Tense

4.7.1.1 Past tense

basic morph:  <-hi>
label: P

The past tense is indicated by the suffix <-hi>, apparently deriving from the verb hili ‘be, stay’. With first singular and dual, and second person, the past tense marker has fused with the agreement suffix, resulting in breathy portemanteau morphemes that encode person, number and tense. Where it has not fused with the agreement marker, the past tense marker follows the verb stem with third person and after the agreement morpheme with first person plural. The past tense marker may co-occur with the past imperfective morpheme <-gha> and the progressive morpheme <-doŋ>.

The past tense in Dhimal is a simple past, denoting only the notion that an event took place. It indicates that an action occurred or

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a state changed at some point in the past and makes no reference to
the completeness of the event. In example (367) the speaker states
only that a third person subject went to cut grass. By using the past,
the speaker says nothing about whether the third person has returned
or is still gone, only that he did go.

367  ghase  ce:-li  hane-hi.
    grass  cut-INF  go-P
  He went to cut grass.

368  na  e?-toi  khini\textj{ }cum-te\textj{ }lo-nha?! 
    you\textsuperscript{s}  one-piece  only  take-SEQ  come-P.2
  You\textsuperscript{s} only brought one piece?!

369  e?-ghuri-\textj{ } awai-gha.
    one-moment-EMP  hesitate-P.1s
  I hesitated for a moment.

370  kalau  inko  to-te\textj{ } ta-te\textj{ } ole-pa-nha-hi.
    so  that  dig-SEQREDUP  emerge-do-1p-P
  And so, having dug them up, we took them out.

371  me  se?-nhin\textj{ }?
    fire  kill-P.2d
  Did you\textsuperscript{d} put out the fire?

In narrative, the past is often used to indicate the temporal sequence
of a series of discrete past events. The event of the preceding verb is
assumed to be located temporally prior to the following ones.

372  b\textsuperscript{\textj{ }s} dhol-gha.  suta  thuka?-gha.
    bus  board-P.1s  home  arrive-P.1s
  I boarded the bus and arrived home.

73  topala-bhanji  saje-hi.  jhola-sola
    bundle-things  prepare-P  bag-things
He prepared a bundle, shouldered the bag of things, and was all ready.

With stative verbs the past is used to indicate ingressive meaning. When employed with a change-of-state verb, the state may or may not obtain in the present. However, to use a change-of-state verb with present non-imperfective meaning, the past (or perfective) is used. So although these verbs may be formally marked for past tense, they may have present relevance, depending on whether the deictic point of reference is the present or the past. Compare the following pair of examples, one coded with the imperfective and the other with the past tense. Example (374) encodes a habitual state, while example (375) encodes the onset of that state.

374  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{lisi} & \text{nham-khe.} \\
\text{shit} & \text{smell-IMPF}
\end{array}
\]
Shit smells. or It generally smells like shit.

375  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{lisi} & \text{nham-hi.} \\
\text{shit} & \text{smell-P}
\end{array}
\]
It smells like shit (right now). or It smelled like shit.

376  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{purin} & \text{tu:-hi.} \\
\text{head} & \text{hurt-P}
\end{array}
\]
[My] head hurts. or [My] head hurt.

377  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{mhitu-nha?} & \\
\text{be.hungry-P.2}
\end{array}
\]
Are you\textsuperscript{3} hungry?

378  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{dese} & \text{ma-ta:-hi.} \\
\text{salt} & \text{NEG-be.tasty-P}
\end{array}
\]
It’s not salty enough. or It wasn’t salty enough.
The past is also used to indicate a stative non-habitual present with the existential copula *hili*.

379  

hi-hi.  
be-P  
There is [some].

4.7.1.2 Future

basic morph:  
\(-aŋ\) \(-a\)  
label:  
FUT

The future tense is marked by the morpheme \(-aŋ\) or its allomorph \(-a\). When followed by a morpheme with a consonantal onset the future marker is generally realised as \(-a\). The future does not co-occur with any other tense or aspect markers.

The future locates an event subsequent to the present moment. In addition to simple future time reference, the future morpheme may indicate possibility, desire, intention or weak obligation. Hence the future has modal uses and may encode deontic or epistemic modality. Keeping in mind that the notion of futurity is bound up with various precepts such as intention and prediction, the examples below illustrate simple future reference.

380  

ahā?  
ka  
ma-doʔ-t-ā.  
neg  I  NEG-say-FUT.1s  
No, I won’t say.

381  

ka  
doʔ-nu  
ka  
si-aŋ-ka!  
I  say-COND  I  die-FUT-1s  
If I tell [you], I will die!

382  

aitabar  
kidhimi  
ma-yha-a-niŋ.  
Sunday  we  
NEG-remain-FUT-1d  
Sunday we won’t be here.
383  *khan-aŋ ku-nu*
    look-FUT COP-COND
    We will see.

384  *te ku-nu hasu-heŋ hiʔt-a-na?*
    okay COP-COND who-DAT ask-FUT-2
    Okay then, who will you ask?

385  *ka-semi ciṭṭi pi-gil-su-a-na?*
    I-DAT letter give-IM-COL-FUT-2
    Will you send me a letter?

The future tense may be used to indicate desire, intention or inclination. Here the semantics are similar to English ‘want’. While there are lexical verbs expressing desire such as *kiʔli* ‘to want’, the use of the future is often more appropriate to express what one feels like doing rather than the physical, mental or emotional compulsion associated with *kiʔli*.

386  *na tereŋ cum-a-na na biha cum-a-na?*
    you intestines take-FUT-2 or meat take-FUT-2
    Do you want to take intestines or meat?

387  *gora ma-am-a-na?*
    what NEG-drink-FUT-2
    Won’t you drink any alcohol?

388  *hai pa-a-na ku-nu?*
    what do-FUT-2 COP-COND
    What can you do then?

389  *mar-pa jha:-pu — ca-ā la.*
    quick-do wash-DIST eat-FUT.1s MIR
    Go wash it quickly — I want to eat now.
I don’t want to drink cold tea.

Weak obligation may be encoded with first and second person forms. The semantics of the following examples are close to those of the English modal ‘shall’. By using the future here, the speaker solicits permission, assent or instruction to perform an action. The following first person examples illustrate the modal use of the future morpheme.

Shall I close the door for [you]?

What time shall I come?

Shall I look for a bicycle for [you]?

With second person singular marking, the future may be used with weak obligation to indicate a generic instruction. It differs from the imperative in that it is not a command, but rather a statement of how things are done. And whereas the imperative often refers to a one time event, the future encodes an event to be carried out habitually or generically. It is not clear whether number distinctions other than singular may be indexed. Example (394), from a text on hunting rats, employs second person future to encode a generic instruction.
mhoʔn-a-na mhoʔn-a-na mhoʔn-a-na.
blow-FUT-2 blow-FUT-2 blow-FUT-2

So, after placing it, then you blow and blow and blow.

395 esa-pa doʔn-a-na.
thus-do say-FUT-2
You should say it like this.

396 na esa pa-li goi-a-na.
you thus do-INF must-FUT-2
You should do it like this.

397 inta me jolai-teŋ üŋko kana-ta pi-a-na.
there fire ignite-SEQ that hole-LOC give-FUT-2
Then after starting a fire, you put that on the hole.

The future tense may be used with third person stative verbs to indicate future possibility or potentiality. It makes a prediction or inference about a future state of affairs. Here, it expresses a lower degree of certainty regarding a state than an imperfectly marked verb would. The future hedges the truth value of the speaker’s statement, which is delimited in a way that the imperfective is not. The predictive nature of this future state or event may be strengthened with the addition of the deductive morpheme wa.

398 iso ma-hane — yhalaʔt-aŋ.
hither NEG-go be.slippery-FUT
Don’t go this way — it’ll be slippery.

399 üŋko miliŋ eʔ-mi piʔ-teŋ ca-li ma-nin-aŋ.
that field one-HCL sell-SEQ eat-INF NEG-get-FUT
One person can’t profit from selling that land.

400 ota hane-pa hane-pa belhaʔt-a wa.
there go-do go-do be.dusk-FUT DED
On the way there, it may become dark.
4.7.1.3 Imperious future

basic morph:  <-a-niŋ>
label:          FUT-1s→2
basic morph:  <-a-nau>
label:          FUT-3s→2

The imperious occurs in two constructions involving a singular subject and a second person object and indexes the transitive relation between these participants in addition to the imperious mood. Only scenarios with a second person patient are eligible and no utterances encoding a first or third person patient have been recorded, i.e. 2→1 or 1→3. The imperious is restricted to future tense or irrealis aspect, with portemanteau agreement indices on the verb encoding both the subject and object, and the imperious mood. This type of marking appears most frequently in emotionally-charged discourse, i.e. threats, warnings, vows and flattery (cf. King 2001).

The imperious future indicates the speaker’s subjective attitude towards a proposition and its impact on the addressee. This future event is one which the speaker feels has a strong likelihood of occurrence and which usually has a strong detrimental or beneficial impact on the patient.

401  seʔt-a-niŋ    buruŋ!
    kill-FUT-1s→2   forthwith
    I will kill you right away!

402  puriŋ     dhe:-pi-a-niŋ?!
    head       split-DIR-FUT-1s→2
    Shall I split your head open?!

403  pi-a-niŋ     khuntila    nadoi!
    give-FUT-1s→2  khuntila    nadoi
    I will give you khuntila and nadoi earrings!
404 lathi-hoi pi-a-ŋ!  
cane-INST give-FUT-1s→2  
I will give you what for with a cane!

405 la?the-a-nau!  
kick-FUT-3s→2  
It will kick you!

406 cum-pu-a-nau!  
take-DIST-FUT-3s→2  
He will take you away (to America)!

407 naŋ-ko miŋ yha-a-nau!  
you`OBL-GEN name remain-FUT-3s→2  
Your’s name will go down in history!

4.7.1.4 Irrealis

basic morph:  <-dhaŋ> ~ <-dha>  
label:  IRR

The irrealis marker <-dhaŋ> and its allomorph <-dha> encode an irrealis event. When followed by a morpheme with a consonantal onset the irrealis marker is generally realised as <-dha>. The irrealis refers to a hypothetical or counterfactual proposition that may be in the future or past. Although irrealis is neither a tense nor an aspect in the strict sense, it is covered here because like the tenses and aspects, the irrealis takes inflection. An irrealis clause, which may be preceded by a subordinate clause expressing contingency, is essentially conditional in that it indicates what would or could take place if certain conditions are or had been met.

In the following examples, the irrealis encodes a hypothetical future event that would occur under certain conditions. Note that with first person there is a component of intention encoded with the irrealis, while third person subjects encode possibility.
408 na dophā bihu pa-dhā.
you's COM wedding do-IRR.1s
I would marry you's.

409 ka-seŋ cum-pu-nu te m ga:-pi-dhā.
I-DAT take-DIST-COND TOP rice cook-DIR-IRR.1s
If [you] took me there, I would cook for [you].

410 wa-ko hai doŋ upai-sa seʔ-nu
3s-GEN what FOC method-COM1 kill-COND

kelai-ko hamu-ŋ bhare-dhāŋ.
we6-GEN belly-EMP fill-IRR
If we killed him somehow, we6 would fill our6 bellies.

The irrealis may refer to a past counterfactual event. Here it encodes a hypothetical past event that would have or could have happened.

411 na kaŋ-ko katha hiŋ-nha pa-nu
you's I.OBL-GEN words hear-P.2 do-COND

birami ma-jen-dha-na.
sick NEG-become-IRR-2
If you's had listened to me, you's wouldn't have got sick.

412 dyäŋ hi-nu te wa dyäŋ dophā
person be-COND TOP 3s person COM

rhe:ti cuma-dhāŋ wa la.
permission take-IRR DED MIR
If someone had been there, he would have asked permission from the person.

413 tiŋ-nu te rhe:ti cuma-dhāŋ-ka.
see-COND TOP permission take-IRR-1s.
If I had seen anyone, I would have asked permission.
In the following examples with the Nepali loan *jhʊndai* ~ *jhʊnda* ‘almost’, the morpheme <-dhən> indicates an irrealis event in the past that came near to fruition.

415 *jhʊnda* la lin-dhən!
almost MIR stain-IRR
It almost stained!

416 *jhʊndai* lon-dhən-ka.
almost fall-IRR-1s
I almost fell down.

417 *jhʊndai* gaɗi dheʔ-pa-dhən diya-heŋ.
amber bus be.struck-do-IRR water.buffalo-DAT
The bus almost struck the water buffalo.

418 siŋ tɑŋ-labelau *jhʊndai* hul-dhən-ka.
tree climb-TEM almost fall-IRR-1s
While climbing a tree I almost fell.

4.7.1.5 Imperious irrealis

basic morph: <-dha-niŋ>
label: IRR-1s→2
basic morph: <-dha-nau>
label: IRR-3s→2
The imperious irrealis employs the same agreement morphemes as the imperious future. Likewise, the imperious irrealis is restricted to clauses with singular subjects and second person patients. It encodes weak obligation, where the speaker implies that the event will probably not come about, but should and would under other circumstances.

419  
naŋ-ko  puriŋ  jam-pi-dha-niŋ!
you⁸.OBL-GEN head smash-DIR-IRR-1s→2
I ought to smash your³ head!

420  
seʔguli  jam-pi-dha-nau!
testicle  smite-DIR-IRR-3s→2
He ought to smash your testicles!

4.7.2 Aspect

Dhimal distinguishes six aspects: imperfective, past imperfective, progressive, perfective, inceptive and completive. These aspects encode whether a proposition is viewed as bounded or unbounded. The morphemes encoding imperfectivity may co-occur with either <khe> or <hi>, while the perfective and inceptive morphemes do not co-occur with any other tense or aspect markers.

4.7.2.1 Imperfective

basic morph:  <khe>
label:  IMPF

The suffix <khe>³ indexes an imperfective event in all persons except first singular, where it has fused with the agreement morpheme. In the affixal string, the imperfective occurs before the singular and dual person agreement markers, but after the plural markers. The imperfective indicates an unbounded event and may

³ This suffix may be pronounced by some speakers as <khi>, especially in rapid speech.
encode habitual, stative, generic, progressive or historical present meaning. This morpheme may be used in both present and past tense constructions. From this it is apparent that <-khe> encodes aspect and is not a tense marker. However, in the absence of the past imperfective morpheme, the default time reference is the present.

The imperfective can signify a habitual event when used with a non-stative verb. This event is one that occurs on a regular or frequent basis.

421 *sihaire pi-kha.*
shade give-IMPF.1s
I provide shade.

422 *insa si-pa ma-dëñai-nha-khe.*
thus die-do NEG-beat-1p-IMPF
We² don’t beat [them] to death like that.

423 *rhima haya mañ-li hane-khe.*
morning fish catch-INF go-IMPF
He goes fishing in the morning.

With stative verbs, the imperfective denotes an inherent quality or a situation which generally holds true.

424 *marci ther-khe.*
chilli be.piquant-IMPF
Chilli peppers are spicy.

425 *iso cuŋ-khe na oso cuŋ-khe?*
over.here be.cold-IMPF or over.there be.cold-IMPF
Is it colder over here or over there?

426 *lumphi di:-khe.*
banana be.sweet-IMPF
Bananas are sweet.
Potatoes are available in the market.

The imperfective may indicate an unmarked present progressive. This present progressive meaning only occurs with non-stative verbs. The subject need not, however, be actively engaged in the predication of the verb. In example (428), the person calling need only be actively ‘inviting’ and need not be engaged in the muscular process of vibrating vocal chords.

She’s inviting [you].

Well, are you\(^6\) buying [me] any then?

[He] is coming now.

The old woman is pouring out the water from the jug.

It’s looking for its egg.

The imperfective is also used in narrative to encode a historical present. This use formally locates the event in the narrative present, though semantically encoding a past event. The following examples taken from narrative data encode a past tense event, but make it more vivid and real by bringing it into the present with the imperfective.
433 kalau esa khaŋ-khe doʔ-khe.
so thus look-IMPF say-IMPF
And so [he] looks, [they] say.

434 nheʔ-noŋ khokoi ekdoŋ kose-teŋ
two-CL leg very tighten-SEQ

kose-teŋ jhin-khe aŋ.
tighten-SEQ bind-IMPF FOC1
[He] binds both of its legs very tightly.

435 inta kelai jolpaŋ ca-nha-khe la.
there we³ snack eat-1p-IMPF MIR
Then we³ eat a snack.

4.7.2.2 Past imperfective

basic morph:  <-gha>
label:        PIMPF

The past imperfective is formed with the morpheme <-gha> and indicates an unbounded event occurring in the past. The past imperfective morpheme never occurs alone, but requires either the imperfective marker <-khe> or past tense marker <-hi>, together which may encode a stative, habitual or progressive event occurring in the past. The morpheme <-gha> occurs before the plural agreement indices, but after the progressive morpheme <-doŋ>. Change of state verbs do not typically occur in this aspect.

A past imperfective stative indicates that a situation held in the past without regard to its completion. The state may or may not hold in the present. Past imperfective stative constructions have only been attested with the locational or existential copula.
436 odoi kam pa-lav kathmanḍu hi-gha-kha.
that work do-TEM Kathmandu be-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
While doing that work, I lived in Kathmandu.

437 eʔ-loŋ waran-beran-ko na-mi camindi hi-gha-khe.
one-CL old.couple-GEN five-HCL daughter be-PIMPF-IMPF
An old man and an old woman had five daughters.

438 manthu-gha-khe.
NEG.EXT-PIMPF-IMPF
There wasn’t any.

The past imperfective may also be used to index past habitual events. These events are viewed as having occurred on multiple occasions over a period of time in the past.

439 kalau dilima lo-gha-khe.
then evening come-PIMPF-IMPF
And so [they] would come in the evening.

440 khuʔ-teŋ khaʔ-teŋ dudu am-pa-gha-khe.
descend-SEQ REDUP breast drink-do-PIMPF-IMPF
Having come down, [she] used to breast feed them.

441 kori can-heŋ khani oʔ-ka sar
step son-DAT only burn-NOM vegetables

oʔ-ka m pi-gha-khe.
burn-NOM rice give-PIMPF-IMPF
[She] only gave burnt vegetables and burnt rice to her step-son.

The past imperfective may also indicate past progressive meaning. Here, the morpheme <-gha> encodes an unbounded event that was ongoing in the past.
442  
parṭi  ca-gha-su-khe-na?
party  eat-PIMPF-COL-IMPF-2
Were you having a party?

443  
jamal-lai dha?-ta gha-gha-khe.
child-PL  porch-LOC  play-PIMPF-IMPF
The children were playing on the porch.

444  
lokhor-lokhor-pa syaile dha?-gil-gha-khe.
ONOM-ONOM-do  jackal  run-IM-PIMPF-IMPF
The jackal was running around lackadaisically.

The past imperfective morpheme <-gha> also co-occurs with the past tense morpheme <-hi>. With the past tense marker, the past imperfective indicates that an event held over a period of time in the past, a discrete event that has internal complexity, yet is circumscribed. The past imperfective may indicate a past static, habitual or progressive event.

445  
wa-seṇ bheṭe-li bar-ka bicar hi-gha-hi
3s-DAT  meet-INF  big-NOM  idea  be-PIMPF-P
twarwa dopha bheṭ jeṇ-li ma-do-hi.
but 3s  COM  meet  become  NEG-be.able-P
I really wanted to meet him, but it wasn’t possible.

446  
nani hai doṇ manthu-gha-hi
today  what  FOC  NEG.EXT-PIMPF-P
kalau bo?na pi-gil-gha.
than  bo?na  give-IM-P.1s
Today I didn’t have anything, so I sent a bo?na.

447  
dukhə sukhə doṇ-ka  hethe
pain  joy  weigh-NOM  how.much
A past habitual encodes a bounded event that obtained over a period of time. In example (449), the past imperfective marker <-ght> co-occurs alternately with the past tense marker <-h> and the imperfective marker <-khe>. The main verb of the first sentence indicates a bounded situation in the past that extended over a period of time, while the second sentence is not bounded in this way.

449  \[ \text{ka inta thuka?-la bu\text{-}g kancha inta hi-ght} \]  
I there reach-TEM also Kancha there be-PIMPFP-P

\[ \text{kalau oso ghure-lau-\text{-}b \text{-}g inta-\text{-}khe} \]  
so there return-TEM also there-EMP be-PIMPFP-IMPF

When I arrived there, Kancha was there, and when I returned was (still) there.

450  \[ \text{obalai sanaiti-gelai mili-ght} \]  
they\textsuperscript{p} friend-PL arrange-PIMPFP-P
They, the friends, would get together.

451  \[ \text{wa dera-bhari rhe:-gil-ght do?-khe} \]  
3s village-CIRC beg-IM-PIMPFP-P say-IMPF
He would go around village to village begging, [they] say.

452  \[ \text{kalau obalai hane-ght care-li} \]  
so they\textsuperscript{p} go-PIMPFP-P graze-INF
And so they\textsuperscript{p} would go to graze.
In narrative, the past imperfective <gha> together with the past tense morpheme <hi> may yield past progressive meaning. Here, this combination encodes a past progressive event that is bounded, yet has internal complexity.

While going to school, they walked along reading a book.

And so she was sweeping the ground, [they] say.

A jackal was running around on the banks of a river.

The morpheme <doŋ> encodes a continuous or progressive event that is ongoing within a certain time frame. The progressive explicitly encodes what may be implicit with the imperfective and generally occurs only with dynamic verbs which typically require volitional active subjects. The progressive morpheme occurs closer to the verb stem than any other tense or aspect marker, following the deictic motion morphemes and before the past imperfective marker <gha>. The progressive morpheme <doŋ> obligatorily co-occurs with either the imperfective morpheme <khe> or the past tense morpheme <hi>.
457  *wa am-don-khe.*
    3s  drink-PROG-IMPF
  He is (still) drinking.

458  *dhoko phu:-don-khe.*
basket  carry.on.back-PROG-IMPF
  [She] is carrying a basket on her back.

459  *ita bho:-pi-don-kha!*  
  here  seek-DIR-PROG-IMPF.1s
  I’m looking for it [for you] here!

460  *oso pørhe-pa-lha-don-khe.*
over.there  study-do-INTEN-PROG-IMPF
  [He] is going over there in order to teach.

461  *beraŋ li?pa-ŋ dama te-teŋ hane-don-gha-khe.*
  old.lady all.day-EMP road  walk-SEQ go-PROG-PIMPF-IMPF
  The old woman walked along the road all day long.

The only stative verb with which the progressive appears to concatenate is again the existential verb *hili*. Here, the use of the progressive morpheme emphasises that the locative state is ongoing.

462  *ya te dyāŋ te hi-don-hi ru!*  
  3s  TOP  person TOP  be-PROG-P  EXCL
  The person, he was still there!

463  *nøre dai hi-don-hi na hane-hoi?*
  Nare  Dai  be-PROG-P  or  go-PERF
  Is Nare Dai still here or has he gone?
4.7.2.4 Perfective

basic morph: \(<\text{hoi}>\)
label: PERF

The morpheme \(<\text{hoi}>\), deriving apparently from the verb *hoili* ‘to finish’, encodes perfective aspect and co-occurs with no other tense or aspect markers. In addition, use of the perfective is restricted to affirmative constructions. The perfective indicates a bounded event that is complete, one that has undergone a well-defined transition or change. Though this event is necessarily viewed as having occurred in the past, the importance placed on current relevance results in the perfective often having present time reference.

The perfective in Dhimal is slightly unusual in that many of the functions it fulfils are typically associated with stative resultatives or perfects. Many of the functions subsumed under a typical perfective are encoded in Dhimal by the past tense marker. In common with stative resultatives, the perfective has strong restrictions regarding co-occurrence with manner or time adverbials. In contrast to stative resultatives, the perfective places emphasis on the event itself rather than on the resulting state. And like stative resultatives, the perfective presents a currently relevant situation. The thematic emphasis placed on the event of a perfective appears to be incompatible with information on how the event occurred.

Aside from encoding a complete event, one of the primary functions of the Dhimal perfective is to mark the status of the verb as changed, and hence, potentially currently relevant. Use of the perfective stresses the change in the situation and that this information may be new to the speaker, the hearer or to the discourse situation.

464 *tintili* *siŋ* *bhar-hoi*.
tamarind tree set.fruit-PERF
The tamarind tree has set fruit.
beard has already grown. Aren’t you looking for a wife?

Snot has come out. Will you not blow [your] nose?

Have [they] milked the cow?

The flower has withered.

[He] has become really big.

From eating [and such daily expenses], [the money] was used up.

The perfective may serve to delimit the object. Compare the following examples marked for past tense, perfective aspect and stative resultative respectively. In example (471) with the past tense marker <-hi>, the object is not delimited in any way, though such an interpretation is certainly possible. In example (472) with the perfective marker <-hoi>, the object is delimited and the event is viewed as complete. In example (473) employing the stative resultative, experiential or resultative meaning is encoded, but again the object is not delimited.
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471  
\[ m \ jhi-nha-hi. \]
\[ \text{rice} \ \text{thresh-1p-P} \]
\[ \text{We}^b \ \text{threshed (the) rice.} \]

472  
\[ m \ jhi-nha-hoi. \]
\[ \text{rice} \ \text{thresh-1p-PERF} \]
\[ \text{We}^b \ \text{[already] threshed the rice.} \]

473  
\[ m \ jhi-ka \ hi-nha-hi. \]
\[ \text{rice} \ \text{thresh-NOM AUX-1p-P} \]
\[ \text{We}^b \ \text{have threshed (the) rice.} \]

In example (474), perfective marking would be appropriate for someone who has turned dark since the last time the speaker saw him. The use of the perfective here places emphasis on the newness of the realisation of a bounded event. The stative resultative would be more likely used to denote a state that is normal or unsurprising, but not new.

474  
\[ da:-hoi-na. \]
\[ \text{be.black-PERF-2} \]
\[ \text{You}^s \ \text{have become dark.} \]

475  
\[ da:-ka \ hi-hi. \]
\[ \text{be.black-NOM AUX-P} \]
\[ [\text{He}] \ \text{is dark. or [He] is a dark one.} \]

The perfective is not limited to punctual events. In example (476), the event is clearly made up of four discrete parts. Four times the shutter was opened and a picture was taken. But the speaker views them as making up a group of four snapshots, which are no longer available for shooting. Example (477) occurs over an extended period of time which could in no way be construed as a punctual event. In both cases, the perfective treats the event as a whole, with the information about the result or accomplishment figuring prominently.
476 dya-poŋ hane-hoi.
four-pose go-PERF
Four snapshots have been used up.

477 hane-ka-taŋ carcauraj ghurai-hoi.
go-NOM-LOC-EMP whole.kingdom stroll-PERF
After much walking, they travelled the entire kingdom.

The perfective marker <-hoi> does not occur in negative clauses, but rather the periphrastic stative resultative is substituted. This indicates the close semantic relationship and strong overlap between the perfective and the stative resultative. On the other hand, the stative resultative is often replaced in the interrogative by the perfective. In example (478) the perfective is used to encode an interrogative, while the stative resultative construction (479) is used to formulate a negative response, though etiquette requires an affirmative statement even if the opposite is true.

478 m ca-su-hoi-na?
rice eat-COL-PERF-2
Have you$^{p}$ eaten?

479 ahā? ca-na manthu-ga.
rice eat-IMPL NEG.EXT-P.1s
No, I haven’t eaten.

480 ca-hoi-ga.
eat-PERF-P.1s
I already ate.

The semantics of perfective aspect are intertwined with discourse. Since the perfective is often used to encode changed or newly realised information, and since this new information may be garnered from a more recent event, the result or end state may still be in effect. Hence, the perfective may denote a recent or sudden change in a state of affairs.
481  gi-hoi-ga.
know-PERF-P.1s
(Now) I understand.

482  gita  soʔ-hoi.
Gita  piss-PERF
Gita (just) pissed.

483  lo-hoi.
come-PERF
[She] (just) arrived. or [She] has arrived.

484  sat  baje-hoi.
seven  o’clock-PERF
It’s seven o’clock already.

In the following exchanges employing perfective aspect, the focus is
on whether a certain event has been completed or a state attained. The
semantics here are close to that of an experiential, something more
often associated with resultatives. Use of the past tense, on the other
hand, might be more appropriate if the speaker knew the subject was
supposed to see the film or get married (489).

485  tilhari   khāŋ-hoi-na?
Tilhari  watch-PERF-2
Have you seen ‘Tilhari’?

486  e  khāŋ-hoi-ga.
yes  watch-PERF-1s
Yes, I’ve seen it.

487  bihu  pa-hoi-na?
wedding  do-PERF-2
Have you married?
488  e pa-hoi-ga.
    yes do-PERF-1s
    Yes, I have married.

489  bihu pa-nha?
    wedding do-P.2
    Did you get married?

Related to the previous usage, the perfective marker <-hoi> may be used in an inceptive way with many verbs, ones that are naturally more durative in their semantics or that have a well-defined end result. The perfective encodes the transition from one state to another. The use of the perfective here differs from that of the inceptive aspect in that the latter refers to the onset of the event only, while the perfective denotes the attainment of that state.

490  ci bubak-bubak-pa umel-hoi.
    water plop-plop-do boil-PERF
    The water has begun to boil 'plop-plop'.

491  paya mansar du:-hoi.
    pig garlic root-PERF
    A pig has started uprooting [your] garlic.

    flower blossom-INF be.about.to-PERF
    The flower is about to blossom.

493  dhe?-li tom-hoi.
    be.knocked.down-INF be.about.to-PERF
    [He] is about to be knocked down.

With change-of-state verbs, the perfective has present time reference. In verbs involving the senses or emotions such as hunger, thirst, warmth, desire and anger, the perfective signals ingressive meaning. In discourse, the perfective contrasts with the past tense, which may
verbal morphology

refer to either a past or present state, while the perfective has present
time reference only.

494  *mhitu-hoi-ga.*
    be.hungry-PERF-P.1s
    I’m hungry.

495  *bhem-hoi-na?*
    be.hot-PERF-2
    Are you hot?

496  *ci  am-li  kiʔ-hoi-ga.*
    water  drink-INF  want-PERF-P.1s
    I’m thirsty.

497  *si-hoi-ga.*
    die-PERF-P.1s
    I’m dead tired.

498  *gora  mha-hoi.*
    Alcohol  be.intoxicated-PERF
    [They] are drunk.

499  *gotaʔ  khur  khokoi  tu:-sa-hoi.*
    whole-EMP  arm  leg  hurt-APR-PERF
    [My] entire body seems to ache.

In narrative, the perfective plays a discursive role. While found but
infrequently in this genre, the perfective is often used to stress the
completion of an event in a story. The perfective here emphasises the
change and hence, is in a sense marking new information.

500  *ya  juhā  si-hoi  doʔ-ka  bujhe-khe  kalau.*
    this  rat  die-PERF  say-NOM  grasp-IMPF  so
    And so, one understands that the rats are now dead.
In narrative one comes across instances of an event repeated twice, the first with the past tense marker and the second with the perfective. The first usage with the past introduces the event as having occurred, while the second with the perfective focuses on the completion of that event and its current relevance in the narrative.
Finally, although the perfective is rarely used to mark a sequence of events — more typically performed by the past tense — at the end of a narrative, the final clauses may employ the perfective to mark the final actions that close the narrative.

And so dusk set in. [They] fell asleep. The end.

4.7.2.5 Inceptive

basic morph:  
< - khoi >  
label:  
INC

The morpheme < - khoi > encodes inchoative or ingressive meaning, indicating that an event has begun or with change-of-state verbs, the near attainment of the state. The inceptive, like the perfective, takes no other tense or aspect markers. The inceptive morpheme is suffixed to the verb stem and comes before the singular and dual agreement marker and after the plural markers.

And the perfective is rarely used to mark a sequence of events — more typically performed by the past tense — at the end of a narrative, the final clauses may employ the perfective to mark the final actions that close the narrative.
He’s starting to make her fall! He’s starting to make her fall!

Oh, you have started eating.

I’m coming already!

He had quit drinking alcohol, but he’s starting up again.

The following inquiry is appropriately made as the person has already made indications, generally getting up or making movement towards an exit, that she is leaving.

Are you leaving now already?

Again he’s starting to not want to go to school.

When used with change-of-state verbs, the inceptive marker <-khoi> encodes the near attainment of that state. In this environment the inceptive is similar to the English ‘almost’.

It’s almost evening.
515  
| 515  | eghara  baje-khoi. |
|      | eleven         strike-INC |
|      | It’s almost eleven o’clock. (10:50) |

516  
| 516  | naŋ-ko  nepal  hi-ka  do:-khoi. |
|      | you⁵.OBL-GEN  Nepal  stay-NOM  be.finished-INC |
|      | Your⁵ stay in Nepal is almost over. |

4.7.2.6 Completive

Completive aspect is marked by ablauting reduplication of the verb and signifies that an event is performed thoroughly or to completion. This aspect may occur with different tenses and aspects, though the completive is most frequently found in non-finite constructions with the sequential morpheme <-teŋ>. In a completive construction, the verb and any affixal material are repeated with a different vowel. While variations do occur, the most common ablauting pattern is /a/ to /u/ and all other vowels to /a/.

517  
| 517  | gilas-gelai  jha:-khe  jhu:-khe. |
|      | glass-PL  wash-IMPF  REDUP |
|      | They wash up the glasses and such. |

518  
|      | now  home  go-INF  must-FUT  roast-INF  REDUP |
|      | Now one must go home to roast them up. |

519  
| 519  | inta-so  wa  buŋ  jhola  ta?-hi  tu?-hi  do?-khe. |
|      | there-EL  3s  also  bag  put-P  REDUP  say-IMPF |
|      | Then he too put down his bag, they say. |

520  
| 520  | kalau  jhiŋ-hi  jhan-hi  do?-khe. |
|      | so  bind-P  REDUP  say-IMPF |
|      | So they tied [him] up, they say. |
In noun-verb compounds, it may be the nominal which undergoes the ablauting reduplication. Other variations are also attested, such as ablauting the sequential morpheme, though these are much less common.

521 kalau esa kam pa-khe
   so thus work do-IMPF

   kum pa-khe udhinimi mi-one.
   REDUP do-IMPF they\textsuperscript{d} e.brother-y.sibling
   And so the two brothers do all the work.

522 mi dhu-te\textsuperscript{ŋ} ma dhu-te\textsuperscript{ŋ} lokhon lagai-\textsubscript{aŋ}-ka.
   eye wash-SEQ REDUP wash-SEQ clothes don-FUT-1s
   Having washed my face, I’ll get dressed.

4.7.3 Periphrastic resultatives
The use of non-finite verbs with an auxiliary in tense and aspect constructions is widespread in Tibeto-Burman. Dhimal employs several periphrastic constructions to encode tense-like or aspect-like meaning. The following sections look at the stative resultative and the dynamic resultative.

4.7.3.1 Stative resultative
To encode a stative resultative, Dhimal employs a periphrastic construction with the nominaliser <-ka> and the post-verbal auxiliary *hili* to indicate actions or states that occurred prior to a reference point, but have a well-defined end state that has relevance to a time point indicated by the auxiliary. The auxiliary is inflected for person and tense or aspect. This construction encodes not only resultative aspect, but is used to create predicate adjectives and on occasion crosses the line into present tense.

The habitual stative resultative is built up from the nominalised main verb and auxiliary, which is marked for imperfective aspect, and
encodes an event that occurs habitually prior to a generic temporal reference point.

523  
\[ \text{han-e te } \text{hun-e te } \text{kalau } \text{ota } \text{m-sar} \]
go-SEQ  REDUP  so  there  rice-veg.

\[ \text{mi\text{\-}j-ka } \text{hi-khe.} \]
be.ripe-NOM  AUX-IMPF
Having gone home, then a cooked rice and curry meal is there.

524  
\[ \text{odo } \text{inta } \text{ole-pa-li } \text{kalau} \]
that  there  emerge-do-INF  so

\[ \text{m-gelai } \text{bu } \text{so:-ka } \text{hi-khe.} \]
rice-PL  also  transfer-NOM  AUX-IMPF
Then, there is also rice that has been stored away to get out.

To encode a present stative resultative, the auxiliary is marked with the past tense morpheme. The present stative resultative encodes an event that occurred in the past, but has present relevance.

525  
\[ \text{ita } \text{bhene } \text{mili } \text{pa-ka } \text{hi-gha.} \]
here  different  land  do-NOM  AUX-1p-1s
I have switched to a different plot of land here.

526  
\[ \text{jolpaj } \text{cuma-ka } \text{hi-nha-hi.} \]
snack  bring-NOM  AUX-1p-P
We\textsuperscript{p} have brought a snack.

527  
\[ \text{bihu } \text{pa-ka } \text{hi-nha } \text{manthu-na?} \]
that  do-NOM  AUX-1p-2  NEG.EXT-2
Have you\textsuperscript{s} married or not?
The chillies have been put out to dry.

The stative resultative may also be used in an experiential sense.

Where all have you travelled?

The following examples employing the same form are ambiguous between a resultative and a more dynamic reading.

[He] is wearing glasses. or [He] has put on glasses.

[He] is standing. or [He] has stood up.

[Her] mouth is closed. or [She] has closed her mouth.

[They] are forming the flour. or Flour has been formed.

Related to the previous examples, the stative resultative is also used to create predicate adjectives from change-of-state verbs, which are fundamentally resultative-statives.
In negative resultative constructions, the auxiliary verb *hili* is replaced by the negative existential *manthu*. In the negative, the nominalised verb may take a distinct suffix <-na>. This suffix also occurs with the sensory verbs *gili* ‘to understand’ and *bhaili* ‘to seem’. The morpheme <-na> seems to be used more consistently and regularly by older speakers, suggesting that <-ka> may be taking over the function of <-na> in negative constructions.\(^4\)

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\(^4\) The suffix <-na> appears to be related to the Dumi negative suffix <-na>. 
541 ca-na manthu-ga.
eat-IMPL NEG.EXT-1s
I haven’t eaten.

542 hasu buŋ si-na manthu.
who also die-IMPL NEG.EXT
No one has died.

When this construction employs the past imperfective of the auxiliary, the situation or event referred to is temporally located prior to a past reference point. The past stative resultative expresses a relation between a past state and a situation prior to it. Past stative resultatives primarily occur in narrative to situate events prior to that of the main story line, presenting the information as background.

543 anca-ŋ inta hane-ka manthu-gha-kha.
before-EMP there go-NOM NEG.EXT-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
I hadn’t gone there before.

544 ka te torse pe:-li diŋ-gil-ka hi-gha-kha.
I TOP mango pick-INF send-IM-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
I had sent him to pick mangoes.

545 səŋkər-ji-heŋ parbati m
Śaṅkar-HON-DAT Pārvatī rice
yo:-pi-ka hi-gha-khe.
set-DIR-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF
Pārvatī had set out rice for lord Śaṅkar.

4.7.3.2 Dynamic resultative

The dynamic resultative is formed periphrastically with the main verb marked by the sequential particle <-teŋ> and an inflected form of the auxiliary verb hili. It indicates that the state resulting from the attainment or transition of a past event continues. The state persists at
reference time, thereby differing from the stative resultative. The reference point may be habitual or generic, present or past tense, depending on the coding of the auxiliary. In some instances, the dynamic resultative borders on progressive aspect. In the following example, the auxiliary is marked with the infinitive.

546  eʔ-ghuri-ŋ  siŋ-ta  bejhem-teŋ  hi-li  goi-hi.
     one-moment  tree-LOC  lean-SEQ  be-INF  must-P
     For a moment, it was necessary to remain leaning against a tree.

When the auxiliary is marked with the imperfective the resulting state obtains habitually or generically.

547  gunan-teŋ  hi-khe  be?
     worry-SEQ  AUX-IMPF  DUB
     I wonder if he continues to worry?

548  haya  ma-tiŋ-khe  —  leta  bhom-teŋ  hi-khe.
     fish  NEG-see-IMPF  below-loc-SEQ  lie.on.belly-SEQ  AUX-IMPF
     The fish aren’t visible — they stay floating down below.

549  liʔta  gumsai-teŋ  ai-teŋ  hi-khe.
     inside  putrify-SEQ  rot-SEQ  AUX-IMPF
     Inside it remains rotten and putrified.

550  ku-nu  na  ita  hai  pa-teŋ  hi-khe-na?
     COP-COND  you-P  here  what  do-SEQ  AUX-IMPF-2
     So, what are you doing here?

A past tense auxiliary encodes a present dynamic resultative. The resulting state of a past event continues into the present. Hence, these constructions may have not only present relevance, but may border on progressive aspect.
[Her] hands are behind her.

I continue to be unemployed here.

[He] is asleep in the straw.

What are you doing like this?

[He] is boarding a riksha.

This tiger was in a cage.

[He] went to the river and remained watching quietly.
VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

558 ka siŋ-ta tan-teŋ hi-gha-kha.
I tree-LOC climb-SEQ AUX-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
I remained up in the tree that I had climbed.

559 khaŋ-lha-labelau te ləksmən lon-teŋ hi-gha-hi.
look-PURP-TEM TOP Lakṣmaṇ fall-SEQ AUX-PIMPF-P
When he went to look, there was Lakṣmaṇ fallen on the ground.

560 kalau kapi-gelai pelsiŋ-gelai saja-teŋ
so notebook-PL pencil-PL prepare-SEQ

suje-teŋ manthu-khe.
REDUP NEG.EXT-IMPF
[Your] notebooks and pencils are never all prepared.

4.8 Deictic motion

Dhimal has a set of five bound suffixes that impart a sense of motion to the verb and ground the situation in space in relation to a deictic referent. Aside from marking physical movement in space, two of these morphemes encode aspect or serve as a detransitive with change-of-state verbs. The deictic referent encoded may be the speaker, the addressee or a third person. The motion may be away from a referent, away from a referent with a goal, motion in an indeterminate direction, relinquitive motion or motion towards a referent. Deictic motion morphemes follow the valence changing morphemes and precede any tense or aspect markers.

The semantics of these morphemes vary along five parameters, viz. the basic function of motion (spatial or non-spatial), the orientation of the event (whether it is directed away from or toward a referent), the relative temporal sequence (motion before, during or after the event encoded by the main verb), the location of the event (near or away from the referent) and the manner (cover for the remaining semantic content). The determinants of these parameters are the categories of the main verb, i.e. transitivity, dynamicity,
telicity and, to a lesser extent, person. Consequently, the meanings encoded in the deictic motion are built up from those inherent in the suffixes and the category of the verb.

4.8.1 Distal

basic morph:  

label: DIST

The distal morpheme \(<-pu>\) signifies motion away from a deictic referent. Derived from the verb puli meaning ‘to go, set out’, the distal indicates that the action encoded by the main verb is performed away from the referent. The action may occur after or during the actual movement based on the nature of the verb. The motion has a spatial goal with telic events and is goal-less with atelic verbs. When co-occurring with change-of-state verbs, the distal morpheme marks a gradual progression toward that state.

When the distal marker is employed with telic events, that is events with a natural end point, the action of the main verb takes place away from the referent and after the motion away has occurred. The tense, aspect or mood of telic situations is viewed as the same for both the motion and the action. Hence, past tense marking would indicate that the motion and the action occurred.

561  

suta ta?-pu.  

home put-DIST  

Go and put it in the house.

562  

jha:-pu.  

wash-DIST  

Go and wash it.

563  

thal-pu-li goi-khe ma-goi-khe?  

throw-DIST-INF must-IMPF NEG-must-IMPF  

Is it necessary to throw it away or not?
VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

564 e ya te doʔ-pu-աŋ.
eh 3s TOP say-DIST-FUT
Eh, this one, he’ll go and tell.

565 jumni col-pi-pu-ա aũ?
tomorrow buy-DIR-DIST-FUT.1s okay
Tomorrow I’ll go buy [you one], okay?

566 si-ka-lai-heɣ mәncauli-ta soi-teɣ liʔ-pu-khe.
die-NOM-PL-DAT stretcher-LOC carry-SEQ bury-DIST-IMPF
[They] go bury dead people carrying them on stretchers.

When the distal is used with atelic events, including verbs of motion or naturally durative events, the distal suffix <pu> denotes action that is performed concurrently with the motion away from the deictic referent. That is, the action is performed while the subject is moving along.

567 heʔ-kilo cum-pu-a-na?
how.many-kilo hold-DIST-FUT-2
How many kilos do you want to take?

568 wa iŋko cətalai phar-pu-hi.
3s that mat carry.in.mouth-DIST-P
It carried that mat off in its mouth.

569 oso dhaʔ-pu-hi.
there run-DIST-P
[He] ran off in that direction.

570 wa-ko bhar te eʔ-loŋ jiḥã urai-pa-pu-hi la.
3s-GEN load TOP one-CL bird fly-do-DIST-P MIR
As for his load, a bird flew off with it.
571 am-pu do?-kha.
smoke-DIST say-IMPF.1s
Have a smoke for the road, I say. (lit. go along smoking)

When the distal morpheme <-pu> is used with change-of-state and some intransitive verbs, however, there is no physical motion encoded. Here the attainment of the state is one which proceeds gradually. From progression toward a spatial goal, the distal morpheme has extended its domain to cognitive perception of progression toward a state. The distal draws out the transition process for states, which may take anywhere from less than a second (blushing) to years (maturity) to attain, but which is still seen as representing a discernible process. Hence, the distal morpheme may lend durative aspectual meaning. Note the cofraternity between the distal marker <-pu> and the inceptive marker <-khoi> here. The inceptive places the process at the beginning phase.

572 kelai dhemal-lai sukhumbasi jem-pu-khoi la.
we⁰ Dhimal-PL landless become-DIST-INC MIR
We⁰ Dhimal are starting to become landless.

573 umer jem-pu-khoi.
age become-DIST-INC
[She] is starting to come of age.

574 bhar lhi:-pu-hi.
fruit be.heavy-DIST-P
The fruit began growing heavy.

575 rhai papa-pu-khoi.
face be.red-DIST-INC
[Your] face is starting to turn red.

576 belha?-pu-khoi la.
be.evening-DIST-INC MIR
Evening is starting to set in now.
577  *mesa kom-pu-hi.*  
fever be.less-DIST-P  
[His] fever began subsiding.

578  *jatri bajar lo-pu-khe.*  
Jātrī festival come-DIST-IMPF  
Jātrī festival is approaching.

4.8.2 Intentive

basic morph:  *<-lha>*  
label:  INTEN

The intentive morpheme *<-lha>* denotes movement away from a deictic referent in order to perform an event encoded by the main verb. The intentive may also be used to indicate a transitional process in some verbs with an experiencer subject. When used with a dynamic verb, the intentive indicates that the subject moves away from a referent with the intent to perform an activity, that is, with a goal in mind. Hence, the intentive generally requires a volitional subject. While the motion encoded by *<-lha>* is viewed as preceding the action of the main verb, the completeness of the movement does not necessarily entail completeness of the action, as is the case with the distal, only that the subject went with the intention.

579  *wa-seŋ puja-ta dhir-pa-teŋ dhaba? gu?-lha-hi.*  
3s-DAT worship-LOC learn-do-SEQ shawl don-INTEN-P  
Having taught him at the ceremony, [he] went to put on a shawl.

580  *obalai e?-ni dəmək ghurai-lha-ka hi-gha-khe.*  
theyP one-day Damak stroll-INTEN-NOM be-PIMPF-IMPF  
One day theyP had gone to Damak to stroll.
nelai dera gora ole-pa-khe
you village alcohol emerge-INTEN-IMPF

ma-ole-pa-khe rhe:-lha-ka-ta?
NEG-emerge-do-IMPF ask for-INTENNOM-LOC
Is alcohol served in your village when courting?

rhe:-lha!
request-INTEN
Go ask [her] for it!

pikiŋ ma-ca-lha-a-na?
picnic NEG-eat-INTEN-FUT-2
Aren’t you going to attend the picnic?

kai-lha-hoi do?-pi.
call-INTEN-PERF say-DIR
Tell [him] [they] already went to call [her].

hale cum-teŋ cam-teŋ hale coi-lha-gha.
plough grab-SEQ REDUP plough plough-INTEN-P.1s
Having grabbed the plough, I went to plough.

na hai bireŋ awai-tu?-khe-na ko?!
you what ever hesitate-put.on-IMPF-2 COP

kaṭhmanḍu-bhari kam bho:-lha.
Kaṭhmanḍu-CIRC work seek-INTEN
Why ever are you despairing?! Go look for work in Kathmandu.

so?-lha-gha.
piss-INTEN-P.1s
I went to piss.
VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

I today bathe-INTEN-FUT-1s here river-LOC
Today I am going to go bathe here in the river.

A clause marked with the intentive morpheme is similar to, yet distinct from, the distal. The intentive denotes a telic event, even when the verb is not inherently telic as in the following example with the verb *sikar ghali* ‘to hunt’. In example (589), the event is viewed as telic, with the subject moving from one location to another in order to hunt. While in example (590), the event is construed as atelic, with the subject moving along playing.

589 *sikar gha-lha-hi do?-hi.*
   hunt play-INTEN-P say-P
   ‘[She] went to hunt,’ [they] said.

590 *khur-ta rə nariya esa gha-pu-hi.*
   hand-LOC and elephant like.this play-DIST-P
   With the elephants under his arms, he went along playing like this.

An intentive-marked verb may also differ from one marked with the distal in regards to whom the action is performed for. In example (591), the intentive indicates that the action is performed for someone else, while in example (592) with the distal morpheme, the action is performed for oneself.

591 *eʔ-bəti curoṭ col-lha.*
   one-packet cigarette buy-INTEN
   Go buy [me] a packet of cigarettes.

592 *biskuṭ col-pu.*
   cookie buy-DIST
   Go buy [yourself] some cookies.
With verbs that encode an experiencer subject, the morpheme <-lha> may indicate motion and intention, as in example (593), or a transitional process, as in examples (594) and (595).

593 wa-ko dopha whan-ca-lha!
3s-GEN COM enter-PASS-INTEN
Go be taken in by him!

594 maricmuni kabara-ko rup jey-lha-hi.
Maricamanī chital-GEN form become-INTEN-P
Maricamanī took the form of a spotted deer.

595 tasi yo:-lha-khe.
tooth set.down-INTEN-IMPF
The tooth is coming out.

4.8.3 Indeterminate motion

basic morph:  <-gil>
label:        IM

The indeterminate motion marker <-gil>, derived from the verb gilli 'to chase', denotes motion occurring away from a deictic referent. When this morpheme occurs with telic verbs, the action is performed on an object causing it to move in a direction away from the referent. With atelic events, the morpheme <-gil> encodes an iterative event with the subject moving in an indeterminate direction away from the referent. This morpheme gets its meaning from that inherent in the notion ‘chase’, which typically involves back and forth motion.

The morpheme <-gil> only occurs with a handful of verbs that encode telic events. Here, the subject causes the object to move in a trajectory away from the referent. The subject, on the other hand, does not engage in any movement. The activity encoded in the main verb occurs near the referent and prior to that of the physical motion away. In the following examples, the subject relinquishes control of an object which travels in an unspecified direction away from the
referent. In example (596), the verb encodes an imperative scenario in which the addressee is requested to chase objects (noisy children) who then will presumably depart the scene to locations unknown.

596 ajai-ko puriŋ tu:-hi —gil-gil-pi aŋ?
grandma-GEN head ache-P chase-IM-DIR TAG Grandma’s head aches. Chase [them] off for [her], okay?

597 hisab pa-teŋ païsa pi-gil-khe.
math do-SEQ money give-IM-IMPF
After doing the math, she sends the money.

598 ciṭṭhi hethe lekhe-gil-gha.
letter how.many write-IM-P.1s
I wrote and sent so many letters.

599 kalau kodala-hoi thai-gil aŋ?
then hoe-INST toss-IM okay?
Then throw it away with a hoe, okay?

600 yo?-teŋ thai-gil-hi.
wipe-SEQ throw-IM-P
Having wiped it up [she] threw it out.

The indeterminate motion marker, however, is most commonly used with atelic events. This event is not bounded in space nor is there a distinct trajectory to the motion. Instead, the indeterminate motion marker <gil> indicates that the event predicated by the main verb occurs in multiple locations and at multiple times in a haphazard, back and forth manner. Hence, this morpheme lends iterative aspectual meaning to the verb. A deictic referent may or may not be indexed. When the referent is indexed, the notion is that the referent is at the center.
You showed me around to places that I hadn’t seen.

The girls also go around with their faces covered.

What are those girls coming around asking for?

Memories of travelling around and eating in Kathmandu come [to me].

[He] only hangs around with him.

Then it goes around trying to lay eggs.

4.8.4 Relinquitive

Basic morph:  
Label:  
REL

The relinquitive morpheme <-dhi>, possibly derived from the verb dhe:-li ‘to split’, encodes the notion of physical separation of two entities. This separation involves the subject relinquishing or leaving something behind with transitive verbs and the subject being left behind with intransitive verbs. There is also a phonologically conditioned allomorph <-dhe>, which occurs in imperatives.
When the relinquitive suffix occurs with a transitive verb, the subject relinquishes or leaves behind an object. This object may be physical (a flute or person), notional (responsibility) or spatial (a location). The event predicated by the verb precedes the motion away from the location of the event and per force occurs near the actants.

607  
\[
\text{nheʔ-loŋ basuli pi-dhi-hi.}  
\text{two-CL flute give-REL-P}  
\text{[They] left behind two flutes [for him].}  
\]

608  
\[
\text{ka-heŋ na-heŋ pa-li goi-ka gota-ŋ}  
\text{I-DAT you'-DAT do-INF must-NOM whole-EMP}  
\text{abiwara-so-ŋ pi-dhi-hi.}  
\text{duty-EL-EMP give-REL-P}  
\text{[He] passed down to me all the responsibility to do the necessary things for you'.}  
\]

609  
\[
\text{dabiya-hoi thai-dhi-hi.}  
\text{khukuri-INST cut-REL-P}  
\text{He sliced him with a khukuri and left (him there).}  
\]

In constructions where the stress falls on the relinquitive morpheme, such as in the imperative, the relinquitive is realised as \text{<-dhe>}.  

610  
\[
\text{phinu giʔ-dhe.}  
\text{door close-REL}  
\text{Close the door when you leave.}  
\]

611  
\[
\text{eʔ-juri kaura siŋ-ta taʔ-pi-dhe.}  
\text{one-pair cowrie tree-LOC put-DIR-REL}  
\text{Leave behind a pair of cowries on a tree [for the owner].}  
\]

612  
\[
\text{ka-heŋ atuisa pi-dhe.}  
\text{I-DAT a.bit give-REL}  
\text{Leave a little behind for me.}  
\]
Say ‘goodbye’ when you leave.

When you go, leave it for me, okay?

When the verb is intransitive, the relinquitive morpheme denotes movement that leaves the subject behind. Even with intransitive verbs, however, there is an unspecified actant. This unnamed participant moves away from the subject after the occurrence of the event predicated by the main verb.

They fall out over there and are left behind.

They stick and remain back there!

He was struck and left behind.

The relinquitive morpheme may transitivity an intransitive verb. In example (618), the object which has been relinquished is overt.

I’ve sent those photos that they left behind.
619  
\[ \text{hiso} \quad \text{si2-dhi-hi.} \]
whither  go-REL-P  
Where did she go and leave it?

4.8.5 Venitive

Basic morph:  \text{<-pa>}
Label:  VEN

The venitive morpheme \text{<-pa>} indexes movement toward a deictic referent and shows the most idiosyncratic behaviour of all the deictic motion affixes. With transitive verbs, the event predicated by the main verb may occur either before or after the motion, and either near or away from the referent. When the venitive occurs with verbs of motion, the event may occur during the motion toward the deictic referent. Second and third person subjects have the speaker as the deictic referent, and first person may have the addressee or a third person as the deictic referent.

The venitive typically encodes an event that is performed after the motion toward the referent with telic verbs.

620  
\[ \text{purij} \quad \text{pem-pa-anj-ka?} \]
head  break-VEN-FUT-1s  
Shall I come and bust [your] head?

621  
\[ \text{inta-an} \quad \text{dheu-pa.} \]
there-EMP  tether-VEN  
Come and tether it right there.

622  
\[ \text{purij} \quad \text{dhe:-pa-ni.} \]
head  split-VEN-IMP.POL  
Please come split [his] head open.

623  
\[ \text{ka} \quad \text{odoj} \quad \text{nasij} \quad \text{naj-ko} \quad \text{hanuman-hey} \]
I  that  reason  you\text{8.OBL-GEN}  Hanum\text{\textacute{a}n-DAT}
I came and killed your Hanumān for that reason.

The tiger has come and done such a thing to him.

When it is used with verbs of motion, the venitive encodes an event that is performed while coming toward a deictic referent.

[They] come running with a thunderous roar.

Did you bring the towel in?

Accompany [him] over here.

While motion was certainly involved prior to the event predicated by the main verb, example (628), which was uttered while both participants were seated by the fire, appears to encode an event that occurs near the speaker.

He’s over here warming himself by the fire.

In examples (629) and (630), employing a motion verb and a telic verb, the deictic referent refers not to a specific location where any of
the participants are at that moment, but rather to a future location where they will come together.

629 \[\text{kelai jharay e?-thane hi-ten wai-hey kha?-pa-aine.}\]
\[\text{we^p all one-place be-SEQ rain-DAT flee-VEN-ADH.PL}\]
Let us^p all come together and escape the rain in one place.

630 \[\text{te idhinimi param ta?-su-pa-li goi-ay.}\]
\[\text{okay they^d bond.friend put-COL-VEN-INF ust-FUT}\]
Okay, they^d need to come together and become bond friends.

The events encoded by examples (631) and (632) occur before the motion toward the referent. These events involve performing an action and then returning.

631 \[\text{boi col-pa-hi.}\]
\[\text{uncle buy-VEN-P}\]
Uncle bought it and brought it back.

632 \[\text{gesa se?-pa.}\]
\[\text{candle kill-VEN}\]
Kill the light and come back.

633 \[\text{ka ede torse pe:-pa-kha.}\]
\[\text{I this mango pick-VEN-IMPF.1s}\]
I’m picking these mangoes to bring back.

In examples (634) and (635), there is a distinct venitive motional component encoded by <-pa>, in which the hearer is instructed to come towards the referent and ‘give’. In example (636) with the identical verb, however, the motion towards a referent does not involve any of the speech act participants, but rather a third person.

634 \[\text{ajai-hey pi-pa!}\]
\[\text{grandma-DAT give-VEN}\]
Come give [this] to grandma!
4.9 Valency

The Dhimal verb has a number of morphological and periphrastic operations that increase or decrease the number of participants of the verb. The valence decreasing operations include middle marking with the morpheme $<-nha>$ and a passive with the morpheme $<-ca>$. Valence increasing operations include the $<-pa>$ causative, the indirect causative with $<-nha-pa>$ and the periphrastic causative with the loan verb lagaili. In addition, the directive morpheme $<-pi>$, which encodes an affected actant, will also be examined.

4.9.1 Middle

basic morph: $<-nha>$
label: MID

The middle voice is encoded by the suffix $<-nha>$, which immediately follows the verb stem. The middle morpheme may occur with either transitive or intransitive verb stems. The Dhimal middle serves a variety of functions including as a detransitive, facilitative, malefactive reflexive, passive and defocuser. All these functions share features that Hopper and Thompson (1987) identify as being characteristic of low transitivity. A middle event is less individuated and has low granularity. The verb agrees with the semantic patient.

One of the more common functions of the middle voice is as a detransitive. Where only a lexical causative exists, the middle morpheme $<-nha>$ may be used to create an intransitive verb from a
transitive. This grouping includes verbs where the action is viewed as a spontaneous internal process, one without a semantic agent. The process encoded by the middle is one that the subject undergoes. In all these examples, the unmarked verb requires a volitional agent.

637  *pusiŋ lum-nha-teŋ hi-hi la khokoi-ta.*
    hair  wrap-MID-SEQ AUX-P MIR leg-LOC
    The hair remains wrapped around [his] leg.

638  *siŋ-ta lara meʔ-nha-teŋ hi-hi.*
    tree-LOC vine twist-MID-SEQ AUX-P
    The vine is winding around the tree.

639  *lokhoŋ khoi-nha-teŋ theʔ-hi.*
    clothing hang-MID-SEQ rip-P
    The clothing got caught and ripped.

640  *tui rempha oŋ-nha-hi.*
    egg be.good-do burn-MID-P
    The egg cooked well.

641  *diya-ko diham hesa-pa khai-nha-hi?*
    water.buffalo-GEN rope how-do get.loose-MID-P
    How did the water buffalo’s rope become loose?

A facilitative middle regards the inherent potential of an action or process to occur. Again here, the middle morpheme is suffixed to a transitive verb. Most of the data indicate a preference for third person and imperfective aspect to encode facilitative semantics, though as the next two examples show, this is not a requirement. Example (642), with inceptive aspect, was uttered when straw added to a fire caused it to flare up, much to the speaker’s chagrin.

642  *seʔ-nha-khoi.*
    kill-MID-INC
    One can be killed already.
643  siso-bhari ma-hane. ba:-nha-khe-na.
jute-CIRC NEG-go. IMP pierce-MID-IMPF-2
Don’t go over by the jute. You\textsuperscript{s} can be gored.

644  mho?-nu ma-lhe:-nha-khe.
blow-COND NEG-peel-MID-IMPF
If [you] blow [on it], it (the pencil sharpener) doesn’t work.

645  ma-mete-nha-khe.
NEG-erase-MID-IMPF
It (the eraser) doesn’t erase.

646  ci dham-pa-ka bherpa ma-lo. bu:-nha-khe.
water be.hot-do-NOM near NEG-come scald-MID-IMPF
Don’t come near water being heated. One can be scalded.

647  naŋ-ko phinu gi?-nha-khe?
you\textsuperscript{s}.OBL-GEN door lock-MID-IMPF
Does your\textsuperscript{s} door lock?

The middle morpheme \textless -nha\textgreater  may be used to mark a passive event. In the middle passive, the semantic patient is syntactically promoted to grammatical subject, with corresponding agreement on the verb. The semantic agent is suppressed and never appears overtly in passive middle clauses. It is always unspecified, either because it is non-referring, unknown or unimportant. The causer is, if not semantically, then grammatically non-existent. The syntactic demotion of the agent is a corollary of its semantic demotion. The following two examples are from a story about a yogi and a tiger. The tiger was found locked up in a cage and the hunters who locked it up are unimportant and only mentioned once in the beginning of the narrative.
Another frequent usage attested for the middle voice is in reflexive-like situations. The middle reflexive is employed to index non-volitional malefactive reflexive actions. The key difference lies in the notion of control. In the following examples, the unmarked verb may be used with reflexive meaning, but only when the agent volitionally acts upon himself. My informant only accepted the unmarked verbs with the addition of a mentally unstable subject. In the middle-marked scenario, the subject accidentally split his foot open, while in the unmarked scenario he acted intentionally.
654 **gora am-teŋ cur am-labelau khur-ta coʔ?-nha-hi.**
Alcohol drink-SEQ cig smoke-TEM arm-LOC burn-MID-P
After drinking alcohol, while smoking he burned himself on the arm.

655 **bəula dyəŋ wa-ko cur khur-ta coʔ?-hi.**
Crazy person 3s-GEN cigarette arm-LOC burn-P
The crazy person (intentionally) burned his arm with a cigarette.

These examples illustrate that the primary semantics being encoded in the middle-marked examples is not reflexiveness, but rather non-volitionality. They also show that subject affectedness, while certainly one of the characteristics of the Dhimal middle, is not the primary one. After all, the mentally unstable individual was undoubtedly just as affected as the subjects of the middle-marked scenarios. The distinction is that the subject acts volitionally in the unmarked example, but the middle event happens by itself, that is without intention or volition.

Another distinctive feature of a middle-reflexive event in Dhimal is the number of participants of the verb. As the previous sections illustrate, a middle-marked clause typically has only one non-volitional participant. Many of the middle-reflexive examples, however, have the affected body part overtly marked and one case has an overt instrument (656). In the cases of third person subjects, one is tempted to read this as a simple passive, i.e. ‘his finger was slightly cut by the knife’. With a first or second person subject this interpretation is not possible.

656 **aŋguli dabiya-hoi atuisa thai-nha-hi.**
Finger khukuri-INST a.bit slice-MID-P
He cut his finger a little with the khukuri.

657 **dirbe ci:-nha-gha.**
Tongue bite-MID-P.1s
I bit my tongue.
658  phinu-ta  khur  ceʔ-nha-hi.  
door-LOC  hand  clasp-MID-P  
[He] caught his hand in the door.

659  ceʔ-nha-nha?  
cut-MID-P.2  
Did you cut yourself?

660  kapal-ta-ŋ  dha:-pa  dhi:-nha-sa-hi.  
forehead-LOC-EMP  smack-do  strike-MID-APR-P  
It seems he bumped his forehead with a smack.

661  khur  mekhonaiti-ta  onŋ-nha-hi.  
hand  ember-LOC  burn-MID-P  
He burnt his hand on an ember.

Certain intransitive verbs may take middle marking to indicate the low elaboration of an event. The event is defocussed and the subject is pragmatically demoted. That is, middle marking on intransitive verbs may be used to encode indefiniteness, low specificity and non-causality. In these constructions, the subject is less individuated, i.e. the subject may be non-referential or generic. The low degree of elaboration extends to the aspectual semantics with the event being more imperfective, atelic, non-individuated and non-punctual. Although the semantics are difficult to capture, they involve a certain non-causality, a spontaneous event that just happens. Compare example (662) below, which employs an unmarked verb, and example (663), which has middle marking. My informant explained that the event with a middle-marked verb was more appropriate for a remote event, one in which the cause for its sticking was unknown, or when the scythe was still up in the tree.

662  torse  loʔ-labelau  kaciya  kheʔ-hi.  
mango  dislodge-TEM  scythe  stick-P  
While dislodging mangoes, the scythe stuck.
663  torse lo?-labelau kaciya khe?-nha-hi.
    mango dislodge-TEM scythe stick-MID-P
    While dislodging mangoes, the scythe got stuck.

The examples (664) and (665) represent minimal pairs, with the unmarked example being more definite. As my informant explained, in (664), the speaker perhaps knows how many eggs broke. While in (665), he may not know. This relates to the granularity of the event. In example (664), the event is crisp and clear. While example (665) is vague and fuzzy. Example (666), although more definite numerically, is indefinite in regard to causality with the Nepali loan anjān ‘unwittingly, inadvertently’ reinforcing the low elaboration.

664  tui bhoi-hi.
    egg break-P
    An egg broke.

665  tui bhoi-nha-hi.
    egg break-MID-P
    There was egg breakage.

666  e?-lony tui anjan-ta bhoi-nha-hi.
    one-CL egg ignorance-LOC break-MID-P
    An egg was broken somehow.

In the following minimal pair, the verb may occur either with middle marking or without, depending on the degree of granularity desired by the speaker. In the second pair, however, middle marking is not possible, due to the higher degree of elaboration inherent in the event, i.e. there is a direct cause for a specific tree falling.

667  sīŋ bherma-ta undhi-hi.
    tree wind-LOC fall.over-P
    A tree fell in the wind.
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668  siŋ  bherma-ta  undhi-nha-hi.
    tree    wind-LOC    fall-over-MID-P
There was a tree falling in the wind.

669  siŋ  pal-labelau  undhi-hi.
    tree    fell-TEM    fall-P
While chopping down the tree, it fell.

670  *siŋ  pal-labelau  undhi-nha-hi.
    tree    fell-TEM    fall-P
While chopping down the tree, it fell.

4.9.2 Passive

    basic morph:    <-ca>
    label:          PASS

The morpheme `<ca>` indicates a passive construction whereby the subject of the clause becomes the semantic patient or undergoer. That is, the experiencer subject is a non-volitional recipient of the action of the verb. The passive construction shares much of the semantic domain and indeed many characteristics of the middle voice. While not common `<ca>` does occur fairly regularly with a small number of common verbs, both transitive and intransitive. For many verbs, minimal pairs exist, though several informants were unsure what the difference between them was. One informant felt that the verbs with this morpheme were more polite, perhaps in the sense of recognising the subject as an affected undergoer. One person also stated that it was buđa-budi-ko katha ‘old people’s talk’. The examples below employ transitive verbs.

671  thokar  nin-ca-hi.
    bump    get-PASS-P
He took a bump.
672  дажай нин-ca-гха.
       beating get-PASS-P.1s
       I took a beating.

       house inside bones crush-PASS-IMPF
       Bones are being chopped inside the house.

674  нариya-ko кан ма-gха ко?-ca-a-nau.
       elephant-GEN son NEG-play draw.in-PASS-FUT-3s→2
       Don’t play with a baby elephant, you will be grabbed.

Below are examples with the passive being employed with intransitive verbs. More data are necessary to determine the distinction between an unmarked intransitive verb and one with the passive morpheme.

675  бура?-па-η син-ca-αη be.
       old-do-EMP live-PASS-FUT DUB
       I wonder whether he’ll survive to an old age.

676  кхуси же-тη лен-ca-sа-hi.
       happy become-SEQ smile-PASS-APR-P
       Having become happy, they enjoyed themselves.

677  ва-ко допха вхан-ca-lha!
       3s-GEN COM enter-PASS-PURP
       Go be taken in by him!

Strangely, some verbs with the passive morpheme appear to be semantically transitive.

678  ка-ηη сали берηη ко:-ca-hi.
       I-DAT sali old.lady afflict-PASS-P
       The house goddess afflicted me.
A small set of verbs only occurs with the passive morpheme <-ca> along with the morpheme <-laʔ>. All refer to events that one undergoes, e.g. getting wrinkles, vomiting, feeling desolate.

679  *injo beran-ko istu rhai cuncalaʔ-hi.*  
That old woman’s face is wrinkled.

680  *nicalaʔt-a wa.*  
It will probably become dull around here (after you leave).

Use of the morpheme <-ca> to encode a passive event in my data is somewhat uncommon. Rather, most instances that might use a passive are instead encoded in the middle voice and one is left to conclude that this morpheme is nearing imprductivity. The following passive forms derived from intransitive verbs, however, were found in online publications by the United Mission to Nepal: *monta ta:cali* ‘to like, love’, *dilima pørhicali* ‘to study during the evening’, *liʔtasoŋ doʔcali* ‘to say to oneself’. While these verb forms were not recorded in my data, they suggest that passive verbs may be more common in other dialects.

4.9.3 *Causative*

The morpheme <-pa>, derived from the verb *pali* ‘to make, do’, can be affixed to most any intransitive verb stem to create a causative. This suffix may be used to express a transitive notion where only a lexical intransitive verb exists.

681  *mistiri nheʔ-mi kunti jaʔ-pa-teŋ ara ce:-khe.*  
carpenter two-HCL horse stand-do-SEQ saw cut-IMPF  
Two carpenters have set up a saw horse and are sawing.

682  *insa hul-pa-ka-taʔ hul-pa-ka-taʔ*  
thus fall-do-NOM-LOC-EMP fall-do-NOM-LOC-EMP
Thus, dropping (meat) all along the way, he brought a little bit.

He built a fire in that tree where he was staying.

They have put the chili peppers out to dry.

If one doesn’t put an escape hole…

Some are over there removing the innards.

When the object of the <-pa> causative is human, an important characteristic of the resultant expression is that it expresses a non-forceful act, one that is inducive rather than coercive. In this respect the causative shows some similarity to the English ‘get’ causative. Physical coercion or the threat thereof is not part of the semantic make-up of causatives in Dhimal. The causee, if overt, is case-marked in the dative.
When the morpheme <-pa> is affixed to a reflexive verb, the result is a transitive event with the self-directed action of the reflexive being directed outward toward someone else.

I. OBL-GEN y. sibling-DAT I whither flee-do-FUT.1s COP Where is it that I will hide my little sister?

Please get that older brother to dance.

Let me out of the cage today!

Now he had the yogi go ahead of him.

He had him come to that place.

I need to have my hair trimmed.

Come, I’ll bathe [you].
If a caused event is transitive, then Dhimal more typically employs the periphrastic causative with *lagaili* discussed below.

### 4.9.4 Indirect causative

An indirect causative is constructed with the middle marker <-nha> and the morphological causative <-pa>. The primary semantic characteristic of this type of construction is of non-volitional causality. The indirect causative is non-purposive and unintentional. Verbs, not surprisingly, retain the middle semantics of low elaboration. The result is an indirect causative. The heavier morphological weight of the middle-marked causative corresponds iconically to the more indirect causality.

696   *auciri*  *kiya*  *eʔ-loŋ*  *tui*  *bhoi-nha-pa-hi*
wayward chicken one-CL egg break-MID-do-P

dama ma-gi-ka.
way NEG-know-NOM
Not knowing the way, the wayward chicken caused an egg to break.

697   *ci*  *am-li*  *khaŋ-labelau*  *gila*  *undhi-nha-pa-gha.*
water drink-INF look-TEM glass upend-MID-do-P.1s
While trying to drink some water, I inadvertently knocked the glass over.

698   *wa*  *rem-ka*  *sute*  *lu: nha-pa-hi.*
3s good-NOM thread unravel-MID-do-P
He caused the good thread to become unravelled.

699   *wa*  *kaŋ-ko*  *khur*  *phinu-ta*  *ceʔ-nha-pa-hi.*
3s LOBL-GEN hand door-LOC clasp-MID-do-P
He accidently caught my hand in the door.
VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

700  

\[\text{gilas-ko ci-heŋ tu:-nha-pa-nha!}\]

glass-GEN water over.turn-MID-do-P.2

You’s knocked the glass of water over!

4.9.5 Periphrastic causative

The periphrastic causative is constructed with the Indo-Aryan loan verb *lagaili* ‘to put on’ and is used with transitive base verbs when the causer induces the causee to perform an action. The periphrastic causative signals little physical involvement on the part of the causer and a degree of cooperation on the part of the causee. This causative corresponds roughly to the English causative with ‘have’. Consequently, the sense of cooperation limits this construction to human causees. Responsibility lies with the causee to see that the action is carried out. The causee, when overt, is case-marked in the dative.

701  

\[\text{na ala-maha biha na-heŋ}\]

you’s big-great meat you’s-DAT

\[\text{cum-pu-li lagai-gha!}\]

take-DIST-INF put.on-P.1s

You’s — I had you’s take all that meat!

702  

\[\text{bol pa-li lagai to ku-nu.}\]

strength do-INF put.on then COP-COND

Well, have [him] put a little effort into it.

703  

\[\text{inta-so dul-pa-li lagai-hi la wa-seŋ.}\]

there-EL enter-do-INF put.on-P MIR 3s-DAT

Then [he] had him go in [the cage].

704  

\[\text{wa-seŋ jhẹ-li lagai-hi la.}\]

3s-DAT bind-INF put.on-P MIR

[He] had [him] tie him up.
4.9.6 Directive

basic morph:  <-pi>
label:        DIR

Directives are indexed by the morpheme <-pi>, derived from the verb pili ‘to give’. A directive indicates an affected actant of the action predicated by the main verb and increases the valency or number of participants of the verb. The directive morpheme <-pi> denotes that the event is performed for someone else’s benefit or to their detriment. When an intransitive verb is marked with <-pi>, the verb becomes transitive, with the intransitive event affecting another participant.

The affected actant, which may be a first, second or third person participant, is often not overt and must be derived from context. The connotation of the directive may be benefactive or malefactive, depending on the inherent semantics of event. In the following examples with an intransitive or reflexive verb root, the morpheme <-pi> effectively creates a transitive scenario, with the patient being the affected actant.

706     tho?-pi-hi.
spit-DIR-P
[She] spit on [me].

707     lem-pi-khe.
laugh-DIR-IMPF
[They] laugh at [me].

708     nha-pi-ā?
dance-DIR-FUT.1s
Shall I dance for [you]?
With inherently reflexive verbs, the directive morpheme signals that the event is directed not at oneself, but rather at someone else.

In the following examples containing transitive verbs, the directive morpheme adds an affected actant to the two pre-existing actants of subject and object. This affected actant may or may not be the semantic patient.
716 mhai-gelai liʔ-pi-nu dyaŋ seŋ-khe.
evil.spirit-PL bury-DIR-COND person be.dry-IMPF
If the evil spirits bury it, the person grows thin.

717 nhatoŋ meʔ-pi-ã?
ear twist-DIR-FUT.1s
Shall I twist [your] ear for [you]?

718 dyaŋ si-he pa-nu bhoj pa-pi-li goi-khe.
person die-HYP do-COND party do-DIR-INF must-IMPF
If someone dies, one must arrange a feast for [others in the community].

4.10 Directives

The directives that will be discussed in this section include the optative, the dual, plural and affinal adhortatives, and the admonitive. In addition, the singular, dual, plural, affinal, polite, infinitival and other types of imperatives will be examined. The categories of person and number may be employed to index degrees of deference or politeness in directives.

4.10.1 Optative

Basic morph:  <-ko>
Label:        OPT

An optative is indexed by the morpheme <-ko> and expresses a speaker’s subjective wish or desire about the occurrence of a third person future event. Consequently, the optative only occurs with the future tense. This morpheme, which appears to be related to the copula ko, immediately follows the future morpheme.


719  lo-a-ko.
come-FUT-OPT
May [he] come.

720  si-a-ko.
die-FUT-OPT
May [he] die.

721  eʔ-loŋ tui taʔ-khe pecara khacuri ma-jen-a-ko
one-CL egg put-IMPF wound pox NEG-bear-FUT-OPT
doʔ-teŋ kalau jhem-paŋ rhum-khe.
say-SEQ then be.light-do-EMP wait-IMPF

[They] place an egg, saying ‘may no wounds or smallpox happen’, and then wait until dawn.

Most examples in my corpus involving the optative are employed with third person singular referents, though utterances with dual or plural third person referents are also found. Example (722) was uttered about two young men going to India to seek work.

722  rem-pha pa-a-ko.
be.good-do do-FUT-OPT
May [they] do well.

The optative is also used to indicate an indirect directive. By expressing a preference that such and such third person event occur, the speaker may attempt to persuade the addressee to act in a certain way. The speaker defers to the addressee who is under no compulsion and is free to reject the speaker’s wish if he so chooses. This deference may be to an elder or even to a head-strong, spoilt child who must be coaxed as in example (723).

723  boi ca-a-ko babu aũ?
uncle eat-FUT-OPT Junior TAG
Let uncle eat it, Junior, okay?
724  boi  jim-a-ko.
    uncle  sleep-FUT-OPT
        Let uncle sleep.

725  yha-a-ko  la  insa-ŋ.
    remain-FUT-OPT MIR  like.that-EMP
        Just let it remain like that.

726  wa  doʔt-a-ko.
    3s  say-FUT-OPT
        Let him say it.

727  ca-a-ko.
    eat-FUT-OPT
        Let [the chicken] eat [the piece of stolen meat].

4.10.2 Adhortatives

4.10.2.1 Dual adhortative

    Basic morph:  <-siŋ>
    Label:          ADH.DL

The adhortative particle <-siŋ> is suffixed to the verb stem and indicates the speaker’s subjective attitude towards a future event involving two participants, viz. the speaker and the addressee. This future event is one in which the speaker indicates his desire that it come about, or in the case of the negative, not come about.

728  m  ca-siŋ.
    rice  eat-ADH.DL
        Let’s eat.
729  kidhiŋ  phaisala  pa-siŋ.
    wê.OBL  judgement  do-ADH.DL
Let’s judge.

730  ti  hane-siŋ.
    walk  go-ADH.DL
Come on, let’s go.

731  sikar  gha-lha-siŋ  la.
    hunting  play-INTEN-ADH.DL  MIR
Let’s go hunting.

732  gora  am-dhi-siŋ.
    alcohol  drink-REL-ADH.DL
Let’s drink some alcohol and leave.

The dual adhortative <-siŋ> may also occur in the interrogative. Here, the speaker subordinates his own desires, and instead solicits the addressee’s subjective attitude regarding a future event involving the speaker and addressee.

733  pani  am-siŋ?
    betel.leaf  drink-ADH.DL
Shall we have some betel leaf?

734  kaŋ-ko  dopha  ghaḍi  sate-siŋ?
    I.OBL-GEN  COM  watch  exchange-ADH.DL
Shall we exchange watches?

Additionally, the morpheme <-siŋ> may be employed in a directive fashion regardless of the number of referents. By employing the dual adhortative, the speaker insinuates herself in the predication of the verb. This usage indicates weak obligation, as though the speaker were attempting to sway the addressee rather than coerce him, and is therefore weaker in force than the more blunt negative imperative. The referent in example (735) below is singular, with the addressee
overtly indicated by the second person singular pronoun. In contrast to the examples shown above, the speaker here clearly is attempting to persuade the addressee to act in a certain way, one which does not involve the speaker, despite the formal marking on the verb. Example (736) was addresseed to a solitary visitor who happened to also be the only one present to have alcohol before them.

735 \( na \ ma\text{-}datai\text{-}siŋ. \)
\( \text{you}^8 \ \text{NEG-lie-ADH.DL} \)
Let’s not lie.

736 \( am\text{-}siŋ. \)
\( \text{drink-ADH.DL} \)
Let’s drink up.

Example (737), with overt second person dual marking in the form of the personal pronoun, is uttered by an old woman to two men who are wrestling. Clearly, she is not referring to herself, but rather to the wrestlers. The remaining examples were addressed to plural referents.

737 \( nidhimi \ ede \ esa\text{-}pa \ ma\text{-}pa\text{-}siŋ. \)
\( \text{you}^d \ \text{this like.this-do} \ \text{NEG-do-ADH.DL} \)
Let’s not behave like this.

738 \( bulbul \ ma\text{-}pa\text{-}siŋ! \)
\( \text{dust} \ \text{NEG-do-ADH.DL} \)
Let’s not kick up dust!

739 \( ma\text{-}leder\text{-}siŋ. \)
\( \text{NEG-be.shy-ADH.DL} \)
Let’s not be shy.

740 \( ma\text{-}sika?\text{-}siŋ. \)
\( \text{NEG-be.squeamish-ADH.DL} \)
Let’s not be squeamish [about the food].
Employing forms such as the adhortative in a directive fashion is known in other languagers as well. For example, English utterances such as ‘let’s eat all our vegetables’ or ‘let’s get ready for bed now’, though formally marked for two or more participants to include the speaker, may in fact not include the speaker at all in the event. In English, however, the use of an adhortative in a directive manner would be considered condescending and perhaps be more typically found employed with small children or the infirm.

4.10.2.2 *Plural adhortative*

Basic morph:  <-aine>
Label: ADH.PL

A plural adhortative is marked by the morpheme <-aine>, which is suffixed to the verb stem. The plural adhortative indexes three or more participants and, like the dual, indicates the speaker’s subjective desire or wish regarding a future event involving the speaker, the addressee and at least one other actant.

741 *iŋko m ce:-li do:-pa-aine.*
that paddy cut-INF be.finished-do-ADH.PL
Let’s⁰ finish cutting that paddy.

742 *bheṭ jen-aine.*
meeting happen-ADH.PL
Let’s⁰ meet again.

743 *te gora ma-am-aine nani.*
okay alcohol NEG-drink-ADH.PL today
Okay, let’s⁰ not drink alcohol today.

744 *teje-heŋ rhum-aine.*
Teje-DAT wait-ADH.PL
Let’s⁰ wait for Teje.
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745 *terey-ko cokha ca-aine.*
intestine-GEN snack eat-ADH.PL
Let’s[^p] eat some intestines as a snack.

4.10.2.3 Affinal kin adhortatives

In the affinal kin register, Dhimal has distinct dual and plural adhortative forms to indicate this marked relationship. The affinal forms are constructed simply by suffixing the affinal addressee morpheme <-nyo> to the dual and plural adhortative forms.

746 *pa-siŋ-nyo.*
do-ADH.DL-ADR
Let’s[^d] do it.

747 *am-siŋ-nyo.*
drink-ADH.DL-ADR
Let’s[^d] drink.

In the affinal plural adhortative, the plural adhortative morpheme is realised as <-i>, presumably due to phonological erosion of the morpheme <-aine>.

748 *pa-ĩ-nyo.*
do-ADH.PL-ADR
Let’s[^p] do it.

749 *am-ĩ-nyo.*
drink-ADH.PL-ADR
Let’s[^p] drink.

4.10.3 Imperatives

The imperative is used with the second person. Dhimal has several different morphemes that are employed with commands to distinguish singular, dual and plural number, mark social relations, and different
degrees of force or politeness. Prohibitives are formed simply with the prefixal negative <ma-> and the imperative.

4.10.3.1 Singular imperative

A singular imperative is indicated by a bare verb stem.

750  atuisa  pi.
     a.bit  give
     Give [me] a little bit.

751  dama  la?-pi!
     path  quit-DIR
     Clear the way!

752  m  ca-li  lo.
     rice  eat-INF  come
     Come and eat.

753  hane  suta.
     go  home
     Go home.

A handful of verbs only occur in the imperative, such as example (754).

754  ma-bhe!
     NEG-mess.with
     Don’t mess with it!

4.10.3.2 Dual imperative

Basic morph:  <-se>
Label:  IMP.DL
A dual imperative suffix <-se> indexes a command involving two actants and follows the bare verb stem.

755  **ede**  *kay-kö*  *gandi-ta*  *gha-se.*
    this  I.OBL-GEN  back-LOC  play-IMP.DL
    Play on this back of mine.

756  **nidhinimi**  *mha?-se.*
    you²  stop-IMP.DL
    You two stop!

757  **nidhimi**  *bura?-pa*  *sinca-se.*
    you²  old-do  survive-IMP.DL
    You two live to be old. (blessing said to grandparents)

758  **dənai-se!**
    hit-IMP.DL
    Hit it!

759  **ma-leder-se.**
    NEG-be.shy-IMP.DL
    Don’t be shy.

760  **ko-se**  *pelsiŋ.*
    COP-IMP.DL  pencil
    Here, take the pencils.

4.10.3.3 **Plural imperative**

Basic morph:  <-su>
Label:  COL

A plural imperative, indexing a command involving three or more actants, affixes the collective morpheme <-su> to the bare verb stem. Note also that although the copula ko takes no agreement or tense
markers, it does take number markers in the imperative as noted in examples (760) and (762).

761  *bho:-su.*  
search-COL  
Look for it.

762  *ko-su paisa.*  
COP-COL money  
Here, take the money.

763  *kaŋ-ko diya-heŋ diham peʔ-su.*  
I.OBL-GEN water.buffalo-DAT rope spin-COL  
Spin some rope for my water buffaloes.

764  *ti-su. han-aïne.*  
walk-COL go-ADH.PL  
Come on. Let’s go.

765  *ma-hane-su.*  
NEG-go-COL  
Don’t go.

4.10.3.4 *Affinal kin imperative*

Basic morph:  <-du>
Label:  IMP.H

When using an imperative with someone who falls within a marked affinal relationship, the morpheme <-du> is suffixed to the stem. In contrast to the polite morpheme <-ni> discussed below, the affinal imperative morpheme precedes the number markers.

766  *lo-du m ca-li.*  
come-IMP.H rice eat-INF  
Please come and eat.
juwa-ko tørpha-so atuisa gora cakhe-du.
father-in-law-GEN side-EL a.bit alcohol taste-IMP.H
Please taste a little alcohol from your father-in-law.

acar deʔ-du-su.
pickle lick-IMP.H-COL
Please taste the pickle.

ko-du mhawa.
COP-IMP.H son-in-law
Here, please take it son-in-law.

yum-du-se.
sit-IMP.H-IMP.DL
Please sit down.

4.10.3.5 Polite imperative

Basic morph:   <-ni>
Label:   POL

A polite imperative with the morpheme <-ni> softens a command and is used when the speaker lacks the authority or is unwilling to issue a direct command out of deference or politeness. The polite imperative may also be employed when pleading with an unwilling actor. The morpheme <-ni> follows the verb stem and any number markers.

yum-ni.
sit-POL
Please sit.

am-ni atuisa.
drink-POL a.bit
Please drink a little bit.
773 amai m cuma-pi-ni.
mother rice take-DIR-POL
Mother, please bring rice for [him].

774 ma-ko-ni. lo-ni. lo.
NEG-COP-POL come-POL come
Please, it’s not like that. Please come. Come.

775 cakhe-ni ku-nu.
taste-POL COP-COND
Please have a taste.

776 eʔ-ghuri mhaʔ-se-ni.
one-moment stop-IMP.DL-POL
Please stop for one moment.

4.10.3.6 The particle to
The particle to meaning ‘then, so’ primarily occurs sentence-finally with imperatives where it softens a command and adds an urging tone. This particle may be used when the speaker encourages the addressee to act or when he has lost patience. This particle, which is sometimes pronounced as to, is most likely an Indo-Aryan loan. The Nepali particle ta has much the same semantic properties when it occurs with imperatives and sentence-finally. In contrast to the Nepali morpheme, however, the Dhimal particle to does not occur adnominally as a topic marker.

777 cuma to khan-aine.
bring then look-ADH.PL
Bring it over here and let’s have a look at it.

778 hiʔ to.
ask then
Ask then.
Hey, come on over here.

Well, go on and tether it.

Just take a good look at yourself.

A verbal infinitive alone, either in the affirmative or negative, promotes or negates an activity. An infinitival imperative is not directed at any specific individual, but is rather a general proclamation. It appears to be more common in proscribing an activity with the negative.

Okay, rice carrying.

No crying.

Just don’t drink.

No adding water.
An admonitive is created with the indeclinable verb *ma-el*, which derives from the intransitive verb *elli* ‘to be good, proper’. This verb is used in the negative to express what is considered to be inappropriate, based on cultural beliefs. Since this construction encodes a generic admonitive aimed at no one in particular, an admonitive takes no person markers. The force of an admonitive in Dhimal is not as strong as a prohibitive, but rather counsels against a certain action or behaviour.

787  *atui-ka  jamal-lai-hey  dənai-li  ma-el.*  
be.small-NOM  child-PL-DAT  beat-INF  NEG-be.good  
One shouldn’t beat small children.

788  *m  ca-tey  gora  am-li  ma-el.*  
rice eat-SEQ  alcohol drink-INF  NEG-be.good  
One shouldn’t drink liquor after eating.

789  *insa  pa-li  ma-el.*  
thus  do-INF  NEG-be.good  
One shouldn’t do it like that.

790  *insika  ca-li  ma-el.*  *lisi  rai-pu-khe.*  
such  eat-INF  NEG-be.good  shit  scatter-DIST-IMPF  
One shouldn’t eat such things. One gets diarrhoea.

791  *dhangai-ko  phe?-su-ka  la?-pa-li  ma-el.*  
rooster-GEN  beat-COL-NOM  quit-do-INF  NEG-be.good
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\[ tumsinj\ tu:-khe. \]
liver ache-IMPF
One shouldn’t separate roosters that are fighting. One develops a liver ache.

While primarily employed in an impersonal sense to indicate normative behaviour, the admonitive may occur with an overt pronoun as in example (792).

\[ 792\ na\ do?-li\ ma-el. \]
you say-INF NEG-be.good
For you to say it wouldn’t be proper.

4.10.3.9 Other imperatives

Two other imperative constructions will be considered briefly here. They are the ‘perfective’ imperative with the perfective aspectiviser \(<-hoi>\) and the ‘stative’ imperative with the existential verb \(hili\). Most of the examples employing the ‘perfective’ imperative were used when giving instructions on how to perform an activity. Only example (793) deviates from this pattern. An alternative derivation for this morpheme may be the verb \(hoili\) ‘to finish’. No examples, however, occur with the dual or plural imperative markers, which one would expect if this were the case.

\[ 793\ jim-hoi. \]
sleep-PERF
Go to sleep already.

\[ 794\ tir-pa-hoi\ tar-pa-hoi\ sagua\ mo?-hoi. \]
be.cool-do-PERF REDUP yeast mix-PERF
Let it cool down thoroughly and then mix in the yeast.

\[ 795\ kalau\ gota-ŋ\ okhai-hoi\ akhai-hoi\ to-li\ goi-khe. \]
so whole-EMP dig-PERF REDUP dig-INF need-PERF
So then dig it all up, one has to dig.
Another construction used to indicate a command employs the verb *hili* ‘to be, stay’ often in conjunction with a non-finite verb marked with the sequential morpheme <-teŋ>. These forms are used when a command involves continuing an activity or state. Whether this construction may also occur with dual or plural imperative marking is not clear since all examples in my corpus appear to index singular person only.

796  *na ita-ŋ hi.*
     you⁸ here-EMP stay
     You⁸ stay right here.

797  *aro-ŋ eʔ-ghənta hi ru!*
     more-EMP one-hour stay EXCL
     Stay one more hour!

798  *ma-khar aũ. rem-pha-ŋ hi.*
     NEG-cry TAG be.good-do stay
     Don’t cry, okay? Be good.

799  *na biha ca-teŋ hi.*
     you⁸ meat eat-SEQ stay
     You⁸ keep eating meat.

800  *sipaʔ-pa jim-teŋ hi.*
     quiet-do sleep-SEQ stay
     Stay sleeping quietly.

801  *ita yum-teŋ hi.*
     here sit-SEQ stay
     Stay sitting here.
5.1 Non-finite clauses

Dhimal makes use of non-finite verb clauses to encode temporal, logical and manner relations between propositions. Non-finite clauses tend to precede the main clause and are unmarked for person, tense or aspect. While all of the morphemes discussed in this section are affixes, some are employed in periphrastic phrases. The subject of a non-finite clause is often co-referential to that of the main clause, but need not be. Subordinate clauses may also exhibit associated prosodic characteristics such as non-final intonation and a short pause.

The morphemes employed indicate temporal sequence or simultaneity, as well as concessive, conditional, purposive, implicative or manner relationships between two propositions. Many of the non-final verbal morphemes serve multiple functions, including the structuring of information in discourse and indicating agent-oriented modalities. Restrictions regarding occurrence in affirmative or negative clauses also exist.

5.1.1 Sequential

Basic morph: \(<\text{-teŋ}\>
Label: \quad \text{SEQ}

The morpheme \(<\text{-teŋ}\>\) is employed to mark sequential clause chains, where it may be suffixed to one or more non-final verbs. The sequential morpheme also functions as a manner adverbial and in
conjunction with the auxiliary verb *hili* encodes the dynamic resultative aspect. In clause chains, the sequential morpheme indicates a temporal sequence. The time frame of the sequential clause is located before that of the main verb, which takes any person, tense or aspect affixes. Consequently, the sequential clause may have a past or future reading.

802 *makhalai Ḟuhubi-so col-ten cuma-nha-hi.*
mussels Ḟuhubi-EL buy-SEQ take-1p-P
We bought mussels and brought them from Ḟuhubi.

803 *kalau tatai-ko suta cum-pu-ten*
so REF-GEN home take-DIST-SEQ

*khiŋ-li pi-pu-khe.*
cook-INF give-DIST-IMPF
And so after bringing it home, [they] hand it over to be cooked.

804 *heʔlau ghure-ten lo-a-na?*
when turn.back-SEQ come-FUT-2
When will you return?

805 *nariya-ten tin-ten jhar-ko khiʔkir-gelai*
elephant-DAT see-SEQ forest-GEN fox-PL

gota-ŋ *diʔ-hi.*
each-EMP be.greedy-P
Seeing the elephant, the forest foxes all became greedy.

The sequential morpheme may also be found in negative propositions. However, this morpheme does not appear to be common, and the purposive marker *<-siŋ>* may also be found employed in similar contexts. An important distinction between the two is that *<-teŋ>* is employed to link a sequence of related events, while *<-siŋ>* encodes
an unrealised goal. The following examples illustrate <-teŋ> in a negative non-finite clause.

806 kalau sita-ko bəcən kaṭe-li ma-do-teŋ
so Sītā-GEN promise cut-INF NEG-can-SEQ

ram caḥi wa hai doʔ-khe?
Rāma IND 3s what say-IMPF
And so, not being able to break Sītā’s promise, what does Rāma say?

807 iŋko beraŋ leta gha-li ma-pi-teŋ
that old.woman below play-INF give-DIR-SEQ

kusti gandi-ta gha-pa-hi doʔ-khe la.
wrestle back-LOC play-do-P say-IMPF MIR
That old woman, not letting them wrestle below (on the ground), had them wrestle on her back.

808 m ca-li manthu-teŋ seŋ-hi.
rice eat-INF NEG.EXT-SEQ be.thin-P
Lacking food to eat, he grew thin.

Sequential clauses may occur in a form employing ablauting reduplication, which intensifies the aspect of completion or thoroughness. In instructions or narrative, the reduplicated form reiterates the previous event and acts to link all the steps involved into a coherent sequence.

809 dhol sanai cum-pu-khe. cum-pu-teŋ
drum sanai hold-DIST-IMPF hold-DIST-SEQ

   cum-pu-teŋ ota hane-khe.
   REDUP there go-IMPF
hane-teŋ hune-teŋ tebul kursi taʔ-khe.
go-SEQ REDUP table chair put-IMPF
[They] take along a drum and a sanai. Having taken [them], [they] go there. Having gone there, [they] set up tables and chairs.

810 Ḗde ghaila on-teŋ an-teŋ bhətiya
this clay.jug char-SEQ REDUP rice.beer

whaʔ-li ḳhaŋ-khe.
put-INF look-IMPF
After finishing charring this clay jug, [she] intends to put in rice beer.

811 ebalaŋ jhaɾaŋ luŋ-teŋ lam-teŋ parba
they all form-SEQ REDUP parba

manai-li ḳhaŋ-khe.
celebrate-INF look-IMPF
When they all finish forming them (the rice cakes), they plan on celebrating parba.

812 juhā kuṭi-teŋ kaṭi-teŋ jharaŋ-heŋ baŋhaɾai-hi.
rat cut-SEQ REDUP everyone-DAT divide.up-P
Having cut up the rats, [he] divided them up between everyone.

In the following examples, the sequential clause functions more as a manner adverbial. The time frame between the events in the two clauses is distinct from the above uses, along with a tighter semantic and syntactic integration between the two clauses. Although the state or action marked with <-teŋ> is initiated before that of the main verb, the two events overlap, due in part to stative or durative lexical properties of the verb. In example (813), the sequential clause could be analysed as two discrete actions, viz. flying up and coming, or as answering the question ‘how’ the subject came, viz. by flying.
Example (814) does not permit such an interpretation and only a manner reading is possible.

813 nanci-heŋ insa urai-teŋ lo-gha-khe.
poor.thing-DAT like.that fly-SEQ come-PIMPF-IMPF
[She] would come flying like that to the poor thing.

814 te-teŋ hane-khe.
walk-SEQ go-IMPF
[He] is going on foot.

815 te ka nheʔ-ni ahal tem-teŋ yha-aŋ-ka.
okay I two-day wallow soak-SEQ remain-FUT-1s
Okay, I’ll stay soaking in a wallow for two days.

816 tiro tho-teŋ dhaʔ-khe.
thigh pound-SEQ run-IMPF
[He] is running full force.

The sequential morpheme <-teŋ> sometimes co-occurs with the morpheme <-sa>, which reinforces the time frame of the main verb as beginning directly upon the completion of the sequential clause. The fact that this morpheme is sometimes pronounced as <-sə> or <-sãt> in this construction suggests a probable Indo-Aryan influence from the Maithili comitative marker. This intepretation fits with the semantics of a comitative and consequently this morpheme will be labeled COM1. This construction is not common and only example (817) was heard spoken, while the other examples were taken from written correspondence.

817 ode khuwâhâ tin-teŋ-sa wa te
that tiger see-SEQ-COM1 3s TOP

dhaʔ-li khâŋ-khoi aŋ.
run-INF look-INC FOC1
Upon seeing the tiger, he began to try to run.
Finally, a sequential clause may also function in a concessive manner with the addition of the adverb buṣ ‘also’ as in examples (820) and (821). This type of marking is limited and may be an Indo-Aryan calque. Compare the Nepali concessive forms bhā-e pani ‘even if it occurs’ and rākh-e pani ‘even though [he] placed it’, which employ a conditional suffix <-e> along with the adverb pani ‘also’.

5.1.2 Co-temporal

Basic morph:  <-lau> ~ <-la> ~ <-labelau> ~ <-laubela>
Label:  TEM
The morpheme <lau> and its allomorphs signal a co-temporal clause. The situation referred to in the <lau> clause is located temporally simultaneous to that of the main clause. The time frame of a co-temporal clause may be viewed from a broad or narrow perspective. That is, the event may be simultaneous in the strict sense or merely within the same subjective time frame as the main verb. The co-temporal verb is unmarked for aspect, and may take either a ‘when’ or ‘while’ interpretation depending on the semantics of the verb and the intentions of the speaker. In example (822), the speaker received the letter when she arrived in the village, not on her way there, though such an interpretation would certainly be possible.

822 udini athiyabari hane-lau khiniŋ niŋ-gha.
only two.days.ago Šthiŋyābārī get-P.1s go-TEM
Only when I went to Šthiŋyābārī the other day did I get it.

823 behai-beheni-ko gora am-lau te-loŋ
parents.in.law-GEN alcohol drink-TEM ten-CL
majhi jom-li goi-khe.
headman collect-INF must-IMPF
While drinking the parent-in-law’s liquor, ten village headman must assemble.

824 na ita hi-la doŋ eʔ-mi nheʔ-mi-ko
you5 here be-TEM FOC one-HCL two-HCL-GEN
bihu jen-ka tiŋ-nha wa la.
wedding happen-NOM see-P.2 DED MIR
Perhaps you5 saw the wedding of one or two people take place while you were here.

1 The morpheme <lau> also occurs with a handful of common temporal adverbs: heʔ-lau ‘when’, insalau ‘at that time’, kalau ‘then’. The variability in the position of the morpheme <u> indicates an enclitic, perhaps deriving from an old distal morpheme u.
Any discernible differences between the distinct allomorphs were too subtle to permit detection by this researcher. However, the bulkier form with the Indic loan bela’ ‘time’ appears to be gaining ground at the expense of the simple suffix <-lau>.

825 iskul hane-labelau kitab kham-pu-gha-hi.
   school go-TEM book look-DIST-PIMPF-P
   While going to school, [they] went along reading at a book.

826 kalau ma-niŋ-laubelau hai pa-hi ku-nu la?
   so NEG-get-TEM what do-P COP-COND MIR
   And when they couldn’t find [her], what did [they] do?

827 ma-hare-labelau hai jeŋ-hi ku-nu la?
   NEG-lose-TEM what happen-P COP-COND MIR
   So what happened then, when neither lost?

828 domalai lo-laubela wə thi:-ka yha-aŋ.
   future come-TEM 3s be.small-NOM remain-FUT
   When [you] return in the future, she’ll [still] be small.

829 kalau kabara se?-li hane-laubela kabara te tiŋ-hi.
   so deer kill-INF go-TEM deer TOP see-P
   So when he went to kill the spotted deer, the deer saw [him].

5.1.3 Concessive

The morpheme <-lau> ~ <-la> in conjunction with the adverb buŋ ‘also’ indicates a concessive clause and is employed to encode both definite and indefinite concessives. The proposition of the definite concessive clause typically has negative implications for the proposition in the main clause. In spite of these implications, however, the assertion made by the speaker in the main clause holds. The semantics of this construction are similar to English ‘even though’ or ‘although’.

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2 Newar also appears to have borrowed this word for the same purpose.
830 na-seŋ ma-tiŋ-lau buŋ saikal tiŋ-nu
you^DAT NEG-see-TEM also bike see-COND

na ita hi-ka bhai-ka jen-a wa.
you^s here be-NOM be.like-NOM become-FUT DED

Even though [we] don’t see you^s, if [we] see the bike, it will
be like you^s being here.

831 na ṭiṯṭi ma-lekhe-lau buŋ ka lekhe-ā.
you^s letter NEG-write-TEM also I write-FUT.1s

Even if you^s don’t write, I will.

832 ela eklau bhaʔ-la buŋ khali bhonoi khuniŋ loʔ-khe.
now alone attack-TEM also only soil only knock-IMPF

While [he] alone attacks now, he only dislodges dirt.

An indefinite concessive is made up of an interrogative pronoun and
the concessive construction. The <-la> allomorph also appears to be
more common in indefinite concessives. The focus particle don^ may
often be found following the indefinite pronoun.

833 hesa doŋ pa-la buŋ jen-anŋ.
how FOC do-TEM also become-FUT

No matter how one does it, it will be fine.

834 hai doŋ lagai-la buŋ sabai-khe.
what FOC put.on-TEM also look.good-IMPF

No matter what [she] puts on, it looks good.

835 heta hane-la buŋ wa-seŋ tiŋ-kha.
where go-TEM also 3s-DAT see-IMPF.1s

Wherever I go, I see her.

836 hiso hane-lau buŋ tai-ko dyaŋ goi-khe
whither go-TEM also REF-GEN person need-IMPF
do?ka katha bujhe-gha.
say-NOM matter understand-P.1s
I understood that wherever one goes, one needs one’s own people (to get ahead).

5.1.4 Conditional

Basic morph:  <-nu>
Label:  COND

The morpheme <-nu> encodes a conditional clause. No distinction is made between generic, hypothetical or counterfactual conditionals and the same morpheme may encode all three. The tense or aspect of the main verb alone determines these categories. Morphosyntactically, the conditional <-nu> occurs in two distinct environments: affixed to the verb stem or affixed to an auxiliary in a periphrastic verb phrase. The periphrastic phrase, which employs an auxiliary verb pali ‘to do’, displays a discourse function where it introduces a topic-comment structure. Conditional clauses occur more frequently in initial position, but may be found clause-internally or in final position.

A conditional clause may be used to indicate a cause and effect relation between propositions. The conditional clause marked by the morpheme <-nu> stipulates a condition, while the main clause states the outcome of this condition being met. This relationship may be viewed from the vantage point of logic (if x, then y) as in examples (837) and (838).

837  ci henja jen-nu bandha bhapa?t-anj.
     water much become-COND dike collapse-FUT
If there is a lot of water, the dike will collapse.

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3 The Dhimal morpheme <-nu> is related to the Dulong topic marker and the Bodo infinitive/topic marker. Another common discourse use of this morpheme is in the grammaticalised tag forms kunu ‘so’ or ‘if it is so’ and makunu ‘isn’t that right?’ or ‘otherwise’.
If one eats bitter things, it kills intestinal worms.

If you don’t heed, you will experience trouble.

Give [me] your daughter or else.

Speakers may use a clause marked with <nu> to introduce a referent or topic into the discourse, which can then be commented on in subsequent propositions. The development of conditionals into topic markers is a recurrent process in many languages (Haiman 1978; Longacre & Thompson 1985). In example (841), the <nu> clause introduces the topic of defaecation, followed by an imperative comment in the main clause. In example (842), the speaker employs a conditional to pose a possible future state of affairs to the suitor of his daughter. Here, the hypothetical world is presented as a topic upon which he expects a comment, one that will presumably allow him to gain insights into the suitor’s character.

If you have to shit—right?—shit on the ground.

And if my daughter is not pleasing [to you] then?

If there is no mortar, where will you husk then?
Conditional clauses may be used evaluatively. The evaluative use is also a type of topic-comment construction with the conditional introducing the topic and the main clause stating the comment, which in this case is an evaluation.

844 na-seŋ bheṭe-teŋ hane-li niŋ-nu rem-ka jen-dhaŋ. you3-DAT meet-SEQ go-INF get-COND good-NOM be-IRR
If [I] get to meet up with you before going, it would be good.

845 param taʔ-su-pa-he pa-nu thik don-hi. bond.friend put-COL-VEN-HYP do-COND fine weigh-P
It is fine if [they] come together to become bond friends.

846 te ku-nu lo-nha pa-nu jhən ramro. okay COP-COND come-P2 do-COND more good
Okay then, if [that’s why] you4 came, all the better.

Examples (845-846) show the conditional morpheme <-nu> employed in a periphrastic construction1 to encode a non-asserted conditional. In this type of phrase, the main verb of the conditional clause is typically marked with the morpheme <-he>, which I will label a hypothetical marker, and followed by an auxiliary verb pa- with the conditional morpheme <-nu>. The hypothetical morpheme <-he> may be omitted in favour of an agreement affix such as examples (846) and (850), or the main verb of the conditional clause may be marked with another tense or aspect marker such as the future (854). Alternately, the main verb in a conditional clause may be coded with the past tense marker followed by two pa- auxiliaries, the first taking the hypothetical conditional marker <-he> and the second taking the conditional marker <-nu>. The morpheme <-he>, which appears to derive from the fusion of the past tense marker <-hi> with

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1 This construction is superficially similar to some Indo-Aryan conditional clauses and may be a calque. However, the Indic model uses a quotative with the verb ‘say’, while the Dhimal construction commonly employs the verb ‘do’ (which is also used as a quotative). For example, Nepali places the main verb in the past tense and employs the verb bhannu ‘to say’ with the conditional morpheme <-e>: mar-yo bhan-e ‘if one dies’.
another morpheme <-e>\(^5\), introduces a hypothetical past or future state of affairs in a conditional clause. The hypothetical or irrealis state of affairs introduced by such a clause becomes less real with the addition of each auxiliary: *milinu* ‘if it works out’, *milihe panu* ‘if it were to work out’ and *milihi pahe panu* ‘if, let’s say, it were to work out’. That is, the speaker further distances himself from the possible reality of such a state of affairs. The periphrastic conditional functions primarily in a topic-comment fashion, which may be employed to broach a hypothetical matter or to present a proposition as though it were something merely being pondered and, therefore, less real. English employs a verb of saying for the same purpose: ‘(If, let’s) say, you were to…’.

847 \*mili-he pa-nu naŋ-kο dopha han-ŋ-kα.
work-HYP do-COND you\(^8\).OBL-GEN COM go-FUT-1s
If it were to work out, I’ll go with you\(^8\).

848 m to-li khaŋ-he pa-nu m-ko bakar hi-khe.
rice dig-INF look-HYP do-COND rice-GEN store be-IMPF
If one were looking to dig up the rice, then there is rice stored there.

849 dyŋ si-he pa-nu bhoj pa-pi-li goi-khe?
person die-HYP do-COND feast do-DIR-INF must-IMPF
If someone were to die, must they arrange a feast?

850 bheneŋ bho:-nha pa-nu ka-seŋ do?-pi-gil caŋdai.
other look.for-P.2 do-COND I-DAT say-DIR-IM soon
If you\(^8\) were looking for a different one, let me know soon.

The periphrastic conditional is also employed in complement clauses where it functions to introduce quoted dialogue. In the appended texts, this usage is the most frequent of all. As is apparent in examples (851) - (853), the quoted dialogue need not actually have been

\(^5\) Note the formally similar Nepali conditional morpheme <-e>.
spoken, but may in fact merely be the thoughts of an individual or hypothetical past/future speech.

851  hai  pa-hi  pa-he  pa-nu  
what  do-P  do-HYP  do-COND

e  nani  phalna  thame-ko  bajar  do?-khe.
hey  today  other  place-GEN  fair  say-IMPF
What [they] would say is, ‘Hey, [they] say today a fair is taking place in another town.’

852  hai  pa-gha-hi  pa-he  pa-nu  
what  do-PIMPF-P  do-HYP  do-COND

tbeja-lai  hiso  hiso  ko?
girl-PL  whither  whither  COP
What [they] used to say was, ‘Where oh where is it that the girls are?’

853  kalau  ode  bela  hai  do?-gha-hi  pa-nu  
so  that  time  what  say-PIMPF-P  do-COND

ko  re  anau  
COP  ASS  younger.sibling
And so at that time, what they would say is, ‘Here, take some little sister.’

Curiously, the conditional morpheme <-nu> also appears to cliticise to nominals in zero copula constructions. A possible way to explain this unusual behaviour, is to posit an underlying intransitive verb such as ye?longli ‘to equal eight’ or bejanli ‘to be a girl’. Such an explanation is supported by the ready convertability of proper nouns into intransitive or stative verbs, e.g. sau ‘fat’ > sauli ‘to be fatty’. In example (854), there are two distinct usages. In the first instance, the conditional morpheme <-nu> acts as a quotative to introduce reported speech. In the second instance, which is a possible counter example to
the explanation presented above, the conditional is affixed to the nominal head of a phrase — ‘heart’. Here, the conditional acts as delimiter of the possible worlds in which the following speech act would have occurred to one in which the father of the bride is favourably inclined to a proposed marriage.

854  kalau bejan-ko aba hai do?t-a wa
so girl-GEN father what say-FUTDED

pa-nu pi-li mon-nu…
do-COND give-INF heart-COND
And what the girl’s father may say is, that is, if he is inclined to permit it…

855  ye?-loŋ-nu them-aŋ do?-hi do?-nha-hi la.
eight-CL-COND enough-FUT say-P say-1p-P MIR
‘If there are eight, that will be enough,’ they said, er weº said then.

856  ka bejan-nu na dopha hane-dhā.
I girl-COND youº COM go-IRR.1s
If I were a girl, I would go with youº.

857  ede jhoko dhanga?-ka pusĩŋ bejan-nu dosti lagai-aŋ-ka.
this much be.long-NOM hair girl-COND friend don-FUT-1s
If the person who has hair that is this long is a girl, I will become her friend.

5.1.5 Negative conditional

   Basic morph:   <-sa>
   Label:        NEG.COND
The morpheme <-sa> is employed in negative conditional clauses to indicate either a temporal (until) or logical goal (unless). Clauses with this morpheme are restricted to negative constructions in which both the negative conditional and the main clause occur with the negative prefix <ma->. This construction presents a condition, which, as long as it remains unrealised, wholly prevents a positive outcome of the verb in the main clause. A positive resolution of the negative conditional is viewed by the speaker as a desirable goal. Hence, an implicit directive may arise.

In example (858) from an exchange between a jackal and a tiger, the jackal cynically states his inability to provide any resolution to the matter unless and until he sees what happened. A very specific course of action is presented here as a logical solution to a successful outcome of this negative state of affairs. In presenting this negative conditional as an obstacle to the desires of the tiger, the jackal attempts to get it to return to the scene of the crime. It is this desire for the achievement of the main verb that compels carrying out the negative conditional.

858 **odoi-heŋ ma-tiŋ-sa nidhinimi-ko katha**
that-DAT NEG-see-NEG.COND you\(^d\)-GEN matter

**səlpəhol ka pa-li ma-do-aŋ-ka.**
judgement I make-INF NEG-be.able-FUT-1s
Unless I see that (place), I won’t be able to judge your\(^d\) matter.

859 **gora ma-dho-sa hi-li ma-do-ka.**
alcohol NEG-pour-NEG.COND live-INF NEG-be.able-NOM
Unless alcohol is served, living is impossible.

860 **insalau miliŋ-ko majha-ta dhemal-lai ela**
thus land-GEN middle-LOC Dhimal-PL now

\(^6\) The morpheme <-sa> appears to be cognate to the Newar conditional morpheme <-sā>.
bo-mi-ko  kam  ma-pa-sa
other-HCL-GEN  work  NEG-do-NEG.COND

ca-li  am-li  ma-them-khe.
eat-INF  drink-INF  NEG-suffice-IMPF
Thus, regarding land, unless Dhimals do work for others,
there isn’t enough to survive on.

861  ma-lho:-sa  ma-jen-ka  upai  manthu-gha-hi.
NEG-rise-NEG.COND  NEG-be-NOM  way  NEG.EXT-PIIMP-F-P
Unless [I] got up, there was no succeeding.

In one instance, the morpheme <-sa> encodes a goal that may be
interpreted as temporal rather than logical. In example (862), the
negative conditional occurs with a negative imperative. Here, the
compelling condition is imposed by the speaker.

862  m  ma-ca-sa  ma-hane.
rice  NEG-eat-NEG.COND  NEG-go
Don’t go without eating.

A slightly different picture of the negative conditional appears in the
following examples. In example (863), which was elicited, <-sa>
occurs with an affirmative verb in the main clause. The fact that it is
the only example of its kind, along with its source, suggests a
marginal construction at best. In example (864), which comes from a
written text, the negative conditional <-sa> appears to function in a
complementising manner with the perception verb bhaili. However,
again due to the rarity of occurrence no further explication of these
usages is possible at this time.

863  ka  ma-ghure-sa  na  ita-ŋ  hi.
I  NEG-return-NEG.COND  you\textsuperscript{s}  here-EMP  be
You\textsuperscript{s} stay here until I return.
Now, it seemed that my feelings too were hurt.

5.1.6 Purposive

Basic morph:  \(-siŋ> \\
Label:  PURP

The morpheme \(-siŋ>^7\) is employed to indicate intention, purpose or desire and hence, is agent-oriented. The purposive also has speaker-oriented uses as a negative manner adverbial. The morphology of a purposive construction is distinct for affirmative and negative clauses. To encode an affirmative purposive, the morpheme \(-siŋ>\), in conjunction with the implicational marker \(-na>\), occurs as the final suffix of the verb in a non-finite clause. In contrast to the negative conditional, the verb in the main clause is restricted to positive propositions.

A negative purposive is formed with the negative prefix \(ma->\) and the suffix \(-siŋ>\). A negative purposive encodes a proposition in which a volitional subject performs an action in order to achieve a specific desired outcome. The manner in which this activity is carried out ensures a positive result.

\[865\]

\begin{align*}
ule-pa-ten & \quad ole-pa-ten & \quad inko-heh & \quad buh & \quad ina \\
emerge-do-SEQ \quad REDUP & \quad that-DAT & \quad also & \quad like\text{-that}
\end{align*}

---

^7 The Dhimal purposive \(-siŋ>\) may be cognate to the Classical Newar non-final subordinator \(-syAM>\), which is used to mark manner adverbials, negative conditionals and quotative complements.
komarai-nha-khe insa-ŋ ma-seʔ-siŋ.
hog.tie-1p-IMPF like.that-EMP NEG-kill-PURP
After getting it out, we⁰ hog-tie that one too like that, like that so that [we] don’t kill it.

866 rempha dheu ma-khai-nha-pa-siŋ.
be.good-do tether NEG-get.loose-MID-do-PURP
Tether [him] well, so that [the rope] doesn’t become loose.

In the following examples, the purposive is employed in a negative adverbial manner. There appears to be some overlap with the sequential affix <-teŋ>, which is found in similar affirmative contexts. A fundamental difference, however, is that a negated verb with <-siŋ> functions not only to indicate background information on the manner in which the main clause is realised, but at the same time presents the non-realisation of the <-siŋ> clause as undesirable.

867 ma-ca-siŋ lo-hi?
NEG-eat-PURP come-P
[He] came without eating?

868 m ma-ca-siŋ han-a-na?
rice NEG-eat-PURP go-FUT-2
Are you⁰ leaving without eating?

869 bhar theyŋ-labelau soʔ-li ma-bhyai-siŋ...
load set-TEM piss-INF NEG-manage-PURP
While setting down the load, not being able to piss, ...

870 ma-khan-siŋ hane-labelau kapal-ta
NEG-look-PURP go-TEM forehead-LOC
To encode an affirmative purposive clause the morpheme <-siŋ> occurs with the implicational affix <-na> as the complex suffix <-nasiŋ>. In examples (871) and (872), this concatenation occurs with a directive and encodes a desirable future state that is to be obtained upon compliance with the directive. The affirmative purposive is employed here to persuade the addressee of the necessity of complying with a directive that will directly benefit him. Example (873) illustrates a slightly different usage, but one that still encodes a future desired goal attributed to a third person. The ironic proposition of the main clause is presented as an alleged necessary prerequisite for the achievement of the proposition in the purposive clause.

871  eʔ-ghɔnta-ta  aro-ŋ  osere  am-li
one-hour-LOC  more-EMP  medicine  drink-INF

  goi-ŋ  el-na-siŋ.
must-FUT  recover-IMPL-PURP
In another hour you have to drink more medicine in order to get better.

872  el-na-siŋ  am.
recover-IMPL-PURP  drink
Drink so that you’ll get better.

873  wa  ede  dharma  pa-na-siŋ
3s  this  virtue  do-IMPL-PURP

  wa-ko  karma  ca-li  khɔŋ-ka  ka.
3s-GEN  fate  eat-INF  look-NOM  I
So that he [may] perform this virtuous act, I’m looking for him to accept his fate.
5.1.7 Implicational

Basic morph:  \(<\text{-na}>\)
Label:  \text{IMPL}

The morpheme \(<\text{-na}>\) occurs as the head of a non-finite clause bearing an implicational relation to the main clause. This morpheme is polysemous and is used to encode the complement of a perception verb, an affirmative purposive clause with the morpheme \(<\text{-siŋ}>\) and a negative resultative. A formally identical morpheme appears in some nominalisations.

In examples (874) to (876) elicited from one informant in Nepali, which has a causal construction \(<\text{-ekole}>\) ‘because of’, a clear causal meaning is associated with \(<\text{-na}>\). In spite of this evidence for a strong causal function for this morpheme, actual spoken data suggest a disinclination to indicate a direct cause and effect relation for imperceptible processes without hedging the assertion with the sensory verb \text{bhalli} ‘to seem’.

874 \text{henja-ŋ mhitu-na-ŋ iŋko \ wajan ca-pi-hi.}
\text{very-EMP be.hungry-IMPL-EMP that boy eat-DIR-P}
Because he was very hungry, that boy ate it up.

875 \text{dhaŋ-ka \ hi-na-ŋ \ istu \ bhemi\ lo-khe.}
\text{be.hot-NOM be-IMPL-EMP much sweat come-IMPF}
Because it’s hot, one sweats a lot.

876 \text{ther-na-ŋ \ wa m \ ma-ca-hi.}
\text{be.spicey-IMPL-EMP 3s rice NEG-eat-P}
On account of it being piquant, he didn’t eat the food.

877 \text{so?-pi-na \ so?-pi-na \ mə}
\text{piss-DIR-IMPL \ piss-DIR-IMPL \ TAG}
ka soʔ-pi-ã ku-nu.
I piss-DIR-FUT.1s COP-COND
On account of [him] repeatedly wetting [the bed], I’m gonna wet [the bed] then.

The morpheme <-na> is most often employed in periphrastic constructions with the verb bhaili ‘to seem, be like’ and the elative morpheme <-so>. This construction typically reiterates the action of a previous clause in narrative and has a causal or implicational function. The use of a verb of perception ‘seem’ suggests that only a weak causal or implicational relationship between the two clauses is asserted. It is possible that much of the load for any causal semantics is carried by the elative suffix <-so>, which emphasises that this relation arises from ‘appearances’ and hence may not be real or true. This type of implicational clause also plays an important role in discourse by tying together a series of events and implicating the proposition of the <-na> clause in a cause and effect relationship with a subsequent one.

878 jiti-hi last-ta khuwãhã Ɂ paya jiti-hi. paya
win-P last-LOC tiger er pig win-P pig

jiti-na bhai-so khuwãhã hare-hi. khuwãhã
win-IMPL be.like-EL tiger lose-P tiger

hare-na bhai-so kalau wa-ko bejat jeŋ-hi.
lose-IMPL be.like-EL so 3s-GEN shame become-P
In the end, the tiger, er, the pig won. Since the pig won, the tiger lost. Since the tiger lost, he became ashamed.

879 tɔ sita Ɋŋko jhoko abhana taʔ-na
then Sītā that amount vow put-IMPL

bhai-so te lo-hi Ɋa.
be.like-EL TOP come-P MIR
Then since Sītā made that vow, she returned.
And since it had become evening, he climbed up a tree.

An implicational clause may be employed to indicate the results of a sensory impression, one’s own or an other’s. Here the <\textit{-na}> clause appears to initiate, be responsible for or be implicated in the sensory effect described in the main clause. In each case, an emotional or physical sensation is linked to a subsequent event.

Having seen something foul, oh how his body shivered!

When one bites one’s teeth, one’s body shakes.

Not feeling like staying home alone, I shouldered the hoe and left the village.

The implicational morpheme <\textit{-na}> also appears with other verbs of perception, often in conjunction with a nominalised or finite form of the verb \textit{bhaili}. Speaker-oriented verbs relating to the senses or perception are especially likely to trigger an implicated clause. Two common verbs in this category include \textit{bhaili} ‘to seem’ and \textit{gili} ‘to know, understand’. An implicational clause indicates that the speaker
is less confident in asserting the truth of a proposition encoded by the <-na> clause.

884 *esa mena sui ba:-na bhai-ka.*
like.this very needle pierce-IMPL be.like-NOM
Thus it seemed little more than a needle prick.

885 *wa ka-seη ghokrai-na-η bhai-ka.*
3s I-DAT choke-IMPL-EMP be.like-NOM
It was like he choked me.

886 *nani-ko e?-rhima jhemphorophoro-ka*
today-GEN one-morning be.dawn-NOM

   hi-na-η bhai-ka gi-gha.
   be-IMPL-EMP seem-NOM understand-P.1s
It seemed to me as if it was first thing dawn this morning.

887 *atuisa dhila jeη-na bhai-ka gi-gha.*
a.bit late be-IMPL be.like-NOM understand-P.1s
It seemed to me that it was a little late.

Example (888) might be appropriate if the speaker wasn’t in fact sure that anything had happened at all.

888 *hai jeη-na ko?!*
what happen-IMPL COP
What is it that happened?!

5.2 Epistemic, mirative and attitudinal morphemes

The morphemes discussed in this section consist of utterance-final particles along with one verbal affix. The semantic scope covered is the entire clause rather than a particular constituent therein. Two epistemic morphemes will be examined: the deductive particle *wa* and the dubitative particle *be*. Morphemes having to do with the
integration of information into a speaker’s store of knowledge are the mirative *la* and the apparentive suffix *<-sa>* , which also contains an attitudinal component. Finally, the exclamative particle *ru*, which expresses speaker attitude, will also be discussed.

5.2.1 **Deductive**

Basic morph:  *wa*

Label:  **DED**

The epistemic particle *wa* signals a minimal degree of commitment to the truth of a proposition. The deductive indicates a proposition which the speaker believes to be possible based on inference, speculation or deduction. The proposition is presented as a possible one, the veracity of which the speaker stakes no claim. This proposition may be one that the speaker is unable to muster sufficient evidence in support of, or one which he deliberately distances himself from in terms of the truth value out of politeness, deference or uncertainty.

In the following examples, the speaker presents the propositions as possibly valid representations of the world. For instance, it is possible that someone may not understand or that someone may not know a person, but the opposite may also be true. The speaker simply does not know or does not want to commit to an outright declaration. This hesitancy to commit to the truth value is expressed by the deductive particle *wa*.

889  *ma-gi-khe*  *wa*.

NEG-understand-IMPF  **DED**

Maybe he doesn’t understand.

890  *na ka-heŋ rem-pha ma-nal-khe-na wa la*.

you[^5]  I-DAT be good-do NEG-know-IMPF-2 **DED**  **MIR**

You[^5] may not know me well.

891  *e manise o na kidhinŋ-ko pheʔ-su-ka*

The deductive often co-occurs with the future, since such events are always uncertain or unknowable to a degree. Likewise, it may be employed with non-witnessed or hypothetical events. In example (892), from narrative, the deductive particle marks the proposition as one that may have happened. In example (893), the speaker is talking about a generic entity, i.e. those in the know. Since she does not consider herself a member of that group, the speaker can not know what they are capable or incapable of. Hence, the deductive marks the proposition not as fact, but as supposition. Examples (894) and (895) encode possible future events which may or may not hold true.

892 kalau insa obalai mon pərəpər jeŋ-sa-hi wa la. so thus theyb heart each.other be-APR-P DED MIR
And so then, it seems theyb fell in love with each other perhaps.

893 gi-ka-lai do-khe wa know-NOM-PL be.able-IMPF DED
ma-gi-ka-lai hai do-khe?
NEG-know-NOM-PL what be.able-IMPF
Those who know how may be able to, but what can those who don’t know do?

894 ma-thi-a-na? thi-ā wa!
NEG-fear-FUT-2 fear-FUT.1s DED
Won’t youe be scared? I may be scared!

895 si-nu ma-do-a wa.
die-COND NEG-be.able-FUT DED
When it comes time to die, she may not be able to. (because she is so evil)
In the following exchange, a woman comments on the sweet aroma of the rice beer, to which the addressee responds rather impudently by asking whether she would like to have some. The first woman, who has no intention of drinking, calls the bluff and then raises it by signalling the possibility of not just having some, but of drinking two portions! The use of the deductive particle *wa* allows the speaker to state her possible future actions, but at the same time leave open the possibility that this action may not take place.

896  —  *e jād malamala-hi.*  
     oh  rice.beer  be.fragrant-P

   —  *am-a-na?*  
     drink-FUT-2

   —  *am-ā  wa  —  nhe?-ser!*  
     drink-FUT.1s  DED  two-sher

   —  Oh, the rice beer smells fragrant.
   —  Will you drink some?
   —  I may drink some — two sher!

The deductive may also serve a rhetorical function. The intonation of the speaker can change the meaning of a deductive proposition to one of mocking condescension. In example (897), the speaker communicates the opposite of what is formally encoded. In contrast to the deductive marking, the speaker by her tone ridicules the notion that the third person actant may not understand, insinuating quite the opposite. In example (898), the implied answer to the rhetorical question is ‘nothing’.

897  *ma-bujhe-a wa!*  
     NEG-understand-FUT  DED

Like he doesn’t understand!
While the deductive primarily encodes what the speaker believes to be possible, with the future tense a deontic interpretation is also possible. In these instances, a future possible proposition is posited, which presupposes that there is a certain way that things ought to be. In example (899), the deductive indicates the speaker’s preference for how something ought to be, but frames it merely as a possible future state. Here the deductive particle *wa* encodes light compulsion.

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5.2.2 Dubitative

Basic morph:  *be*
Label:  DUB

The epistemic particle *be* encodes speaker ignorance, doubt or uncertainty regarding the proposition. The lack of knowledge or uncertainty on the part of the speaker signalled by the dubitative makes it compatible with questions and ruminations. Consequently, this particle occurs primarily though not exclusively in interrogative constructions. The dubitative is often pronounced with a distinct high
level pitch and increased duration, an expressive function it shares with the particles ko, u and ru.

The use of the dubitative differs from that of an unmarked interrogative employing an indefinite pronoun or question intonation in that a dubitative focuses on speaker attitude. When using the dubitative, the speaker qualifies the utterance as one which he is wholly ignorant of, but also one which has perhaps aroused his curiosity or interest. The dubitative also marks the question as more rhetorical in nature, as if the speaker were just wondering what the outcome was or will be, and hence more of a rumination than a direct question. In the following three examples, the speaker wonders out loud about the identity of a referent or the outcome of a proposition.

902  ede wajan heʔthe-so haya col-khe be
this boy how.much-EL fish buy-IMPF DUB

iŋko bejan-ko?
That girl-GEN
I wonder for how much this boy is buying that girl’s fish?

903  ed bejan jamal baʔ-teŋ hasu dopha
this girl child carry-SEQ who COM

nui dhui-khe be?
mouth talk-IMPF DUB
With whom could this young woman carrying the baby be speaking?

904  ca-li nin-ã be doʔ-teŋ
eat-INF get-FUT.1s DUB say-SEQ

bo-mi-ko ca-ka mer-hi.
other-HCL-GEN eat-NOM stare-P
Wondering whether she would get to eat, she stared at the other person’s food.
The dubitative may be found with conjoined alternative clause constructions, presenting two competing possible outcomes, neither of which is regarded as more certain by the speaker. In example (905), a woman, who is also the preparer of the food item being queried, emphasises both her interest in and ignorance of which possible state is true. In example (906), the speaker presents his question as an idle thought, something that he is wondering to himself, rather than as an outright query.

905  
\[ta:-hi \ ma-ta:-hi \ be?\]
be.tasty-P  NEG-be.tasty-P  DUB
I wonder whether it’s tasty or not.

906  
\[si-nha-khe \ be \ hi-nha-khe \ be?\]
die-1p-IMPF/DUB  be-1p-IMPF  DUB
I wonder whether weª live or die.

907  
\[pe:-li \ pi-a-na \ be \ ma-pi-a-na \ be?\]
pluck-INF  give-FUT-2  DUB  NEG-give-FUT-2  DUB
I wonder whether you’ will allow (us) to pick it or not?

908  
\[wai \ lo-an \ be? \ hai \ pa-an \ be?\]
rain  come-FUT  DUB  what  do-FUT  DUB
I wonder whether it will rain or what it will do?

The dubitative particle is also used rhetorically to express surprise or incredulity at an unexpected event. In example (909), the speaker has already tasted the rice and, in employing the dubitative, expresses his dismay or disbelief that such rice, undercooked or mushy perhaps, was prepared. By using the third person and the dubitative, he avoids a direct question and thereby a potential confrontation with the cook.

909  
\[nani \ te \ hai \ m \ ga:-hi \ be?!\]
today  TOP  what  rice  cook-P  DUB
What kind of rice did she cook today?!
An interesting use of the dubitative particle is in sensitive contexts where the speaker is reluctant to divulge information or state his intentions directly. Hence, it may encode a weak or noncommittal proposition, as in the following excerpts from a hypothetical exchange at a potential in-law’s home. Example (912), which comes in reply to an inquiry about the visitors’ village of origin, could not be more general and evasive. In example (913), a speaker from the visiting group indirectly presents the reason for their visit, i.e. to check out the potential daughter-in-law. These utterances marked with the dubitative indicate not ignorance, but rather a certain evasiveness or hesitance.

In addition to indicating speaker ignorance regarding a proposition, the morpheme be also occurs in the interjections ace be! ‘oh my!’ and abe ‘umh’, which functions as a place holder in pauses. In example (914), this morpheme is used to mark a pause, as a specific indefinite pronoun case-marked with the locative, and as a dubitative. This unique particle is also at the root of a verb used to express a proposition which the speaker is unsure about and cannot identify.
What does she say, umh, ‘Let’s watch TV, there’s a big one over at what’s his name’s place, what is it…

Mole crickets do something to the paddy (I don’t know what).

Would you umh…

5.2.3 Mirative

Basic morph: \( la \)
Label: MIR

The mirative particle \( la \) indicates that the information presented is new or unassimilated.\(^8\) Consequently, the mirative lends a sense of change or newness to a proposition. It occurs in both declarative and interrogative clauses, appearing frequently in narrative where it serves to mark new information in the unfolding of events. In the following two examples, the mirative is employed to indicate a recent realisation or new information. For example, a woman selling rice beer and snacks by the roadside might use the mirative particle \( la \) shortly after discovering that she no longer had any eggs, but might drop it in favour of the simple negative existential if someone inquired about eggs later on in the day. The mirative could also still be used later on if the speaker chose to emphasise the fact that there were eggs previously, but they have now run out.

\(^8\) The Dhimal morpheme has a counterpart in the Tsangla mirative (cf. Andvik 1993).
There isn’t any more.

It’s finished up now

What did you do now?

The mirative lends a sense of change or newness to a proposition, as though it were either previously unknown or did not exist. In example (920), the particle la indicates that the speaker’s understanding is new, perhaps the result of a sudden realisation. In example (921), the use of the mirative lends a sense of ‘this time’ or ‘now’ as opposed to ‘the other times’ the addressee cried. In example (922), the speaker offers up a new proposition to be considered — her own imminent death! In example (923), the speaker had repeatedly refused to talk, thus the mirative marks a change in this status.

Now I understand.

Now what are you crying for?

Shall I die now?
Okay, I will speak now.

In narrative, the mirative is employed to mark a proposition as ‘what happened next’ or ‘at that/this time’ and also to highlight a proposition as new and therefore of potential importance to the story. Hence, this particle may indicate the temporal notions of order and sequence or alert the listener to the fact that the proposition is viewed as a break or change from the foregoing segments and somehow new and distinct. Indeed, in narrative this particle often marks a proposition when it is first introduced, but which is later dropped when repeating the proposition as in example (924).

cow tend-NOM-LOC-EMP be.dusk-P MIR be.dusk-P
Tending the cows, it then became evening. It became evening.

925 kalau han-a wa la obalai bajar.
so go-FUT DED MIR they\(^p\) fair
And so then they\(^p\) might go to the fair.

926 kalau wa jeŋ-hi la.
so 3s become-P MIR
And so then he was born.

Occasionally, the mirative may be instantiated multiple times. In examples (927) to (929), the mirative occurs once after the main verb and then again after postposed nominal constituents. Whether the semantics of such marking differ from the previous examples is unclear, and the double marking may simply be an artefact of the type of syntax employed.
927 hasu-ko hi-hi la injko pusin la?
who-GEN be-P MIR that hair MIR
Whose hair is that then?

928 to-li goi-hi la injko-heŋ la buŋ.
dig-INF must-P MIR that-DAT MIR also
Then it was necessary to dig for it there too.

929 sikar gha-lha-sinŋ la doʔ-hi
hunt play-INTEN-ADH.DL MIR say-P

syaile-heŋ la naibiri.
jackal-DAT MIR bear
‘Let us go hunting now’, said the bear to the jackal.

With commands, the mirative adds a beseeching tone to the imperative.

930 ka-heŋ seʔ buruŋ la doʔ-hi.
I-DAT kill forthwith MIR say-P
‘Go right ahead and kill me then!’, she said.

931 jim-su la.
sleep-COL MIR
Go to sleep now.

932 khuʔ la!
descend MIR
Come down here now!

5.2.4 Apparentive

Basic morph: <sa>
Label: APR
The apparentive morpheme <sa> is employed when the speaker suddenly becomes aware of some proposition and is surprised or in disbelief. This morpheme softens or hedges a statement and may indicate a speaker’s subjective attitude or emotional involvement in the proposition. Because all examples are singular and there are no complex verbs with which to assign an affixal slot, all that can be said at the moment is that the apparentive morpheme follows the middle marker and precedes the simple aspects. The apparentive differs from the mirative in two important respects. First, while the mirative presents a proposition simply as new or unassimilated, the apparentive hedges the statement as one which the speaker was unprepared for and hence perhaps a bit unsure of. Secondly, it encodes a speaker’s subjective attitude regarding the proposition. One informant characterised this morpheme as māyālū bhāṣā or ‘sweetheart talk’.

In example (933), the speaker expresses her utter surprise and delight upon hearing a foreigner speak her language. The morpheme <sa> indicates not only that she is not quite believing her ears, but that she is somehow moved by this apparent realisation. In example (934), the apparentive encodes the speaker’s pleasant surprise upon discovering the addressee keeping warm and enjoying himself by a fire, something he was not expecting to see.

933 dhemal-lai katha phərra mare-sa-khe ru!
Dhimal-PL language flowingly kill-APR-IMPF EXCL
Why, it seems [he] speaks Dhimal fluently!

934 me rem-phaŋ em-sa-nha.
fire be.good-do press-APR-P.2
Why, it seems you8 warmed yourself nicely by the fire.

935 ta:-pa le:-sa-hi.
be.sweet-do sing-APR-P
Why, it seems that [they] sang sweetly.
The emotional connection between the speaker and the proposition in an apparentive may also cover emotions such as concern or pity, such as when discovering someone in an unfortunate state or activity, e.g. eating in an improper location (936) or eating with great hunger (937).

936  bhansa-ta  ca-sa-hi?!
   kitchen-LOC  eat-APR-P
  He ate in the kitchen (the poor thing)⁉

937  rem-phā  gwangwam-pa  ca-sa-hi.
   be.good-do  heartily-do  eat-APR-P
  It seems he really ate with gusto (the poor thing must have been starved).

938  na  kiya  lui-sa-khe-na?!
   you stripper  chicken  pluck-APR-IMPF-2
  You are plucking a chicken (I don’t believe it – you poor thing)⁉

939  mha-ma-tīŋ-sa-gha.  rem-phā  bokhe-gha!
   ABS-NEG-see-APR-P.1s  be.good-do  bump.into-P.1s
  It seems I didn’t see it at all. I bumped into it but good!

940  dirbe  ci-nha-sa-gha!
   lip  bite-MID-APR-P.1s
  It seems I bit my lip!

Example (941) was uttered with more than a bit of sarcasm.

941  ma-ta-khe  do?-hi.  ca-sa-hi.
   NEG-be.tasty-IMPF  say-P.  eat-APR-P
  [He] said it doesn’t taste good, and yet it seems he ate it.

The apparentive may also be employed to soften a statement and is considered more polite than an unmarked verb. In example (942), the
use of an unmarked verb, e.g. *ca:hoi*, would be considered blunt and a bit impolite here.

942 *maŋku ma-dhui-pa re. nhaton ca:-sa-hoi!*
shuttlecock NEG-speak-do ASS ear take-APR-PERF
Give the weaving a rest, I say. It seems [my] ears have had enough already!

5.2.5 *Exclamative*

Basic morph: *ru*
Label: EXCL

The exclamative particle *ru* encodes the speaker’s emotional state or attitude regarding a proposition. This morpheme indicates intense emotion on the part of the speaker varying from alarm and distress, to excitement. The particle *ru* is generally uttered with high level pitch and increased duration. Example (943) was uttered by an angry, screaming child who raises the alarm call for his mother to a fevered pitch. In example (944), the speaker exclaims excitedly that a person associated with supernatural powers walking on the street is looking at the uncle, possibly with malicious intent. In example (945), the speaker expresses her shock and discomfort at seeing a child attempting to hang from an unstable object.

943 *o amai ru!*
oh mother EXCL
Oh, mom!

944 *boi-heŋ khaŋ-khe ru!*
uncle-DAT look.at-IMPF EXCL
[She]’s looking at uncle!

945 *na doi-li do-khe-na ru?!*
you⁸ hang-INF be.able-IMPF-2 EXCL
Can you⁸ hang (from that)!!
946 \textit{lem-pi-aŋ} hai doʔ-ka-lai ru!
laugh-DIR-FUT what say-NOM-PL EXCL
[She] will make [you] laugh. Oh, the things that [she] says!

947 yum-ka te eʔ-loŋ khiniŋ jeŋ-hi ru!
sit-NOM TOP one-CL only become-P EXCL
As for seating, there’s only one place!

948 nheʔ-\textit{mahina} eʔ-\textit{ghuri-ŋ} jeŋ-sa-hi ru!
two-month one-moment-EMP become-APR-P EXCL
Why, it seems that two months have gone by in just a moment!

5.3 Information structure

Dhimal has a variety of morphemes which are used for the pragmatic functions of structuring information in discourse. These particles have to do with the mental representation of referents or propositions in the speaker’s and the addressee’s minds. The discourse particles that will be treated in this section are the topic marker \textit{te}, the assertive focus marker \textit{doŋ}, the argument or sentence focus marker \textit{aŋ}, the presuppositional copula \textit{ko}, the referential marker \textit{u}, the assertive marker \textit{re} and the contrastive marker \textit{rə}.

5.3.1 Topic

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Basic morph: & \textit{te} \\
Label: & TOP \\
\end{tabular}

The particle \textit{te} is employed in two distinct but related morphosyntactic environments. The first occurs with nominal constituents where it codes an active or accessible referent as a marked topic expression. Secondly, this particle is used in non-finite adverbial clauses to highlight or foreground information. These types of clauses include conditional, implicational and temporal clauses.
Referents with the topic particle tend to occur as the first constituent in a clause. In narrative, the particle *te* may be used to indicate a topic shift or the new coding of a referent as the topic.

The topic particle *te* establishes a pragmatic relation between a referent and a proposition. The proposition then conveys information about this topic. While the topic marker appears to be used contrastively here, example (951) shows that contrastiveness is not a part of its make-up. In her response to a question, the speaker does not contrast herself with anyone. In fact, based on the preceding sentence, she is already an active topic.

949  

950  

951  

— ‘Oh, and what do you know?’ said the god Śaṅkar.

— It’s not like that. As for me, I don’t know anything.
After looking at a variety of pictures in a magazine without comment, the speaker in example (952) singles out one photo. Because the photo is in the speech situation, it is available for topic coding. Here, the speaker does not contrast the person in this photo with any others, but merely raises it up as a topic.

952 ya te menaŋ akheʔ-ka hi-hi.
3s TOP very be.dirty-NOM AUX-P
As for this one, [she]’s very dirty.

In narrative where multiple actors exist, the topic marker te may be employed to reintroduce a referent who has been off-scene. In the following examples, the referents coded as topics had not been mentioned for several sentences during which other characters were discussed. The use of the topic particle here marks a shift in attention to one of a number of competing active referents.

953 unko jamal te jaman jen-hoi.
that child TOP youth become-PERF
As for that child, he became a young man.

954 kalau ode bebal te odon nariya-heŋ
so that woman TOP that elephant-DAT

phesar-au phutphat-pa phe:-pi-gil-hi doʔ-khe.
broom-INST one.by.one-do sweep-DIR-IM-P say-IMPF
Then, that woman went around and swept up those elephants one by one with a broom.

Topic coding is not restricted to subjects, but extends to objects, indefinite pronouns, adjuncts and even multiple arguments of a proposition. In example (955) the object is coded as the topic. The dative marking indicates that constituents marked with te are not extra-clausal, i.e. cleft constructions. In these examples, the topical object occurs as the first constituent of the sentence.
As for your garden flower, we have seen it.

As for his load, a bird then flew off with it.

As for weddings, you have seen them.

The topic marker may even be used with non-arguments such as locative or verb phrases. In example (958), the locative phrase ‘towards the forest’ is first introduced as a focus expression and then repeated with topic coding.

So one day he took them away towards the woods. So to the woods he took them.

As for going abroad, that is out of the question.

Interrogative pronouns may also be coded as topic expressions even though indefinite referents are explicitly rejected by many authors as eligible for topic-hood. A likely explanation is that in Dhimal, interrogative pronouns may function as indefinite and relative pronouns. Examples (960) and (961) are both rhetorical questions,
and, in example (960), the speaker is about to comment on the position that the addressee is now taking, which differs from before.

960  
ela  na  hai  te  doʔ-khe-na?!
  now  you^  what  TOP  say-IMPF-2
And now what do you^ say?!

961  
ela  khoji  pa-li  hiso  te  pa-li  la?
  now  search  do-INF  whither  TOP  do-INF  MIR
And now as for searching, where to begin then?

More than one constituent in a clause may be coded as a topic expression. In example (962), both the subject pronoun kelai and the nominal object gorai are coded as topics. Not only does the predicate convey information about these two topics, but they also enter into a topic relation with one other, i.e. the relation between us and alcohol is a drinking one. This relation, the drinking of alcohol between potential in-laws, refers to an important step in the courting process.

962  
kelai  te  gorai  te  am-nha-khe.
  we^  TOP  alcohol  TOP  drink-1p-IMPF
We^ are drinking the alcohol.

963  
inta-so  bajar-ta  te  khan-teŋ  te  lo-hi.
  there-EL  fair-LOC  TOP  look-SEQ  TOP  come-P
And so then, having looked around at the fair, they returned.

As part of its foregrounding function, the topic particle frequently occurs in non-finite adverbial clauses, where te establishes the temporal, spatial or logical framework within which the proposition in the main clause holds. Nearly half of all tokens for te were found employed in this morphosyntactic environment. The non-finite clause marked with the topic particle acts as a scene-setting topic, and the proposition expressed therein is pragmatically presupposed. In example (964) about a jackal and a bear, the proposition that the jackal did something is shared knowledge or pragmatically
presupposed. The assertion expressed in the main clause then establishes a relation to this presupposed proposition.

964  
e?-khe wa pa-na bhai-so te  
one-time 3s do-IMPL seem-EL TOP

wa-ko be? jeŋ-hi la.  
3s-GEN wife become-P MIR
Since he did this once, she became his wife.

965  
bojan theka?-li hane-labelau te esa khaj-khe.  
garden arrive-INF go-TEM TOP thus look-IMPF
While going to the garden, he looks around like this.

966  
neg I NEG-say-FUT.1s I say-COND TOP I die-FUT.1s
No, I won’t say. If I say, I will die.

Curiously, the topic particle also occurs with verb phrases containing finite morphology. Here the entire proposition is coded as a topic. As with the adverbial clauses above, the propositions encoded in these finite phrases are all in the presupposition as is clearly shown in example (967). This type of usage appears to be uncommon.

967  
sita haran pa-hi. kalau sita haran  
Sītā disappear do-P so Sītā disappear

pa-hi te ñhik.  
do-P TOP fine
Sītā disappeared. And so, [the fact] that Sītā disappeared is fine.

968  
hin-dhi-hi te eklaj yhar-ka hasu la?  
be-REL-P TOP alone forest-LOC who MIR
Who then was left behind alone in the forest?
5.3.2 Assertive focus

Basic morph:  \textit{doŋ}

Label:  FOC

The particle \textit{doŋ} is used in pragmatically structured assertions to establish a marked focus relation between a referent of a proposition and the proposition itself. While the discourse environments in which \textit{doŋ} is employed vary from assertions to counter-presuppositions or exhaustive listings, they are all clearly related and may be subsumed under the term assertive focus. Noun phrases, adverbial or verbal phrases, and postpositional phrases may all be placed in focus, with the particle \textit{doŋ} immediately following the focussed constituent.

The particle \textit{doŋ} marks a constituent of a proposition as having assertive focus. In example (969), the proposition ‘\(x\) is the strongest’ is in the presupposition as indicated in the initial query. The assertion in the reply is the equational relation ‘\(x = \text{ŋko rumal}\)’, with the particle \textit{doŋ} indicating that the noun phrase stands in a focal relation to the proposition. This example is taken from a story with several possible candidates for ‘strong man’ and cannot be said to be counter-presuppositional, though an exhaustive listing interpretation is possible. In example (970), the object \textit{sukh basuli} might be interpreted as contrastive with another type of flute which plays a role in the story. As indicated in the gloss, an exhaustive listing type of focus is also a possible interpretation.

969 — \textit{bir} \textit{te} \textit{la} \textit{hasu} \textit{la}?
    strong TOP MIR who MIR

    — \textit{ŋko rumal} \textit{doŋ} \textit{bir}.
    that handkerchief FOC strong
    — So who then was the strongest?
    — That HANDKERCHIEF was the strongest.

970 \textit{kalau} \textit{sukh} \textit{basuli} \textit{doŋ} \textit{cum-na} \textit{bhai-so} \textit{te}
    so joy flute FOC take-IMPL be.like-EL TOP
And so, since all he took was the flute of joy, there wasn’t any way out.

In some instances *doŋ* is used to code a referent whose role is contrary to expectation, as in the following examples. In response to a question concerning the ingredients in the home-made alcohol, the speaker in example (971) asserts that in contrast to the presupposition ‘put in *x*’, the misidentified referent is in fact *lumphi* ‘banana’, which is marked with the focus particle. Likewise, in example (972), which counters an assertion that the identity of the perpetrator of some misdeed was some other ethnic group, the speaker asserts that the referent in the presupposition ‘*x* did it’ was in fact a Dhimal. The focused constituents here, however, only happen to be contrastive to what the addressee initially presumed.

971 — *lumphi*-ko dhale taʔ-khe-na?
    banana-GEN skin put-IMPF-2

    — *lumphi* doŋ.
    banana FOC
    — Do you* put in banana peel?
    — BANANA itself.

972 *dhemal*-lai doŋ!
    Dhimal-PL FOC
    It was none other than a DHIMAL!

In example (973), the focused noun phrase *iŋko bebal* does contrast with other possible referents, but there is no indication that the speaker assumes that the addressee has any other referent in mind and is therefore not contrastive or counter-presuppositional. Rather the speaker merely asserts that the missing referent in the proposition ‘*x* raised him’ is in fact that woman.
In contrast to the previous examples which could be interpreted as being contrastive or counter-presuppositional, the following examples do not so easily permit such an interpretation. Here the speaker presumes that the addressee has no knowledge of these constituents and asserts their identity. Consequently, the label contrastive or counter-presuppositional for this particle must be rejected.

In example (977), the focus domain covers the verb phrase *cali lagaili* ‘to eat and dress’. The proposition ‘enough to do $x$’ is in the presupposition. The speaker’s reply below asserts only ‘not enough to do [even] $y$’.

---

973 ŋko bebal doŋ pose-hi mə?
you woman FOC raise-P TAG
That WOMAN raised [him], right?

974 damə khaŋ-ka-ta-ŋ khaŋ-ka-ta-ŋ kəŋ-ko
road look-NOM-LOC-EMP look-NOM-LOC-EMP I.OBL-GEN

mi doŋ tu:-hi.
eye FOC hurt-P
Watching and watching for [your] arrival, my EYES hurt.

975 ka ita rem-pha doŋ hi-gha.
I here good-do FOC be-P.1s
I am FINE here.

976 hai doŋ pa-li ma-do-hi ŋko si.ai.di doŋ.
what FOC do-INF NEG-can-P that spy FOC
Even that SPY couldn’t do anything.

977 ca-li lagai-li doŋ ma-them-khe.
eat-INF dress-INF FOC NEG-be.enough-IMPF
It isn’t enough to even feed or clothe ourselves.
The particle *doŋ* also occurs in categorical propositions, primarily in the negative and with the interrogative or relative pronoun *hai*. The adverb *buy* ‘also’ is also found in this type of construction, though with less frequency than *doŋ*.

978  
*hai  doŋ  ma-cã.*  
what  FOC  NEG-eat.FUT.1s  
I don’t want anything at all to eat.

979  
*aṭhiyabari-ko halkhɔbɔr hai  doŋ  tha  ma-jen-hi.*  
Āṭhiyābārī-GEN  news  what  FOC  knowing  NEG-be-P  
[I] have no knowledge whatsoever of news from Āṭhiyābārī.

980  
*haipali  doŋ  ma-do-gha.*  
why  FOC  NEG-be.able-P.1s  
I was unable for whatever reason.

Finally, the focus particle *doŋ* is used with numerals and the comitative marker *dopha ~ dosa* to indicate the totality of a set. With the addition of the focus particle *doŋ*, the numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’ become ‘the same’ and ‘both’ respectively, and the comitative becomes ‘all together’.

981  
*laksɔmɔn  e?-lon  doŋ  lhaʔba-ta  ca-li*  
Lakṣmaṇ  one-CL  FOC  leaf-LOC  eat-INF  
*sikaʔ-khe  la  wa.*  
be.disgusted-IMPF  MIR.3s  
Lakṣmaṇ is disgusted by eating from the same leaf.

982  
*gota-ŋ  e?-lon  doŋ  hi-hi.*  
each-EMP  one-CL  FOC  be-P  
They are all the same.
The morpheme *aŋ* acts as an identificational or argument focus marker and as a presentational or sentence-focus marker. This particle differs from the assertive focus particle *doŋ* both in its pragmatic structure and in its morphosyntactic distribution. Whereas *doŋ* is restricted to assertions, *aŋ* may be employed with questions and commands, and occurs both adnominally and in utterance-final position. What these two uses of *aŋ* have in common is the absence of a topic-comment structure.

When the focus particle *aŋ* occurs adnominally, it identifies the missing argument in a presupposed open proposition. In example (985), the subject *na* is placed in argument focus, while the object, i.e. the bicycle, is postposed. The presupposition here is the open proposition that someone purchased a bicycle. The focused subject pronoun identifies the missing argument.

985

\[na \ aŋ \ col-nha \ saikəl?\]

\[you^s \ FOC1 \ buy-P.2 \ bicycle \]

YOU^s bought a bicycle?
— ede pahar-ko bir bəlwan-ko sa? hede?
this hill-GEN brave strong -GEN house which?

— ya aŋ.
this FOC1

— Which house belongs to the strong man of this hill?
— THIS is it.

— na pahar-ko bəlwan doʔ-ka na aŋ?
you\$ hill-GEN strong.man say-NOM you\$ FOC1

— ka aŋ. haipali?
I FOC1 why

— Are YOU\$ the one they call the strong man of the hill?
— I am. Why?

cabeli aŋ!
Chabeli FOC1
It was CHABELI!

na aŋ doʔ ku-nu!
you\$ FOC1 say COP-COND
YOU\$ say it then!

na aŋ ole-pa!
you\$ FOC1 come.out-do
YOU\$ take it out!

The morpheme aŋ is not restricted to marking arguments, but may also occur in utterance-final position where it functions as an event-reporting or presentational marker with the focus extending over the entire proposition. In propositions marked with aŋ, no pragmatic presupposition is evoked other than what may be situationally implied. In example (991), the addressee did not hear what the speaker had just said and she repeats herself, this time employing the morpheme aŋ at the end of the utterance to mark the
proposition as presentational. In example (992), the speaker did not hear what had just been said regarding how something was to be done and seeks clarification. In examples (993) and (994), the speaker repeats a question that has been posed by another individual, but not heard by the addressee.

991  \textit{sikaʔr-a-na}  \textit{anį.}
\begin{verbatim}
be.disgusted-FUT-2  FOC1
\end{verbatim}
(I said that) you will be disgusted by it.

992  \textit{hesa}  \textit{anį?}
\begin{verbatim}
how   FOC1
\end{verbatim}
How (did you say to do it)?

993  \textit{hisika}  \textit{hi-hi}  \textit{anį.}
\begin{verbatim}
what.kind  be-P  FOC1
\end{verbatim}
(He wants to know) what kind it is.

994  \textit{hasu-heŋ}  \textit{lai-pa-li}  \textit{goi-khe}  \textit{anį.}
\begin{verbatim}
who-DAT  be.reconciled-do-INF  must-IMPF  FOC1
\end{verbatim}
(He wants to know) who do you have to flatter?

Examples (995) and (996) were used to introduce characters at the beginning of a story, right where one would expect to find a presentational structure. In example (997), the sentence occurs without the morpheme \textit{anį}, as do a majority of such presentational utterances in my corpus. Never the less, this sentence still contains formal presentational coding by the use of the generic classifier \textit{<-loŋ>} and the lexical coding of the arguments.

995  \textit{eʔ-loŋ}  \textit{syaille}  \textit{rə}  \textit{naibiri}  \textit{hi-gha-khe}  \textit{anį.}
\begin{verbatim}
one-CL  jackal and  bear  be-PIMPF-IMPF  FOC1
\end{verbatim}
There once was a jackal and a bear.
There once was a soldier.

There once was a man who had five daughters.

Propositions may be pragmatically viewed as presentational or eventive when they lack topic-comment structure. In the examples below with focus structure, the utterances may be said to answer the question ‘what happened next?’, and so are presentational in nature. Here, the focus extends over both the subject and the predicate. In example (998), the postposing of the subject juhã may be a correlate of its non-topical status.

There a lot of rats emerged.

From above things come crashing down.

[He] binds both legs very tightly.

father I-DAT also that.kind husband seek-DIR
The genre or type of discourse appears to have a bearing on the use of this morpheme. In three texts totalling 45 minutes, not a single token of ay appears. One text however, a bawdy tale about a servant and a soldier’s wife, had eleven tokens in the two-minute tale. The frequent occurrence there is undoubtedly due to the nature of the propositions involved. Below are a few excerpts.

1002  
esa  mena  sui  ba:-na  bhai-khe  ay.  
like.this  very  needle  pierce-IMPL  be.like-IMPF  FOC1
Thus it seems scarcely more than a pin prick.

1003  
mena-ŋ  dul-pa  ma-dul-khe  ay.  
very-EMP  enter-do  NEG-enter-IMPF  FOC1
It hardly goes in at all.

1004  
ghiu  lagai  ghiu  do?-khe  ay.  
ghee  put.on  ghee  say-IMPF  FOC1
‘Ghee, put on some ghee,’ [she] says.

5.3.4 Presuppositional

Basic morph:  ko
Label:  COP

The copula ko may occur with a finite verb and signals that the proposition expressed in the clause is in the presupposition. The presuppositional copula occurs predominantly in interrogative constructions with semantics similar to that of WH-cleft constructions. This morpheme is typically uttered with pronounced high level pitch and increased duration. Most commonly, the presuppositional construction occurs with interrogative pronouns. In
example (1005), the speaker sees the addressee ahead carrying a shopping bag and presupposes therefore that something is indeed being brought – the question is what? In example (1006), the speaker has spotted a child up to something suspicious. She presumes that the child is up to no good and wants to know exactly what it is doing. The proposition ‘you are doing something’ is in the presupposition.

1005 hai cuma-nha ko?
what bring-P.2 COP
What is it that you brought?

1006 hai pa-khe-na ko?
what do-IMPF-2 COP
What is it that you are doing?

Example (1007) was uttered in the context of a neighbour’s child wailing and its mother angrily shouting the speaker’s son’s name. Hence, the speaker assumes that her son has committed some act, and consequently wonders to herself what the exact nature of the deed might be. In example (1008), the speaker seeks the reason for the scene of howling children before her. She already presupposes that the addressee is the causee, but wants to know why he is doing such a thing.

1007 hai pa-hi ko?
what do-P COP
What is it that he did?

1008 haipali jamal-lai-heŋ khar-pa-khe-na ko?!
why children-PL-DAT cry-do-IMPF-2 COP
Why is it that you are making the children cry?!

1009 hai gi-ā ko?!
what know-FUT.1s COP
What do I know?!
‘What is it that is making a hissing sound in the water?’ [someone] said.

Oh dear, auntie, what is it that I should say?!

The remaining examples employing ko are slightly unusual in that they do not follow the pattern set out above, i.e. they do not contain an interrogative pronoun. In example (1012), which the speaker uttered after a repeated lengthy battle to get her son to go to school, the fact that the child cries over having to go to school is in the presupposition. What the speaker wants to know is whether this will be an every day occurrence.

Is it going to be every day that he may cry over going to school?!

The copula ko may also occur in commands. In example (1013), the speaker issues an exasperated command, while in example (1014), a simple command is repeated four times, with the last marked with ko. It is not entirely clear what ko contributes here or how these utterances differ in meaning from an unmarked imperative.

Well, go on and ask him!

Don’t climb. Don’t climb. Don’t climb. Don’t climb.
5.3.5 Referential particle

Basic morph: \( u \)
Label: \( \text{REFR} \)

The particle \( u \) occurs in two distinct morphosyntactic environments. Clause-initially, this particle acts as a spatial adverb used to point to a distal location. Postnominally and in clause-final position, the particle \( u \) acts as a discourse pragmatic marker indicating a referent or proposition which is known to the addressee.\(^9\) This particle may also encode a referent or proposition as being under discussion. When serving a discourse function, this particle is often spoken with high level pitch and increased duration. In addition, one informant claimed that the use of this particle is more common in the speech of women, and casual observation supports this.

In utterance-initial position, this particle points or draws the addressee’s attention to a location away from both speaker and addressee. Here the particle \( u \) may be glossed in English as ‘look’ or ‘over there’. Note also the phonological similarity with the remote demonstratives, e.g. \( ota \sim u\text{ta} \) ‘there’ and \( oso \) ‘in that direction’. In example (1015), the speaker directs the addressee’s attention to a distal location. In example (1016), the particle \( u \) is employed both in its gestural sense and postnominally as a discourse deictic marker.

\begin{verbatim}
1015 u khaŋ paya-bhari!
    there look pig-CIRC
   Look, there, over by the pigs!
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
1016 u naibir u siri-li khaŋ-hi la.
    there bear REFR go.in-INF look-P MIR
   There, the bear, you know, she tried to go in.
\end{verbatim}

Adnominally or in utterance-final position, the referential particle \( u \) acts as a discourse deictic marker that links a referent or proposition

\(^9\) See also the Lai Chin deictic postnominal particles \( k\text{haa} \) and \( t\text{suu} \) (Barnes 1998), the Rabha suffix \(<-o>\) (Joseph 2007) and the Limbu particle \( ?a \) (van Driem 1987, p243).
to something that has previously been mentioned in discourse or that is known, or should be known, to the addressee. From indicating distal referents in space, the use of the referential particle has been extended to pointing to nominal or propositional referents in discourse. In examples (1017) and (1018), the frame of reference for the utterances was a woman telling her young daughters that they would have fine jewellery. When the daughters queried her on who would provide this and what sort of jewellery it would be, the following replies ensued.

1017  
\texttt{peusa  u!}  
uncle  \texttt{REFR}  
You know, your uncle!

1018  
\texttt{yauyau-ka  u!}  
deep.yellow-\texttt{NOM  REFR}  
You know, the golden yellow kind!

In example (1019), a woman calls out to a child whom she has just admonished and who is back to his old tricks. Here the referential particle \texttt{u} reminds the child of what he knows to be proper behaviour. In example (1020), a child screaming at the top of his lungs employs this particle after repeated attempts at calling his mother have failed to elicit a response. By using the referential particle he attempts to get her to do what she knows she should be doing, i.e. come running. In English, a similar meaning may be encoded with intonation.

1019  
\texttt{a  u!  a  u!}  
VOC  \texttt{REFR}  VOC  \texttt{REFR}  
There! There! (What did I just tell you?!)

1020  
\texttt{ama  u!}  
mother  \texttt{REFR}  
Mom!!!
With interrogatives the referential particle may still be employed to indicate what the addressee is presumed to already know.

1021 kalau wa te hai pa-pu-hi ode bela u?
    so he TOP what do-DIST-P that time REF
So, what do you think he did going along there at that time?

1022 na hiso dha?-khe-na u?!
    you whither run-IMPF-2 REF
Where do you think you are running off to?!

1023 lokhon phe?t-aŋ la u?! gabreka!
clothes wash-FUT MIR REF whore
Does she think she’s going to wash clothes?! Whore!

In example (1024), a woman warns a child of the consequences of kicking a dog. The referential particle u here indicates that it is probably not the first time that the child has been warned and that he should know better. In example (1025), a woman contemptuously imitates what another has just said. The particle u refers back to the proposition which they all heard and which she herself repeats. In example (1026), the speaker refers back to what she said previously and was heard by the addressee, who is now arguing the same thing.

1024 ci:k-a u.
    bite-FUT REF
It’ll bite, you know.

1025 wa-seŋ hi?-li goi-ā do?-khe u!
    3s-DAT ask-INF must-FUT.1s say-IMPF REF
‘I’ll have to ask him’, he says!

1026 do?-kha u.
    say-IMPF.1s REF
That’s what I’m saying.
oso jha: u!
in.that.direction wash REFR
Wash it over there! (as you’re supposed to)

— sar do:-khe wa la.
— vegetable be.finished-IMPF DED MIR

— do:-khe u.
be.finished-IMPF REFR
— The vegetables are getting used up now, I suppose.
— They’re getting used up, of course.

Finally, the referential particle may refer to ‘the thing in question’ or ‘the thing we were discussing’. In example (1029), the particle \textit{u} marks the referent to?si ‘comb’ as having some relevance due to its being or having been under discussion. Example (1030) is interesting in that it shows the permissibility and ordering of multiple particles. Here, the referential particle refers back to the proposition asserted by the speaker’s daughter, i.e. she needs certain books.

ita hi-hi to?si u.
here be-P comb REFR
Here it is, that comb (that we were looking for).

hede hede kitab hi-hi wa la be u?
which which book be-P DED MIR DUB REFR
I wonder which books may be the ones (that she mentioned needing)?

5.3.6 Assertive

Basic morph: \textit{re}
Label: ASS

The particle \textit{re} indicates an assertion by the speaker in contrast to the presupposition of its negative. The assertive is employed to counter
the hearer’s belief that the proposition is false. This particle strongly asserts the truth of the proposition and is often used after repeated attempts at persuasion and the addressee’s continued disbelief. In example (1031), the addressee was drunk and thinks that he may have said something unseemly. After repeated assertions by the addressee that he said something improper, the speaker employs the assertive particle in order to convince him that indeed nothing untoward was said. In example (1032), the speaker reassures her screaming child that she is on her way. The remaining examples were also uttered after repeated assertions were ignored by the addressees.

1031  *ma-doʔ-nha re!*
      NEG-say-P.2  ASS
     I tell you, you* didn’t say [anything bad]!

1032  *lo-khoi-ka re!*
      come-INC-1s  ASS
     I tell you, I’m coming already!

1033  *ma-gi-a-na re!*
      NEG-know-FUT-2  ASS
     You* won’t know how, I tell you!

1034  *gilub oʔt-ay re!*
      light.bulb burn-FUT  ASS
     The light bulb is going to burn out, I tell you! (so stop playing with it!)

The assertive particle may also occur in interrogatives and is fairly common with imperatives. Here the semantics have not only more of the quality of a pronouncement, but also a sense of earnestness. This sense is put to good use in traditional songs consisting of exchanges between young men and women where the sincerity of the utterance is emphasised.
1035 ela nidhiŋ hai doʔt-a-niŋ re?
now you\textsuperscript{d}.OBL what say-FUT-2d \textsc{ass}
I say, what are you two going to say now?!

1036 si-pa re! aro-ŋ atuisa hi-hi.
die-do \textsc{ass} more-\textsc{emp} a.bit be-P
Finish it up, I say! There’s still a little (left here).

1037 cuma-su re dada-gelai jor doŋ hāsuli.
bring-COL \textsc{ass} e.brother-\textsc{pl} pair FOC neck.torque
I say, bring a pair of neck torques, elder brothers. (from Dhimal song)

5.3.7 Contrastive

Basic morph: \textit{rə}
Label: \textsc{conr}

The particle \textit{rə} may be used to indicate a speaker’s attitude toward a proposition that is counter to expectation or belief. This particle may also be used to contrast or counter a presupposition held by the hearer. In example (1038), someone has just commented on a person’s lack of body hair as a sign of immaturity. The speaker counters that in contrast to the addressee’s statement regarding manhood, he himself does not even have facial hair! Example (1039) was uttered in protest against the insistence of an individual that they had met.

1038 \textit{kaŋ-ko} darhi bhasaʔ-hi.
I.OBL-\textsc{gen} beard grow-P

\textit{nay-ko} ma-bhasaʔ-hi \textit{rə}!
you\textsuperscript{‘}.OBL-\textsc{gen} NEG-grow-P \textsc{conr}
My beard has grown. Yours\textsuperscript{8}, however, hasn’t grown!
I have no recollection of it (in spite of what you remember!)

It hurts more than a little!

But, [she] went and put him to sleep (so I can’t feed him)!

This particle may also be used to signal an event that is unexpected or counter to the expectations of the speaker. In example (1042), the subject is an infant who is completely incapable of achieving the task at hand. The speaker encodes her surprise at the audacity of the child with the contrastive particle. Likewise in the remaining examples, events or situations occur that are completely unexpected.

Why, [he]’s looking to climb up here!

Why, someone called out my name!

Why, this here is my son!

What sort of quarrel seems to have occurred?!
5.4 Sentence structure

This section will examine relative clauses, reported speech and complementation, and will conclude with a look at various interrogative coding strategies including conjoined alternate clauses, the interrogative particle na, the tag question particle mə and the adhortative agreement marker aũ. In conclusion, the Indo-Aryan loan particle ki will be treated.

5.4.1 Relative clauses

There are essentially three types of relative clause constructions in Dhimal that distinguish non-specific and specific referents, i.e. an inherited construction with the nominalising morpheme <-ka>, an Indo-Aryan influenced construction employing an indefinite and a definite pronoun, and a construction with an interrogative and definite pronoun that may represent an intermediate stage between the previous two constructions. All three types are common.

The relative construction with <-ka> may occur prenominally or internally and indicates a specific referent. This construction encodes many different grammatical relations including subject, object, dative or oblique referent, though the relativised clause does not appear to permit pluralisation with the suffix <-lai> when followed by its nominal head. The occurrence of a possessive pronoun in the relative clause may indicate either a possessive or agentive relation to the nominalised verb, or merely as a rhetorical device as in example (1046).

1046 kalau odoŋ bhaʔsin iŋko gotaŋ naŋ-ko
so that reason that each-EMP you\'s.OBL-GEN

dheu-li do-ka cahi diya jeŋ-hoi.
tie-INF be.able-NOM IND water.buffalo be-PERF
So for that reason, all those they could tether became domestic water buffalo.
1047 naŋ-ko pheʔ-ka anemane manthu?
you$^{5}$.OBL-GEN beat-NOM thing NEG.EXT
Don’t you$^{5}$ have anything to be washed?

1048 kaŋ-ko doʔ-ka wa ma-saʔ-khe.
I.OBL-GEN say-NOM 3s NEG-believe-IMPF
He doesn’t believe what I say.

1049 udini naŋ-ko ram-heŋ pi-gil-ka
other.day you$^{5}$.OBL-GEN Rāma-DAT give-IM-NOM

$pətra ka buŋ khaŋ-gha.$
letter I also look.at-P.1s
The other day I also looked at the letter that you$^{5}$ sent to Rāma.

1050 ram-ko dagai-ka ede lumphi lhaʔba.
Rāma-GEN splitting-NOM this banana leaf
The thing that Rāma split was this banana leaf.

The relative clause constructions that may represent an intermediate stage between the <ka> relative clauses and the Indo-Aryan-influenced forms consist of a subordinate clause headed by an interrogative pronoun, followed by the main clause headed by a definite pronoun. The interrogative pronoun here acts as relative pronoun, since it is referential. Semantically, this type of relative clause appears to be confined to specific indefinite referents. Syntactically, these constructions are identical to the following type, but appear to be less common and differ in the use of the interrogative rather than indefinite pronouns in the subordinate clause.

1051 kalau inta-ko tai-ko nal-ka dyaŋ hasu
so there-GEN REF-GEN know-NOM man who
hi-hi ode dyāŋ-heŋ doʔ-t-a wa…
be-P that man-DAT say-FUT DED
And so whoever they themselves know there, they may say to that person…

1052 hasu hasu-heŋ dusu-khe-niŋ
who who-DAT meet-IMPF-2d

wa-seŋ hiʔ-li goi-anŋ dama-ta.
3s-DAT ask-INF must-FUT road-LOC
We² must ask whomever we² meet on the way.

1053 hesa dheu-nha-ka hi-gha-hi inko bhai-pa dheu.
how tie-MID-NOM AUX-PIMP-P that be-like-do tie
Tether him just like he had been tethered.

1054 hesa kose-ka hi-gha-hi insika khalko kose
how tighten-NOM AUX-PIMP-P like.that such tighten
Make it just as tight as it had been.

The Indo-Aryan-type relative clause constructions consist of a subordinate clause headed by an indefinite pronoun, followed by the main clause headed by a definite pronoun. The indefinite pronouns are hybrids derived from the Dhimal interrogative pronouns, bearing an initial palatal affricate <j>, a loan morpheme from Indo-Aryan. In contrast to the previous type, these constructions may be used with either a specific or indefinite referent.

1055 ma-ko jai dharma pa-khe
NEG-COP REL.what virtue do-IMPF

wa-ko karma ca-li goi-khe.
3s-GEN fate eat-INF must-IMPF
No, whatever virtue one performs, one must accept ones’ fate.
1056 **dama-ta jede tiŋ-hi ode-heŋ hiʔ-hi.**
road-LOC REL. which see-P that-DAT ask-P
Whomever they saw on the road, that’s who they asked.

1057 **jisika-ŋ rawaŋ nanabhati jasusi-gha-hi**
REL. what.kind-EMP Rāvana hocus-pocus spy-PIMPF-P

**usika-ŋ maricmuni buŋ katha saʔ-li goi-hi.**
that.kind-EMP Maricamanī also word obey-INF must-P
Whatever kind of hocus-pocus Rāvana concocted, that’s what Maricamanī had to obey.

### 5.4.2 Reported speech and complementation

A variety of non-finite or finite constructions with a verb of saying or doing is employed to encode reported speech. Reported speech generally occurs as a direct quote, employing either a form of the verb *doʔli* ‘to say’ or the verb *pali* ‘to do’, i.e. *doʔteŋ* ‘having said’ (analogous to Nepali *bhanera*), *doʔlau* ‘while saying’ (analogous to Nepali *bhandā*), *pahe panu* ‘if one were to say’ (analogous to Nepali *bhanyo bhane*). The sequential morpheme `<-teŋ>` is frequently used to mark direct quotes with the speech act being elaborated upon in the main clause, though it is not unique in performing this function.

1058 **uŋkhu miŋ-ka bela-ta lo-ay-ka doʔ-ka hi-nha**
paddy ripe-NOM time-LOC come-FUT-1s say-NOM AUX-P.2
You* said, ‘I will come when the paddy is ripening.’

1059 **na ka-heŋ iŋko kam pa-teŋ**
you* I-DAT that work do-SEQ

**sona candi col-li do-khe-na doʔ-ka hi-nha.**
gold silver buy-INF be.able-IMPF-2 say-NOM AUX-P.2
You* said to me, ‘Doing that work you* can buy gold and silver.’
Ask [him] who he is.

Well, when you tell who won, what will you say?

I tell [them] he says ‘I’ll only come back in two years.’

Saying ‘okay then,’ he continued on northwards, they say.

In example (1064), the deictics are switched indicating an indirect rather than a direct quote. Directing the addressee to pass along greetings, the speaker switches from the first person to third person, presumably speaking the quote as the addressee would utter it.

Tell them that Rāma has thought about them, okay?

These verbs of ‘saying’ and ‘doing’ in the many forms illustrated above may be employed to create complement clauses. In example (1065), the verb do?li is used three times, the first in a complementising function, secondly in its lexical sense and lastly in a reportative fashion. In example (1066), the non-finite verb do?teŋ
‘having said’ presents the fact of the addressee’s coming as the complement of the following clause.

1065 kalau kāṭhmanḍu lo-teŋ amerika han-ā
then Kāṭhmanḍu come-SEQ America go-FUT.1s

la doʔ-teŋ doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
MIR say-SEQ say-P say-IMPF
They say that, having come to Kathmandu, he said ‘I’m going to America.’

1066 na lo-a-na doʔ-teŋ ita gotaŋ kam
you8 come-FUT-2 say-SEQ here whole work

mili-pa-teŋ taʔ-gha.
arrange-do-SEQ put-P.1s
I have arranged everything here for your arrival.

5.4.3 Interrogatives

Interrogatives may be encoded with rising intonation, the use of question words, the interrogative particle or with conjoined alternate clauses. The following are examples of conjoined alternate clauses.

1067 ta:-hi ma-ta:-hi?
be tasty-P NEG-be.tasty-P
Does it taste good?

1068 cur am-a-na ma-am-a-na?
cigarette drink-FUT-2 NEG-drink-FUT-2
Do you8 want to smoke a cigarette?

1069 bihu pa-ka hi-nha manthu-na?
wedding do-NOM be-P.2 NEG.EXT-2
Are you8 married?
The particle *na*, which often occurs clause-initially, may be used to indicate an interrogative. A clause marked by the interrogative particle may follow the typical intonational contour of an interrogative or may take declarative intonation, with the particle fitting into the overall contour. Clause-initial position may be due to Indo-Aryan influence.

1070  *hai*  *col-an*  *be.*  *na*  *gora*  *col-teŋ*
what buy-FUT DUB QUEST alcohol buy-SEQ

*am-an*  *be*  *na*  *haya*  *col-teŋ*  *ca-an*  *be.*
drink-FUT DUB QUEST fish buy-SEQ eat-FUT DUB
I wonder what she’ll buy. Maybe she’ll buy alcohol and drink it, or maybe she will buy fish and eat them.

1071  *na*  *bir*  *na*  *ka*  *bir?*
you’s strong QUEST I strong
Are you’s stronger or am I stronger?

1072  *na*  *te*  *syale-ko*  *nui-ta*  *hethe*
QUEST TOP jackal-GEN mouth-LOC how.much

*aṭi-hi*  *wa*  *la*  *biha?*
fit-P DED MIR meat
Now, how much meat do you suppose fit into the jackal’s mouth then?

The interrogative particle is also employed to present propositions for acceptance into the discourse. The use of the interrogative particle overtly marks the proposition as open for questioning by the addressee.

1073  *e?-loŋ*  *mədes-ko*  *bəlwan*  *hi-gha-hi*  *do?-khe*  *na?*
one-CL lowland-GEN strong be-PIMPF-P say-IMPF QUEST
There once was a lowland strong man they say, mmh?
5.4.4 Adhortative tag

Basic morph: \(aŋ\) ~ \(əŋ\)
Label: TAG

An adhortative tag consists of an imperative followed by the morpheme \(aŋ\) or its common allomorph \(əŋ\). This particle is uttered with the rising tone of a question. The adhortative tag encourages compliance or solicits cooperation with what is stated in the imperative. This beseeching softens the imperative, making it more of a request.

1074 \(ka\ ita-ŋ\ yha-ā\ na?\)
I here-EMP stay-FUT QUEST
I’ll stay right here, mmh?

1075 \(amai\ amai\ e?-loŋ\ syaile\ lo-khe\ na?\)
mother mother one-CL jackal come-IMPF QUEST
Mother, mother, a jackal comes, mmh?

1076 \(ate\ na?\)
father’s.brother’s.wife QUEST
Auntie, is that you?’

1077 \(ita-ko\ bhai-ka\ na?\)
here-GEN be.like-NOM QUEST
Is it the same as the ones here?

1078 \(mamar-pa\ ghurai\ əŋ?\)
very.quick-do return TAG
Come back very quickly, okay?

1079 \(bo?na\ naj-ko\ be?-heŋ\ ta?pi\ əŋ?\)
bonha you’.OBL-GEN wife-DAT put-DIR TAG
Keep the \(bo?na\) for your’s wife, okay?
1080 cer ma-tam-pa aū?
anger NEG-climb-do TAG
Don’t get mad, okay?

1081 e ajai ela lo aŋ?
oh grandma now come TAG
Oh grandma, come now, okay?

1082 puriŋ tu:-ka osere amai-heŋ pi aŋ?
head hurt-NOM medicine mother-DAT give TAG
Give mother some of that headache medicine, okay?

5.4.5 Tag questions

Basic morph: mə
Label: AGR

A tag question consists of a declarative utterance followed by the particle mə. The tag particle is spoken with the intonation of a question, that is, with rising intonation. It signals that the speaker expects concurrence, confirmation or agreement from the addressee regarding the proposition. This morpheme presumably derives from the negative morpheme <ma->.

1083 jaŋ-hi mə?
be.expensive-P AGR
It’s expensive, isn’t it?

1084 ka-seŋ pi-hoi-na mə?
I-DAT give-PERF-2 AGR
You’ve gave it to me, right?

1085 obalai jharay hai doŋ ma-gi-khe mə?
they all what FOC NEG-know-IMPF AGR
None of them know a thing, do they?
5.4.6 Particle ki

The Indo-Aryan loan particle *ki* occurs both clause-initially and clause-internally, and fulfils several different functions. Among languages possessing a similar morpheme, the Nepali particle *ki* may be found acting as the conjunction ‘or’, as an interrogative particle and as the relative pronoun ‘that’ in subordinate clauses. The Bengali sentential interrogative particle *ki*, on the other hand, may occur in any position other than initial, depending on the presuppositional structure of the sentence (Klaiman 1990). The Dhimal particle displays a similar breadth of function, suggesting that *ki* may have been borrowed at different times and perhaps even from different languages.

In example (1087), *ki* functions as a straightforward subordinating conjunction, similar to its Nepali counterpart. In examples (1088) and (1089), on the other hand, *ki* precedes the main clause as part of a complex phrase, in (1088) as part of an interrogative, while in (1089) as part of the causal phrase ‘as a result’.

1086  *ka-seŋ na dopha amrika cum-pu-a-na mə?
I-DAT you COM America take-DIST-FUT-2 AGR
You are going to take me to America with you, right?

1087  *ka-seŋ hisika mon jeg-hi ki kaŋ-ko
I-DAT what.kind heart be-P *ki* LOBL-GEN

*nepal-ta khiniŋ ma-ko bahira buŋ*
Nepal-LOC only NEG-COP outside also

*tai-ko-ŋ dyəŋ hi-hi.*
REF-GEN-EMP person be-P
How my heart felt, [to know] that not only did I have my own person in Nepal, but outside as well.\(^{10}\)

\(^{10}\) Having ‘one’s own person’ or ‘connections’, either a friend or relative who can be relied upon to provide material or other assistance, is considered very important in Nepali society (also known as ‘source force’).
Or is it the case that [they] had to tear the house down?

As a result, another tooth grew in overlapping.

The predominant morphosyntactic environment in which the particle _ki_ is found in Dhimal, however, is directly following a nominal phrase and preceding the verb phrase. In this type of construction _ki_, which is typically pronounced with rising intonation, marks the identity of an argument as perhaps a bit surprising or uncertain. This sense of uncertainty along with the rising intonational contour suggest a link to the interrogative function of the particle _ki_ in Bengali.

In the tree above, why, there was Hanumān.

‘Oh, why, there’s someone there’, says that tiger.

Why, that was my name that was called out.

‘Oh, why, this is my son’, he says.
Eh, [I guess] we\textsuperscript{d} did a bad deed, didn’t we\textsuperscript{d}.

As for us\textsuperscript{b}, we\textsuperscript{b} are indebted to you\textsuperscript{s}.

In (1096), the particle \textit{ki} serves to highlight the important purpose of the speakers’ visit. Here, the social context suggests a stylised uncertainty which might be appropriate for the delicate negotiations with prospective in-laws.

It is thus, for your\textsuperscript{s} daughter, that we\textsuperscript{b} came.
In the old days, John sir, when one had to ask for a girl (wife), 

what they used to do, 

before asking for a girl, 

so that girl ask.for-GEN look-SEQ before 

1 This text about the process involved in getting a wife was told by Nar Bahādur Dhimāl, aged 39, in Aṭhiyābārī in January of 2001.
hey today other place-GEN fair say-IMPF
‘Hey, they say today there’s a fair in another place.’

‘At the fair there, there may be girls.’

Girls from other places may come.’

Saying, ‘Come on, let’s have a look’, the friends would assemble, they say.

They, the friends, would get together.

When the friends assembled, what they would say is,

‘Oh what, are you thinking about going to that place to girl watch?’

That’s what those boys would say.
te ku-nu pa-teŋ doʔ-gha-hi obalai. okay COP-COND do-SEQ say-PIMPF-P theyp ‘Okay then’, theyp would say.

kalau han-a wa la obalai bajar. so go-FUT DED MIR theyp fair And so then theyp would go to the fair.

adhi-mi dhol cum-teŋ han-a wa. half-CL drum hold-SEQ go-FUT DED Half might go carrying a drum.

adhi-mi dhol-ko lekhara lekhara insa han-a wa. half-CL drum-GEN behind behind thus go-FUT DED Half might go like that behind the drums.

kalau inta-so han-a wa la. so there-EL go-FUT DED MIR So from there they may go.

kalau inta-so dhol tatai-ko lagi te lage-a wa? So there-EL drum REF-GEN for TOP fall-FUT DED So then, do you suppose the drums are for the boys themselves?

wajan jamal-lai hai pa-gha-hi pa-he pa-nu boy child-PL what do-PIMPF-P do-HYP do-COND What the boys would do was,

beja-lai hiso hiso ko? girl-PL whither whither COP ‘Where is it that the girls are?’

doʔ-teŋ obalai bisar pa-gil-gha-hi wajan jamal-lai cahi. say-SEQ theyp thought do-IM-PIMPF-P boy child-PL IND so saying, the boys would go around thinking.

kalau nabhəndai ode beja-lai cahi lo-gha-hi bajar-ta. so before.that that girl-PL IND come-PIMPF-P fair-LOC So before that, those girls would come to the fair.
And when the boys saw the girls,

‘That one there maybe’, isn’t it so?

So then what the boys’ and girls’ method previously was, John sir,

In those days, there was the custom to offer betel leaf, cigarettes, areca nut and dates to the girls.

So then, those boys, they may buy a lot of betel leaf for them.

Or they may buy cigarettes for them.

Or they may buy them what you call your dates.
or they might buy them coconut.

And they might offer [these things] to those girls.

And so that time what they would say is, ‘Here, take some little sister.’

So saying, they would offer cigarettes, areca nut, coconut or dates.

There are plenty of dates in America, John sir (so you know what they are).

And so, it happens that apparently they began to like each other.

So then, having seen [them] at the fair, [they] return.

[They] may also go towards the village again.
So, after deciding to look at girls, they\(^p\) hit the road.

And there, whoever they know there,

they may say to that person,

'I have come for this purpose today.'

‘Oh, for what purpose did you\(^s\) come?’ he may say.

those boys may say.

Saying, ‘Oh, so it’s time for you\(^s\) to look for a wife too then?!’

the person from that house might say (something like that), isn’t it so?

so that house-GEN man NEG-COP-COND

the person from that house might say (something like that), isn’t it so?
jhôn ramro!
more good
And so then, ‘Okay then, if you came then all the better!’

jiban-ta te sanaiti bônai-li goi-khe.
life-LOC TOP friend make-INF must-IMPF
Saying, ‘In life one must make a friend’,

dô?-teŋ obalai dera-ko dyâŋ-gelai cum-teŋ han-a wa la.
say-SEQ they village-GEN man-PL take-SEQ go-FUT DED MIR
they may go, taking along the people of the village.

kalau iŋko saʔ-ta cum-pu-a wa la ma-ku-nu?
so that house-LOC take-DIST-FUT DED MIR NEG-COP-COND
And so they may take them to that house, isn’t that so?

kalau doʔ-t-a wa kalau iŋko saʔ-ko dyâŋ-gelai
so say-FUT DED so that house-GEN man-PL
And so the people of that house may say,

hiso-so lo-su-nha ko phalna pa-teŋ doʔ-t-a wa.
whither-EL come-COL-P.2 COP stranger do-SEQ say-FUT DED
‘Where is it that you came from strangers?’ they may say.

e iso-ŋ be.
oh hither-EMP DUB
‘Oh, from around here perhaps.’

you OBL-GEN garden-LOC flower big-NOM be-P say-IMPF
‘They say there is a flower in your garden that has grown.’

iŋko lhe? khâŋ-li lo-nha-hi be doʔ-t-a wa.
that flower look.at-INF come-1p-P DUB say-FUT DED
‘We came to see that flower perhaps’, they may say.

e thik doŋ-hi. doʔ-t-a wa ode bela.
oh good weigh-P say-FUTDED that time
‘Oh, that’s fine’, they may say at that time.
So then, the person who accompanied them there, kalau ode doʔt-a wa kalau so that say-FUT DED so he may say,  

te kelai phalna din lo-aŋ aũ? okay we⁶ other day come-FUT okay ‘Okay, we⁶ will come back another day, okay?’ 

naŋko bari-ko lheʔ-heŋ te khan-ŋha-hoi. you¹.OBL-GEN garden-GEN flower-DAT TOP look-at-Ip-PERF ‘We⁶ have seen the flower of your⁶ garden.’ 

rəpəni pe:-li pi-a-na be ma-pi-a-na be⁷? but pick-INF give-FUT-2 DUB NEG-give-FUT-2 DUB ‘However, will you⁷ allow [us] to pick it, I wonder, or won’t you⁷?’ 

doʔ-ka khalko katha taʔ-teŋ ghure-a wa la obalai. say-NOM such word put-SEQ return-FUT DED MIR they⁷ Saying things like that, they⁷ may return. 

kalau inta-so lo-hi la saʔ-ta. so there-EL come-P MIR house-LOC And so then they returned home. 

kalau tai-ko saʔ lo-na bhai-so te so REF-GEN house come-IMPL seem-EL TOP 

aba-heŋ buŋ doʔt-a wa father-DAT also say-FUT DED And upon returning home, he may say to his father, 

iŋko phalna bejan-heŋ rhe:-lha-li goi-aŋ. that other girl-DAT ask.for-INTEN-INF must-FUT ‘We⁶ must go and ask for that other girl.’
COURTING

amai-ŋ buŋ doʔ-a wa
mother-DAT also say-FUTDED
He may also say to his mother,

ŋko phelni bejan-ŋ rheː-lha-li goi-ŋ
that other girl-DAT ask.for-INTEN-INF must-FUT

pa-teŋ doʔ-a wa.
do-SEQ say-FUT DED
‘We⁷ must go and ask for that other girl’, he may say.

kalau inta-so te ku-nu.
so there-EL okay COP-COND
And then, ‘okay then.’

gora-ci gaː-hoi la ma-ku-nu?
alcohol-water cook-PERF MIR NEG-COP-COND
They prepared drinks, isn’t that so?

sikret supaŋi nɔriyɔl sɔra-gelai cuma-a wa la.
cigarette areca coconut date-PL bring-FUT DED MIR
They may bring cigarettes, areca nut, coconut and dates.

inta-so gotaŋ kura thik-thak pa-hoi la jon sɔr.
there-EL each-EMP talk tip-top do-PERF MIR John sir
Then they got everything ready, John sir.

kalau inta-so dera-ko sanaiti-bhaya-gelai-ŋ na-seŋ
so there-EL village-GEN friend-pal-PL-DAT you⁸-DAT

kai-a wa. wa-seŋ kai-a wa. wa-seŋ kai-a wa.
call-FUT DED he-DAT call-FUT DED he-DAT call-FUT DED
And so then he may invite his village friends and pals, he may invite you⁸. He may invite him and he may invite him.

kalau obalai gora botal sikret supaŋi
so they⁹ alcohol bottle cigs areca
And so, taking bottles of alcohol, cigarettes, areca nuts and coconut, they may set out.

So, at that time what happened was,

they may go to that village,

that village is where they may go.

Why? To ask for a girl!

And that’s how it may happen then on that same day.

They may talk about a thing or two. That’s it.
And so again while going a second time, ‘Okay then stranger,

*naŋ-ko camindi-ko lagi te*

you’.OBL-GEN daughter-GEN for TOP

*kelai esa-pa ki lo-nha-hi ko.*

we\textsuperscript{b} thus-do ki come-1p-P COP

it is thus, for your\textsuperscript{s} daughter, that we\textsuperscript{b} came.’

*na hai do?-khe-na pa-teŋ do?t-a wa.*

you\textsuperscript{s} what say-IMPF-2 do-SEQ say-FUT DED

‘What do you ‘say?’”, he may say.

*kalau ode bela hai do?-khe*

so that time what say-IMPF

*bejan-ko aba thik doŋ-hi!*

girl-GEN father fine weigh-P

And so, what does the girl’s father say at that time? ‘That’s fine!’

*wa buŋ kalau hai do?t-a wa?*

he also then what say-FUT DED

What else may he say?

*ka buŋ ode dera hane-teŋ e?-loŋ nhe?-loŋ*

I also that village go-SEQ one-CL two-CL

*katha bujhe-aŋ-ka.*

matter understand-FUT-1s

‘I will go to that village and find out a thing or two.’

*dera sanaiti-bhaya-gelai-heŋ bujhe-aŋ-ka.*

village friend-pal-PL-DAT understand-FUT-1s

‘I will find out something about his village friends and pals.’
hi?t-ay-ka dan-ay-ka. hisika hi-hi? hai hi-hi?
ask-FUT-1s inquire-FUT-1s how be-P what be-P
‘I will ask and inquire. What sort [are they]? What’s there?’

do?-ka khalko katha-gelai obalai
say-NOM such word-PL theyp

wa bujang bujhe-li khaŋ-khe.
he also understand-INF ook-IMPF
Saying things like that, they, he also tries to find out.

kalau ode bela hai jeŋ-hi pa-nu
so that time what happen-P do-COND
And so what happens then,

tep ku-nu wa buj bujhe-aŋ
okay COP-COND he also understand-FUT

do?-khe ku-nu bejan-ko aba buj.
say-IMPF COP-COND girl-GEN father also
‘Okay then, he too wants to find out’, the girl’s father too.

hisika hi-hi? hai hi-hi?
how be-P what be-P
‘What sort [are they]? What’s there?’

rem-ka be ma-rem-ka be? ma-ku-nu do?-teŋ
good-NOM DUB NEG-good-NOM DUB NEG-COP-COND say-SEQ
‘I wonder is it good or is it not good?’, isn’t that so?

wa buj bujhe-li mɔuka nin-ä-ko do?-teŋ
he also understand-INF opportunity get-FUT.1S-OPT say-SEQ
He too thinks that he will get an opportunity to find out,

ode katha-heŋ insa-ŋ aŋ aŋ do:-pa-teŋ lo-khe.
that matter-DAT thus-EMP PAUS be.done-do-SEQ come-IMPF
finishing that matter like that he returns.
kalau inta-so e?-ni nhe?-ni jen-a wa la.
so there-EL one-day two-day happen-FUT DED MIR
And so then one or two days may pass.

nhe?-ni sum-ni jen-a wa la.
two-day three-day happen-FUT DED MIR
Two or three days may pass.

əthəwa əthara pəndhrə din jen-a wa.
or eighteen fifteen day happen-FUT DED
Or eighteen or fifteen days may pass.

kalau inta-so hai jeŋ-hi ku-nu
so there-EL what happen-P COP-COND
And so what happens next then,

te phalna-heŋ hane to.
okay other-DAT go then
‘Okay, go to the other.’

iŋko bejan-ko aba katha bujhe-hi ma-bujhe-hi?
that girl-GEN father word understand-P NEG-understand-P
‘Was that girl’s father satisfied with the matter or wasn’t he?’

iso dera-bhari ghurai-hi ma-ghurai-hi?
hither village-CIRC stroll-P NEG-stroll-P
‘Did he come and stroll around the village or didn’t he?’

iŋko katha bujhe-li hane to!
that word understand go then
‘Go find those matters out.’

doʔ-ka khalko katha eʔ-mi-heŋ diŋ-gil-a wa la.
say-NOM such word one-HCL-DAT send-IM-FUT DED MIR
Saying things like this, they may then send a person.

kalau inta-so hai doʔ-t-a wa pa-nu
so there-EL what say-FUT DED do-COND
And then what he might say is,
Okay I say-IMPF what COP-COND go-FUT-1s ‘Okay, I’ll go then. What does he say?’

Was he satisfied or wasn’t he? Did he come around or didn’t he?’

Saying such things, he may go to find out.

So then he left.

And he may bring back word from that house.

‘Oh, it’s fine. He says he is satisfied.’

‘Okay then, we will go.’

Again they might do other things to court that girl.

Isn’t that so? So then, it’s the same story.

Then they may go taking bottles of alcohol, areca nuts and coconut.
kalau hane-teŋ hune-teŋ are botəl gora yum-pa-a wa.
so go-SEQ REDUP again bottle alcohol sit-do-FUT DED
And so having gone there, again they may set down the bottles of alcohol.

hai jen-hi ku-nu la?
what happen-P COP-COND MIR
So what happened then?

hesa pa-aŋ ku-nu la?
how do-FUT COP-COND MIR
‘How shall we do it then?’

lokhuri kutumba – lampha-ko juntau rə juntaura
skull clan.member before-GEN juntau and juntaura

beraŋ-k khopa cuʔ-ka cahi ma-khai-pi-li doʔ-khe
o.woman-GEN coif tie-NOM IND NEG-untie-DIR-INF say-IMPF
In olden days, Juntau and Juntaura say not to untie an old woman’s hair knot.

doʔ-ka khalko katha-gelai taʔ-dha wa la
say-NOM such word-PL put-IRR DED

ode waraŋ-gelai.
MIR that old.man-PL
Those old men might say things like that.

kalau bejan-ko aba doʔ-t-a wa pa-nu pi-li mon-nu
so girl-GEN father say-FUT DED do-COND give-INF heart-COND
And what the girl’s father may say is, if he is inclined to permit it,

akhiri camindi baraʔ-hoi.
finally daughter be.grown-PERF
‘In the end, my daughter is grown up.’

ku-nu hai taʔ-teŋ buŋ hai phaida la
COP-COND what put-SEQ also what benefit MIR
‘So, what is the benefit of keeping her?’
doʔ-ka khalkokatha taʔ-dha wa la.
say-NOM such word put-IRR DED MIR
He might say things like that.

donald he might say such word put-IRR DED MIR
And then, again, his friends may say,

e wajan-heŋ hiʔ-li goi-aŋ doʔt-a wa
oh boy-DAT ask-INF must-FUT say-FUTDED
‘Eh, we8 will have to ask the boy,’ they may say

tead hiʔ-su ku-nu pa-teŋ
okay ask-COL COP-COND do-SEQ

doʔt-a wa aroŋ warang-gelai.
say-FUT DED again-EMP old.man-PL
‘Okay, ask then’, the old men may say.

kalau wajan hiʔt-a wa kalau.
so boy ask-FUT DED so
And so they may ask the boy.

enaau kelai-ko camindi-heŋ
oh younger.sibling we6 GEN daughter-DAT

te-baʔhar rhum-li do-a-naʔ doʔt-a wa.
ten-year wait can-FUT-2 say-FUT DED
They may say, ‘Oh, little brother, can you’ wait ten years for ourp
daughter?’

kalau ode wajan hai doʔt-a wa pa-nu
so that boy what say-FUT DED do-COND
And what may that boy say?

doʔ-aŋ-ka doʔt-a wa.
can-FUT-1s say-FUT DED
He may say, ‘I can.’
kalau are iŋko khiniŋ ma-ko te
so again that only NEG-COND TOP
And not only that,

na tai-ko-ŋ mon-so lo-nha be?
you's REF-GEN-EMP heart-EL come-P.2 DUB
‘I wonder whether you’s came of your own accord?’

ba bo-mi-ko ulka-so lo-nha be?
or other-HCL-GEN behest-EL come-P.2 DUB
‘Or whether you’ come at another’s behest?’

ba mon pore-teŋ lo-nha be?
or heart like-SEQ come-P.2 DUB
‘Or did you’ perhaps come having fallen in love?’

jumni-itini kelai-ko camindi-heŋ ke.abhône
tomorrow-day.after our^p-GEN daughter-DAT PAUS

sona tin-a-na.
gold see-FUT-2
‘Tomorrow or the next, you’s will see our^p daughter as gold.’

domalai bura?-labelau ke.abhône pîtl tin-a-na?
future be.old-TEM PAUS brass see-FUT-2
‘In the future when [she] is old, will you’s see her as brass?’

iŋko te ma-jen-aŋ.
that TOP NEG-happen-FUT
‘That will not do.’

ahã? iŋko te ma-jen-aŋ pa-teŋ doʔt-a wa kalau wajan.
no that TOP NEG-occur-FUT do-SEQ say-FUT DED so boy
‘No, that will not happen’, so the boy may say.

insika khalko sôbda-gelai hiʔ-khe.
like.that such word-PL ask-IMPF
They ask those kinds of questions.
kalau jatibhariŋ ku-nu?
so truly COP-COND
And then, ‘truly then?’

jatibhariŋ.
truly
‘Truly.’

te ku-nu nani-so kelai-ko camindi
okay COP-COND today-EL wep-GEN daughter

nay-ko jeŋ-hi
you’s.OBL-GEN become-P
‘Okay then, from today on ourp daughter is yours’s.’

doʔ-ka khalko səbda taʔ-dha wa la.
say-NOM such word put-IRR DED MIR
They might say such things.

kalau inta-so hai jeŋ-hi?
so there-EL what happen- P
And then what happened next?

koko dina buŋ insa jen-a wa la.
same day also thus happen-FUT DED MIR
On that same day then it may happen thus.

insa-ŋ jen-a wa.
thus-EMP happen-FUT DED
It may happen just like that.

lo-hoi la obalai.
come-PERF MIR theyp
Theyp returned then.

kalau inta-so hai jeŋ-hi aro-ŋ?
so there-EL what happen-P more-EMP
And then what happens next?
Okay, the parents of the bride and groom must consult now.

In order for them to drink alcohol as parents-in-law, what must [they] do beforehand?

[They] must go and consult.

And they may go again, taking a couple people along.

[They] may go. [They] may set down a bottle of alcohol.

And [they] may say, ‘okay then great father, you gave your daughter.’

‘When [we] meet in the market, speaking will require effort.’
‘When speaking, what shall I say then?’,

he may say.

he may say.

Saying, ‘Well, what shall we do then now?’, he may also ask.

‘The work that was undone has already happened.’

‘Okay then, we\textsuperscript{p} came to bring up the matter of whether the parents of the bride and groom ought to come together’,

members of the boy’s party may say then.

And so he may say, ‘okay, that’s fine.’
If you find it awkward to speak, that’s fine.

Let us drink alcohol as parents of the bride and groom.

When shall we drink then?

Okay, this month, this day, this date,

He may go around setting the date then, isn’t that so?

So then, [they] may return, bringing along that news.

So that time ALL boy side GEN person PL
So until that time, the members of the boy’s party may prepare alcohol.

They may prepare rice beer, isn’t that so?

Taking along his friends and pals from the village, he may go then.

So then, having arrived there,

They may also call their friends and pals from the village.

And so, saying ‘okay, today they say there is drinking of the parents-in-law’s alcohol of another’s daughter’,

They may stroll about the village.

So
COURTING

jharay lo-pi-a wa.
all come-DIR-FUT DED
And so all his friends and pals from the village may come for him.

kalau inta-so behai-beheni gora am-li lo-ka
so there-EL parents-in-law alcohol drink-INF come-NOM

dyan-gelai buŋ hiʔ-t-a wa kalau wajan-heŋ.
person-PL also ask-FUT DED so boy-DAT
So then, the people who come to drink the in-laws’ alcohol may also ask the boy.

hai doʔ-t-a wa pa-nu adhi-mi
what say-FUT DED do-COND half-HCL

gora am-ka dyan-gelai
alcohol drink-NOM person-PL
What they may say is, the half of them drinking alcohol,

kelai te gora te am-nha-khe.
we'^ TOP alcohol TOP drink-1p-IMPF
‘We'^ are drinking the alcohol.’

ba jatiŋ-ko mon-ta taː-teŋ lo-hi be?
or true-GEN heart-LOC like-SEQ come-P DUB
‘But, did he perhaps come liking [her] with a true heart?’

ba bambiŋ-ko lo-hi be?
or for.fun-GEN come-P DUB
‘Or did he perhaps come for the heck of it?’

doʔ-ka khalko katha doʔ-ka khalko
say-NOM such talk say-NOM such

doʔ-t-a wa inta jamal-lai.
say-FUT DED there child-PL
The children there may say things like that.
kalau te ku-nu nelai hiʔ-su ku-nu
so okay COP-COND you ask-COL COP-COND
So, saying, ‘okay then, you ask then’,

doʔ-teŋ waraŋ-gelai doʔt-a wa ode bela.
say-SEQ old.man-PL say-FUT DED that time
the old men may say at that time.

kalau waraŋ-gelai iŋko doʔ-na bhai-so te
so old.man-PL that say-IMPL be.like-EL TOP
And since the old men say that then,

kalau wajan-heŋ cahî bejan pəti-ko
so boy-DAT IND girl side-GEN

dyaŋ-gelai buŋ hiʔt-a wa kalau.
person-PL also ask-FUT DED so
so members of the girl’s party may ask the boy.

hai hiʔt-a wa ku-nu? e kelai-ko celi-beṭi-heŋ
what ask-FUT DED COP-COND hey we GEN girl-daughter-DAT

na jatibhariŋ-ko mon-ta taː-teŋ lo-nha na?
you true-GEN heart-LOC like-SEQ come-P.2 QUES
What may they ask then? ‘Hey, did you come liking our daughter
with a true heart?’

naŋ-ko mon-so lo-nha na?
you OBL-GEN heart-EL come-P.2 QUES
‘Did you come of your own accord?’

bo-mi-ko ulka-so lo-nha? pa-teŋ hiʔt-a wa aro-ŋ.
other-HCL-GEN behest-EL come-P.2 do-SEQ ask-FUT DED more-EMP
‘Or did you come at another’s behest?’, so saying, they may ask
again.

kalau wa cahî kaŋ-ko mon-so lo-gha
so 3s IND I.OBL-GEN heart-EL come-P.1s
pa-teŋ doʔt-a wa wajan.
do-SEQ say-FUT DED boy
So then the boy may say, ‘I came of my own accord.’

kalau inta-so e ɭhik doŋ-hi.
so there-EL oh fine weigh-P
And then, ‘okay, that’s fine.’

kalau jumni-itini nani-ko din ke. əbhone
so tomorrow-in.two.days today-GEN day PAUS

na mon-ta ta-ŋ lo-nha.
you’s heart-LOC like-SEQ come-P
‘But tomorrow or the next — today, umh, you’s came, having fallen in love.’

jumni-itini hate-bajar hi-gil-labelau ke.re
tomorrow-next.day market be-IM-TEM PAUS

rerem-ka beja-lai tin-a-na.
be.very.good-NOM girl-PL see-FUT-2
‘Tomorrow or the next, while going around the market, umh, you’s will see some very beautiful girls.’

ode bela kaŋ-ko camindi mon ma-pore-nu?
that time I.OBL-GEN daughter heart NEG-fall.to-COND
‘And if my daughter is not pleasing then?’

doʔt-ka khalko katha taʔ-dha wa la kalau wa.
say-NOM such talk put-IRR DED MIR so 3s
He might bring up such matters then.

ma-ko insa ma-jen-aŋ doʔ-teŋ doʔt-a wa.
NEG-COP thus NEG-happen-FUT say-SEQ say-FUTDED
‘No, that will not happen’, he may say,

kalau bejan bejan ke.re wajan-ko dyaŋ.
so girl girl PAUS boy-GEN person
the girl, the girl, umh, someone from the boy’s party.
So then, the [drinking] of the alcohol of the parents of the bride and groom has happened.

So then, what more do they say?

‘Can you wait ten years for my daughter?’

‘Or can’t you then?’

He may also ask more like that.

‘I can’, may say that boy.

Thus also ask more like that.

And then, they may set the wedding date for one or two months.
COURTING

bihu te na tiŋ-ka hi-nha.

wedding TOP you see-NOM AUX-P.2

As for weddings, you have seen them.

te ku-nu ela ede jhoko din te jen-hoi.

oka y COP-COND now this amount day TOP occur-PERF

‘Okay then, now this many days have passed.

ba ede mahina pi-gil-aŋ be?

or this month give-IM-FUT DUB

‘Will [they] send [her] this month?

ba ode mahina pi-gil-aŋ be?

or that month give-IM-FUT DUB

‘Or will [they] send [her] that month?

eʔ-khe səlha hane-li goi-aŋ.

one-time advice go-INF must-FUT

‘It will be necessary to go and consult once.’

doʔ-ka khalko katha are taʔ-dha wa la

say-NOM such talk more put-IRR DED MIR

ode wajan paha-ko dyəŋ-gelai.

that boy side-GEN person-PL

And so the boy’s party might then mention again something to that effect.

kalau inta-so səlha han-a wa la aro-ŋ.

so there-EL advice go-FUT DED MIR more-EMP

And so they may go and consult once again.

eʔ-mi nheʔ-mi dyəŋ cum-teŋ səlha han-a wa la.

one-HCL two-HCL person take-SEQ advice go-FUT DED MIR

Taking one or two people, they may go and consult then.

te ku-nu səmdisab ela ma-pa-ka kam pa-nha-hoi.

okay COP-COND sir now NEG-do-NOM work do-1p-PERF

‘Okay then sir, now we did the work that was undone.’
'The matter that was unresolved has happened.

So then they may ask something like, ‘when will our wedding ceremony [take place]?’

If [he] is inclined, if he is able,

If there is anything they can’t say, it’s ‘next year’ or ‘in two years’.
CATCHING RATS'

First, one must dig with a hoe for the rats there.

Rats, umh, after applying straw, one must apply manure.

After applying the cow manure, one must fill the rats’ holes with earth there.

After filling it, one must make a hole.

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1 This text about catching rats by Mine Rāj Thāru, aged 20, a resident of Sāno Bārhaghare, was recorded in December 1998 in the village of Āṭhiyābārī.
After making the hole, one must light some jute stalks on fire.

After lighting the jute stalks, you apply it to the hole.

Then after putting that there, one must transfer the fire there (to the straw).

And one must blow.

Blowing, and blowing, and blowing, and blowing, smoke comes out.

Then it goes wafting over there, all around.
CATCHING RATS

When the smoke has wafted around, one must keep one hole. An escape hole.

Having saved an escape hole,


If there are any males or females there

they call out kūt kūt kūt.

If you don’t leave separate escape holes,

they can get away through holes built in other places.

One must place the escape hole near the blowing place.
inta  taʔ-teŋ  tuʔ-teŋ  kalau  mhoʔ-t-a-na
there  put-SEQ  REDUP  so  blow-FUT-2

mhoʔ-t-a-na  mhoʔ-t-a-na.
blow-FUT-2  blow-FUT-2
So, after you place it, then you blow and blow and blow [on the fire].

oso  juhā  dhui-khe.
thither  rat  speak-IMPF
The rats call out over there.

kohi  te  dhu:-ta-ŋ  mhoʔ-ka  thame-ta-ŋ
some  TOP  ambush.spot-LOC-EMP  blow-LOC  place-LOC

si-li  lo-khe.
die-INF  come-IMPF
Some then come out to die right at the ambush spot.

kalau  inta  jɔbɔ  dhui-he  pa-nu  kalau  si-hoi  ya.
so  there  jaba  speak-HYP  do  so  die-PERF 3s
And then as soon as they stop making noise — then they are dead.

ya  juhā  si-hoi  doʔ-ka  bujhe-khe  kalau.
this  rat  die-PERF  say-NOM  understand-IMPF  so
And so, one understands that these rats have died.

kalau  inta  gota-ŋ  okhai-hoi  akhai-hoi  to-li  goi-khe.
so  there  each-EMP  dig-PERF  REDUP  dig-INF  must-IMPF
So then one must dig it all up.

nheʔ?  pharuwa  sum  pharuwa  to-ka-ta-ŋ
two  hoe  three  hoe  dig-NOM-LOC-EMP

kalau  ole-khe  inta.
so  emerge-IMPF  there
With two hoes or three hoes digging, then they emerge there.
CATCHING RATS

juhã ole-khe.
rat emerge-IMPF
The rats emerge.

inta ole-pa-li kalau m-gelai buŋ so:-ka hi-khe.
there emerge-do-INF so rice-PL also transfer-NOM AUX-IMPF
Then, there is also rice that has been stored away to get out.

m to-li khaŋ-he pa-nu m-ko bakar hi-khe.
rice dig-INF look-HYP do-COND rice-GEN storage be-IMPF
If one is looking to dig up the rice, then there is rice stored there.

hethe rem-pha!
how.much be.good-do
How great!

iŋko m to-li ma-khaŋ-he pa-nu
that rice dig-INF NEG-look-HYP do-COND

inta la?-teŋ lu?-teŋ
there quit-SEQ quit-SEQ
If one isn’t looking to dig up the rice, then after quitting that place,

bheneŋ thame hane-li. bheneŋ thame hane-teŋ
different place go-INF different place go-SEQ
go to a different place. After going to a different place,

aro-ŋ doŋ cahi bar-ka jahan esa hi-hi anŋ.
more-EMP FOC IND be.big-NOM family thus be-P FOC1
once more then, there was a big family.

bar-ka jahan hi-hi.
be.big-NOM family be-P
It was a great big family.
Two burrows, three burrows — a lot!

There are thus chambers of the young.

So, there, you know, we put in place three ambush spots there.

After placing three ambush spots, one person over there, one person over there,

and blowing and blowing and blowing,

That’s where they caught them, the rats.

At that place, some were really small, some were really small.
kohi babur-ka  khalko.
some be.very.large-NOM such
And some were very big ones.

khaŋ u! juhā hethesa  jeŋ-hi!
look DIST rat how.much become-P
‘Look, there!’ How many rats there were!

inta hane-ten  hune-ten  kelai  hethesa  kana  ta?-ten
there go-SEQ REDUP wep how.much hole put-SEQ
after going there and putting in so many holes,

inta to-ka-ta-ŋ  to-ka-ta-ŋ
there dig-NOM-LOC-EMP dig-NOM-LOC-EMP
to-ka-ta-ŋ  to-ka-ta-ŋ
dig-NOM-LOC-EMP dig-NOM-LOC-EMP
digging and digging and digging and digging there,

kohi thethe-ka  ole-khe.
some be.very.big-NOM emerge-IMPF
some very big ones come out,

kohi thithi-ka  ole-khe.
some be.very.small-NOM emerge-IMPF
some very small ones come out,

kohi babur-ka  ole-khe.
some be.very.large-NOM emerge-IMPF
and some very large ones come out.

ode jharan khan-ten  ama  cahē
that all look-SEQ mother IND

the-ka  hi-gha-hi  inta  the-ka.
be.big-NOM be-PIMPF-IMPF there be.big-NOM
But the mother, she was the biggest of them all there — really big.
kalau inta ūŋko goto-ŋ ole-pa-teŋ ale-pa-teŋ
so there that each-EMP emerge-do-SEQ REDUP
So then, after taking all of them out,

kalau belhaʔ-hoi.
so become.evening-PERF
it is evening already.

ela suta hane-li goi-ŋ phuŋ-li phaŋ-li.
now home go-INF must-IMPF roast-INF REDUP
Now, we have to go home and roast them up.

suta lo-teŋ la-teŋ me do:-nha-khe.
home come-INF REDUP fire ignite-1p-IMPF
After arriving home, we start a fire.

me do:-teŋ da:-teŋ inta inta puriŋ-gelai
t fire ignite-SEQ REDUP there there head-PL
After starting a fire, then the heads,

puriŋ-gelai cahi cokha bōnai-li gora dopha.
head-PL IND snack make-INF alcohol COM
the heads are to make a snack with alcohol.

gora dopha cokha bōn kalau gora sum-mi dyǎŋ
alcohol COM snack make so alcohol three-CL person
Having made the snack along with the alcohol, then alcohol for three people,

eʔ-ser eʔ-ser-pa sol-li la
one-ser one-ser-do finish.up-DAT MIR
one portion each for three people may be enough
la puge-a wa kelai-heŋ te nheʔ-noŋ.
there arrive-FUT DED weŋ-DAT TOP two-CL
There, two may be enough for us.

kalau inta phuŋ-hoi phaŋ-hoi.
so there roast-PERF REDUP
So then [they] roasted them up.

kohi oso laʔ-pa-ka laʔ-pa-khe.
some thither quit-do-NOM quit-do-IMPF
Over there, some are removing the innards.

oso juhã-gelai phuŋ-ka-taŋ phuŋ-ka-taŋ
thither rat-PL roast-NOM-LOC-EMP roast-NOM-LOC-EMP
Over there, roasting and roasting the rats,

kalau phuŋ-hoi phaŋ-hoi.
so roast-PERF REDUP
Then [they] roasted them up.

kalau inta oso cokha buŋ oso bheneŋ dyəŋ
so there thither snack also thither different person.
And so then, over there snacks, and over there a different person,

kalau ode juhã gotaŋ laʔ-pa-teŋ luʔ-pa-teŋ
so that rat each-EMP quit-do-SEQ REDUP

thyakai laʔ-pa cuma-khe.
just.right quit-do bring-IMPF
having gutted and cleaned all those rats, brings [them over].

thyakai daʔ-teŋ duʔ-teŋ kalau bhak lagai-khe.
just.right spread-SEQ REDUP so portion lay-IMPF
After spreading them out just right, they apportion it.
bhak lagai-khe kalau.

portion lay-IMPF so
Then they apportion it.

kalau buŋ ede jhoko ede jhoko jeŋ-hi wa la.
so also this amount this amount become-P DED MIR
And so this much, they each got this much then.

ŋko jhoko-pa jeŋ-hi.
that amount-do become-P
There was that much for each.

kalau tatai-ko saʔta cum-pu-teŋ khinŋ-li pi-pu-khe.
so REF-GEN house-LOC take-DIST-SEQ cook-INF give-DIST-IMPF
And so after bringing it to their own homes, they hand it over to be cooked.

tatai-ko saʔ-ta khinŋ-li pi-pu-khe.
REF-GEN house-LOC cook-INF give-DIST-IMPF
They give it over to be cooked at their own homes.

kalau tatai-ko saʔ cum-pu-teŋ
so REF-GEN house take-DIST-SEQ

inta cokha miŋ-hoi wa la
there snack be.ripe-PERF DED MIR

doʔ-teŋ are lo-khe.
say-SEQ more come-IMPF
And so after bringing it to their own homes, then more come thinking that that snack has finished cooking.

gora bhoː-khe. gilas-gelai jhaː-khe jhuː-khe.
alcohol seek-IMPF glass-PL wash-IMPF REDUP
They seek alcohol. They wash up the glasses.
kalau ina jamal-lai samal-lai hi-he pa-nu
so there child-PL REDUP be-HYP do-COND

atutui-pa bakharai-pi-hoi.
be.tiny-do share-DIR-PERF
And if there are any children, you give a small portion to them.

pi-khe. kalau bakharai-pi-teŋ ca-khe.
give-IMPF so share-DIR-SEQ eat-IMPF
They give. And after apportioning it out, they eat.

c-a-khe. ca-hoi. ca-hoi.
eat-IMPF eat-PERF eat-PERF
They eat. They finish eating.

jɔbɔ ʊŋko gora cokha buŋ do:k-a wa
when that alcohol snack also be.done-FUT DED

kalau tatai-ko suta hane-khe.
so REF-GEN home go-IMPF
When the alcohol and snack are gone, they go to their own homes.

hane-teŋ hune-teŋ kalau ota m-sar
go-SEQ REDUP so there rice-curry

miŋ-ka hi-khe.
be.cooked-NOM AUX-IMPF
After going home, then the rice and curry meal is ready there.

iso ode cokha ca-ka-ta gora ma-ghai-he pa-nu
there that snack eat-NOM-LOC alcohol NEG-be.sated-HYP do-COND
Over here if there isn’t enough alcohol while eating the snack,

suta col-pu-teŋ ota are
home buy-DIST-SEQ there more
bheney thame cokha ca-khe.
different place snack eat-IMPF
they go to a house and buy some and there eat snacks in another place.

ca-teŋ cu-teŋ tatai-mi.
eat-SEQ REDUP REF-HCL
After eating, (return) to their own (homes).

kalau belha?-hoi. jim-hoi. kalau do:-hoi.
so be.evening-PERF sleep-PERF so be.finished-PERF
And so it became evening. They fell asleep. The end.
First, when we go to hunt monitor lizards,

when we go to hunt for monitors,

If we find its tracks, if we find new tracks,

following and following it,

TEXT THREE

HUNTING MONITOR LIZARDS'

phonya kelai ko?sa bho:-li hane-labelau
first we go monitor seek-INF go-TEM

monitor seek-INF go-TEM

we go to hunt for monitors,

we go to hunt the monitor lizard’s tracks.

track get-HYP do-COND

If we find its tracks, if we find new tracks,

following and following it,

3s-GEN behind behind seek-DIR-NOM-LOC-EMP

1 This text by Mine Rāj Thāru, aged 20, a resident of Sāno Bāhraghare, was recorded in December 1998 in Aṭhiyābārī.
bho:-pi-ka-ta-ŋ hane-li goi-khe.
seek-DIR-NOM-LOC-EMP go-INF must-IMPF
one must go behind seeking and seeking [its tracks].

jobə — jeta ghara-ta dul-ka hi-khe
whenever wherever pit-LOC go.in-NOM AUX-IMPF
Whenever — wherever they have gone in the burrow,

ota kelai to-teŋ ta-teŋ to-teŋ ta-teŋ la buŋ
there we\(^p\) dig-SEQ dig-SEQ dig-SEQ dig-SEQMIR also
there, having thoroughly dug and dug and dug and dug,

pharuwa-hoi to-teŋ ta-teŋ la buŋ ole-pa-nha-khe.
hoe-INST dig-SEQ REDUP MIR also emerge-do-1p-IMPF
and having dug with the hoe too, we\(^p\) get them out.

ole-pa-nha-khe inta.
emerge-do-1p-IMPF there
We\(^p\) get them out there.

inta ole-pa-teŋ aro bheneŋ thame
there emerge-do-SEQ more different place

insa pa-teŋ kelai hane-nha-khe.
thus do-SEQ we\(^p\) go-1p-IMPF
Having gotten them out there, again we\(^p\) go to a different place and do
likewise.

insa-ŋ aroŋ bheneŋ thame esa
thus-EMP again different place thus

bho:-gil-labelau kasarok pa-khe.
seek-IM-TEM kasarok do-IMPF
Thus, while searching at another location, it hisses.
esa khaŋ-khe ko?sa.
thus look monitor
Like this, a monitor lizard is looking.

wa-heŋ buŋ esa-ŋ jharəŋ dyəŋ jom-teŋ jom-teŋ
3s-DAT also thus-EMP all person gather-SEQ gather-SEQ
That one too, like this, everyone having joined up,

gherai-teŋ ɡhurai-teŋ esa pa-teŋ
surround-SEQ REDUP thus do-SEQ
having surrounded it like this,

kalau te sanaiti oso hane-khe doʔ?-nha-khe kelai cahi.
so okay friend there go-IMPF say-1p-IMPF weIND
and then, ‘okay friends, it’s heading over there’, weIND say.

te inso rempha ɡherai-su doʔ?-nha-khe.
okay over.there be.good-do surround-COL say-1p-IMPF
‘Okay, block it well over there’, weIND say.

insa doʔ?-nha-khe la esa
like.that say-1p-IMPFMIR like.this

gherai-ka-tya gherai-ka-taŋ
surround-NOM-LOC-EMP surround-NOM-LOC-EMP
Blocking it and blocking it, we say like this then.

eʔ-mi dyəŋ hane-nha-khe.
one-HCL person go-1p-IMPF
One of usIND goes.

pok-pa dənai-nha-khe. kalau insa ma-dənai-li.
pop-do hit-1p-IMPF so like.that NEG-beat-INF
WeIND smack it. But no hitting like that.
bistar-pa — si-pa-ŋ te ma-ko.
slow-do die-do-EMP TOP NEG-COP
Softly, not to death.

insa si-pa ma-dǝnai-nha-khe.
like.that die-do NEG-beat-1p-IMPF
We⁰ don’t beat it to death like that.

kalau iŋko komarai-teŋ kamarai-teŋ esa komarai-nha-khe.
so that hog.tie-SEQ REDUP thus hog.tie-1p-IMPF
So, having hog-tied that one, we⁰ hog-tie it like this.

komarai-teŋ kalau iŋko jhola-ta whaʔ-nha-khe bora-ta.
hog.tie-SEQ so that bag-LOC put.in-1p-IMPF sack-LOC
Having hog-tied it, then we stuff it in a bag, in a sack.

te inta buŋ insa jeŋ-hi la.
okay there also like.that happen-P MIR
Okay, that’s how it happens then.

inta are bhenęj thane hane-nha-khe.
there more different place go-1p-IMPF
Then we⁰ go to another place.

are insa bho:-nha-khe.
more thus seek-1p-IMPF
And we⁰ search again like that.

bho:-ka-ta-ŋ bho:-ka-ta-ŋ
seek-NOM-LOC-EMP seek-NOM-LOC-EMP

bho:-ka-ta-ŋ are insa-ŋ.
seek-NOM-LOC-EMP more thus-EMP
Searching and searching and searching again like that.
HUNTING MONITOR LIZARD


more-EMP hissing do-IMPF

Again, something is hissing.


What hissing do-IMPF COP say-P water-LOC

‘What is it that is hissing in the water?’, [someone] said.


thus look.-IMPF monitor all.out-do run-IMPF

It looks this way, a monitor lizard. And runs with all its might.

ode dyaŋ-heŋ tîŋ-hi.

that person-DAT see-P

It saw that person.

dha?-ka te gîl-nha-khe kelai rem-phâ-ŋ.

run-NOM TOP chase-1p-IMPF we\(^p\) be.good-do-EMP

We\(^p\) run chasing it like mad.

gîl-ka-ta-ŋ gîl-ka-ta-ŋ gîl-ka-ta-ŋ

chase-NOM-LOC-EMP chase-NOM-LOC-EMP chase-NOM-LOC-EMP

Chasing and chasing and chasing it,

inta ghara-ta dul-hi la inta.

there pit-LOC go.in-P MIR there it then went into a burrow there.

to-li goi-hi la iŋko-heŋ la buŋ. to-nha-khe.

dig-INF must-P MIR that-DAT MIR also dig-1p-IMPF

One must dig for it there also. We\(^p\) dig.

iŋko to-teŋ ta-teŋ saleŋ cen algan\(^j\)

that dig-SEQ dig-SEQ ground [?] uncovered
Having dug thoroughly for it, its tail sticks out, it hasn’t gone inside the burrow.

Sticking out there, we pull the tail and pull. We pull really hard.

It puts up a good struggle, that monitor lizard.

[With] two people here then, it emerges. We pull it out there.

After getting it out, we hog-tie that one too like that,
If we get it with [our] hand,

*lathi-hoi ma-dənai-nha-khe.*
staff NEG-beat-1p-IMPF
we don’t beat it with a staff.

*wa-ko nirgai-ta cum-teŋ cam-teŋ*
3s-GEN throat-LOC grab-SEQ REDUP

*ode pharuwa-hoi esa ce:-nha-khe.*
that hoe-INST like.this cut-1p-IMPF
After grabbing it by the neck, we cut it like this with that hoe.

*wa-ko methoŋ wa-ko khur-siŋ-ta esa mal-teŋ*
3s-GEN tail 3s-GEN hand-nail-LOC thus skewer-SEQ

*mul-teŋ komarai-nha-hi inta.*
skewer-SEQ hog.tie-1p-P there
After skewering its tail to its feet like this, we hog-tie it there.

*jəbə kelai ode khur-hoi mili-li do-nu te*
whenever we\(^b\) that hand-INST arrange-INF be.able-COND TOP

Whenever we\(^b\) that hand-INST arrange-INF be.able-COND TOP
If we get it with [our] hand,

*lathi-hoi ma-dənai-nha-khe.*
staff NEG-beat-1p-IMPF
we don’t beat it with a staff.

*wa-ko nirgai-ta cum-teŋ cam-teŋ*
3s-GEN throat-LOC grab-SEQ REDUP

*ode pharuwa-hoi esa ce:-nha-khe.*
that hoe-INST like.this cut-1p-IMPF
After grabbing it by the neck, we cut it like this with that hoe.

*wa-ko methoŋ wa-ko khur-siŋ-ta esa mal-teŋ*
3s-GEN tail 3s-GEN hand-nail-LOC thus skewer-SEQ

*mul-teŋ komarai-nha-hi inta.*
skewer-SEQ hog.tie-1p-P there
After skewering its tail to its feet like this, we hog-tie it there.

*jəbə kelai niŋ-ka sum-loŋ jeŋ-hoi la*
whenever we\(^b\) get-NOM three-CL become-PERF MIR
When the number that we\(^b\) have gotten has become three,

*sum-loŋ jeŋ-teŋ lan-teŋ aro-ŋ insa-ŋ bho:-nha-hi.*
three-CL be-SEQ lead-SEQ more-EMP thus-EMP seek-1p-P having got three and gone ahead, we\(^b\) seek again like that.

*aro jhar-jhar-bhari esa pite-ka-ta-ŋ han-a…*
more forest-forest-CIRC thus follow-NOM-LOC-EMP go-FUT
Again, following throughout the forest like this…
esa pite-ka-ta-ŋ han-a... pite-ka-ta-ŋ
thus follow-NOM-LOC-EMP go-FUT follow-NOM-LOC-EMP
following like this...go... following and following,

pite-ka-ta-ŋ kelai are inta wa-ko gandi-ko
follow-NOM-LOC-EMP we^{b} more there 3s-GEN back-GEN

dam esa sorsolai-lau tiŋ-nha-hi la aro-ŋ.
print thus crawl-TEM see-1p-P MIR more-EMP
again there we^{b} saw more tracks of it crawling.

poisa insa-ŋ hi-hi. esa poisa tiŋ-nha-hi.
track thus-EMP be-P like.that track see-1p-P
There are tracks like that. Thus, we^{b} saw the tracks.

insa-ŋ poisa tin-teŋ pite-ka-ta-ŋ pite-ka-ta-ŋ
thus-EMP track see-SEQ follow-NOM-LOC-EMP follow-NOM-LOC-EMP

pite-ka-ta-ŋ hane-nha-hi kelai pite-ka-ta-ŋ.
follow-NOM-LOC-EMP go-1p-P we^{b} follow-NOM-LOC-EMP
Thus, having seen tracks, following and following and following we^{b}
went, following.

aro-ŋ eʔ-thane insika niŋ-nha-hi la.
more-EMP one-place that.kind get-1p-P MIR
Again in one place, we^{b} got one like that then.

bhɔrkʰɔɾ ghara-ta dul-ka
just.now pit-LOC go.in-NOM

ghara-ta dul-ka hi-gha-khe.
pit-LOC go.in-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF
Just then, entering the burrow, it had just gone into the burrow.
HUNTING MONITOR LIZARD

kalau iŋko-heŋ to-teŋ ta-teŋ ole-pa-nha-hi.
so that-DAT dig-SEQ REDUP emerge-do-1p-P
And then digging and digging for it, we⁹ get it out.

iŋko-heŋ buŋ insa-ŋ tane-teŋ ole-pa-nha-hi.
that-DAT also like.that-EMP pull-SEQ emerge-do-1p-P
That one too, having pulled like that, we⁹ got it.

jʊmma dya-loŋ dya-loŋ jeŋ-hi ma-ku-nu?
total four-CL four-CL become-P NEG-COP-COND
In total, four, there are four, isn’t that so?

dya-loŋ jen-teŋ jun-teŋ la are insa bhənai
four-CL become-SEQ REDUP MIR more like.that saying

aro-ŋ oso belhə?-pu-khoi la.
more-EMP over.there be.dusk-DIST-INC MIR
Having gotten four then, again saying like that, dusk starts setting in over there.

dure-ko dama ma-ko ku-nu?
far-GEN road NEG-COP COP-COND
It is a long road, isn’t that right?

aro-ŋ dya-loŋ jeŋ-hoi.
more-EMP four-CL happen-PERF
Another four already.

e?-loŋ sanaiti-gelai e?-loŋ bho:-li do?-la
one-CL friend-PL one-CL seek-INF say-TEM
Saying ‘one, friends, search for one more,

ye?-loŋ-nu them-aŋ do?-hi do?-nha-hi la.
eight-CL-COND enough-FUT say-P say-1p-P MIR
if there are eight, that will be enough,’ he said, we⁹ said then.
We went again. We seek.

Sanaiti-gelai mhitu-sa-hoi.
friend-PL be.hungry-APR-PERF
Seeking and seeking, the friends it seems are hungry already.

Jolpaŋ ca-li goi-ŋ. jolpaŋ cuma-ka hi-nha-hi dada.
snack eat-INF must-FUT snack bring-NOM AUX-1p-P e.brother
We had to eat a snack. We had brought a snack, elder brother.

Inta kelai jolpaŋ ca-nha-khe la.
there we snack eat-1p-IMPF MIR
We eat a snack there.

Inta thyakai jharaj abe mun cum-pu-ka mun
there just.right all umh beaten.rice bring-DIST-NOM beaten.rice

Lumphi-gelai thyakai milera ca-nha-khe la.
banana-PL just.right arranged eat-1p-IMPF MIR
Then preparing everything just right, we eat beaten rice that we brought, the beaten rice, and bananas and such.

Ca-teŋ cu-teŋ inta ci buŋ thyakai cum-nha-hi.
eat-SEQ REDUP there water also just.right bring-1p-P
Then having eaten, we also brought water just right.

Ci-ko bhāḍa cum-teŋ cam-teŋ inta ca-nha-khe.
water-GEN container grab-SEQ REDUP there eat-1p-IMPF
Having brought the water container, we eat there.
Eating and eating, now having eaten, we sat.

Then again we began to search.

Searching and searching and searching,

and searching again, we got four or five more.

Having got them, dusk is already starting to set in over there.

‘Let’s go home’, we said.

‘Let us go home now friends. We — dusk is starting to fall.'
Dusk may fall while going there.

So, roasting and roasting, and apportioning and apportioning, dusk may fall then.

We said it like that then.

Coming and coming and coming, we arrived home.

Having arrived, we then roasted them up.

Having roasted them up, right then [we say] ‘Let us divide them up.’
Having divided it all up and having quit with our own portions,

kalau jharaŋ suta kelai dya-mi dyaŋ
so all home weŋ four-HCL person

cum-pu-nha-hi tatai-ko bhak.
take-DIST-1p-P REF-GEN portion
all four of usŋ take our own portions home.

sanaiti-gelai nani kelai gora
friend-PL today weŋ alcohol

ma-am-aine doʔ-nha-hi.
NEG-drink-ADH.PL say-1p-P
‘Friends, today let usŋ not drink alcohol’, weŋ said.

te gora ma-am-aine nani.
ookay alcohol NEG-drink-ADH.PL today
‘Okay, let usŋ not drink alcohol today.’

aro din-ta insa-ŋ bho:-labelau am-aine
more day-LOC thus-EMP seek-TEM drink-ADH.PL

bho:-labelau doʔ-nha-hi.
seek-TEM say-1p-P
‘Let usŋ drink on another day when we hunt, when we hunt,’ weŋ said.

insa-ŋ doʔ-tenŋ daʔ-tenŋ insa-ŋ tatai-ko suta hane-nha-hi.
thus-EMP say-SEQ REDUP thus REF-GENhome go-1p-P
Saying things just like that, weŋ went to our own homes.

tatai saʔ-ta hane-nha-hi.
REF house-LOC go-1p-P
Weŋ each went to our own houses.
And after going, we fried them. We ate.

Then we laid down.

We rested.

That’s all.
There once was a lowland strong man, mmh?

He was very strong and brave.

He was really a big strong man. Very tough.

So, one day what he decided to do was,

‘Oh my, in these lowlands I am the biggest, toughest strong man.’

And also there say-IMPF HS
bir bədi-ka phalman.
brave big-NOM strong
’But in the hills there is another who is really very strong, they say.’

han-ā to ka. īŋko dopha hisika hi-hi?
go-FUT.1s then I that COM what.kind be-P
‘I will go. How will it be with him?’

īŋko dopha kusti gha-li han-ā to ka buŋ.
that COM wrestle play-INF go-FUT.1s then I also
‘I too will go and wrestle with him.’

bicar pa-əŋ-ka do?-teŋ dama la?-hi la wa.
thought do-FUT-1s say-SEQ road quit-P MIR.3s
Saying ‘I will think (about this)’, he set out.

wa-ko pala hai pa-hi?
3s-GEN deed what do-P
So what did he do?

topala-bhanji saje-hi. jhola-sola e:-hi bəs.
bundle-things prepare-P bag-REDUP shoulder-P stop
He prepared a bundle of things. He shouldered his bag of things, that’s it.

ṭhakṭhuk-hi.
be.set-P
He was all set.

kalau hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
so go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
So, going and going and going and going

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
arrive-P say-IMPF one-CL house-LOC
and going and going, he arrived at a house.

so one-CL woman thus ground sweep-IMPF-P say-IMPF
And a woman was sweeping the ground like this.

So, what he did going along at that time, while walking,

in both hands, er, under both arms,

thus under each one an elephant, under one arm like this,

under [each] arm he went along playing with an elephant.

He went along then playing with the elephants like this. One stuck here.

One stuck here. Under each arm he went along playing with an elephant like this.
hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
Going and going and going and going,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
going and going,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
going and going,

wa-ko saʔ-ta thekaʔ-li hane-hi ma-ku-nu?
3s-GEN house-LOC arrive-INF go-P NEG-COP-COND
he went to get to his house, isn’t that so?

kalau esa saleŋ pheː-gha-hi doʔ-khe.
so thus ground sweep-PIMPF-P say-IMPF
So, [she] was sweeping the ground like this.

ede pahar-ko bir bolwan-ko saʔ hede
this hill-GEN strong strong.man-GEN house which

pa-təŋ doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
do-SEQ say-P say-IMPF
‘Which house belongs to the strong man of the hills?’, he said.

ya aŋ.
3s FOC
‘This is it.’

wa hiso hane-hi ku-nu?
3s whither go-P COP-COND
‘Where did he go then?’
ghase ce:-li hane-hi.
grass cut-INF go-P
‘He went to cut grass.’

thukka do?-hi do?-khe.
damn say-P say-IMPF
‘Damn’, he said.

nariya phutpat-pathal-hi do?-khe inta mo?
elephant one.by.one-do throw-P say-IMPF there AGR
He threw the elephants down one by one there, right?

kalau ode bebal te odon nariya-hen phesar-au
so that woman TOP that elephant-DAT broom-INST

phutpat-pa phe:-pi-gil-hi do?-khe.
one.by.one-do sweep-DIR-IM-P say-IMPF
Then, that woman went around and swept up those elephants one by one with a broom.

inho jhoko bir abe bir inko phesa
that amount strong um strong that broom

phe:-ka bebal buŋ saleŋ phe:-ka bebal buŋ.
sweep-NOM woman also ground sweep-NOM woman also
She was that strong, that woman sweeping with a broom, the woman sweeping the ground.

kalau hiso hane-ten hi-hi ku-nu?
so wither go-SEQ AUX-P COP-COND
‘So, where is he off to then?’

oso dahē ghase ce:-li.
over.there north grass cut-INF
‘Over that way, towards the north to cut grass.’
Saying, ‘okay then’, he went northwards.

And so like that, going and going and going,

he, having finished cutting grass,

that strong man of the hills was coming along.

‘Oh my, why it seems like a MOUNTAIN’, he says.
So he went along approaching nearer.

And so as he was nearing,

‘Are you the one they call the strong man of the hills?’

‘I am. Why?’

‘I came to make your acquaintance.’

What kind of acquaintance? Acquaintance through wrestling.’

‘Is that true?’

‘It is true.’

And so he set down the load of grass like this, [?] the soil.
And then he too put down his bag.

They got ready to wrestle, right?

An old woman came along and what she said was,

‘No, I wish you two wouldn’t do this in this way.’

‘If you two wrestle on the mother earth,

the creatures living below will become worried.’

‘So where then to wrestle?’
Wrestle on this back of mine,’ she said.

That old woman, not letting them wrestle below (on the ground),

made them wrestle on her back then.

Saying, ‘okay then’, she bent over for them.

They climbed up one by one.

Then they got ready to wrestle.

And so, wrestling and wrestling,

and wrestling and wrestling,
The old woman was so strong, as much as the earth shook, they say.

The old woman doesn’t shake.

And so then the two didn’t quit wrestling. The old woman doesn’t shake (under the weight).

What happened below is,

A cowherd had been raising fifteen hundred head of cattle and buffalo below.

And so he thought.
leta-ko dyaŋ khāŋ-khe doʔ-khe.
below-GEN person look-IMPF say-IMPF
The person below looked up, they say.

rhuta-so te bukbak-bukbak-pa hul-khe aŋ.
above-EL TOP plop-plop-do fall-IMPF FOC 1
From above things were falling pall-mall.

bhonoi-gelai hul-khe doʔ-khe.
soil-PL fall-IMPF say-IMPF
Earth and things were falling, they say.

bɔdi-bɔdi-ka ekdɔm thame thame thame-ta.
big-big-NOM very place place place-LOC
Great big ones, all over the place.

kalau inta-so hai pa-hi pa-he pa-nu iŋko abe gwal?
so there-EL what do-P do-HYP do-COND that umh cowherd
And so then what did the cowherd do?

are.baphre ahā? ita hi-li ṭhik manthu la.
oh.my no here be-INF fine NEG.EXT MIR
‘Oh my gosh, oh no, it’s not good to stay here now.’

are ku-nu hai pa-ā ku-nu la pa-teŋ
oh COP-COND what do-FUT.1s COP-COND MIR do-SEQ
Saying, ‘but what shall I do then’,

doʔ-labelau pɔndhrɔ sai gai diya-ko bhar
say-TEM fifteen hundred cow buffalo-GEN load

saje-hi la ma-ku-nu?
be.ready-P MIR NEG-COP-COND
he readied a load of fifteen hundred cattle and buffalo, didn’t he?
He readied a load of fifteen hundred cattle and buffalo.

And then he set out.

While setting out, going and going and going,

and going and going,

and going and going and going and going,

and going, they say he then had to piss on the way.

They say he had to piss on the way. He set down that load.

While setting down the load — oh, not being able to piss,

a bird then flew off with his load.
It flew off with the load of fifteen hundred cattle and livestock, a bird.

And so then that bird went along nonstop carrying it in its bill, didn’t it?

Then, two students were going along looking at a book.

Reading and reading and reading and reading,

and reading and going along,

they went along walking and reading.
kalau hai nɔjɔr pore-hi wa la be?
so what vision befall-P DED MIR DUB
But what then should they espy?

esa are.ho bhaya u!
like.this oh.my pal there
[Saying] like this, ‘oh my, hey buddy, over there!’

abe injɔ jihã hai cuma-khe doʔ-labelau
umh that bird what take-IMPF say-TEM
Saying, umh, ‘what is that bird carrying?’

esa khiniŋ khɑŋ doʔ-khe bɔs.
like.this only look say-IMPF stop
He only says ‘look!’, that’s it.

ode bhar swattai misihã-ta hul-hi la.
that load suddenly eyeball-LOC fall-P MIR
That load suddenly fell into his eye.

misihã-ta hul-hi doʔ-khe bɔs.
eyeball-LOC fall-P say-IMPF stop
It fell right into his eye.

athe.ho bhaya the the the!
oh.my pal oh oh oh
‘Oh my gosh, buddy, oh, oh, oh!’

ede kaŋ-ko misihã bal-hi te hai ko pa-teŋ doʔ-labelau
this I.OBL-GEN eyeball enter-P TOP what COP do-SEQ say-TEM
And as he is saying, ‘what is this that fell into my eye?!’,
eʔ-loŋ rumal-au swatta thai-pi-gil-hi doʔ-khe ode bhar.
one-CL hanky-INST suddenly throw-DIR-IM-P say-IMPF that load
all of a sudden, [he] removed it for him with a handkerchief, that
load.

bhöye hede bir?
saying which strong
Meaning, which one is the strongest?

katha ede jhoko. e bir cahī hede ku-nu?
story this amount oh strong IND which COP-COND
The story is over. Oh, which one was the strongest?

— bir te la hasu la? injko rumal donj
  strong TOP MIR who MIR that hanky FOC
  — Which one was the strongest then? That handkerchief was the
  strongest.

— rumal bir. do:-hoi.
hanky strong be.done-PERF
— The handkerchief was the strongest. That’s all.
TEXT FIVE

THE TIGER AND THE YOGI

There once was a yogi.

He would go around village to village begging.

Going around village to village begging,

and begging and begging,

One day went around begging to this village.

The next day he went around begging to that village.

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\(^1\) This tale by Nar Bahādur Dhimāl, aged 37, was recorded in December 1998 in the village of Āṭhiyābārī.
are itini ode dera rhe:-gil-hi.
more in two days that village beg-IM-P
Again the day after he went around begging to that village.

insa-ŋ rhe:-gil-ka-ta-ŋ rhe:-gil-ka-ta-ŋ
like that EMP beg-IM-NOM-LOC-EMP beg-IM-NOM-LOC-EMP
So going around like that begging and begging.

rhe:-gil-ka-ta-ŋ rhe:-gil-ka-ta-ŋ
beg-IM-NOM-LOC-EMP beg-IM-NOM-LOC-EMP
and begging and begging,

hai jeŋ-hi pa-nu wa eʔ-ni
what happen-P do-COND 3s one-day

wa jhar-ko dama pore-hi doʔ-khe.
3s forest-GEN road befall-P say-IMPF
what happened one day, he came upon a road leading through the forest.

wa-seŋ ode dera hane-li-ko lagi
3s-DAT that village go-INF-GEN lagi \\n
jhar-ko dama pore-hi.
forest-GEN road befall-P
In order to get to that village he had to take a road through the forest.

kalau ʔok jhar-ko dama
so that forest-GEN road
And so going along that forest road,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
going and going and going,
hane-ka-ta-ŋ  hane-ka-ta-ŋ  hai  jeŋ-hi  pa-nu
go-NOM-LOC-EMP  go-NOM-LOC-EMP  what  happen  do-COND
and  going  and  going,  what  happened  was,

ede  kal  injko  khuwāhā-heŋ  bo-mi
this  time  that  tiger-DAT  other-HCL

byadha-gelai  injko  khuwāhā-heŋ
hunter-PL  that  tiger-DAT

khotar-ta  jhin-teŋ  taʔ-ka  hi-gha-hi  doʔ-khe  thune-teŋ.
cage-LOC  bind-SEQ  put-NOM  AUX-PIMP-F-Psay-IMPF  lock.up-SEQ
at  this  time  some  other  hunters  had  tied  up  that  tiger  and  put  into  it  in
a  cage,  locked  it  up.

ode  khotar  hi-gha-hi  doʔ-khe.
that  cage  be-PIMP-F-P  say-IMPF
That  cage  was  there,  they  say.

ode  khotar-ta  thune-teŋ  taʔ-ka  hi-gha-hi.
that  cage-LOC  lock-SEQ  put-NOM  be-PIMP-F-P
[The  tiger]  had  been  locked  up  in  that  cage.

kalau  ode  khotar-heŋ  khotar-ta  thune-teŋ  taʔ-labelau
so  that  cage-DAT  cage-LOC  lock.up-SEQ  put-TEM
While  sitting  locked  up  in  that  cage,

injko  khuwāhā  doʔ-hi  doʔ-khe.
that  tiger  say-P  say-IMPF
that  tiger  spoke,  they  say.

jogi-heŋ  tiŋ-hi  doʔ-khe.  are.ho  paramatma
yogi-DAT  see-P  say-IMPF  oh.my  holy.man
He  saw  the  yogi,  they  say.  ‘Oh  my,  holy  man,
‘Come here, come, come, come’, he said.

Who said that then? The tiger said it to the yogi.

And so, he looks [over] like this.

Oh my, a king of the jungle as big as that!

‘He is calling me from inside the cage. Why?’

‘The yogi was surprised, mmh?’

And so from there, ‘oh no, I won’t go’, said the yogi one moment.
THE TIGER AND THE YOGI

ma-ko-ni lo-ni lo.
NEG-COP-IMP.POL come-IMP.POL come
‘Please, it’s not like that. Please come. Come.’

na do?-kakura te dharamatma buŋ na aŋ.
you$ say-NOM word TOP pious also you$ FOC1
‘As for the things that you$ say, you$ are pious.’

paramatma buŋ na aŋ.
supreme.spirit also you$ FOC1
‘You$ are the supreme spirit.’

ke-ni na joti-ka dharma hasu ma-ko.
umh you$ however.much-NOM virtue who NEG-COP
‘No one is is as virtuous as you$.’

na ela jogi jen-teŋ na hi-gil-ka dyaŋ.
you$ now yogi become-SEQ you$ be-IM-NOM person
‘Now that you$ have become a yogi, you$ are a travelled person.’

na bodi-ka dharma do?-teŋ wa-seŋ do?-hi la.
you$ be.big-NOM virtue say-SEQ 3s-DAT say-P MIR
‘You$ have great virtue,’ he said to him.

kalau inta-so jogi hane-hi do?-khe la.
so there-EL yogi go-P say-IMPF MIR
And so then the yogi went [over].

e jongo?-ko raja hai pa-li do?-hi do?-khe.
oh jungle-GEN king what do-INF say-P say-IMPF
‘Oh King of the Jungle, what to do?’

khaj. na do?-ka kura ela dharma.
look you$ say-NOM word now virtue
‘Look. The things that you$ say are now virtuous.’
na pārmesor ma-kū-nu? na bhagwan.
you's god NEG-COP-COND you's god
‘You’ are the Almighty, isn’t it so? You’s are God.

tō ke.ābhōne nani na ka-seŋ ede khotar-so laʔ-pa-pi.
but umh today you's I-DAT this cage-EL quit-do-DIR
‘Let me out of this cage today.’

ede khotar-so ka-seŋ ole-pa.
this cage-EL I-DAT emerge-do
‘Take me out of this cage.’

naŋ-ko bōdi-ka dharma jen-a-nau.
you's.OBL-GEN be.big-NOM virtue become-FUT-3s→2
‘Your’s virtue will certainly be great.’

— khuwāhā-ko bʰonai.
tiger-GEN saying
— The tiger said.

— khuwāhā-ko bʰonai.
tiger-GEN saying
— The tiger said.

ahā? doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
no say-P say-IMPF
‘No’, he said.

kalau iŋko jhoko doʔ-na bhai-so te
so that amount say-IMPL be.like-EL TOP
So after saying that much,

iŋko jogi khuwāhā-heŋ khotar-so laʔ-pi-hi la.
that yogi tiger-DAT cage-EL quit-DIR-P MIR
that yogi let the tiger out of the cage then.
He let him out of the cage. And then he said,

‘Okay then, King of the Jungle,’

I will be on my way now’, said the yogi.

And what did the tiger say?

‘No, whatever virtue one performs, one must accept one’s fate.’

— Said the tiger.

— The tiger said.

Again he did like that then. It was reversed.
The matter was reversed.

Since the matter was reversed, the yogi began to faint.

‘Oh my, all those things that you said before.’

‘You are pious. You are god.’

‘If you let me out of this cage, your virtue will certainly be great.’

‘For that reason I let you out.’
Now what do you say?!

'Reversing the matter, whatever virtue one performs, one must accept one’s fate?'

Okay, eat [me] then’, said the yogi.

‘But don’t eat [me] like that.’

‘I too will ask one or two people.’

Saying ‘okay then, who will you ask?’ then ‘Come on, let us go.’
'Whoever we meet on the way, that is who we must ask.'

—  
road-LOC
— On the way.

—  
road-LOC
— On the way.

And so they set out.

He made the yogi go ahead. The tiger followed.

And so then going and going,

and going and going,

and going and going and going,

so what then did they come across?
Since they said that whoever they saw on the way, that was who they would ask,

dama-ta jede tiŋ-hi ode-heŋ hiʔ-hi
road-LOC which see-P that-DAT ask-P

doʔ-na bhai-so te
say-IMPL seem-EL TOP

Since they said that whoever they saw on the way, that was who they would ask,

deʔ-loŋ dama-ta əby bər-ko siŋ hi-ga-hi doʔ-khe.
one-CL road-LOC umh banyan-GEN tree be-PIMP-LOC say-IMPF
there was a banyan tree on the way.

bər-ko siŋ.
banyan-GEN tree
A banyan tree.

kalau ode siŋ-heŋ hiʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
so that tree-DAT ask-P say-IMPF
And so they say that they asked that tree.

e bər-ko siŋ ede khuwāhā khotar-ta
oh banyan-GEN tree this tiger cage-LOC

dul-ka hi-ga-hi.
enter-NOM AUX-PIMP-LOC
‘Oh, banyan tree, this tiger was trapped in a cage.’

are ede khuwāhā ka-seŋ hai doʔ-he pa-nu
more this tiger I-DAT what say-HYP do-COND
‘And what did this tiger say to me?’

e bhəgwana na ka-seŋ ede khotar-so ole-pa-pi.
oh lord you I-DAT this cage-EL emerge-DO-LOC
“Oh lord, let me out of this cage.”
"Your virtue will be great."

‘He said, “your prosperity will be great.”’

‘And so, believing his words, I let him out.’

‘And him, what does he say now?’

‘He says, “whatever virtue one performs, one must accept one’s fate.”’

‘What do you say?’, saying, the banyan tree answered.

What he said was, ‘this matter is fine.’
khalko katha ekdôm ka-señ thik lage-hi.
such talk very I-DAT fine feel-P
‘The saying, “whatever virtue one performs, one must accept one’s fate”, is fine with me.’

hesa-pa ku-nu pa-teñ bór-hey hi?-labelau
like.this-do COP-COND do-SEQ banyan-DAT ask-TEM
Saying, ‘how is this so then?’, while asking the banyan tree,

bór-ko siñ hai do?-khe pa-he pa-nu
banyan-GEN tree what say-P do-HYP do-COND
what the banyan tree says is,

ede dama pakpika dyañ-gelai-hey othe rhe:-ka
this road pedestrian person-PL-DAT that.much ask.for-NOM
‘However much is requested, to the people travelling this road,’

sital pi-kha. sihaire pi-kha ma-ku-nu?
cool give-IMPF.1s shade give-IMPF.1s NEG-COP-COND
‘I provide coolness. I provide shade’, isn’t that so?

othe bɔḍi-ka sane? iso lo-teñ
that.much be.great-NOM sunshine this.way come-SEQ

ede kañ-ko sital em-khe ebalai.
this I.OBL-GEN cool press-IMPF theyp
‘When it is very hot out, theyp come and take advantage of my cool shade.’

tɔ əjhai iŋko khiniŋ ma-ko te-ŋ
but more that only NEG-COP TOP-EMP
‘And not only that,

ede siñ rhuta tan-li lha?pha tum-li.
this tree above climb-INF leaf gather-INF
they climb up this tree and gather leaves.’
And they cut these branches.

Using those branches for firewood.'

'Isn’t my fate reversed by them?'

He told them that what the tiger had said was fine.

And as for the yogi, how did he feel?

What the yogi said was ‘okay, that’s fine.’

'This one time the banyan tree agreed with you.'
hai doŋ manthu ma-ku-nu?

what FOC NEG.EXT NEG-COP-COND

‘It’s nothing at all, isn’t that right?’

ti ku-nu aro-ŋ bhenay buy hi-hi.

walk COP-COND more-EMP different also be-P

‘Come on then, there are others too.’

wa-heŋ buy hi?-li goi-aŋ pa-teŋ

3s-DAT also ask-INF must-FUT do-SEQ

dama la?-hi do?-khe la.

road quit-P say-IMPF MIR

Saying ‘we have to ask them too’, they set out on their way.

dama la?-hi la.

road quit-P MIR

Then they set out.

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ

go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP

Walking and walking,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ

go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP

and walking and walking,

hethe dure hane-hi wa la u.

how.much far go-P DED MIR REFR

How far they went then.

ela hasu-heŋ hi?-t-aŋ la.

now who-DAT ask-FUT MIR

Now then who will [they] ask?
They don’t see anyone by the road.

By chance, [they] see a fork in the road.

Since [they] saw a fork in the road,

So [they] asked that fork in the road.

‘Oh fork in the road, umh,

‘This tiger was trapped in a pen.’
rə ̃ ̃ede ̃ ḳhuwāhā-heŋ ̃ ka ̃ ole-pa-pi-gha.
and this tiger-DAT I emerge-do-DIR-P.1s
‘And I let this tiger out.’

wa aŋ ̃ doʔ-hi
3s FOC1 say-P
‘He said,

na ̃ ka-seŋ ̃ ede ̃ khotar-so ̃ ole-pa-pi-nu
you⁸ I-DAT this cage-EL emerge-do-DIR-COND
‘If you⁸ let me out of this cage,

nay-ko ̃ bədi-ka ̃ kolejanj ̃ jen-a-nau
you⁸.OBL-GEN be.great-NOM prosperity become-FUT-3s→2
your⁸ prosperity will be great,“

pa-teŋ wa ̃ doʔ-ka ̃ hi-gha-khe.
do-SEQ 3s say-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF
he had said.’

odoŋ nasiŋ wa-heŋ ̃ ka ̃ ole-pa-pi-gha.
that reason 3s-DAT I emerge-do-DIR-P.1s
‘For that reason I let him out.’

ole-pa-pi-ka ̃ wa ̃ te ̃ hai ̃ doʔ-hi ̃ pa-he ̃ pa-nu
emerge-do-DIR-NOM 3s TOP what say-P do-HYP do-COND
‘Upon being let out, what did he say?’

ulta ̃ jai ̃ dharma ̃ pa-khe
reversed REL.what virtue do-IMPF

wa-ko ̃ karma ca-li ̃ goi-khe
3s-GEN fate eat-INF must-IMPF
‘Reversed, “whatever virtue one performs, one must accept one’s fate,”’
pa-teŋ ulta-ŋ wa kaŋ dopha niu bho:-hi.
do-SEQ reversed-EMP 3s I.OBL COM pretext seek-P reversed, he only sought a pretext with me.’

tə əbhəne na hai do?-khe-na ku-nu
but umh you what say-IMPF-2 COP-COND

ede-ko bare-ta pa-teŋ
this-GEN about-LOC do-SEQ
Saying, ‘what do you’ say about this then?’,

dobaṭo-hey hi?-labelau dobaṭo buŋ
crossroad-DAT ask-TEM fork also

hai do?-hi pa-he pa-nu
what say-P do-HYP do-COND
while asking the crossroad, what the fork said was,

ede katha te ḥik doŋ-hi.
this matter TOP okay measure-P
‘As for this matter, it is fine.’

hesa-pa ḥik ku-nu pa-teŋ do?-labelau
thus-do okay COP-COND do-SEQ say-TEM
saying, ‘how is it okay?’,

ede katha hesa-pa ḥik ku-nu tə ke.əbhəne.
this matter thus-do okay COP-COND but umh
‘How is this matter okay then?’

ka ede dama te-li pi-ka-ta-ŋ pi-ka-ta-ŋ
I this road walk-INF give-NOM-LOC-EMP give-NOM-LOC-EMP
‘I keep letting [people] walk this road,
are ede-pa buŋ te-pi-khe
gain this-do also walk-DIR-IMPF
and they walk this (other) way too.’

tà ōbhone ka dharma pa-ka-ta pa-ka-ta
but umh I virtue do-NOM-LOC do-NOM-LOC
‘But umh, I keep performing virtue,

ulta kaŋ-ko karma ma cahī ku-nu
reversed I. OBL-GEN fate NEG IND COP-COND
and isn’t my fate reversed then?’

pa-teŋ do?-hi la inko dobaţo buŋ.
do-SEQ say-P MIR that fork also
Having said, the fork in the road too spoke [thus].

inko dobaţo buŋ insa do?-pi-na bhaiso te
that fork also thus say-DIR-IMPL seem-EL TOP
Since that fork in the road also spoke thus,

aro-ŋ jogi-heŋ cahī wase pore-hi la.
more yogi-DAT IND disappointment befall-P MIR
again the yogi was again disappointed.

te thik doŋ-hi jʊŋɡəl-ko raja.
okay fine weigh-P jungle-GEN king
‘Okay, that’s fine, King of the jungle.’

khali naŋ-ko khiniŋ saŋhət pa-pi-khe.
only you’.OBL-EL only agreement do-DIR-IMPF
‘They only agree with you’.

— are e?-sətta be nehe?-sətta jen-teŋ hi-hi.
again one-authority DUB two-authority become-SEQ be-P
— I wonder whether there are still one or two authorities.
— *jen-teŋ* hi-hi.
    become-SEQ be-P
  — There are.

— *are eʔ-sɔtta.*
    again one-authority
  — One more authority.

— *are eʔ-sɔtta.*
    again one-authority
  — One more authority.

— *te ku-nu.*
    okay COP-COND
  — Okay then.

ərə ke.əbhəne ela are inta-so
but umh now again there-EL

*are dama laʔ-hi la.*
again road set.out-P MIR
‘Umh, now again after that they hit the road.’

te jɔŋgəl-kə raja are eʔ-khe hiʔt-aŋ-ka ka.
okay jungle-GEN king more one-time ask-FUT-1s I
‘Okay, King of the Jungle, I will ask one more time.’

— *hai doʔ-khe last cans.*
    what say-IMPF last chance
  — ‘Whatever [they] say, that’s the last chance.’

— *hai doʔ-khe la last.*
    What say-IMPF MIR last
  — ‘Whatever [they] say is final.’

kalau iŋko-so cahĩ na ka-heŋ ca ku-nu
so that-EL IND yoú I-DAT eat COP-COND
pa-teŋ do?-hi do?-khe kalau.
do-SEQ say-P say-IMPF so
‘And then after that one, eat me,’ he said.

te ku-nu do?-teŋ udhinimi dama la?-hi la.
okay COP-COND say-SEQ theyP road quit-P MIR
Saying, ‘okay then’, the two of them then set out.

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
Walking and walking and walking,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
and walking and walking,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
and walking and walking,

jhora? ali ali syaile dha?-gil-gha-hi do?-khe.
river side side jackal run-IM-PIMPF-P say-IMPF
a jackal was running around on the banks of a river, they say.

lokhorlokhor-lokhorlokhor-lokhorlokhor-pa
from.place.to.place-REDUP-REDUP-do

syaile dha?-gil-gha-khe.
jackal run-IM-PIMPF-IMPF
The jackal was running about from place to place.

kalau iŋko syaile tiŋ-labelau
so that jackal see-TEM
And when he saw the jackal, what did the tiger say?

*Oh jackal sir, wait up, wait up, wait up.*

So the jackal turns like this and looks.

*Sir, talk from over there.*

*Otherwise, I will faint straight away. Talk from over there.*

*From over there, talk from over there.*

*So there-EL NEG-COP this yogi—*
I pen-LOC lock.up-MID-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF.1s And then, ‘no, this yogi — I was locked up in a pen.’

‘And this yogi let me out.’

‘And so whatever virtue one performs, one must accept one’s fate,’

‘Everyone says that.’

‘But what do you say then’, saying

— syaile-ko bhônai.
   jackal-GEN saying
— Is what the jackal says.

— syaile-ko bhônai hai do?-khe pa-nu
   jackal-GEN saying what say-IMPF do-COND
— What does the jackal have to say?

lord until youOBL-GEN that

which place-LOC talk dispute happen-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF

that-DAT NEG-see-NEG.COND youGEN matter successful
Lord, until I see the place where this dispute occurred, I will not be able to decide this matter successfully,' said the jackal then.

What matter then?'

Come. Come over here. Come over here.'

And so he called the jackal closer.

'No, I was trapped in a cage.'

And this yogi let me out of this cage. He saved me.'

‘And so, because he did this virtuous act, I’m trying [to get him] to accept his fate.’
na hai do?-khe-na ku-nu pa-teŋ do?-labelau you^8 what say-IMPF-2 COP-COND do-SEQ say-TEM
‘What do you’ say then?’, saying,

ahā? nidhiŋ-ko bat bibad heta jeŋ-hi no you^d.OBL-GEN talk dispute where occur-P
‘Oh no, without seeing where your^d dispute occurred,

hede thame-so ede katha utpəna jeŋ-hi which place-EL this matter occurrence happen-P
without seeing which place this matter occurred,

— ma-tiŋ-sa
   NEG-see-NEG.COND
— Without seeing

— ma-tiŋ-sa
   NEG-see-NEG.COND
— Without seeing

ka ede phaisala pa-li ma-do-aŋ-ka pa-teŋ do?-hi.
I this decide do-INF NEG-can-FUT-1s do-SEQ say-P
I will not be able to make this decision’,

— do?-ka bhənai syaile-ko
   say-NOM saying jackal-GEN
— Said the jackal.

— syaile-ko
   jackal-GEN
— Said the jackal.

kalau inta-so ti ku-nu iŋko-ŋ thame-ta
so there-EL walk COP-COND that-EMP place-LOC
doʔ-hi la yogi rə khuwāhā buŋ.
say-P MIR yogi and tiger also
And then, ‘come on, to that very spot’, said both the yogi and the tiger.

ti ku-nu kalau aro-ŋ
walk COP-COND so more-EMP

odoŋ dama ghure-hi udhinimi.
that road return-P they
d ‘Come on,’ and then they returned again along the same road.’

ghure-teŋ ghare-teŋ lo-ka-ta-ŋ lo-ka-ta-ŋ
return-SEQ REDUP come-NOM-LOC-EMP come-NOM-LOC-EMP
After turning back, and coming and coming,

lo-ka-ta-ŋ lo-ka-ta-ŋ lo-ka-ta-ŋ
come-NOM-LOC-EMP come-NOM-LOC-EMP come-NOM-LOC-EMP
and coming and coming and coming,

lo-ka-ta-ŋ lo-ka-ta-ŋ
come-NOM-LOC-EMP come-NOM-LOC-EMP

ode jede thame-ta pinjuri hi-gha-hi
that REL.which place-LOC pen be-PIMPF-P
coming and coming, the place where the pen had been,

ode thame-ta thukaʔ-pa-hi la wa-hen.
that place-LOC reach-do-P MIR 3s-DAT
they brought him to that place.

hi-nha-hi. ede-ŋ pinjuri-ta hi-hi.
be-1p-P this-EMP pen-LOC be-P
‘We are [here]. It was in this very pen.’

ka hi-gha-kha. ita hi-hi.
I be-PIMPF-IMPF.1s here be-P
‘I was here. It was here.’

tə ke.əbhəne ede khotar-ta ka dul-teŋ hi-labelau
and umh this cage-LOC I enter-SEQ be-TEM
And, umh, ‘this one let me out when I was caged,’

ka-seŋ ole-pa-pi-hi ya
I-DAT emerge-do-DIR-P 3s
And, umh, ‘this one let me out when I was caged,’

pa-teŋ do?-hi khuwāhā syaile-heŋ.
do-SEQ say-P tiger jackal-DAT
said the tiger to the jackal.

ma-ko jəbə.snəmmə ede jhoko atui-ka khotar-ta
NEG-COP until this amount small-NOM cage-LOC

ede jəŋgəl-ko raja khuwāhā
this jungle-GEN king tiger

hesa dul-hi wa la ku-nu
how enter-P DED MIR COP-COND
‘No, [until I am able to understand] how this King of the jungle was able to enter such a small cage,’

ede ka tiŋ-li goi-anj-ka.
this I see-INF must-FUT-1s
‘I will have to see this.’

— ku-na khiniŋ
   COP-IMPL only
— ‘Only then,’
— ku-na khiniŋ
   COP-IMPL only
   — ‘Only then,’

— ka phaisala pa-ā.
   I decide do-FUT.1s
   — ‘Will I decide.’

— ka phaisala pa-ā.
   I decide do-FUT.1s
   — ‘Will I decide.’

ma-ku-nu ka ma-do-ā phaisala pa-li.
NEG-COP-COND I NEG-can-FUT.1s decide do-INF
Otherwise, I will not be able to decide.

kalau khwāhā-ko bhōnai hai pa-hi doʔ-khe pa-nu
so tiger-GEN saying what do-P say-IMPF do-COND
And what the tiger’s words were then,

tərə dul-hi la.
and enter-P MIR
Well, he went in.

te dul to jœngəl-ko raja.
okay enter then jungle-GEN king
‘Okay then, go in, King of the Jungle.’

— hesa-pa dul-ka hi-gha-khe-na?
   how-do enter-NOM AUX-IMPF-IMPF-2
   — ‘How had you gone in [before]?’

— hesa-pa dul-ka hi-gha-khe-na?
   how-do enter-NOM AUX-IMPF-IMPF-2
   — ‘How had you gone in [before]?’
THE TIGER AND THE YOGI

*dul-hi la.*
enter-P MIR
He went in then.

kalau jogi-heŋ doʔ-hi doʔ-khe e sadhu.baba
so yogi-DAT say-P say-IMPF oh holyman.father

hesa dheu-nha-ka hi-gha-hi ku-nu ede khuwāhā?
how tether-MID-NOM AUX-PIMF-P COP-COND this tiger
And so he spoke to the yogi. ‘Oh holy father, how then had this tiger
been tethered?’

dheu to ku-nu doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
tether then COP-COND say-P say-IMPF
‘Tether him then’, he said.

kalau inta-so jesa-ŋ dheu-nha-ka hi-gha-hi
so there-EL how-EMP tether-MID-NOM AUX-PIMF-P
And then, ‘However he had been tethered,

jesa-ŋ ode khotar-ta teʔ-nha-ka hi-gha-hi
how-EMP that cage-LOC enclose-MID-NOM AUX-PIMF-P
‘however he had been enclosed in that cage,

odoŋ mukabili-so wa-seŋ.
that way-EL 3s-DAT
[do] in the same way to him.’

inta dul-pa-li lagai-hi la wa-seŋ.
there enter-do-INF put.on-P MIR 3s-DAT
Then he had him have [the tiger] go in.

kalau inta-so doʔ-hi doʔ-khe
so there-EL say-P say-IMPF
And then he said, ‘However he had been tethered, tether him like that.’

‘However tight it had been, make it that tight,’ they say.

He bound him. He tied him up but good, they say.

And so he bound him up.

‘Was he like this, this tiger?’ he said.

‘He was like this.’
bol pa-li lagai to ku-nu.
Strength do-INF put.on then COP-COND
‘Have him make some effort.’

kha?-khe ma-kha?-khe?
flee-IMPF NEG-flee-IMPF
‘Can he escape or not?’

bol pa-li lagai-hi. ma-kha?-hi.
strength do-INF put.on-P NEG-flee-P
He had him make some effort. He didn’t escape.

na jasto e?-loŋ jogi murkha-heŋ ma-ca-na bhai-so
you\* like one-CL yogi fool-DAT NEG-eat-IMPL seem-EL
‘Since someone like you’ didn’t eat a fool yogi,

ka ede məntri-heŋ ca-ā wa.
I this official-DAT eat-FUT.Is DED
‘I may eat this official.’

ti dama la? do?-hi do?-khe kalau.
walk road quit say-P say-IMPF so
And then he said, ‘come on, hit the road.’

bhəgwan pukare-teŋ udhinimi tatai suta
God exclaim-SEQ they\^d REF home

dama la?-hi do?-khe.
road quit-P say-IMPF
Exclaiming ‘God’, the two of them set out for their\^d own homes.

bhone kuwāhā do?-ka iyko jhoko murkha.
meaning tiger say-NOM that amount fool
It means the tiger was that much of a fool.
TEXT SIX

THE SPLITTING OF THE BANANA LEAF¹

Rāma Lakṣmaṇ say-NOM 3s fourteen year-GEN age-GEN-EMP
Rāma² and Lakṣmaṇ³, from the age of fourteen years,

wa bə́nbas ḥane-hi ma-ku-nu?
3s forest.stay go-P NEG-COP-COND
he went to live in the forest, isn’t it so?

rə ke.abhəne wa bə́nbas ḥane-labelau wa ekləŋ ma-ko.
and umh 3s forest.stay go-TEM 3s alone NEG-COP
And when he went to the forest he was not alone.

ram ḥane-hi. lə́ksmən ḥane-hi. sita ḥane-hi.
Rāma go-P Lakṣmaṇ go-P Sītā go-P
Rāma went. Lakṣmaṇ went. Sītā⁴ went.

obalai ḥane-ka-ta-ŋ ḥane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
they⁰ go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
They⁰ walked and walked and walked and walked and walked,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ obalai pəncə́buti bə́n theka?-li ḥane-hi.
go-NOM-LOC-EMP they⁰ Paṅcavaṭī forest arrive-INF go-P
they⁰ went to get to the Paṅcavaṭī forest.

¹ This text is based on an episode from the Hindu epic the Rāmāyaṇa. This tale explains how the banana leaf got its central vein and was related by Nar Bahādur Dhimāl, aged 39, and recorded in December 1998 in the village of Athiyābārī.
² Rāma is the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa and an incarnation of the god Viṣṇu.
³ Lakṣmaṇ is the brother and companion to Rāma.
⁴ Sītā is the adopted daughter of the king Janaka of Mithilā and wife of Rāma.
obalai pǝncǝbuti bǝn thekaʔ-li hane-labelau
they\textsuperscript{b} Pañcavaṭi forest arrive-INF go-TEM
while they\textsuperscript{b} were going to the Pañcavaṭi forest,

obalai pǝncǝbuti bǝn-ta-ŋ hi-hi.
they\textsuperscript{b} Pañcavaṭi forest-LOC-EMP be-P
they\textsuperscript{b} stayed in the Pañcavaṭi forest.

obalai-ko bas ke.re gâs bas kopas gota-ŋ
they\textsuperscript{b}-GEN lodging umh grass lodging [?] each-EMP

inta thakṭhuk jura-hi. ela kuṭi buŋ bǝnai-hi.
there just.right collect-P now hut also make-P
Their lodging and food, they collected everything there. They also
built a hut.

hi-li ti-li ca-li-ko lagi
be-INF go-INF eat-INF-GEN for

sǝb kura idir-widir gota-ŋ bǝnai-hi.
all thing hither-thither each-EMP make-P
They\textsuperscript{b} constructed everything they would need to survive.

rǝ inta nidasenta inta hi-ka-ta-ŋ
and there day.and.night there be-NOM-LOC-EMP
And so, staying there day in and day out,

hi-ka-ta-ŋ hi-ka-ta-ŋ hi-ka-ta-ŋ
be-NOM-LOC-EMP be-NOM-LOC-EMP be-NOM-LOC-EMP
they stayed and stayed and stayed,

hi-ka-ta-ŋ hi-ka-ta-ŋ
be-NOM-LOC-EMP be-NOM-LOC-EMP
they stayed and stayed,
THE SPLITTING OF THE BANANA LEAF

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tə inta wa-heṇ eʔ-loŋ
then there 3s-DAT one-CL
And so then, him, one…

sɔntai-li-ko lagı buŋ te u la ru ma-ko?
be.ascetic-INF-GEN for also TOP DIST MIR EXCL NEG-COP
in order to be an ascetic now there too, you know, isn’t that so?

tə ke.abhøne ede baicans-so maricmuni wa ke.abhøne
then umh this by.chance-EL Maricamanī 3s umh
Then, by chance, Maricamanī, he,

eʔ-mi-ko col-ka porcha wa kabara jen-tenŋ
one-HCL-GEN [ʔ]-NOM [ʔ] 3s spotted.deer become-SEQ
one person’s [ʔ], he became a spotted deer,

wa ke.re sita ci nāŋ-li hane-ka bela-ta
3s umh Sītā water fetch-INF go-NOM time-LOC
he, umh — when Sītā went to fetch water,

ke.re sita-heŋ dekha pore-pa-ŋ
umh Sītā-DAT sight befall-do-EMP

ode kabara dekha pore-hi.
that spotted.deer sight befall-P
Sītā caught sight of that spotted deer.

tə ke.abhøne ela kabara do-na bhai-so te
then umh now spotted.deer can-IMPL be.like-EL TOP

sita te mariyate pa-hi. mariyate pa-hi.
Sītā TOP obsession do-P obsession do-P
Then, since he was able [to become] a deer, Sītā became obsessed.

5 A demon and nephew (?) of Rāvana.
ekdôm jidhi pa-hi.
very obstinate do-P
She was very obstinate.

dev kabara rem-ka hi-hi.
this deer be.good-NOM AUX-P
‘This spotted deer is beautiful.’

dev kabara hai pa-teŋ jeŋ-khe
this spotted.deer what do-SEQ occur-IMPF

ka seʔ-li goi-anŋ-ka.
I kill-INF must-FUT-1s
‘No matter what, I must kill this spotted deer.

kaŋ-ko saʔ-ta cuma-li goi-anŋ-ka!
I.OBL-GEN house-LOC bring-INF must-FUT-1s
I must bring it to my house!’,

doʔ-ka khalko abhana wa taʔ-hi.
say-NOM such vow 3s put-P
she vowed.
— hasu?
  who
— Who?
— sita.
  Sītā
— Sītā.

tə sita iyko jhoko abhana taʔ-na
then Sītā that amount vow put-IMPL
Then since Sīta made such a vow as that, she returned.

Then she returned bringing the water.

She returned to Rāma’s side carrying the water.

And she said to Rāma, ‘Oh lord, um,

I had gone to fetch water.’

‘And when I went to fetch that water, I saw a spotted deer.’

‘Where did you see it then?’
‘Over by the river. It was grazing around on the sides of the river.’

‘Well, what is to do then?’

‘No’, Sītā said, ‘no matter what, I must have that spotted deer.’

And not being able to break Sītā’s promise, what di Rāma say?

So when he went to kill the spotted deer, the deer saw him.

And so as soon as that spotted deer saw Rāma,
wa jhar liʔta dul-hi. jhar liʔta dul-hi.
3s forest inside enter-P forest inside enter-P
it slipped into the forest. It slipped into the forest.

kalau jhar liʔta dul-labelau ekdɔm gil-pu-lau-siŋ.
so forest inside enter-TEM very chase-DIST-TEM-[?]
And so when it fled into the forest, he began to chase it.

chase-NOM-GEN chase-NOM-EMP chase-NOM-GEN

chase-NOM-EMP chase-NOM-GEN chase-NOM-EMP do-P
He chased it and chased it and chased it.

tɔ sita-heŋ mon-ta saŋka lage-hi la.
then Sītā-DAT heart-LOC suspicion feel-P MIR
But Sītā became suspicious then.

te lɔksɔmɔn tɔ rɔm lo-na manthu.
okay Lakṣmaṇ then Rāma come-IMPL NEG.EXT
‘Okay Lakṣmaṇ, Rāma has not returned.’

hane to. na buŋ khaŋ-li hane to.
go then you also look-INF go then
‘Go then! You too go and take a look!’

haipali ma-lo-hi doʔ-ka katha taʔ-hi.
why NEG-come-P say-NOM word put-P
‘Why didn’t he return?’, she said.

hasu taʔ-hi ku-nu doʔ-labelau sita.
who put-P COP-COND say-TEM Sītā
Who said that then? Sītā.
kalau te ku-nu bhuajī.
so okay COP-COND sister.in.law
And so, ‘okay then sister-in-law.

na ades-bina buŋ ka han-anja-ka.
you’s order-without also I go-FUT-1s
‘I will go even without your’s order.’

kaŋ-ko dai-heŋ bho:-li ram-heŋ doʔ-teŋ
LOBL-GEN e.bro-DAT seek-INF Rāma-DAT say-SEQ

wa dama laʔ-hi ła.
3s road quit-P MIR
Saying, ‘I will go search for my elder brother Rāma,’ he then set out.

kalau insa-ŋ jasusi pore-teŋ ke.abhöne
so thus-EMP spy befall-SEQ umh

ram buŋ hane-hi.
Rāma also go-P
And so thus, having fallen for the ruse, Rāma went.

laksmaŋ buŋ hane-hi.
Lakṣmaṇ also go-P
Lakṣmaṇ also went.

hin-dhi-hi te eklaŋ jhar-ta hasu la?
be-REL-P TOP alone forest-LOC who MIR
Left behind alone in the forest was who then?

sirib sita ma-ku-nu?
only Sītā NEG-COP-COND
Just Sītā, isn’t it so?

rə sita hane-hin-dhi-labelau te
and Sītā go-be-REL-TEM TOP
And when Sītā was left behind, then that enemy that she had,

that enemy come-SEQ REDUP what do-P MIR
when that enemy came, what did he do then?

phela pore-pa-gha la.
trace befall-do-P.1s MIR
‘Oh, today I now found traces of my enemy.’

Who said that? Laṅkāpati Rāvaṇa ‘Rāvaṇa, Lord of Ceylon’.

Since Laṅkāpati Rāvaṇa ‘Rāvaṇa, Lord of Ceylon’ said that much,

What did he do then?

Marica went to speak to his uncle.

‘Okay uncle, as for me, I found such and such traces.’
You must do like this. You must do it over there.

What may he do then, nephew?, saying.

‘You take the form of a spotted deer.’

I will take the form of a yogi and bring Sītā,’ saying…

Whatever kind of hocus-pocus Rāvana concocted,

Maricamanī also word obey-INF

Maricamanī too had to obey, even if it is evil.

‘If possible, don’t do it’, he was saying, ‘those deeds.’
hajur ma-pa-li ku-nu.
sir NEG-do-INF COP-COND
‘Sir, don’t do it.’

wa-ko dopha te ram dopha te ke.abhöne
3s-GEN COM TOP Rāma COM TOP umh
‘With him, with Rāma.’

duniyabhar-ko bir hanuman-gelai hi-hi.
world-GEN strong Hanumān-PL be-P
‘are the world’s strongest Hanumān and and his followers.’

məntri jomphubən-gelai hi-hi ma-ku-nu?
advisor jackal-PL be-P NEG-COP-COND
‘Jackal advisors are there,’ isn’t that so?

duniyabhar-ko hai pa-nu nanabhati hi-hi.
world-GEN what do-COND hocus-pocus be-P
‘[They] have all the magical powers of the world.’

odoŋ nasiŋ insika kam ma-pa
that reason like-that work NEG-do

pa-teŋ doʔ-gha-hi maricmuni.
do-SEQ say-PIMPF-P Maricamanī
‘So for that reason,’ Maricamanī was saying, ‘don’t do such a thing.’

toɾə rawaŋ-ko jidhi-so pa-teŋ
but Rāvaṇa-GEN obstinate-EL do-SEQ

wa ekdom pa-li kərtəbe lage-hi.
3s very do-INF duty befall-P
So then due to Rāvaṇa’s obstinance, he was forced to perform his duty.
From that chain of events, Maricamanī went to take the form of a spotted deer. While in the form of a spotted deer, he caused Sītā to catch sight of it. And when Sītā had caught sight of it, she said to Rāma, saying ‘okay, it will have to be done like this’, they went chasing.

And when Maricamanī had become a spotted deer and Rāvaṇa had become a yogi,
sita haran pa-hi. kalau sita haran pa-hi te ṭhik.
Sītā disappear do-P so Sītā disappear do-P TOP fine
Sītā disappeared. So, that Sītā disappeared is fine.

tə khoji te pa-li goi-hi sita-ko?
then search TOP do-INF must-P Sītā-GEN
Then, was it necessary to go in search of Sītā?

sita-ko khoji-ta hane-hi la hasu hasu? ram laksmōn.
Sītā-GEN search-LOC go-P MIR who who Rāma Lakṣmaṇ
Who all then went in search of Sītā? Rāma and Lakṣmaṇ.

ram laksmōn sita-ko khoji-ta hane-hi.
Rāma Lakṣmaṇ Sītā-GEN search-LOC go-P
Rāma and Lakṣmaṇ went in search of Sītā.

hane-labelau hane-hi la. ekdōm ekres hane-hi la.
go-TEMP go-P MIR very [?] go-P MIR
And so they went. They went non-stop.

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
Walking and walking and walking,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
and walking and walking and walking,

kayō din kayō bōrsa biti-hi.
thousand day thousand year spend-P
they spent a thousand days, a thousand years.

Sītā-GEN search NEG-get-P NEG-COP-COND search NEG-get-P
They didn’t find Sītā, isn’t that right? They didn’t find her.
And when they couldn’t find her, what did they do?

tε akhiri hai pa-teŋ jeŋ-khe

Okay end what do-SEQ occur-IMPF

doʔ-ka khalko katha ditοŋ taʔ-hi ram-ta.
say-NOM such word tongue put-P Rāma-LOC
Saying things like that, Rāma swore to it.

tε ku-nu ŋhik dada naŋ-ko marej doʔ-labelau

Okay COP-COND fine e.bro you’OBL-GEN will say-TEM
Saying, ‘Okay fine, elder brother, your will’.

u dai-one ekdom hane-ka-ko hane-ka ekdom

that e.bro-y.sib very go-NOM-GEN go-NOM very
those brothers walked and walked,

hane-ka-ko hane-ka hane-ka-taŋ

go-NOM-GEN go-NOM go-NOM-LOC-EMP
Walking and walking and walking,

hane-ka-taŋ hane-ka-taŋ hane-ka-taŋ

go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
and walking and walking and walking,

go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP all.over stroll-PERF
and walking and walking, and went to the four corners.
sita-ko pata ma-lage-hi.
Sītā-GEN whereabouts NEG-befall-P
They found no trace of Sītā.

obalai peṭ doṇ jeṇ-hoi.
they⁹ stomach FOC become-PERF
Now they⁹ became hungry.

he?-mahina he?-mahina he?-mahina
how.many-month how.many-month how.many-month
How many months, how many months, how many months,

he?-mahina-ko obalai bhopiyas lage-hi.
how.many-month-GEN they⁹ hunger feel-P
How many months of hunger did they endure.

bhopiyas lage-labelau heta theka?-hi ku-nu la?
hunger feel-TEM where arrive-P COP-COND MIR
When they were hungry, where did they come to then?

siwa-ji-ko bəgan-ta səŋkar bhəgwani-ko
Śiva-HON-GEN orchard-LOC Śaṅkar god-GEN

bəgan-ta theka?-li hane-hi.
orchard-LOC arrive-INF go-P
Śivaji’s⁶ orchard, they arrived at god Śaṅkar’s⁷ orchard.

kalau ram do?-hi.
so Rāma say-P
And so Rāma spoke.

e laksman odoi tɔrsə bəgan-ta hane to.
hey Lakṣman that mango orchard-LOC go then
‘Hey Lakṣman, go over to that mango orchard.’

⁶ Lord Śiva is the disintegrating, destroying and reproducing god and third member of the Hindu Trinity, alongside Brahmā and Viṣṇu.
⁷ Śaṅkar is another name by which Siva is known.
*ŋko torse bɔgan-ta hane-teŋ*
that mango orchard-LOC go-SEQ

*hede dyàŋ hi-he pa-nu*
which person be-HYP do-COND
‘Go over to that mango orchard, and if anyone is there,

dyàŋ dopha rhe:ti cuma.
person COM permission take
get permission from the person.’

*manthu-he pa-nu dyàŋ manthu-he pa-nu*
NEG.EXT-HYP do-COND person NEG.EXT-HYP do-COND
‘If no one is there, if nobody is there,

eʔ-juɾi kauru siŋ-ta taʔ-pi-dhe.
one-pair cowrie tree-LOC put-DIR-REL
leave behind a pair of cowries in a tree.’

*kalau torse pe:-teŋ cuma doʔ-hi ram lɔkwsmɔn-heŋ.*
so mango pick-SEQ bring say-P Rāma Lakṣmaṇ-DAT
So Rāma said to Lakṣmaṇ, ‘pick and bring back some mangoes.’

*te dada naŋ-ko agye doʔ-teŋ*
okay e.bro you\(^8\) OBL-GEN command say-SEQ

*lɔkwsmɔn dama laʔ-hi la.*
Lakṣmaṇ road quit-P MIR
Saying ‘okay elder brother, your command, Lakṣmaṇ then set out.

*hane-labelau orapora khaŋ-hi.*
go-TEM all.around look-P
While going, he looked all about.
He didn’t see anyone then.

If he had seen someone, he would have taken permission from that person then.

There was no one. For that reason, what he did was,

He placed a pair of cowries in that tree and left them like this.

He provided and left behind compensation.

And so, he began to pick mangoes to bring back as told.

So he put the cowries in a tree.
When he began to pick the mangoes, Hanumān then came out.

And when Hanumān came out, what did he say?

‘Hey, on whose orders did you pick these mangoes?’, said Hanumān.

‘No, I didn’t see you.’

‘Had I seen [you] I would have taken permission. I didn’t see [you].’

‘Having put one pair of cowrie as compensation on that tree, I’m picking these mangoes to bring back.’
pa-teŋ doʔ-labelau na jōbōrjōsti haipali pe:-nha
do-SEQ say-TEM you’s by.force why pick-P.2
Saying, ‘Why did you pick them by force?’,

pa-teŋ doʔ-hi la hanuman.
do-SEQ say-P MIR Hanumān
Hanumān spoke.

kalau inta galabaji pore-ka-taŋ pore-ka-taŋ
so there fight befall-NOM-LOC-EMP befall-NOM-LOC-EMP
And then fighting and fighting,
pore-ka-taŋ pore-ka-taŋ pore-ka-taŋ
befall-NOM-LOC-EMP befall-NOM-LOC-EMP befall-NOM-LOC-EMP
and fighting and fighting and fighting,

lōksmōn-heŋ te khokoi ca:-teŋ
Lakṣmaṇ-DAT TOP leg grab-SEQ
grabbing Lakṣmaṇ by the leg,
siŋ-ta pheʔ-hi la hanuman.
tree-LOC beat-P MIR Hanumān
Hanumān beat him against a tree then.

kalau ode bela te hare ram doʔ-hi doʔ-khe la lōksmōn.
so that time TOP Lord Rāma say-P say-IMPF MIR Lakṣmaṇ
And at that time, Lakṣmaṇ said, ‘Lord Rāma.’

kalau ram-heŋ saŋka lage-hi doʔ-khe ki
so Rāma-DAT suspect feel-P say-IMPF ki
So, Rāma began to suspect that

are iŋko-heŋ ka torse pe:-li diŋ-giŋ-ka.
oh.my that-DAT I mango pick-INF send-IM-NOM
‘Oh my, I sent him to pick mangoes.’
Why did that person call out my name.’

‘Eh, I will go and have a look,’ said Rāma then.

He went to have a look. He went to look.

When he went to look, there was Lakṣmaṇ fallen.

He looks all around. In the tree above, there’s Hanumān.

So Rāma said, ‘hey, who did this misdeed?’

— I did it.

— ‘Come down here!’
kalau wa-seŋ buŋ hai pa-hi?
so 3s-DAT also what do-P
And so what did he do to him?

hanuman-heŋ muisa ca:-teŋ
Hanumān-DAT body.hair grab-SEQ

torse siŋ-ta pheʔ-hi ram-ko pala.
mango tree-LOC beat-P Rāma-GEN deed
What Rāma did was, he took Hanumān by the fur and beat him against a mango tree.

kalau hanuman cahī hai doʔ-hi doʔ-khe pa-nu?
so Hanumān IND what say-P say-IMPF do-COND
And so what did Hanumān say?

hare siwa doʔ-hi doʔ-khe la.
Lord Śiva say-P say-IMPF MIR
He said, ‘Lord Śiva!’

kalau sőŋkər bhəgwan cahī m ca-li pa-teŋ
so Śaṅkar god IND rice eat-INF do-SEQ
And the god Śaṅkar, saying ‘time to eat’,

parbatı ṭhikka yo:-pi-ka hi-gha-khe.
Pārvatī just.right serve-DIR-NOM AUX-PI MPF-IMPF
Pārvatī had just served the meal.

sőŋkər-ji-heŋ parbatı m yo:-pi-ka hi-gha-khe.
Śaṅkar-HON-DAT Pārvatī rice serve-DIR-NOM AUX-PI MPF-IMPF
Pārvatī had served the meal to Lord Śaṅkar.

te m ca-li goi-anj aũ doʔ-labelau kalau
okay rice eat-INF must-FUT TAG say-TEM so
And as [she] was saying, ‘okay, one must eat, alright?’,
suspect feel-P say-IMPF umh Šaṅkar-HON-DAT also
[he] began to feel suspicious, umh, Šaṅkarjī too.

are kaṇ-ko inta bōgan-ta hanuman-ḥey
oh LOBL-GEN there orchard-LOC Hanumān-DAT

hai pir pore-hi.
what worry befall-P
‘Oh, what problem has befallen my Hanumān in the orchard there?’

kaṇ-ko miṇ ki lo-hi rā. khāy-li han-āy-ka.
LOBL-GEN name ki come-P CONR look-INF go-FUT-1s
‘Why, that was my name that was called out. I will go and have a look.’

eʔ-ghuri mhaʔ aū doʔ-hi doʔ-khe parbatī-ḥey.
one-moment stop okay say-P say-IMPF Pārvatī-DAT
‘Wait a moment, okay?’, he said to Pārvatī.

kalau inta-so dama laʔ-hi.
so then-EL road quit-P
And then he set out.

ama laʔ-labelau te oso hanuman lon-teṇ hi-hi.
road quit-TEM TOP over.there Hanumān fall-SEQ AUX-P
When he set out, over there was Hanumān fallen.

oso lāksmān lon-teṇ hi-hi.
over.there Lākṣmaṇ fall-SEQ AUX-P
Over there Lākṣmaṇ was fallen.

ram tin-teṇ buṇ jaʔ-teṇ hi-hi.
Rāma see-SEQ also stand-SEQ AUX-P
He spotted Rāma too standing there.
ede kam hasu-ko pa-teŋ doʔ-hi la siwa-ji.
this work who-GEN do-SEQ say-P MIR Śiva-HON
‘Whose work is this?’, said Śivajī.

dede kam cahī kaŋ-ko.
this work IND I.OBL-GEN
‘This work is mine.’

hai pa-a-na ku-nu doʔ-labelau
what do-FUT-2 COP-COND say-TEM
Saying, ‘What are you going to do then?’,

pa-ka te ka hai doŋ ma-pa-gha.
do-NOM TOP I what FOC NEG-do-P.1s
‘As for the deed, I did nothing.’

tərə ka torse peː-li diŋ-gil-gha-kha.
but I mango pick send-IM-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
‘I was sending him to pick mangoes.’

naŋ-ko hanuman esa pa-pi-hi kaŋ-ko lākṣmaṇ-heṇ.
you♂.OBL-GEN Hanumān thus do-DIR-P I.OBL-GEN Lakṣmaṇ-DAT
‘Your♂ Hanumān did this to my Lakṣmaṇ.’

ka odoŋ nasīŋ naŋ-ko hanuman-heṇ ka seʔ-pa-pi-gha
I that reason you♂.OBL-GEN Hanumān-DAT I kill-VEN-DIR-1s
‘Because of that, I came and killed your♂ Hanumān’,

pa-teŋ doʔ-labelau udhimi galabaji ekdəm toʔ-ta
do-SEQ say-TEM theyd fight very [?]−LOC
saying, theyd begin to fight.

mon ma-pore-su-hi la ram rə siwa-ji-ko.
heart NEG-befall-COL-P MIR Rāma and Śiva-HON-GEN
They didn’t like each other then, Rāma and Śivajī.
And so then they took a dislike to each other.

They began to fight, they say.

They really wrestled then.

Fighting and fighting,

and fighting and fighting,

and fighting, they really fought it out.

Neither the god Śaṅkar lost, nor Rāma lost.

Neither of them loses then.
ma-hare-labelau hai jey-hi ku-nu la?
NEG-lose-TEM what happen-P COP-COND MIR
So what happened then when neither would lose?

kalau parbati-heŋ sayka lage-hi doʔ-khe.
so Pārvatī-DAT suspect feel-P say-IMPF
Well, Pārvatī began to suspect something, they say.

ma-ko siri bhogwan thekaʔ-teŋ lo-ay-ka
NEG-COP dear god arrive-SEQ come-FUT-1s

doʔ-ka khalko dyay
say-NOM such person
‘No, my dear Lord said that he would go there and come back.’

tə ela tə kəbila ma-lo-hi.
then now then [?] NEG-come-P
‘But he still has not returned.’

khaŋ-li han-ay-ka to ka buŋ doʔ-teŋ
look-INF go-FUT-1s then I also say-SEQ
Saying, ‘I too will go and have a look,’

parbati dama laʔ-hi la wa buŋ ma-ku-nu?
Pārvatī road quit-P MIR 3s also NEG-COP-COND
Pārvatī too set out, isn’t that so?

dama laʔ-hi. kalau dama laʔ-labelau te
road quit-P so road quit-TEM TOP

bōgan-bhari thekaʔ-li hane-hi wa.
orchard-CIRC arrive-INF go-P 3s
She set out. And so while setting out, she headed towards the orchard.
On her way to the orchard, she looks.

Two people are really fighting.

Two people are lying there.

So what does Pārvatī say then?

‘Lord stop. Stop a moment. Hold up.’

‘You two stop that.’

— ‘Oh, and you, what do you know?’, said Lord Śaṅkar.

— ‘No, I don’t know anything.’
rəpəni eʔ-ghuri mhaʔ-se-ni
never.the.less one-moment stop-IMP.DL-POL

pa-teŋ doʔ-hi te u parbatī.
do-SEQ say-P TOP REFR Pārvatī
‘Never the less, please stop for a moment’, said Pārvatī there.

kalau udhinimi laʔ-su-hi doʔ-khe pheʔ-su-li.
so theyd quit-COL-P say-IMPF beat-COL-INF
And those two quit fighting, they say.

kalau səŋkər bhəgwan doʔ-hi doʔ-khe kalau
so Śaṅkar god say-P say-IMPF so
And so the god Śaṅkar spoke.

te ku-nu hai doʔ-li goi-ka
okay COP-COND what say-INF must-NOM
‘Okay then, what has to be said,

naŋ-ko bicar doʔ doʔ-labelau
you⁸.OBL-GEN idea say say-TEM
say your⁸ idea!’ saying,

— kaŋ-ko doʔ-li goi-ka kathā
I.OBL-GEN say-INF must-NOM word
— ‘What I have to say is,

naŋ-ko sərir rem-phā khaŋ tə.
you⁸.OBL-GEN body be.good-do look then
take a good look at your⁸ body.’

hai hi-gha-hi rə hai manthu pa-teŋ doʔ-hi parbatī.
what be-PIMPF-P and what NEG.EXT do-SEQ say-P Pārvatī
‘What was there and what isn’t there?’, said Pārvatī.
So the god Śaṅkar looked all over his body, they say.

All his body hair fell out, all of it.

The god Śaṅkar didn’t have a single body hair.

And so she said, ‘that body hair didn’t fall out for no reason.’

‘Well ask him! Ask him who he is!’

So then the god Śaṅkar said,

he asked him, ‘who are you?’
-- *ka bisnu bhəgwan.*

I Viṣṇu god

-- ‘I am the god Viṣṇu.’

-- *te bisnu bhəgwan-nu*

okay Viṣṇu god-COND

-- ‘Okay, if [you] are the god Viṣṇu,

te *ku-nu naŋ-ko ke.re*

okay COP-COND you*.OBL-GEN umh

*kartəbe palən pa to ku-nu*

skill tending do then COP-COND

okay, do your’ skill tending’ then,

*pa-teŋ do?-labelau ram ole-hi. ram jeŋ-hi.*

do-SEQ say-TEM Rāma emerge-P Rāma become-P

and so saying, Rāma emerged. He became Rāma.

*kalau ram bisnu bhəgwan-heŋ buŋ do?-hi do?-khe*

so Rāma Viṣṇu god-DAT also say-P say-IMPF

And so Rāma spoke to the god Viṣṇu too,

*na hasu ku-nu pa-teŋ do?-labelau*

you* who COP-COND do-SEQ say-TEM

Saying, ‘who are you* then?”,

— *ka səŋkar bhəgwan.*

I Śaṅkar god

— ‘I am the god Śaṅkar.’

— *te *ku-nu na buŋ kartəbe tim-pa ku-nu.*

okay COP-COND you* also duty see-do COP-COND

— ‘Okay then, you’ too show your duty then.’
wa \( \text{sa}_n\text{k}_a\text{r}_j\text{i} \) \( \text{je}_n\text{-hi} \).

3s Śaṅkarjī become-P

He became Śaṅkarjī.

\( \text{kalau udhinimi bh}_\text{a}_n\text{g}-\text{wan-bh}_\text{a}_n\text{g}-\text{wan} \) \( \text{mili}-\text{hi} \).

so they\(^d\) god-god be.arranged-P

And so they\(^d\) both emerged as gods.

e \( \text{ki}_d\) \( \text{dhi}_n\text{j} \) \( \text{n}_\text{oramro} \) \( \text{kam} \) \( \text{ki} \) \( \text{pa}_n\text{-ni}_n\text{h} \) \( \text{m}_\text{a} \)?

oh we\(^d\) bad deed \( \text{ki} \) do-P.2d AGR

‘Oh, those were some bad deeds that we\(^d\) did, weren’t they?’,

\( \text{pa}-\text{te}_n\) \( \text{do}_?\)-hi do?\(-\text{khe} \) \( \text{la} \) \( \text{ram} \) \( \text{bu}_n\text{y} \) \( \text{sa}_n\text{k}_a\text{r}_\text{e}_r \) \( \text{bh}_\text{a}_n\text{g}-\text{wan} \) \( \text{bu}_n\text{y} \).

do-SEQ say-P say-IMPF MIR Rāma also Śaṅkar god also saying, they spoke then, both Rāma and the god Śaṅkar.

\( \text{ku}_n\text{-nu} \) \( \text{hai} \) \( \text{pa}_\text{-li} \) \( \text{goi}_\text{-a}_n\text{h} \) \( \text{ku}_n\text{-nu} \) \( \text{la} \)

COP-COND what do-INF must-FUT COP-COND MIR

\( \text{pa}-\text{te}_n\) \( \text{do}_?\)-labelau

do-SEQ say-TEM

And so saying, ‘what must we do then?’,

\( \text{te} \) \( \text{tatai}_n\text{-ko} \) \( \text{dy}_n\text{a}_n\text{y} \) \( \text{tatai}_n\text{-mi} \) \( \text{ole}_\text{-pa}_\text{-li} \) \( \text{goi}_\text{-h}o\text{i} \)

okay REF-GEN person REF-HCL emerge-do-INF must-PERF

‘Okay, we each must take out our own people.’

\( \text{do}_?\)-labelau \( \text{te} \) \( \text{ram} \) \( \text{l}_\text{a}_\text{k}_\text{s}_\text{m}_\text{a}_n\text{-he}_n\text{y} \) \( \text{sa}_n\text{i}_\text{-hi} \) \( \text{do}_?\)-khe.

say-TEM TOP Rāma Lakṣmaṇ-DAT touch-P say-IMPF

So saying, Rāma touched Lakṣmaṇ, they say.

\( \text{l}_\text{a}_\text{k}_\text{s}_\text{m}_\text{a}_n \) \( \text{sinh}_n\text{-hi} \).
Lakṣmaṇ survive-P

Lakṣmaṇ survived.
The god Saṅkar touched Hanumān, they say.

Hanumān survived.

Okay, your younger sibling is my servant.

Okay, they must become bond friends,

And so having agreed, Rāma too gave his permission.

‘If your Hanumān were to become bond friends with my younger sibling Lakṣmaṇ, that is fine.’
And so saying, ‘what harm could it do?’, [he said] ‘okay’.

operate-INF begin-IMPF MIR
at that moment, at that time, they start a great celebration.

When the great celebration began, they two became bond friends.

Having become bond friends with each other,

your hocus-pocus once and what candy [they] eat!

[They] drink drinks, mmh, isn’t that so?

And so, to Hanumān and Lakṣmaṇ, on the same leaf,
they give yoghurt, beaten rice, milk, bananas and things, they gave them everything, right?

Now, Hanumān is a monkey.

Hanumān ate chomping away, they say.

Lakṣmaṇ then was repulsed to eat from the same leaf.

And so he looks, they say.

Hanumān is eating. Lakṣmaṇ is not eating.

And what did Rāma do,
Rāma-GEN deed split-DIR-P so Lakṣman see-P say-IMPF
What Rāma did was quickly split it for [him]. And so Lakṣman saw, they say.

Oh, Hanumān, he’s eating over there on that side of the river,’ he says.

So Lakṣman is eating on this side of the river, they say, and having said,

The thing that Rāma split, it was the banana [leaf], isn’t that so?

That’s what Rāma split. That’s all.
TEXT SEVEN

THE JACKAL AND THE BEAR

There once was a jackal and a bear.

The jackal — the bear had children.

The jackal came asking the children.

Thus, ‘hey kids’ he said.’

‘Where did your mother go?’

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1 This tale by Mine Rāj Thāru, aged 20, a resident of Sāno Bāhragher, was recorded in December 1998 in the village of Āṭhiyābāri. See also a Limbu version of this story collected by George van Driem (1987, 349)
sikar gha-lha-hi do?-hi do?-khe.

hunt play-INTEN-P say-P say-IMPF

‘She went hunting’, they said.

ek tep dui tep tin tep pi-ā ela-ŋ do?-hi aŋ.
one tap two tap three tap give-FUT.1s now-EMP say-P FOC1

‘I’ll give one tap, two taps, three taps right now’, he said.

e?-khe nhe?-khe sun-khe pi-ā do?-hi aŋ.
one-time two-time three-time give-FUT.1s say-P FOC1

‘I’ll give it once, twice, three times’, he said.

kalau esa do?-ka-ta-ŋ aro-ŋ hane-hi do?-khe.
so thus say-NOM-LOC-EMP more-EMP go-P say-IMPF

And so saying like this, he went away.

aro-ŋ lo-hi inko syaile.
more-EMP come-P that jackal

Once again he came, that jackal.

khuru lo-ka te oi jamal-lai do?-hi.
[?] come-NOM TOP hey child-PL say-P

Coming, that jackal, and he said ‘hey, children,’ he said.

nay-ko aba-amai hiso hane-hi do?-hi.
you’s.OBL-GEN father-mother whither go-P say-P

‘Where did these parents of yours’ go?’

sikar gha-lha-hi do?-hi.

hunt play-INTEN-P say-P

‘[She] went hunting,’ [they] said.

ek tep dui tep tin tep pi-ā ela-ŋ do?-hi do?-khe.
one tap two tap three tap give-FUT.1s now-EMP say-P say-IMPF

‘I’ll give one tap, two taps, three taps right now’, [he] said.
kalau wa-ko amai-heŋ doʔ-pi-hi
so 3s-GEN mother-DAT say-DIR-P
Then [it] said to it’s mother,

amai amai eʔ-loy syaile lo-khe na?
mother mother one-CL jackal come-IMPF QUEST
‘Mother, mother, a jackal comes, mmh?’

oi jamal-lai doʔ-khe.
hey child-PL say-IMPF
‘“Hey children” he says.’

nay-ko amai hiso hane-hi doʔ-labelau
you^OBL-GEN mother whither go-P say-TEM
‘When he says “where did your^ mother go?”,’

sikar gha-lha-hi doʔ-pi-nha-khe.
hunt play-INTEN-P say-DIR-1p-IMPF
‘We say “she went hunting.” ’

Ek tep dui tep tin tep pi-ā
One tap two tap three tap give-FUT.1s

doʔ-ka hai amai doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
say-NOM what mother say-P say-IMPF
‘What does “I’ll give one tap, two taps, three taps” mean mother?’

mha?! ka itaŋ yha-ā na doʔ-hi
stop I here-EMP stay-FUT.1s QUEST say-P

doʔ-tenŋ daʔ-tenŋ
say-SEQ REDUP
‘Stop! I will stay here, mmh?’, she said and having said it,
a nidhimi nelai sum-mi hi?t-a wa.
VOC you\lowercase{d} you\lowercase{p} three-CL ask-FUT DED
‘And you two, er you three, [he] may ask.’

sikar gha-lha-hi do?-pi-su aũ?
hunt play-INTEN-P say-DIR-COL TAG
‘Say [that she]went hunting, okay?’

ka rem-pha-ŋ gil-pu-ā!
I be.good-do-EMP chase-DIST-FUT.1s
‘I’ll chase him off but good!’

uŋko-hey seʔt-ā do?-hi doʔ-khe.
that-DAT kill-FUT.1s say-P say-IMPF
‘I’ll kill him’, she said.

aro-ŋ lo-hi. aro-ŋ lo-hi.
more-EMP come-P more-EMP come-P
And so he came once more. And so he came once more.

o jamal-lai hiʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
oh child-PL ask-P say-IMPF
‘Hey children’ he asked.

nay-ko amai hiso hane-hi doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
you\lowercase{.}OBL-GEN mother whither go-P say-P say-IMPF
‘Where did your’ mother go?’”, he said.’

sikar gha-li doʔ-pi-hi.
hunt play-INF say-DIR-P
‘[She went] to hunt’, [they] told him.

bhujuka-pa ole-teŋ ale-teŋ gil-pu-hi.
sudden-do emerge-SEQ REDUP chase-DIST-P
‘And suddenly emerging, she chased him off.'
gil-pu-hi  gil-pu-hi  do?-khe.
chase-DIST-P  chase-DIST-P  say-IMPF
She chased him and chased him, they say.

gil-pu-teŋ  gal-pu-teŋ  e?-loŋ  jhonji  hi-gha-khe.
chase-DIST-SEQ REDUP  one-CL  thicket  be-PIMPF-IMPF
After chasing him away, there was a thicket.

ŋko  jhonji-ta  wa  syaile  te  siri-hi.
that thicket-LOC  3s  jackal  TOP  pierce-P.
The jackal, he slipped into that thicket.

naibiri  u  siri-li  khaŋ-hi  la.
bear  DIST  pierce-INF  look-P  MIR
The bear, you know, [she] then tried to slip in.

purĩ  odk-hi  la.
head  be.stuck-P  MIR
Her head got stuck.

lagai  iso  tane-li  ma-el-khe.
pull  over.here  pull-INF  NEG-be.proper-IMPF
Pulling this way doesn’t work.

over.there  pull-INF  enter-INF  NEG-can-IMPF
Pulling that way, she is unable to go in.

ole-li  ma-do-khe  la.
emerge-INF  NEG-can-IMPF  MIR
She can’t get out now.

ode-pa  lo-teŋ  la-teŋ  lesara-ta  le-:teŋ
that-do  come-SEQ  REDUP  behind-LOC  move-SEQ
Then, coming over behind her,
ek tep dui tep tin tep
one tap two tap three tap

ek tep dui tep tin tep pi-ā.
one tap two tap three tap give-FUT.1s
‘One tap, two taps, three taps, I’ll give [you] one tap, two taps, three taps.’

kalau naibiri doʔ-teŋ syaile ka naŋ-koŋ
so bear say-SEQ jackal I you’s.OBL-GEN-EMP

jeŋ-hi la doʔ-hi aŋ.
happen-P MIR say-P FOC1
So the bear said, ‘jackal, I have become yours now.’

eʔ-khe wa pa-na bhai-so te wa-koŋ jeŋ-hi la.
one-time 3s do-IMPL seem-EL TOP 3s-GEN-EMP become-P MIR
Since he did it once, she became his then.

pa-na bhai-so te pa-hi pu-hi doʔ-hi esa
do-IMPL be.like-EL TOP do-P REDUP say-P thus
Since he did it, he did it thoroughly like that.

ela jamal-lai suta hi-hi la.
now child-P home be-P MIR
‘Now the children are at home.’

sikar gha-lha-siŋ la doʔ-hi syaile-heŋ la naibiri.
hunt play-INTEN-ADH.DL MIR say-P jackal-DAT MIR bear
‘Let us go hunting now’, said the bear to the jackal.

mili-teŋ muli-teŋ hane-hi sikar gha-li.
be.arranged-SEQ REDUP go-P hunt play-INF
After getting ready, they went hunting.
They say that they killed some turtles or something—meat.

‘Do you want to take the intestines or the meat?’

said the bear to the jackal, to her husband.

‘I’ll take the meat,’ he said.

‘I’ll take the meat and you take the intestines,’ he said.

Now, how much meat do you suppose fit into the jackal’s mouth then?

Taking it home like that, on the way,
when he arrived at home, in his mouth he brought only one small piece.

And so he says, ‘over there, they say “father,”’

‘Leave me a little bit behind,” they say.’

It sticks and gets left behind back there. It falls and gets left behind back there.

While going along, it falls, dropping and dropping,

he only brought a little bit.

Bringing it and bringing it, he brought it.
nai — wa-ko be? naibiri do?-khe do?-khe
bea 3s-GEN wife bear say-IMPF say-IMPF
The bear — his wife the bear says,

na a la maha biha na-heŋ cum-pu-li lagai-gha.
you5 a.lot great meat you5-DAT take-DIST-INF put.on-P.1s
‘You5 — I had you5 take a great amount of meat.’

na e?-toi khiniŋ cum-teŋ lo-nha do?-khe wa cahi.
you5 one-piece only take-SEQ come-P.2 say-IMPF 3s IND
‘You5 came bringing only one piece?’, she says.

e?-toi khiniŋ cum-teŋ lo-nha do?-khe.
one-piece only take-SEQ come-P.2 say-IMPF
‘You’ came bringing only one piece!’, she says.

ku- nu la nanci-gelai oso oso rhe:-khe.
COP-COND MIR pitiable-PL over.there over.there beg-IMPF
‘Well then, the poor things, they beg over there and over there.’

oso pi-kha. oso rhe:-khe.
over.there give-IMPF.1s over.there beg-IMPF
‘Over there I give [some to them]. They beg over there.’

oso pi-kha do?-hi.
there give-IMPF.1s say-P
‘Over there I give some,’ he said.

esa pi-ka-ta pi-ka-ta oso rhe:-khe.
thus give-NOM-LOC give-NOM-LOC over.there beg-IMPF
‘And so giving and giving like that, they ask for some over there.’

oso pi-kha do?-teŋ da?-teŋ
over.there give-IMPF.1s say-SEQ REDUP
‘And I give some over there’, so saying
Doing like this he came with this much, just one piece.

‘What was to do then?’ he said.

Could he carry such a huge load in his mouth over there?

Dropping it and dropping it, it was all gone.

He came home bringing a small piece in his mouth.

And so having apportioned it, they ate.

The bear cleaned out the intestines and things for the children.
wa tereŋ-bhutĩ wa te gota-ŋ cum-pu-hi.
3s intestines 3s TOP whole-EMP take-DIST-P
She brought it all, the small and large intestines.

eʔ-sa-hi uʔ-sa-hi
empty-APR-P REDUP
She emptied them all out.

kalau jharay insa co:-sa-hi cu:-sa-hi jamal-lai-gelai.
so all thus divide-APR-P REDUP child-PL-PL
So then it seems they all divided it up, all the children.

jim-hi. aram pa-hi.
sleep-P rest do-P
[They] laid down and rested.

kalau do:-hoi ede katha.
so be.finished-PERF this story
And so this story is over.
TEXT EIGHT

THE SNAKE HUSBAND'

There once was a man who had five daughters.

There were five daughters.

And they say that they climbed a big tree.

They climbed a kase tree to eat kase fruit, they say.

They all climbed up they say.

The daughters, the father and such, all climbed up there.

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1 This tale by Mine Rāj Thāru, aged 20, a resident of Sāno Bāhraghare, was recorded in December 1998 in the village of Aṭhiyābārī.
And so a snake, a large one, came up, they say.

The snake came to kill their father.

‘Give [me] your daughter or else.’ he said.

‘I won’t go’, she said.

‘Second eldest, will you go?’, he said.

‘I won’t go father’, she said.
saili  han-a-na  do?-hi.
third.eldest  go-FUT-2  say-P
‘Third eldest, will you go?’, he said.

ma-han-ā  aba  do?-hi.
NEG-go-FUT.1s  father  say-P
‘I won’t go father’, she said.

kaili  han-a-na  do?-hi.
fourth.eldest  go-FUT-2  say-P
‘Fourth eldest, will you go?’, he said.

ma-han-ā  aba  do?-hi  wa  buŋ.
NEG-go-FUT.1s  father  say-P  3s  also
‘I won’t go father’, she said too.

səbhəndọ  kanchi  aba  han —
most  youngest  father  go
And the youngest, ‘Father, I’ll’ —

camindi  han-a-na  kanchi  do?-hi.
daughter  go-FUT-2  youngest  say-P
‘Youngest daughter, will you go?’, he said.

han-ā  aba.
go-FUT.1s  father
‘I’ll go father.’

na  jeta  pi-li  do-khe-na  ma-ku-nu  do?-hi.
you8  where  give-INF  can-IMPF-2  NEG-COP-COND  say-P
‘You can send me off wherever,’ she said.

ota  han-ā  do?-hi.  hane-ka-ta  wa  cum-pu-hi.
there  go-FUT.1s  say-P  go-NOM-LOC  3s  take-DIST-P
‘I will go there,’ she said. And so going, he took her away.
Having taken her away, she went following behind the snake.

Otherwise, he would have killed him if he hadn’t given his daughter.

It seems she kept walking and walking behind then.

And it turns out he was very rich. Having turned into a snake, he came.
But he was of a very high birth, and having become a snake, he came.

And so following and following behind, she looks.

And so having taken her there, she had gotten a rich one.

What lands there were and so much!
And so he took his daughter there.

And so he took his daughter there.

And so he took his eldest daughter there.

His eldest daughter too then said to look for a snake husband for her.

Father, look for a husband like that for me.

‘A snake husband,’ she keeps saying.

‘Father, look for one like that for me.’

He goes around digging in the forest, all over.

What a great big snake he takes out for her.
wa bünü pūya ke? pa-li khaŋ-hi la.
3s also snake husband do-INF look-P MIR
She too then was looking to marry a snake husband.

bora-ta kose-teŋ cuma-hi la. the-ka pūya hi-hi.
sack-LOC tighten-SEQ take-P MIR be.big-NOM snake be-P
Tieing it up in a sack he brought it. It was a big snake.

taʔ-pi-hi suta. okho esa co:-khe.
put-DIR-P home oho like.this bite-P
He put it in the house [for her]. Oh ho, it bites like this.

mmmh wa-ko aba te khujalai-khoi.
mmmh 3s-GEN father TOP pester-INC
Mmmh, her father starts to pester it.

dusu-khe an doʔ-khe. pa-khoi.
meet-IMPF FOC1 say-IMPF do-INC
He clashes with it they say. He starts to do it.

dusu-khe an ekðəm. ekðəm co:-khe.
meet-IMPF FOC1 very very bite-IMPF
He keeps clashing with it. It bites alot.

ka-heŋ wa khati pūya-heŋ wa pūya-heŋ jen-teŋ
I-DAT 3s khati snake-DAT 3s snake-DAT become-SEQ

lo-ka bön hi-khe ku-nu dyəŋ.
come-NOM forest be-IMPF COP-COND person
‘Having become a khati snake, having become a snake, [this] person has come to me.’

okho khujalai-khe khujalai-khe. bhənda pa-khoi.
oh pester-IMPF pester-IMPF [?] do-INC
Oh, he pesters it and pesters it. He starts to … [?]
They clash.

'So, “oh my”, getting up in the morning and looking, his daughter died then. [She] died.'

Having died, then [they] go and bury [her].

And they say like this, ‘a human king, having become a snake and coming to me.’

‘And then digging up such a snake and putting it by us’, [they] say.

And so they go and bury her.
And then upon burying her,

so this story is over.
There once was an old couple. There was a wretched old couple.

A very wretched old couple.

They didn’t have any land at all. Nothing was right.

Her, she, her…

Her husband carried clay pots for a living.

He carried clay pots. Eat today. Tomorrow there is nothing.

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1 This tale by Mine Rāj Thāru, aged 20, a resident of Sāno Bārhaghare, was recorded in December 1998 in the village of Āṭhiyābārī.
454 TEXT NINE

clay.pot carry-IM-IMPF carry-IM-IMPF so home come-IMPF
He carries clay pots around. He carries them around. And so he returns home.

kalau thikka uŋko rajaina raja ghumai-ka-ta-ŋ
so just.right that queen king stroll-NOM-LOC-EMP

ghumai-ka-ta-ŋ ghumai-ka-ta-ŋ lo-hi la.
stroll-NOM-LOC-EMP stroll-NOM-LOC-EMP come-P MIR
And so just then a king and queen, strolling and strolling, and strolling along, arrive.

kohi suta bọsa hi-li. thikka hai doʔ-khe.
any home lodging be-INF just.right what say-IMPF
To lodge in some home. Just then, what happens is,

wa-ko uŋko ghaila wa bhorkor-ko be?
3s-GEN that clay.pot 3s just.now-GEN wife

thikkə jeŋ-hi la.
just.right become-P MIR
his wife, the one who carries clay pots, his new wife was about to give birth.

jen-teŋ jun-teŋ kalau thikka na bọsa hi-hi.
become-SEQ REDUP so just.right [?] lodging be-P
Having given birth, right then they stayed for the night.

kalau wa-jeŋ jeŋ-hi la.
so 3s-DAT become-P MIR
And so then he was born.

wa-ko thokdir te bhagwan te esa pa-lau lo-hi.
3s-GEN fate TOP god TOP thus do-TEM come-P
As for his fate, god doing thus, came.
lekhe-pi-khe.
write-DIR-IMPF
He writes it for him.

wa-ko thɔkdir-ta esa pa-lau bhɔgman lekhe-pi-khe.
3s-GEN fate-LOC thus do-TEM god write-DIR-IMPF
God writes his fate for him thus.

kalau ʊŋko raja hiŋ-hi la ota.
so that king hear-P MIR there
So then that king heard there.

ʊŋko raja-ko eʔ-ми khiniŋ camindi hi-gha-khe.
that king-GEN one-HCL only daughter be-PIMPF-IMPF
That king had only one daughter.

eʔ-ми khiniŋ camindi ɾə
one-HCL only daughter CONR
Only one daughter is all.

kalau wa-ko bhɔgman lekhe-pi-labelau
so 3s-GEN god write-DIR-TEM

hai doʔ-he pa-nu
what say-HYP do-COND
So, what did his god write for him?

na eʔ-loŋ raja-ko camindi dopha bihu bihu
you8 one-CL king-GEN daughter COM wedding wedding

pa-a-na doʔ-ten wa-ko katha la lekhe-pi-hi la.
do-FUT-2 say-SEQ 3s-GEN word MIR write-DIR-P MIR
He wrote for him saying ‘You8 will marry a king’s daughter.’
The king, he thought about this.

'I have only one daughter,' he said.

'Your son,' that's what he said. 'Raise him up a little bigger.'

'I will take your son to study.'

'While he grows I will teach him and then I will find him work too.' They raised him up, they say.

Once more when they came around, the child had grown.
are eʔ-khe ghumai-lo-labelau
gain one-time stroll-come-TEM

ka cum-pu-ā
na-ḥeṯ doʔ-ḥi.
I take-DIST-FUT.1s you¹-DAT say-P
Once more when they came around, ‘I will take you¹ away,’ he said.

are eʔ-khe ghumai-lo-labelau cum-pu-hi.
again one-time stroll-come-TEM take-DIST-P
Coming around one more time, he took him away.

kalau lo-ḥi. baraʔ-teḥ hi-hi.
so come-P be.big-SEQ AUX-P
And so he arrived. He was getting big.

uŋko bhɔrkɔr insa baraʔ-ka manthu-gha-khe.
that just.now like.that be.big-NOM NEG.EXT-PIMF-IMPF
He hadn’t grown up completely.

we⁰ sit-IM-NOM amount take-DIST-P ho
He took him away at about the age when we⁰ go sitting around.

baraʔ-paŋ doʔ-teḥ cum-pu-hi.
be.big-do-EMP say-SEQ take-DIST-P
He took him away until he was grown.

wa-ko uŋko dukhi bewal-ko te ke?
3s-GEN that wretched woman-GEN TOP husband

ghaila bhar-gil-ka te rə. ghaila bhar-gil-hi.
clay.pot carry-IM-NOM TOP CONR clay.pot carry-IM-P
As for that wretched woman’s husband, he carried clay pots around.
He transported clay pots.
cum-pu-ka te unko raja cum-pu-hi jhar-jhar-bhari.
take-DIST-NOM TOP that king take-DIST-P forest-forest-CIRC
And so that king took him away towards the forest.

na kaj camindi-hej na bihu pa-a-na
you I.OBL daughter-DAT you wedding do-FUT-2

di?-teŋ inso-ŋ phe?-dhi-hi la. phe?-dhi-hi.
say-SEQ over.there-EMP beat-REL-P MIR beat-REL-P
Saying, ‘you intend to marry my daughter?’, he beat him and left him
behind there. He beat him and left him behind.

ma-ko hai rhi:-ka hi-hi ko
NEG-COP what call.out-NOM AUX-P COP

do?-khe wa-ko aba la.
say-IMPF 3s-GEN father MIR
‘No, what is this that has called out?’, says his father then.

abe ma-ko hai rhi:-ka hi-hi ko do?-khe aŋ.
umh NEG-COP what call.out-NOM AUX-P COP say-IMPF FOC1
Umh, ‘no, what is this that has called out?’, he says.

esa khaŋ-hi.
thus look-P
And so he looked.

esa khaŋ-la do?-khe ta? ghaila ta?-teŋ tu?-teŋ
thus look-TEM say-IMPF put clay.pot put-SEQ REDUP
While looking, having put down his pots,

okho ya te kaj can ki rə do?-khe.
oh 3s TOP I.OBL son ki CONR say-IMPF
‘Oh, why this is my son!’, he says.
He carried [him] back. [He] didn’t die there.

Since that god had written his fate for him,

Will he die then? And so he took him.

‘You … where was this child taken?’, he said.

He had been thrown and left there by the forest.
hasu-ko do?-hi.
who-GEN say-P
‘Whose is this?’, he said.

ede jamal hasu-ko do?-hi. wa-ko ama buŋ do?-hi
this child who-GEN say-P 3s-GEN mother also say-P
‘Whose child is this?’, she said. His mother also spoke.

ede kay-ko can rə ede!
this I.OBL-GEN son CONR this
‘Why, this is my son!’

kaŋ can-heŋ ... rhe:-hi pose-li.
I.OBL son ask.for-P raise-INF
‘My son …. he asked to raise him.’

cum-pu-ā do?-hi wa ūŋko raja do?-hi.
take-DIST-FUT.1s say-P 3s that king say-P
‘ “I will take him”, he said, that king.’

pose-li cum-pu-ā do?-hi. pi-gil-gha.
raise-INF take-DIST-FUT.1s say-P give-IM.1s
‘ “I will take him to raise”, he said. And I sent him.’

insa dama-ta-ŋ se?-thal-dhi-hi hola do?-hi.
thus road-LOC-EMP kill-throw-REL-P perhaps say-P
‘They probably threw him by the roadside and left him for dead,’ she said.

kalau aro-ŋ ba? cuma-hi.
so more-EMP [?] take-P
So, again they took him.

kalau ūŋko jamal cuma-teŋ cama-teŋ
so that child take-SEQ REDUP
thyakai wa-heŋ pose-hi.
just.right 3s-DAT raise-P
And so taking that child, she raised him properly.

ięko bebal doŋ pose-hi mə?
that woman FOC raise-P AGR
That woman raised him, right?

kalau ięko raja aro-ŋ suta hane-hi.
so that king more-EMP home go-P
And so that king went home again.

ghurai-teŋ gharai-teŋ lo-hi.
return-SEQ REDUP come-P
Heading back, he arrived.

aro-ŋ ghumai-ka-ta-naŋ ghumai-ka-ta-naŋ
more-EMP stroll-NOM-LOC-EMP stroll-NOM-LOC-EMP

ięko dukhi suta lo-hi.
that poor home come-P
Again strolling and strolling, [they] came to the house of those wretched folk.

dukhi suta lo-teŋ la-teŋ kalau esa khaŋ-hi.
wretched home come-SEQ REDUP so thus look-P
Having come the wretched house, [he] looked.

uęko jamal te jaman jeŋ-hoi.
that child TOP youth become-PERF
That child had became a young man.

kelai bhai-hoi. kelai bhai-hoi la.
wep be.like-PERF wep be.like-PERF MIR
He had become like usp. He had become like usp then.
His child had grown up. And so, what does he say?

Can you deliver my letter to my home?, he said.

And what the child said was ‘I can.’

Over there he arranged the intrigue.

‘Kill him in this manner,’ he said.

And so he delivered the delivery.

Since god had written in his fate for him,
The boy and the king’s daughter

hai donj pa-li ma-do-hi inko si.ai.di donj.
what FOC do-INF NEG-can-P that spy FOC
He could do nothing, not even the spy.

ya ede dyaj pi-pu-li do-a-na
3s this person give-DIST-INF can-FUT-2

do?-hi re raja do?-hi.
say-P HS king say-P
‘Can you deliver this to this person?’, said the king.

uko wa-henj te se?-li do?-ka hi-gha-khe.
that 3s-DAT TOP kill-INF say-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF
That one, he had been told to kill him.

wa te se?-li ma-do-hi la. kalau inta pi-pu-hi.
3s TOP kill-INF NEG-can-P MIR so there give-DIST-P
He couldn’t kill him then. And so he delivered it to there.

are ghure-tej lo-hi wa. jamal ghure-tej lo-hi.
again turn.back-SEQ come-P 3s child return-SEQ come-P
Again he returned. The child returned.

esa khaj-khe. ma-se?-hi. se?-li ma-do-hi.
like.this look-IMPF NEG-kill-P kill-INF NEG-can-P
He looks. He didn’t kill him. He wasn’t able to kill him.

kalau aro-ŋ are wa buŋ
so more-EMP again 3s also

insika si.ai.di lagai-hi aro-ŋ.
that.kind intrigue put.on-P more-EMP
And so once again he pulled that kind of intrigue.

ya-henj pi-pu-li do-a-na do?-hi.
3s-DAT give-DIST-INF can-FUT-2 say-P
‘Can you deliver this to him?’, he said.
And then, ‘oh what a fine one his daughter is’, said the boy.

He looks thus. ‘Such a fine one,’ the boy said.’

He fell in love then. As for his daughter, she fell in love.

She looks over like this. As for the delivery, he delivered it.

She too fell in love like that then.

And her father was there.

‘Are you planning to kill him?’, she said. She said.
Instead of killing him, kill me!’, said his daughter.

‘Kill me right now then,’ she said.

I will marry him.’

‘What can you do?’ she said.

So then her father too was unable to kill him.

He couldn’t kill him.

So he was unable to kill him over there.

And so, if the girl was in love with a poor man, even though it was like this,
wedding do- do-DIR-INF effort FOC befall-P to arrange for a wedding required effort.

His girl was that powerful, isn’t that right?

He threw a wedding for them.

And so thus this story now is ended.
THE EVIL STEPMOTHER

There once was such a son.

There once was an old couple, not an old couple, a stepmother.

Two wives and one husband, isn’t that so?

There were two wives and one husband.

Her husband then, her husband — they were doing something to her.

---

1 This tale about orphans by Mine Rāj Thāru, aged 20, a resident of Sāno Bārhaghare, was recorded in December 1998 in the village of Āṭhiyābārī.
She killed her.

His stepmother, having killed her,

so her uh, what did that mean?

What did she become, she became a kite and returned.

In order to suckle him, they say.

First of all, she is really virtuous.

Then their mother, in order to suckle them, came back as a kite.

Having become a kuleng, she returned.

Having become a kuleng, she returned. Her breast —.
thyakai khu?-gha-khe.
just.right descend-PIMPF-IMPF
She would descend just right.

khу?-teŋ kha?-teŋ dudu am-pа-gha-khe.
descend-SEQ REDUP breast drink-do-PIMPF-IMPF
Having descended, she would breast feed them.

jамal nhe?-loŋ jамal urаi-khe.
child two-CL child fly-IMPF
The two children—she flies.

wa-ko маusi ama аro-ŋ pəkka ... ode abe
3s-GEN aunt mother more-EMP truly that umh
Their stepmother again ‘really… that umh…’

hede kal abe wa-ko mausi can-heŋ iŋko can-gelai
which time umh 3s-GEN aunt son-DAT that son-PL

kori can-heŋ khani oʔ-ka sar
step son-DAT only burn-NOM curry

oʔ-ka m pi-gha-khe.
burn-NOM rice give-PIMPF-IMPF
‘What the devil?’, to her stepchildren she would only give burnt curry and burnt rice.

kalau haya-ko cui khiniŋ
so fish-GEN bone only

cа-li pi-gha-khe nanci-heŋ.
eat-INF give-PIMPF-IMPF poor.thing-DAT
She would only give the poor things fish bones to eat.
Kalau ode ode jeŋ-hi. ɪŋko baja jen-teŋ lo-khe.
so that that occur-P that kite become-SEQ come-IMPF
And so, that, that happened. She, having become a kite, returns.

Nancy-heŋ insa urai-teŋ lo-gha-khe.
poor.thing-DAT like.that fly-SEQ come-PIMPF-IMPF
She would come flying like that to the poor things.

ɪŋko gyatis a?-teŋ u?-teŋ se?-pi-hi la.
that slingshot shoot-SEQ REDUP kill-DIR-P MIR
[The stepmother] shot and killed her with a slingshot.

ɪŋko kuleŋ kuleŋ buŋ se?-pi-hi nanci-heŋ.
that kuleng kuleng also kill-DIR-P poor.thing-DAT
She killed the kuleng too, the poor things.

Kuleŋ se?-teŋ sa?-teŋ kalau inta kalau
kuleng kill-SEQ REDUP so there so

Kalau hai jeŋ-hi pa-nu tole-siŋ jeŋ-hi la ɪŋko.
so what occur-P do-COND flour-tree become-P MIR that
Having killed the kuleng, what happened next is she then became a flour tree.

tole-siŋ jen-teŋ jan-teŋ udhinimi mhITU-labelau
flour-tree become-SEQ REDUP theyd be.hungry-TEM
Having become a flour tree, when theyd were hungry,

Ode wa-kọ can dawa can mhITU-labelau
that 3s-GEN son [?] son be.hungry-TEM
that son of hers, [?] — when the child was hungry,

Ekdom udhinimi hane-ka hi-gha-khe.
very theyd go-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF
theyd had gone a lot.
When they would go, fruit, flourcakes, flour,

very flour become-DIR-P HS flour-tree
the flour tree would produce lots of flour for them, they say.

And so they eat the fruit-flour cakes.

Having eaten, they return quietly.

‘This can’t be, I give these two such a tiny amount of rice!’

‘Why is it that they are getting fat for no reason.’

‘Why is it that they are getting fat like this?!’, she says.

She too following and follow—the stepmother,
pîte-ka-ta-ŋ pîte-ka-ta-ŋ
track-NOM-LOC-EMP track-NOM-LOC-EMP

iŋko tole-siŋ buŋ pal-pî-hi la.
that flour-tree also fell-DIR-P MIR
following and following, she then cut down the flour tree too.

pâl-pî-teŋ pul-pî-teŋ iŋko buŋ la jeŋ-hi la uŋko inta.
fell-DIR-SEQ REDUP that also MIR occur-P MIR that there
Having cut it down, that is what happened then.

pâl-pî-teŋ pul-pî-teŋ inta kalau hane-khe.
fell-DIR-SEQ REDUP there so go-IMPF
Having cut it down, they go.

kalau iŋko pal-pî-su-ta si-hoi la.
so that fell-DIR-COL-LOC die-PERF MIR
And so cutting it down on them, it died.

kalau esa hai pa-li la doʔ-hi pa-nu
so that what do-INF MIR say-P do-COND

iŋko jamaŋ nheʔ-loŋ.
that child two-CL
And so thus, ‘what to do?’, is what those two children said.

kalau babar-gha-khe.
so be.very.big-PIMPF-IMPF
And so they were growing up.

babar-teŋ bubur-teŋ kalau waʔ-ko ama te si-hoi la.
be.big-SEQ REDUP so 3s-GEN mother TOP die-PERF MIR
Having grown up, then their mother died.

kelai eʔ-loŋ pesa pa-li goi-an
we^p one-CL job do-INF must-FUT
kelai-ko te kori-amai doʔ-khe.
we^p-GEN TOP step-mother say-IMPF
Then, ‘our^p stepmother says we^p must get a job.’

kori-amai — kalau esa kam pa-khe
step so thus work do-IMPF

kum pa-khe udhinimi mi-one.
REDUP do-IMPF they^d e.bro-y.sib
The step… and so those two siblings work and work.

kalau kam pa-teŋ kum pa-teŋ oso-ŋ pa-khe.
so work do-SEQ REDUP do-SEQ over.there-EMP do-IMPF
And so they continue working over there.

oso-ŋ hi-khe. oso-ŋ ca-khe.
over.there-EMP be-IMPF there-EMP eat-IMPF
They stay over there. They eat over there.

suta ma-lo-khe.
home NEG-come-IMPF
They don’t come home.

oso-ŋ hi-khe. oso-ŋ ca-khe.
over.there-EMP be-IMPF over.there-EMP eat-IMPF
They stay over there. They eat over there.

oso-ŋ — suta ma-lo-na bhai-so te
over.there-EMP home NEG-come-IMPL be.like TOP
Over there — since they didn’t come home,

kori-ama-ñey doʔ-teŋ suta ma-lo-khe.
step-mother-DAT say-SEQ home come-IMPF
on account of their stepmother, they don’t come home.
They went over there, away from home.

That’s it.
TEXT ELEVEN

WHERE CHICKENS COME FROM

It mates with a chicken. And then it goes around trying to lay eggs.

And if it gets a nest, then it lays eggs there.

It lays ten or twelve of them.

And then it stays like that for two or three days and broods.

The egg shell cracks and then the chick emerges.

And then the chick grows up and then mates too.

---

1 Texts eleven and twelve were related by an eight year-old girl in Āṭhiyābārī.
bhale cahi ĩko teli-heŋ pausai-gil-khe.
rooster IND that hen-DAT mate-IM-IMPF
The rooster, he goes around mating with that hen.

do:-hoi la.
be.done-PERF MIR
That’s all.
Shit eater! She attacks shit.

She doesn’t know how to work.

All she knows how to do is gobble down.

She only knows how to gather fallen grains of rice and then she threshes them by foot.

And then she transports the rice to the store.

And the old lady at the store sends money.

How much does it come to? It goes by the kilo.
kalau hisab pa-teŋ paisa pi-gil-khe.
and math do-SEQ money give-IM-IMPF
And so after doing the math, she sends the money.
They invited him to go dig for rats.

And so afterwards, they roasted up the rats and cut them into pieces.

After cutting them up, they gave everyone a share.

And then they fried it up and ate it. After that, he became sick.

After he ate, he heard sound being broadcast through speakers.

He got a bus and came home today. He walked ahead.

---

1 Texts thirteen through fifteen were provided by Umeṣ Dhimāl of Āṭhiyābārī in 1988.
As he walked, behind him they lit candles for [him].

He began to speak with the gods. He was shivering.
MAKING RICE BEER

Buy some uncooked rice and then cook it.

After it is done cooking, cover the ground with leaves.

And the rice beer must be cooled.

After mixing it in, char the clay jug.

After it is charred, one must put the rice beer in a basket.
"jhol ole-pa-li goi-khe.
juice emerge-do-INF must-IMPF
One must cause the juice to run out.

jhol ole-pa-ten am-khe ma-ku-nu piʔ-khe.
juice emerge-do-SEQ drink-IMPF NEG-COP-COND sell-IMPF
After removing the juice they drink it or they sell it."
**TEXT FIFTEEN**

**WEDDING CEREMONY**

*lampha ciu-khe kalau lokhon lagai-khe.*
first bathe-IMPF then clothes put.on-IMPF
First, one takes a bath and then puts on clothes.

*tupri tu?-khe mala gi?-khe.*
hat put.on- IMPF garland lock-IMPF
One puts on a hat and a garland.

*wa-ko amai ōkā lagai-pi-khe.*
3s-GEN mother ōkā put.on-DIR-IMPF
His mother puts a ōkā on him.

*dhol sanai cum-pu-khe.*
drum šahanāī hold-DIST-IMPF
They take along a drum and a šahanāī.

*cum-pu-teŋ cam-pu-teŋ ota hane-khe.*
hold-DIST-SEQ REDUP there go-IMPF
Having taken them, they go there.

*hane-teŋ hune-teŋ tebul kursi ta?-khe.*
go-SEQ REDUP table chair put-IMPF
Having gone there, they set up tables and chairs.

*kalau beula yun-khe. bejan-heŋ ghurai-pa-khe.*
so bride sit-IMPF girl-DAT stroll-do-IMPF
Then the groom sits. They walk the girl around (the seated groom).
inta-so  wajan-heŋ  mala  lagai-pi-khe.
there-EL  boy-DAT  garland  put.on-DIR-IMPF
After that she puts a garland on the boy.

wajan  khur  cum-pi-khe.
boy  hand  hold-DIR-IMPF
The boy takes her hand.

khur  cum-pi-tenŋ  cam-pi-tenŋ  aŋguthi  lagai-pi-khe.
hand  hold-DIR-SEQ  REDUP  ring  put.on-DIR-IMPF
Having taken hold of her hand, he puts a ring on.

aŋguthi  lagai-labelau  photo  khici-khe.
ring  put.on-TEM  photo  take-IMPF
While putting on the ring, they take a photo.

tai-ko  dyaŋ-heŋ  ca-pa-khe.
REF-GEN  person-DAT  eat-do-IMPF
They feed their own people.

kalau  inta-so  ca-pa-tenŋ  cu-pa-tenŋ  beula  m  ca-khe.
so  there-EL  eat-do-SEQ  REDUP  groom  rice  eat-IMPF
So then, after [the guests] have eaten, the groom eats.

adhi-mi  nha-khe  adhi-mi  le:-khe.
half-HCL  dance-IMPF  half-HCL  sing-IMPF
Half the people dance and half the people sing.

inta-so  jheŋ-khe.
there-EL  be.light-P
After that, it becomes light out.
**TEXT SIXTEEN**

**ASARE CELEBRATION**

*jharan sa?-ta e?-mana-pa ʊŋkhu ᵁ-gora e?-gilas-pa*

all house-LOC one-man-do paddy and alcohol one-glass-do

*mun-gelai taka bis-taka-pa.*

beaten.rice-PL money twenty-taka-do

At each house, one mana paddy, alcohol, one glass beaten rice and twenty rupees.

*ʊŋko taka-hoi paya me?sa pareu kiya col-khe.*

that money-INST pig goat pigeon chicken buy-IMPF

They buy pig, goat, pigeon and chicken with that money.

*jagon dina jheŋ-ka-por e?-lonŋ nhe?-lonŋ*

[?] day be.light-NOM-after one-CL two-CL

*kiya ca-khe.*

chicken eat-IMPF

After it becomes light, they eat one or two chickens.

*jhen-teŋ dilidili-gelai puja pa-khe.*

be.light-NOM evening-PL worship do-IMPF

After it becomes light, they perform worship around the evening.

*puja do:-teŋ kalau suta lo-labelau*

worship finish-SEQ so house come-TEM
Having finished the worship, while coming home they come swinging around a *khukuri*.

Then at home, the headman’s daughter greets all the old men.

The next day, having gathered all the villagers, [They determine] what all the expenses were.

Then the old men go around the village drinking alcohol.

After finishing that, the meat and such are divided up.
Each house’s share depends on how many people are there.

That’s all.

Then after that, they beat the drums until dawn.

Before the altars they build [?].
TEXT SEVENTEEN

LATER CLAN WORSHIP DURING PARBA

lampha-ko din-ta sa? liʔta rə bahar dhaʔ-ta
before-GEN day-LOC house inside and outside porch-LOC

puja pa-khe.
worship do-IMPF

The day before, they perform worship inside the house and outside on the porch.

aũsi-ko bela-ta eʔ-λoŋ tui tɑʔ-khe pecara khacuri
aũsi-GEN time-LOC one-CL egg put-IMPF wound smallpox

ma-jen-a-ko doʔ-teŋ kalau jhem-paŋ rhum-khe.
NEG-happen-FUT-OPT say-SEQ then be.light-do-EMP wait-IMPF
During aũsi or the new moon, they place an egg saying may no wounds or smallpox happen and then they wait until dawn.

kalau jumni saleŋ-ta puja pa-khe.
so tomorrow ground-LOC worship do-IMPF
And then the next day they perform worship on the ground.

lɔsɔmi beraŋ tisti mai cəudhari maharaj
Lakṣmī old.woman Tisti Mai Chaudharī Mahārāj

buḍha Ṭhakur mi-besa parbati kalau
Buḍha Ṭhakur brothers-in-law Pārvatī and
**RIDDLES**

*jauhara-gelai-heŋ puja pa-khe.*
Jauhara-PL-DAT worship do-IMPF
They worship Old Woman Lakṣmī, Tisti Mai, Chaudharī Mahārāj, Buḍha Ṭhakur, the Brothers-in-law, Pārvatī and the Jauharas.
RIDDLES.

amai yumka can nhaka. hai ti? sim khundi
The mother sitting and the son dancing. What is it? A mortar and pestle

ir kiti mir kiti dowar kitikiti. hai ti? cudur
damp dark dank dark door dark. What is it? A snail.

da:ka mundhata ceŋga haya phe:ka. hai ti? nhati
On a black stump a ceŋga fish is swept away. What is it? Snot.

one khanteŋ dai laŋkhe. hai ti? lathi
The elder brother precedes the younger. What is it? A cane.

eʔloŋ piyako sahe kandhe. hai ti? karaila
A cow's hump shoulder. What is it? A bitter gourd.

eʔloŋ barka mundhaheŋ kaĩcihoi cikiṭpa po:khe. hai ti? lekha
With a pair of scissors it snips a big stump with a cutting sound. What is it? Rear end.

eʔloŋ jinisko nheʔpa methoŋ. hai ti? nariya
An animal has tails on both sides. What is it? An elephant.

barka pokharita kanebraugula nhoʔteŋ ci sihoi. hai ti? gesa.
On a big pond a cattle egret landed and the water dried up. What is it? An oil lamp.

1 All riddles were provided by Asi Lāl Dhimāl of Āṭhiyābārī.
eʔloŋ bejan saiyeŋ nui giʔkhe. hai ti? makhalai
A girl touches it and it closes up its mouth. What is it? A mussel.
CHILDREN’S SONG

jonjo lo lo
jonjo lo lo
oneko nuita wha? la la
nariyako can magha
ko?caanau
ōyako can magha
la?theanau
e anau sona anau
kuwāhāko can magha
bha?tanau
naibiriko can magha
rhaianau
khiyako can magha
cikanau
hā hā hā hā

Moon come come.
Moon come come.
Pour into my younger sibling’s mouth.
Don’t play with an elephant calf,
It will pull you close.
Don’t play with a colt,
It will kick you.
Don’t play with a tiger cub,
It will attack you.
Don’t play with a bear cub,
It will claw you.
Don’t play with a puppy,
It will bite you.
Ha ha ha ha.

TRADITIONAL SONG

pakri siŋko lha?pha phirphiraikhe
āṭhiyabariko bejalai girgiraikhe
tana doŋ thirana
napheŋ phe:kana
wajalai khāŋli lonu
tumta no?tana anau
tumta no?tana anau

The leaves of the pipal tree are shaking
The young women of Āṭhiyābāri are stomping
You will weave
You will turn your head aside
If the young men come to look
You will bow your head to your breast, younger sibling
You will bow your head to your breast, younger sibling

POLITICAL SONG

losu re anau
losu re dada
ekta jenaine
bikashhari haneka dama bho:kaine
edeŋ belata
edeŋ məukata

tai ko desko khaltai khultai
gotaŋ puraine
bejan wajan iskul hanaine
kalau te kelaiko desko paristhiti
gotaŋ bujhairen
**SONGS**

*eden belata*
*eden məukata*

Oh come younger brothers
Oh come older brothers
Let’s unite
And seek the way towards progress
Right at this moment
Right at this opportunity

Let’s fill in all the uneven spots of our own country
Boys and girls, let’s go to school
And let’s understand all the conditions of our country
Right at this moment
Right at this opportunity

**TRADITIONAL SONG**

*jari jari jari sona jari hi.*
*e sona mhawa hai do?taniŋ re?*
*hai waraniŋ re?*
*idon jhoko hai doŋ manthu.*
*sona camindi doŋ pihoiغا.*
*aron hai doʔtaniŋ re.*
*sujini siŋko bhar doŋ sona*
*dalen diupa diupa*
*kurja doŋ ku:khe sona*
*kaŋko mën doŋthurpa thurpa*
*supaḍi doŋ canha sona kuṭukuṭupa*
*madoʔsai nuwa sona gojogojopa*

Oh golden one
Oh dear son-in-law, what shall I say to you?
What shall I not say to you?
Not even this much do I have.
I have given my golden daughter herself.
What more shall I say to you?
The fruit of the sujini tree hangs heavily on the branch.
A dove coos, my dear,
And my heart itself is breaking breaking.
Noisily did you eat the supārī, my dear,
Don’t talk on boorishly, dear brother-in-law.

TRADITIONAL SONG

carlo sayo sayo sayo
dama dama roika roi doŋ baguri
cumasu re dadagelai jor doŋ hāsuli
jinseko bhar sona menseko bhar
uraili pi re dada lokondoko bhar
jor jor doŋ gumana jor doŋ hāsuli
manthu re anau sona jor doŋ hāsuli

Clap oh sayo sayo sayo
The hog plum goes rolling and rolling along
Bring oh brothers a pair of silver neck torques.
Bean and sesame blossoms
Make fly, oh elder brother, silk cotton tree blossoms
A pair, a pair of jews harps and a pair of silver neck torques
I do not have, oh golden sister, a pair of siver neck torques.

YOUNG GIRLS’ DITTY

pasimbhari mili-mili haya jeŋsahi.
naŋko kaŋko oleli səlha jeŋsahi.

dhanɡai kiya oletomlau nirgai meʔpisim.
naŋko amai okho palau duphe jhatesim.

kiya oletomlau dhoko thumdhisim.
naŋko kaŋko oleli səlha jeŋsahi.
Over by the bamboo, it seems fish are being caught happily.
It seems consultations about you and me concluded.

When the rooster is about to emerge, let’s wring its neck.
If your mother raises a fuss, let’s chase her off with an axe.

When the chicken is about to emerge, let’s cover it with a basket and leave it.
It seems consultations about you and me concluded.

LAMENT

tho?dara cilim rampukhe.
sale iŋko me doŋ rampukhe.
sale iŋko me doŋ rampukhe.
hasu doŋ pia wa ajaiheŋ?
ajaiko mən doŋ kharpukhe.

dureso loka bansalai
tole gora colgilkhe.
tole gora colgilkhe.
baisakh mahina hanehoi.
jatri bajar lopukhe.

The bamboo pipe is disappearing.
Damn, even that fire is dying out.
Damn, even that fire is dying out.
Who then may give to grandma?
Grandma’s heart goes along crying.

Guests from far away who come
Go around buying flour and alcohol.
Go around buying flour and alcohol.
The month of Vaiśākh is come and gone
Jātrī festival approaches.
## INFLEXIONAL PARADIGMS

### PAST

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### IMPERFECTIVE

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### Inflexional Paradigms

#### Inceptive

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#### Reciprocal

(Past Progressive)

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#### Apparentive

(Imperfective)

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<td>father’s younger brother’s wife</td>
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<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>be?</td>
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<tr>
<td>wife’s elder brother</td>
<td>go</td>
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wife’s elder sister  
wife’s younger sister  
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husband’s elder brother  
husband’s younger brother  
husband’s elder sister  
husband’s younger sister  
elder brother’s wife  
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younger sister’s husband  
elder sister’s husband  
son-in-law  
daughter-in-law  
father-in-law  
mother-in-law  
parents-in-law  
in-laws whose younger siblings are married  
wives of brothers  
naju  
hulme  
huigo  
babai  
hulunjga  
naju – bai  
hulme  
ghauji  
nama  
besa  
uwa  
mhawa  
nama  
juwa  
jube  
behai-beheni  
gauri  
yare
The glossary is set up as follows. Words are listed with aspirated and breathy phonemes following the voiceless and voiced counterparts respectively. Long vowels, nasal vowels and those ending in a glottal stop come after the simple vowels. Alternate pronunciations follow the symbol ~. The bulk of non-native words in Dhimal are loans from non-literary varieties of Indo-Aryan languages, primarily Bengali and Maithili, but also Nepali. Due to the complex historical circumstances of the movement of peoples throughout this area, which is a topic of separate study, borrowings from these languages will be identified simply as deriving from Indo-Aryan. Multiple uses are listed numerically with the most basic sense listed first. Finally, semantically related lexemes and Nepali equivalents of cultural objects or native flora and fauna are provided at the end of some entries. The alphabetical order of the glossary is as follows:

| a | e | k | p | w |
| a | ē | kh | ph | wh |
| ā | eː | l | r | y |
| aː | eʔ | lh | rh | yh |
| aʔ | g | m | s |
| b | gh | mh | t |
| bh | h | n | th |
| c | i | nh | ŏ |
| ch | ĩ | ŋ | ŏ |
| d | iː | o | u |
| dh | iʔ | ō | ū |
| ḍ | j | oː | ūː |
| ḍh | jh | oʔ | ūʔ |
GLOSSARY

ə

əcəmma n., [< Indo-Aryan] surprise, wonder.

a

a voc., o, hey; a baigelai. Hey, older sisters.
aba n., father.
aba-amai n., father and mother, parents.
aˈbe part., pause particle.
abeli vt., to do (something unknown). tutungre m abekhe. Mole crickets do something to the paddy. abedhany ... I would, um... abedhana... Would you um...
abhana n., [< Indo-Aryan] vow. kaŋko saʔta cumali goiŋka doʔka khalko abhana wa taʔhi. She vowed that she would bring it back to her home.
aˈce inter., interjection conveying a sense of surprise.
aˈdamka adj., partially ripe.
aˈdamli vi., to be partially ripe. torse adamka hihi. The mango is partially ripe.
adili paisa n., [< Indo-Aryan] monetary unit, fifty paisa or half a rupee.
adipa adv., very.
adha adj., [< Indo-Aryan] half.
adhimi pron., half the people, half of them.
agabhāri postp., [< Indo-Aryan] to the front, on the front side.
aˈgadí postp., [< Indo-Aryan] in front of, before.
agata postp., [< Indo-Aryan + ta locative postposition] in front, before.
ahar n., [< Indo-Aryan] pigslop, animal food.
a’hā? inter., negative interjection, no.
a’huli vi., to howl.
aika adj., rotten, spoilt. sṛṇata aika dyañ tīñhi. He dreamt about a rotten corpse.
aili vi., to rot.
ailhe n., basil.
aithi adj., ritually polluted. aithi khurhoi with ritually polluted hands.
aï’yau inter., ouch.
ajai n., grandmother.
aju n., grandfather. na aju! Your grandfather! (term of abuse among children).
aju-ajai n., grandfather and grandmother, grandparents.
akara adj., [< Indo-Aryan] disobedient, unheedful person. akara hihi. do?ka materekhe. She is disobedient. She doesn’t heed what she’s told. akara bejan! Disobedient girl!
akha n., [< Indo-Aryan] traditional cooking hearth situated in the house and made up of three lumps of dried clay.
a’khe?ka adj., dirty; bad, nasty, vulgar.
a’khe?li vi., to be dirty; be nasty, bad, vulgar. akhe?tañ. iso malimpa! It’ll get dirty. Don’t get a stain over here.
ala adj., much, a lot; great. bapre ho! ala m canha! Oh my, you ate a lot of rice! ala barka great big.
a’laiba’lai adv., so far, until now, yet. alaibalai bheṭeka manthuga. I haven’t met him yet.
a’laka n./adj., great, large, big. alaka! [You’re] acting big for your briches! alaka bwali ninji anau! Hey little sibling, he caught a big bwali fish! oso nuita hethe alaka bhari cumpuli doa wa? How big of a load could he carry in his mouth over there? ~ ’alaka.
a’lasī adj., evil, wicked. alasi beray! Wicked old woman!
a’leŋka’leŋ adv., sometimes.
algaŋ n., [< Indo-Aryan] separate. m algaŋ ni?hi. He swallowed the rice without chewing.
alghi dhaba? n., plaid handwoven cloth used as a sheet or shawl.
ali n., side. jhora?ko ali ali. river banks.
alo’hopā adv., very slowly.
alsi adj., [< Indo-Aryan] lazy.
alsili vi., to be lazy.
alte-alteni n., helpers at a wedding.
alti n., work.
alhopa adv., slowly.
amai n., mother.
ambhui n., arboreal large orange-coloured ant that bites. Small children eat the abdomen, which has a slight tart flavour.
amdika n., burp.
amdili vi., to burp.
amdhili vt., to drink and leave. gora amdhisī. Let’s drink some alcohol and leave.
amgilli vi., to go around drinking. kalau derabhari warangelai higilkhe gora amgilkhe. Then the old men wander around the village and go around drinking alcohol.
amli vi./vt., to drink; smoke, chew (areca nut); swallow, take (a pill, medicine). dilidilima am la dhanṣka ci. Drink hot tea in the evenings. ma-amli aŋ! Just don’t drink! pani amsī. Let’s have some areca nut and betel leaf. cur amana ma-amana? Do you want to smoke a cigarette or not?
ampali vt., to feed liquid, make drink; breast feed. dudu ampali to suckle. dudu ampakhe. She’s suckling.
ampili vt., to let drink or smoke; drink or smoke for someone.
ampuli vt., to go along drinking or smoking. ampu do?kha. Go with a cigarette I say.
a’nau voc. n., younger sibling.
anca adv., before, previously, earlier.
andar-bandar n., wild sweet orange-coloured fruit with a large pit.
Nep. gulajām (gulābjāmun).
anemane n., thing; jewellery. sika anemane cali sika?khena? Does eating things that die make you queasy? naŋko phe?ka anemane manthu? Don’t you have anything to wash? ~ amne.
anji adv., yesterday.
anhebare adv., last year.
GLOSSARY 509


anguli n., [< Indo-Aryan] finger.
anguro n., [< Indo-Aryan] charcoal.
anguthi n., [< Indo-Aryan] ring.

aŋli vi., to be ignorant, not understand. hethe aŋhi be? I wonder how ignorant he is.

ara n., [< Indo-Aryan] saw.
a’raili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to order someone, command, boss around.

kumarheŋ kam araili do?teŋ hanegha. kha?hi. I went to order Kumār to work, but he snuck off.

aram n., [< Indo-Aryan] rest, relaxation.
aram-barampa adv., over and over, repeatedly. aram-barampaŋ phom lokhe. Memories come [to me] over and over.

arday n., embankment, incline. cf. tikar.
are adv., [< Indo-Aryan] again.

aro 1) adv., [< Indo-Aryan] again; more; aroŋ do?. Say it again. 2) pron., the remainder, the others. ~ aru, aroŋ.

asa adv., more; comparative. aroŋ asa pi. Give [me] some more. asa marphay parba cali bhyaili lo ni. Please come even sooner to be able to celebrate parba. bho:piã asa barka? Shall I look for a bigger one for [you]? 

a’sare puja n., [< Indo-Aryan] communal festival celebrated during the month of Asār (mid-June to mid-July) at the onset of the monsoon rains. Also known as sirijat.

asti n., trap, snare. cf. phanci.
a’tamli vi., to keep for oneself, hoard. gotaŋ biskuṭ cali atamkhe. He wants to eat all the cookies himself.

ate n., father’s younger brother’s wife, aunt. cf. kaki.
a’tuika adj., small, little. ~ atuŋka.
a’tuili vi., to be little, small.
a’tuipa adv., little, in small measure. atutuipa gikha. I understand very little. ~ atumpa.
a’tuisa n., a little bit, a small amount.
atu’tuika  adj., very little. ~ atutuŋka.
a’thaŋ  adv., right away.
a’thar  n., [< Indo-Aryan] week. e’-athar. one week.
athom  n., fontanelle, soft spot on baby’s head.
auciri  adj., wayward, wandering, gad about. auciri dyaŋ. A person who wanders about like a chicken or doesn’t stay put.
aulti  vi., to hurt, break (heart, mind). nani kaseŋ bejanheŋ mabhețeŋ mon aulehi. Today, not having met the girl, my heart broke.

dimak aulehoi. [I] have lost [my] mind.
aũ  part., adhortative agreement particle, okay. ~ aŋ.
aũsi  n., [< Indo-Aryan] new moon.
aũsi puya  n., [< Indo-Aryan] harvest festival celebrated on the same day as the Nepali festival tihār. Also known as parba.
a’wa’dhili  vi., to be lost after being left behind.
a’waigilli  vi., to wander around not knowing where one is going.
nanci nhisiŋta uraiteŋ dama awaigilkhe. The poor things (birds), after flying off in the night they lose their way. gora mhahi kalau sa? awaigilhi. He got drunk and couldn’t find his way home.
a’waili  vi., to hesitate, be lost, be confused. wa khiniŋ awaiten bawaiten hihi la. Only he then was completely lost.
a’waipali  vt., to mislead, lead astray.
a’waitu?gilli  vi., to go around despairing. kaŋko can bejan maninteŋ awaitu?gilkhe. Not having found a girl, my son is going around despairing.
a’waitu?li  vi., to despair, lose one’s senses. ka te hiso kam maninteŋ awaitu?gha. Not being able to find work anywhere, I despaired. na hai biŋ awaitu?khenā ko? kathmandubhari kam bhokaha. What is the reason that you are despairing? Go to look for work in Kathmandu.
a:li  vt., to break open, tear apart. tuiko dhale a:khe. It breaks open the shell. sa? a:kaine. Let’s⁹ tear down the house. capri bhonoi a:ghakhe. They were breaking apart the mud clods.
a?li  vt., to shoot, cast, throw at. bōnduk a?qhe. He’s shooting a rifle. guli a?ten se?hi. He shot the slingshot and killed it. odoi kabarahen goli a?! Shoot a bullet at that deer! iŋko gyatis a?ten u?ten se?pihi. He shot the sling and killed it.
GLOSSARY

b

bo‘caili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to save.

bəgan n., [< Indo-Aryan] garden, orchard.

bəjeli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to strike (o’clock). ek bəjehi. It is one o’clock. sat bəjehoi. It is seven o’clock already.


bəthan n., [< Indo-Aryan] herd.

bəudili n., [< Indo-Aryan] tornado, whirlwind.

ba conj., [< Indo-Aryan] or. ~ ba? ~ wa.

babai n., husband’s elder brother.

babarka 1) adj., 1) very big. 2) n., big shot, honcho.

babarli vi., to be very big, grow up. babarhoi la. He’s has grown up.

babor n., fried rice flour cake shaped like a pancake.

ba’del n., [< Indo-Aryan] cloud.

baduli’ba n., [< Indo-Aryan] bat, especially the large fruit bat Pteropus gigantius. Dhimals traditionally eat fruit bats, as do Tharus. The skin is also buried in the ground to rot before being dug up as medicine for crying babies.

ba’dun n., nickname for broody or sulking person.

ba’dhaili vt., to castrate. cf. khacipali.

bagula n., [< Indo-Aryan] little egret, Egretta garzetta.

baguri n., tart green fruit; Nep. bāyar.

baguya n., steamed rice flour cakes. They are made on holidays and when a woman goes to visit her natal home. They are very dense (so best eaten when fresh) and are served with a garlic, chili and salt paste.

baguya tole n., steamed rice flour cake shaped like a very pregnant cigar. cf. lum tole.

baha n., [< Indo-Aryan] arm; cf. khur.

bahar postp., [< Indo-Aryan] out, outside.

bai n., elder sister.

bai-one n., sisters.
baido n., swing.
baira n., [<Indo-Aryan] outside. ~ bairə.
baja n., [<Indo-Aryan] dark kite, Milvus migrans.
baˈjar n., [<Indo-Aryan] 1) a fair or mela held during the summer months, where young men and women traditionally meet. 2) market.
baje adv., [<Indo-Aryan] o’clock.
bajirham n., inedible grasshopper. cf. saujirham.
bakar n., rice storage.
bakoi n., wing.
bakhara n., [<Indo-Aryan] portion, share.
bakhaˈrāli vt., [<Indo-Aryan] to divide, share.
bakhīˈnaili vt., to talk well about a person, praise.
bala hika adj., [<Indo-Aryan] sandy.
baˈlaili vt., to irrigate. miliŋhāri ci balaili hanehi. He went to the fields to irrigate.
balli vi., to get something in one’s eye. iso dula mahulpa. misiŋhā balan! Don’t cause dust to fall over here. Something will get in [my] eyes. ede kaŋko misiŋhā balhī te hai ko?! What is this that got into my eye?!
baumˈinj n., kidding, fun. bambiŋ ba jatin? Is it kidding or the truth? bamˈinjo adv., as a joke, for fun. ba bambiŋko lohi be? Or did he come for the fun of it. kelai tas bambiŋko ghanhahi. We⁺ played cards for fun (not money).
bamli vi., to lie close together. dahēko tol saʔ bamu. The neighbourhood to the north, the houses are nestled together.
bamli vt., to snuggle, brood, hold close. kiya tui bamu. The chicken is brooding eggs. amai can bamu. A mother snuggles her son. babu kharkhe. babuheŋ bamu. Baby is crying. I’m snuggling him.
bampali vt., to come and brood, come guard. auciri kiyahen tui bampakhe. It is coming to guard its eggs against the wayward chicken
bamusar n., large edible mushroom.
bandha n., dike, dam, blockage.
bane n., [<Indo-Aryan] flood.
GLOSSARY

bansalai n., guest.
ban'gaili vt., to switch, change. paisa bangaili hanehi. He went to get change. kera bangaihi. He broke his oath.
ban'gala  n., Dhimal clan.
baqi n., melon.
banghiya n., [< Indo-Aryan] bamboo shoulder pole with nubs from joints left on at each end to block the slipping of carried objects. cf. Saptariya Tharu bhaij.
bap'haij vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to steam
bar siŋ n., [< Indo-Aryan] banyan tree, Ficus benghalensis. ~ barko siŋ.
bara?li vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to become big, grow up. kican bara?teŋ uŋko buŋ pusahaan. After the chick grows up, it too mates. are ekhe ghumailolabelau jamal bara?hoi. When he came back strolling one more time, the child was grown up.
bara?pa adv., until grown or big. bara?paŋ cumpuhi. He took him away until he was grown.
bara?pali vt., to raise, care for until grown. asa bara?pasu. Raise him up a little more.
barka adj., [< Indo-Aryan] great; big, large.
barka juhā n., Indian mole rat, Bandicota bengalensis.
barnihā n., sambar, Cervus unicolor. cf. niru.
bap'sahili vi. [< Indo-Aryan] to spend the night. na hethe basahiana oso? How many nights will you spend over there?
bat n., [< Indo-Aryan] chat, talk, discussion. cf. mareli.
bati n., [< Indo-Aryan] split bamboo.
batŋ n., armpit.
bau n., 1) heddle. 2) cotton (archaic).
bau khati n., heddle rods.
bau pha'la n., wooden cleaver-shaped instrument used to construct the heddle.
bap'yla vi., to perish, go to waste. m henja mapi. bapa?taŋ. Don’t give [me] a lot of rice – it’ll go to waste.
bap'yla pali vt., to waste.
bāceli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to survive.
bācepali vi., to save.
bācepapili vi., to save for someone.
bāya n., bee, *Apis indica*.
bāyako di:ka n., [bāyako bee’s + di:ka thing that is sweet] honey.
bā:li vt., to prick, pierce, gouge, gore, stab; kill a pig. *piya ba:hi*. The cow gored [someone]. *sui ba:li hanehi*. He went to get a shot. *curi ba:kaninj?*! Shall I stab you with a knife?! *payaheŋ ba:khe*. They kill the pig (by driving a stake through its lungs).
bā:nhali vm., to be pricked, gored, stabbed; have a sliver. *cui ba:nhahi*. He was pricked by a thorn. *ba:nhaa wa!* One may get pricked (running around barefoot)! *ba:nhanha?* Did you get pricked?
bā:suli vr., to prick, pierce, gouge, gore each other. *piya ba:suhi*. The cows gored one another.
bā?li vt. to carry in one’s arms. *kiya ba?khe*. She’s carrying a chicken. *babuheŋ ba?tanja*. I’ll carry junior. *ede bejan jamal ba?teŋ hasu dopha nui dhuikhe be?* I wonder who this girl carrying a child is talking to.
be part., particle indicating ignorance, wonder, surprise and a general uncertainty.
bebal n., woman.
behai n., kinship term for the father of one’s child’s spouse.
behai-beheni n., kinship term for the parents of one’s child’s spouse.
be’heni n., kinship term for the mother of one’s child’s spouse.
bejan n., girl, term applied to a young woman until she marries.
bejet n., [< Indo-Aryan] disgrace, shame, dishonour.
beroijgari adv., [< Indo-Aryan] unemployed.
be’jhemli vi., to lean against.
bela n., sun.
bela n., time, occasion.
be’lomli vi., to be late.
**Glossary**

*be’lompa* adv., late or tardy. *ela hethe belompa sa’ta hili goian la tha manthu.* I don’t know how long [I] will have to remain at home.


*be?lau* vi., to cleave to one side. *ali bemkhe.* He sticks to the side (to avoid someone). *dama dama bemten hanekhe.* She walks clinging to the side of the road.

*be?galukui* n., tadpole.

*be?gana* n., [< Indo-Aryan] eggplant.

*be?gana bajar* n., late summer festival that takes place on third of *Vaisākh* in the town of *Itahārī.* It is also celebrated by Tharus and involves eggplants and papier mâché elephants.

*bera* n., old woman. Also used in nicknames for women regardless of age, e.g. *alu bera* ‘old lady potato’, *marci bera* ‘old lady chili pepper’, *kopi bera* ‘old lady cauliflower’, *señka bera* ‘skinny old lady’, *miñka bera* ‘old cat woman’.

*berhem* n., bamboo mat; wall.

*besa* n., kinship term for ego’s wife’s sister’s husband. cf. *mi-besa.*

*betai* n., [< Indo-Aryan] cane, rattan. Used to construct certain musical instruments.

*betenai jihā* n., Large cuckoo shrike, *Coracina macei.*

*be?* n., wife.

*be?li* vt., to beat (a drum). *dhol be?khe.* They are beating the drum.


*bigirli* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to be ruined. *sait bigirli* vi., to have bad luck, have one’s fortunes spoilt.

*bigripali* vt., to ruin.
bi’ha n., meat; muscle. payako biha. Pork. kiyako biha. Chicken meat.
bi’ha sempaka n., meat drying rack. cf. celingi.
bi’hu n., [< Indo-Aryan] wedding.
bihu-børtən n., wedding celebration.
bijala n., stopper, cork.
bi’laiti n., [< Indo-Aryan] potato.
bi’laitu n., [< Indo-Aryan] guava.
binda n., [< Indo-Aryan] ring made of cloth or straw for carrying things on the head.
binda khopa n., woman’s hairstyle with the hair wrapped in a bun.
bindu n., needle.
bigli vt., to wear in one’s hair, adorn. On festive occasions Dhimal women adorn their hair with flowers and fragrant leaves such as the leaf of the keuda plant.
bi’reŋ part., indicates uncertainty. hasu bireŋ seʔpian? Who then will kill it for [you]? hai bireŋ katha doʔsukhe. What could they be saying to each other? ~ breŋ, bey, biŋ.
bisibisipa adv., in a painful stinging manner. cf. tu:li.
biswas n., [< Indo-Aryan] belief, trust.
bitti n., pus.
bitili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to spend time.
bitemini adv., in two days.
b:i:li vi., to fester. pecara bi:khe. The wound is festering. lumcu bi:hi.
The boil festered.
biʔli vt., to plant or sow seed.
bo adj., other, different. bothame hanesiŋ Let’s go elsewhere.
bodi n., grandnephew or grandniece (used by boi).
bodo n., flying termites that emerge in the spring (edible).
bodhalaʔka adj., blunt, dull.
bodhi n., bellybutton, navel.
**bogar** n., [< Indo-Aryan] streambank; **bogarbhari lisikhe** They shit over by the streambank.

**boi** n., father or mother’s older brother or sister; aunt or uncle. Can be used to address unrelated people of parents generation, though senior.

**bokheli** vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to smack into, stub, bump against. **gabhreka! mundhaheŋ mhamatiŋsagha. remphaŋ bokhegha.** Damn! It seems I didn’t see the stump at all. I smacked into it but good! **makhansŋ telabelau bokhehi.** Not looking while walking, he stubbed his toe.

**bol** n., [< Indo-Aryan] strength, effort. **ekdəm bol pakhe uŋko koʔsa.** That monitor lizard puts up a big fight. **bol pali lagai to kunu.** Have him make some effort. **bol manthu.** [I] have no strength.

**bolsay** adv., by force; with effort. **lekheli makiʔghahi kalau bolsay lekhehi.** [She] didn’t want to write, but wrote by force.

**bonci** n., [< Indo-Aryan] fish hook.

**boŋli** vt., to fuck. **bonteŋ lucakhe.**

**bomi** pron., someone else, another person.

**bora** n., [< Indo-Aryan] gunny sack.

**boraili** vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to fill. **ede beraŋ ghailata ci boraikhe.** This old woman is filling the clay jug with water.

**borli** vi., to be pulled, be dragged.

**borpali** vt., to come pulling, drag.

**bosa** adv., in a different manner, another way.

**boso** adv., in a different direction.

**boʔtohĩ jihã** n., [< Indo-Aryan] quail.

**bo:li** vt., to grind (in a mortar). **tOLE bo:ka hihi.** She’s grinding flour. **ede bejan simta tole bo:khe.** This girl is grinding flour in a mortar. **tOLE bo:ka khaŋkhe.** She’s watching the flour being ground.

**boʔboʔka** adj., warm (weather); friendly, cordial.

**boʔboʔli** vi., to be warm (weather); be friendly, cordial.

**boʔboʔpa** adv., warmly, in a warm manner. **boʔboʔpa jim la.** Sleep warmly.

**boʔli** vt., to wear (a **boʔna**). **boʔna boʔkhe.** She’s wearing a **boʔna.**
boña n., traditional black wrap woven and worn by Dhimal women. It covers the breast down to the calves. Rather unusual for Nepal, older women often wear their boña around the waist leaving the breasts exposed when around the house and sometimes even in visits to local market towns. cf. itangi, pataloi, samuthi, kucini, da:boña.

budhi remka adj., [< Indo-Aryan] intelligent.
budha manthuka adj., stupid, senseless.
budha adj., [< Indo-Aryan] old (male).
budhi?li vi., to be old (man).
budha?pa adv., to an old age (man).
budhi adj., [< Indo-Aryan] old (female).
budhi?li vi., to be old (woman).
budhi?pa adv., to an old age (woman).
buiju n., lesser mongoose.

bujhaili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to cause to understand, explain. citto bujhaili vt., to console, soothe.
bujheli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to understand. bujhehoina? ahā? bujheka manthuga. Do you understand? No, I don’t understand. citto bujheli to be satisfied, to be convinced; (in the negative) to have one’s feelings hurt, take offense, be unsatisfied. citto mabujhehi. He took offense.
bujhepali vt., to explain, make understandable.
bujhepili vt., to explain to or for someone.
bukbakpa onom., sound of rocks and earth falling; sound of water boiling. rhutaso te bukbakbukpakpa hulkhe ah. From above it came crashing down. ci bukbakbukpakpa umelhoi. The water has begun to boil.
buke musar n., large edible mushroom.
bulbul n., dust or dirt that falls from above (upstairs). bulbul mapasiñ! Don’t cause dirt to fall from above!
bulbuli vi., to become spoiled from falling dust or dirt. gotañ caka bulbulhi! All the food became spoiled from falling debris.
bumbumli vi., to swell, puff up. bāya cuhi. kalau rhai bumbumhi. A bee stung him and his face swelled.
bumbumpa adv., in huffy manner. hethe bumbumpa khani! What a huffy look he gave!
bumbumpali vt., to act in a huffy manner. mabumbumpa wakobhari.
Don’t act in a huffy manner around him.
bumla?pa adv., in a puffed up manner. rhai bumla?pa cuncala?pa pahi. She puffed and wrinkled her face up.
bunsu n., breast pocket formed in the fold of a bo?na where women keep money, keys and other small items.
bu?j adv., also, too.
burli vt., to spit out liquid. nui kulkaiten ci burhi. Having rinsed his mouth, he spit out the water.
bu?nhali vm., to be scalded. ci dhampaka bherpa ma?lo. bu?nhake. Don’t come near water being heated up. One may be scalded.
bu??suri n., ash.
byadha n., [< Indo-Aryan] hunter.

bh

bh?tkeli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to collapse, fall down.
bh?tkepapili vt., to knock down so that someone is affected, demolish for, raze for; bhu?cal loten sa? bh?tkepapili The earthquake came and knocked down the house.
bhag n., [< Indo-Aryan] part, portion. ~ bhak.
bhaili vi., to look like, be the same; seem. da:ka mundha bhaika hihi.
She looks like a blackened stump. hiso higilli buŋ thinay bhaikhe.
It seems one is afraid to even travel anywhere.
bhaipa adv., in the same manner.
bhale n., [< Indo-Aryan] rooster.
bhamka adj., thick. gaiko chali bhamka olehi. The cream from the
cow came out thick.
bhamka adj., hard of hearing, deaf; sealed up, inoperative. nhatony
bhamka hihi wako. kalau mahihkhe. He is hard of hearing. So he
doesn’t hear. naŋko amaiko cucu bhamka hihi. Your mother’s
cunt is sealed up.
bhamli vi., to be thick.
bhanai’ dara n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] poseur, braggart, vain person.
bhanai’ dari n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] poseur, braggart, vain person.
bha’naigilli vi., to go around putting on a pretense, go around
pretending.
bha’naili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to put on a pretense, pretend.
bhansa n., [< Indo-Aryan] kitchen, cooking area.
bhay n., [< Indo-Aryan] marijuana.
bhapari?li vi., to collapse (house, dike, wall, etc.). ci henja jennu
bandha bhapari?taŋ. If there is a lot of water, the dike will
collapse.
bhar n., fruit; blossom.
bhareli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to fill.
bhargilli vt., to carry around on the shoulder. ghaila bhargilkhe. He
carries clay jugs around.
bhari n., [< Indo-Aryan] load, burden.
bharli vi., to set fruit, bud. lhe? bharli tomhoi. The flower is about to
bud. tintili sin bharhoi. The tamarind tree already set fruit.
bharli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to carry a heavy object on one’s shoulder.
m ososo bharay cumali goiaŋ. The rice must be carried from
over there.
bhasa n., [< Indo-Aryan] language.
bha’sa n., [< Indo-Aryan] nest, cocoon.
bha’sali?li vi., to have a beard, facial hair. dari bhasali?li do:hoi. be?
Your beard has already come in. Aren’t you searching for a wife? – What business is it of yours? My beard came in. You don’t even have one!

*bhasi* n., grassy plant *Saccharum spontaneum*, which colonizes sandy riverbanks and is used by Dhimals to weave baskets and thatch roofs. cf. *naimhe*.

*bhauji* n., [< Indo-Aryan] older brother’s wife.

*bhaya* n., [< Indo-Aryan] pal, buddy.


*bha?siñ* n., reason, cause; in order to. *iŋko bha?siñ*. Therefore, because of that. *odoŋ bha?siñ hi?kha*. I ask for that very reason. *bides hanebha?siñ paisa mathemhī*. In order to go abroad, there was not enough money. *kančhiheŋ cumpuli bha?siŋ herbicar pateŋ lo*. In order to take Kānchī away, think about it and come.


*bhelī* vt., to mess with (only used with the negative imperative. *mabhe!* Don’t mess with it!

*bhelka* adj., full; deep.

*bhelī* vi., to be full. *hamu bhelī?* Is your stomach full? *bakar m bhelī*. The rice storage is full with rice.

*bhemli* vi., to be hot (weather or person). *bhemhīna?* Are you hot? *bhemtī* n., [*bhem* heat + *ti* liquid] sweat.

*bhenēŋ* adj., [< Indo-Aryan] other, different. ~ *bhenāŋ*.

*bherma* n., wind.

*bherpa* adv., beside, next to.

*bhet* n., [< Indo-Aryan] meeting.

*bheteli* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to meet.


*bhe?pili* vt., to throw at for someone, toss to for someone. *atuisa cuma bihako tukara. ita bhe?pī*. Bring a few more pieces of meat. Toss them here.
GLOSSARY

bhir n., fin (archaic).
bhirli vt., to remove a grain from the pod with one’s teeth. juhā se-m bhirkhe. The rat is removing the grain of rice with its teeth. wa bhoṭmas bhirteŋ re?khe. He removed a soybean from the pod with his teeth and chewed it.
bhogeli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to experience, endure.
bhoili vi., to crack, burst, break (egg, pot, etc.).
bhoinhali vm., to crack, burst, break. tui bhoinhahi. An egg broke.
bhoinhapali vt., to inadvertently cause to break, burst. auciri kiya e?loŋ tui bhoinhapahi. A wayward chicken caused an egg to break.
bhoipali vt., to crack, break. e?loŋ bhoipahi. It broke one (egg).
ghaila bhoipahi. He broke the clay jug.
bhoj n., [< Indo-Aryan] celebration, festivity, feast, banquet.
bhoko marci n., [< Indo-Aryan] black pepper.
bhol n., edible root. cf lasimbhol, dambhol, jharko bhol.
bholi vi., to hide. waset赞叹 bhokhe. Having seen him he hides. na hiso bhoana? Where will you hide? gora bhoten bhoten amkhe. He drinks on the sly.
bhoˈlomli vi., to float on one’s belly. comphe bholomhi. The frog floated on its belly.
bhomli vi., to lie on one’s belly; float. bhomteŋ jimhi. He slept on his belly. jamalai cumalai bhomteŋ bhomteŋ ghakhe. The children and such are playing on their bellies. haya matiŋkhe. leta bhomteŋ hikhe. The fish aren’t visible. They are floating below. sika dyaŋ bhomkhe. Dead people float.
bhoˈnoi n., soil, dirt, earth.
bhoːgilli vt., to go around looking for. insaŋ aro bhenan thame esa bhoːgilbelau kasarok pakhe. So, again while going around looking like this in a different place, it makes a hissing sound.
bhoːka jihā n., magpie robin.
bhoːli vt., to look for, seek, search for; try, attempt, plan. ode wajan kanjo oneŋeŋ bhoːkay bhoːkay pakhe. That boy keeps looking for my younger sister. insika bhoːghakha. I was looking for that sort. niu bhoːkhe. He is searching for a pretext. loli khaŋkhe na maloli
bho:khe hinu dada cuma aû? If she’s trying to come or not, bring her, okay elder brother?
bho:lhali  vt., to go to look for. oso bho:lha. Go look for it over there.
bho:pili  vt., to look for for someone, seek for someone. saikal
    bho:pã. I’ll look for a bicycle for [you]. wako lesara lesara
    bho:pikataŋ bho:pikataŋ haneli goikhe. One has to go seeking for
    it and seeking for it.
bho:puli  vt., to go look for, go seek.
bho?li  vi., to bark.
bhundi kiya  n., hen.
bhundiri  n., dung beetle.
bhurbhuraili  vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to buzz.
bhuti  n., large intestines. cf. tereŋ.
bhu?li  vi./vt., to become covered with, be coated with; cover with,
    coat with. kiyako bhasata sursure dyãŋheŋ bhu?khe. The chicken
    lice in a chicken nest cover a person. kiyə khanli hanelau sursure
    bhu?gha. When I went to look at the chicken, I became covered
    with chicken lice. ci bhu?teŋ ciugha. I bathed covering myself
    with water. rəŋ bhu?hi. [She] was coated with colour.
bhu?pali  vi., to cover with.
bhyaili  vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to manage [to do); succeed.

C

cə'laillī  vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to use, operate. ɨŋko nheŋnonŋ jamal kol
    calaiike. Those two kids are operating the pump.
cə'laipiili  vt., to use for, operate for someone. kaŋko saʈa səməśya
    jetnu atuisa paisha cəlaipi aû dada? If there is a problem at my
    house, throw in a little bit of money, okay elder brother?
cəlan  n., [< Indo-Aryan] habit, custom.
cəleli  vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to run, operate. həpta dinta nepal bənd
    jenike. gaṭigelai mhamacəleike. Seven days a week there is a
    Nepal-wide strike. The buses don’t run at all.
cəndrahar  n., [< Indo-Aryan] silver necklace de rigueur worn by
    women.
cətalai  n., [< Indo-Aryan] grass mat.
**GLOSSARY**

*cəudhari maharaj* n., [< Indo-Aryan] Dhimal deity.

cagilli vt., to go around eating. *kăthmanḍu higillau cagillauko phom lokhe*. Memories of traveling around and going around eating in Kathmandu come to [me].

c‘a’hi postp., [< Indo-Aryan] individualising nominal postposition.

caka n., food.

caka n., [< Indo-Aryan] wheel.

*caka amka* n., food and drink.

*caka cuiti* n., cooking oil.

*cakiya* n., red jungle fowl, *Gallus gallus*.

*cakundai* n., tail or mane hair, used to string bows for musical instruments.

*cakheli* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to taste. *cakheni kunu*. Please have a taste.

*calabaj* n., [< Indo-Aryan] loom rafter.

*calai* n., seed (large).

*cale?* n., roof, traditionally thatched.

*cali* vt., to eat; attend, celebrate; accept. *m cateŋ hanesu re*. Eat and then go I say. *bihu cali ninana* You\(^a\) will be able to attend the wedding. *parba cali* vt., to celebrate *parba*. *bherma cali* to catch the breeze, take in the breeze. *birgənjko dhaŋka bherma cakha*. I’m taking in the warm breeze of Bīrgaŋ. *lisi cali* to act contemptably or stupidly. *obalai lisi canu kidhiŋ lisi macasīŋ aũ dada?* If they\(^b\) act stupidly, let us\(^d\) not act stupidly, okay elder brother? *pikŋ cali* to have a picnic. *mhaha cali* to live with and work for one’s prospective bride’s parents. *karma cali* to accept one’s fate.

*calhali* vt., to go eat; go attend, go celebrate. *piknik macalhaana?* Aren’t you going to the picnic? *bihu calhahi*. He went to attend a wedding. *m calhaana macalhaana?* Are you\(^a\) going to go eat or not?

*ca’mhanda* n., water leech. ~ *camdha*.

*ca’mindi* n., daughter. ~ *camdi*.

*camli* vt., to gather (firewood). *jharbhari misiŋ camli haneli goĩã*. I have to go to the forest to gather firewood. *suta m ga:li misiŋ donj*
manthu. misin camkhe. There is no firewood at home to cook rice. He’s gathering firewood.
camphoi n., traditional wooden sandal that is no longer worn.
can n., son, offspring.
can teren n., womb.
can-camindi n., sons and daughters, children (one’s own).
canca n., woven bamboo bridge; woven bamboo fishing weir.
candi n., [< Indo-Aryan] silver.
capali vt., to feed. payahey hai hai capasukhena? What do you feed pigs?
capido:li vt., to be finished eating for someone. capido:hoi. He already finished eating.
capili vt., to eat for someone, eat so that someone else is affected. wako paisa capili khankhe. They’re trying to eat up his money. m capitey hanaine. Let’s eat the food and go. te m capisij. Okay, let’s eat (since they want us to).
capri bhonoi n., clay, lump of clay used for plastering a house.
caramcarampa adv., in a mouth-smacking manner (when eating sour things). da?ka mjjale caramcarampa cahi. He happily ate the sour thing making smacking noises with his mouth.
carbo n., clap.
caregilli vi., to wander about grazing. jhora?ko ceu ceu caregilghakhe. It went about grazing along the banks of the river.
careli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to graze. jhara? careli hanhei la i Falk diya. They all went to graze, those water buffaloes.
carkhi n., [< Indo-Aryan] skein winder.
caso n., [< Indo-Aryan] concern, interest. nasey haiko caso hihi? What concern is it of yours?
cauki n., bed, cot.
cauli vi., to have the taste of chewing tobacco. na?ko jãd te cauhi r?! Your rice beer tastes of chewing tobacco.
caure n., slap. caure piani? Shall I give you a slap?
caureli vt., to slap.
ca:li vt., to grab hold of, take in the hand. dudu ca:sukhe. They grab her breasts. loksmanhej te khokoi ca:tey si?ta phe?hi la hanuman. Hanumān grabbed Lakṣman by the leg and beat him against a
tree. *dama ca:li* to hit the road, set out. *dama ca:kaine*. Let’s hit the road. *kalau dama ca:hi*. So they set out. *kerja ca:li* to take an oath, forswear, swear off, abjure. *nhaton ca:li* to have one’s ears assaulted by loud or otherwise disturbing noise. *maŋku madhuipa re! nhaton ca:sahoi!* Quit making a racket with that loom shuttle! It seems that it’s driving me crazy!

*ca:pili* vt., to grab for someone, grab so that someone is affected.


*ca?dangaraka* n., shriveled or emaciated person. *o ca?dangaraka!*

Hey, you withered bag of bones!

*ca?li* vi., to be dented, sunken, shriveled. *hamu ca?hi*. My stomach is shriveled up (due to hunger). *paya ca?hi*. The pig shriveled up.

*thali ca?hi*. The plate got banged up.

*ce'lingi* n., meat drying rack; dried and smoked pork.

*cemata* n., [< Indo-Aryan] ability.

*cemli* vi./vt., to curl up. *cemtej jimkhe*. He’s sleeping curled up. *dirbe cemhi*. He curled his lip up (in ignorance).

*cemnhali* vm., to be curled up, be bent in half, be dented. *thali cemnhay! insa mabhe!* The plate will become bent. *kapi cemnhakhe*. The notebook can be bent in half.

*cemnhapa* adv., in a curled up manner. *cemnhapa jimkhe*. He sleeps curled up.

*cempa* adv., on one’s side. *cempa jim*. Sleeps on your side.

*cemtaŋ* adv., near, nearby.

* cena* n., strip, slice. *celingita cena biha sempakhe*. She is drying strips of meat on the meat drying rack.

*cencula* n., nickname for a boy.

*cense* n., bean. Nep. *simi*.

*centhara* n., swaddling cloth.

*ceŋkheti* n., mudfish. ~ *ceŋga haya*.


*cerli* vt., to scold, curse, be angry with. *waseŋ cernhahi*. We scolded him. *macer*. Don’t be angry.
cerpali  vt., to come scold. *jharan cerpahoi*. They all came and scolded. *kanko camindiheŋ cerpatŋ cumagha*. I came and scolded my daughter and then brought her back.

cersuli  vr., to curse one another, quarrel. *kelai wa dopha cersunhahi.* We⁶ quarreled with him. *ka nelai dopha cersugha*. I quarreled with you⁶.

cersupali  vt., to cause to quarrel. *inko nheŋmiheŋ cersupaŋ*. He will cause those two people to quarrel.

cesma  n., [< Indo-Aryan] glasses.

ceuli  vi., to burn, have a burning sensation. *khokoi oŋnhalabelau osere lagaitŋ ceuhi*. When I burned my leg, I put on ointment and it burned.

cēja  n., woodpecker (archaic). cf. *thokthoke jihã*.

celį  vt., to cut. *ghase celį hanehi*. He went to cut grass. *inko m celį do:paine*. Let’s⁵ finish cutting the paddy.

cėnhali  vm., to be cut, cut oneself. *ce:nhahoi*. He just cut himself. *ce:nhanha? Did you cut yourself?*

cēka  adj., narrow.

celį  vt., to clasp, pinch, catch between two objects. *eʔcena biha celįteŋ akhata phuŋ*. Clasp the strip of meat (in the tongs) and roast it on the hearth. *majhako dyαŋ kidhimi militeŋ ceʔsiŋ*. Let’s⁴ squeeze the person in the middle.

cėnhali  vm., to be pinched, caught between two objects. *phinuta khur celįnhahi*. He caught his hand in the door.

cėnhapali  vt., to unintentionally cause to be caught between two objects. *wa kαŋko khur phinuta celįnhapahi*. He caused my hand to be caught in the door.

cėnhapapiļi  vt., to unintentionally pinch or catch between two objects causing someone to be affected. *wa kαŋko khur phinuta celįnhapapili*. He unintentionally caused my hand to be affected in the door.

cēpa  adv., in a pinching manner. *ceʔpa ceʔpa hihi*. It (the space between two objects) is very narrow.

cēpili  vt., to intentionally pinch or catch between two objects causing someone to be affected. *wa kαŋko khur phinuta ceʔpihi*. He (intentionally) caught my hand in the door.
ci n., water.

ci ka'tasi n., small fish eating jungle cat with a mottled coat, Felis viverrina.

cibaisi n., cold, flu.

cibhuŋ n., bladder.

Ciciri m n., cooked sticky rice. cf. likati m.

ci’hali vi., to cry out, shout.

cika n., shrew. Nep. cucendra.

ci’kitpa adv., with a snipping sound.

cikhiriu n., nickname for a dishevelled person.

cikhiriuli vi., to be dishevelled, unkempt.

cikhiruipa adv., in a dishevelled manner, in an unkempt manner.

cikhoili vt., to nip, pinch.

cilibili adv., in a jumble, in a mess, in a bad way. kaŋko taʔka anemanegelai gotaŋ cilibili papihi. He messed up all the things that I had put away. puriŋ tu:teŋ misihā cilibiliŋ hihi. From having my head hurt, my eyes really hurt.

cilibilikka adj., in a jumble, messy, unkempt. pusih cilobilika dyang m ga:li?! A messy-haired person cooking rice?!

cikla adj., flashing, blazing (lightning). badel cilka cilka hihi. Lightning is flashing.

ciklaʔli vt., to flash, blaze (lightning). badel cilkaʔkhe. Lightning is flashing.

cimli vt., to blink, wink. misihā cimhi. He winked.

cimti n., [< Indo-Aryan] tongs.

ciy n., undershell of a crab.

cir n., iron.

ciricirili vi., to be crunchy or gritty from sand. nani te hai m ga:hi be? mareŋ ciricirili rə! rempha ʊŋkhu mapacesunha na hai ko?

Today what sort of rice did she cook?! It was very gritty! Is it that you did not clean the rice well or what? cudurko tupabhari ciricirikhe. At the tip of the snail it is crunchy. ~ circirli.

ciricirika adj., full of stones and debris, gritty.

Cirli vi., to be timid, skittish. piyahenŋ hinja dənainu cirkhe. If you beat a cow a lot, it becomes timid.

ciruwa n., intestinal worms.
GLOSSARY

*cit* n., [< Indo-Aryan] feelings. ~ *cit*

citukun n., type of quail.

ciuciu *vi.*, to cheep, chirp. nani te kican pe:hi na hai ko? *ciuciu*.

They're cheeping.


ciulhali *vi.*, to go to bathe. ka nani ciulhaŋka ita jhora?ta. Today I will go to bathe in this river. ciulhali? Are you going to bathe?

ciupali *vt.*, to bathe someone. lo ciupā. Come, I'll bathe [you].

ci:li *vt.*, to bite; cause harm (supernaturally). ci:kaŋ re! I tell you it'll bite! gabreka! ci:ka wa u! Damn you! It may bite, you know! (said to a child after he kicked a dog) obalai kaseŋ ci:li khāŋkhe. They're trying to cause me harm.

ci:nhalu *vm.*, to be bitten, bite oneself. m calabelau deto ci:nhasahi. While eating, it seems he bit his tongue. dirbe ci:nhasagha. It seems I inadvertently bit my lip.

ci:pili *vt.*, to bite for someone, bite so that someone is affected. khokoita ci:piteŋ hihi. It is biting [her] on the leg.

ci:suli *vr.*, to bite one another; fight (animals). obalai ci:suli khāŋkhe. They're trying to bite each other. marpha ci:sukhe. [Dogs] are quick to fight.

ci:li *vi.*, to be stingy. kumar paisa mapali ci:khē. Kumār is too stingy to spend money.

coi *n.*, guts or innards of a crab.

cobarai *n.*, White-throated fantail, *Rhipidura albicollis.*

cobailu *vt.*, [< Indo-Aryan] to chew.

coi *vt.*, to plough. ede waraŋ hale coikhē. This old man is ploughing.

coilhali *vt.*, to go to plough.

coi*pili* *vt.*, to plough for someone. coipili khāŋhakhe. coipili madohi. He was intending to plough for [me], but couldn't.

coise *n.*, large sour citrus species. Nep. bhogate

cok *n.*, [< Indo-Aryan] intersection, crossroad (often at the center of town).
cokha  n., a shared snack of game, generally eaten with alcohol.

tereŋko cokha caine. Let’s share a snack of small intestines.

cokhōli  vi., to tap; type (on a keyboard or typewriter).

col’dho?  n., osprey. cf. panikuwari.

colgilli  vt., to go around buying. tole gora colgilkhe. The go around buying flour and alcohol.

colligōli  vi., to tap; type (on a keyboard or typewriter).

collhali  vt., to go to buy. ebōti curot collha. Go buy [me] a pack of cigarettes.

colpali  vt., to buy and come, buy and bring back. boi colpahi. Uncle bought it and brought it back.

colpilī  vt., to buy for someone. macolpiang. He’s not going to buy you one.

colpidhili  vt., to go for someone and leave behind. obalaiko aba jharanghej ᵃppal colpidhihi. Their father bought them all flip-flops before he left.

colpipuli  vt., to go and buy for someone. jumni colpipuā aū? Tomorrow I’ll go buy [you] one, okay?


com  n., chop, blow; harassment. wa hiso hanelabuŋ com nincakhe. Wherever he goes he gets hassassed.

com jihā  n., spider hunter; sunbird.

comcali  vi., to be crushed, chopped. sa? lī’ta hara comcakhe. Bones are being chopped inside the house.

comli  vt., to crush, chop; harass, give a hard time. dabiyaho hara comkhe. They’re chopping bones with a khukuri. wasang katha do?li magilabelau bhenang dyang comkhe. Other people give him a hard time when he doesn’t know how to say the words.
compali  vt., come chop; come harass. *tejehen compã do?gha*. I said
I’ll come give Teje what for.

comphe  n., frog.

comsula  n., chopping board (for meat).

coñli  vt., to wrap up, bundle up, enclose in a bundle. *tøle conteñ
canten bansa gh Aldahi*. Having wrapped up the steamed rice flour
cakes, she went visiting. *bunsuta paisa coñ*. Wrap the money up
in your *bunsu, tole topala coñhi*. They wrapped the steamed rice
flour cakes up into a bundle.

copaiti  n., tattoo artist.

cosi  n., cock’s comb; crest. ~ cose.

cosi yo:ka jihã  n., Kalij pheasant, *Lophura leucomelan os*.

coka  n., tattoo.

co:li  vt., to peck, bite (snake); tattoo. *kiya co:li khañkhe*. The chicken
is trying to peck. *pũya co:khe*. Snakes bite.

co:li  vt., to share, divide, split. *bansalai gora co:khe*. The guests are
sharing the alcohol. *gora botal co:kaine*. Let’s split a bottle of
alcohol.

copili  vt., to tattoo someone. *copaiti lhe? co:piã?*. The tattoo artist
is tattooing a flower for [someone].

cosuli  vr., to peck one another, fight (birds).

coka  adj., 1) branded. 2) emaciated, shriveled.

co?li  vt., to be emaciated, shriveled up.

col  vt., to brand, burn; cause harm to someone. *narata me co?li
goian*. We have to set the straw on fire. *bũla dyañ wako cur
khurta co?hi*. The lunatic burned his [own] hand with a cigarette.

mahêko berañ jubeñ co?li khañkhe! The old woman to the
south is trying to cause harm to mother-in-law!

copili  vt., to brand for, burn for someone. *pusiñ co?piã?*. Shall I
burn [your] hair?

cu  n., grandchild.

cubiri  n., palm squirrel, *Funambulus pennanti*.

cubiri cui  n., mimosa, a low-lying thorny plant whose leaves are
sensitive to light and touch, genus *Mimosa*.

cucu  n., vagina.

cludur  n., aquatic snail.
cui n., thorn; fishbone.
cuicam n., safety pin.
cuilhe n., cactus.
cukaili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to err, go wrong.
culi vt., to sting; to bore, drill, pierce. bāya cuuŋ. The bee will sting.

bāya cuhi. The bee stung.
cumaili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to kiss.
cumapili vt., to bring for, take along for someone.
cumlι vt., to grab, take hold of, grasp. ci cumteŋ lohi la. Having grabbed the water she came then. iŋko raja buŋ kalau suta hanaelabelau pusiŋ cumteŋ hanehi. Then that king, while on his way home, took the hair and left.
cumpali vt., to come bring. hasu cumpahi? Who brought it?
cumpili vt., to grab for, hold for. wajan khur cumpikhe. The boy takes her hand.
cumpuli vt., to take to, take away. heʔkilo cumpuana? How many kilos will you take? kaseŋ amrika cumpuli doana? Will you be able to take me to America?
cuncalaʔka adj., wrinkled.
cuncalaʔli vi., to be wrinkled. iŋko beraŋ istu rhai cuncalaʔhi. That old woman’s face is really wrinkled.
cuncalaʔpa adv., wrinkley.
cunceley n., weaver bird, Ploceus phillipinus.
cunsar n., fiddlehead, fern sprout.
cuŋ n., cold, cold spell. maha cuŋ taŋhi la. A great cold rose up.
cungaipa adv., in a seated manner with knees against one’s chest.

haipali cungaipa yumkhena? Why are you sitting with your knees against your chest (as though cold)?
cuŋli vi., to be cold. iso cuŋkhe na oso cuŋkhe? Is it colder over here or over there?
cupili vt., to sting or drill for someone, sting or drill so that someone is affected. *ita cupiteŋ kana banaipi*. Drill here and make a hole [for me].
cupini n., hole, opening, orifice.
cur n., cigarette, generally hand rolled.
curi n., [< Indo-Aryan] knife.
curli vt., to wring.
curumcurumli vi., to be crunchy. *mun curumcurumkhe*. Beaten rice is crunchy.
curumcurumpa adv., crunchily. *papaḍ curumcurumpa cali ta:khe*. Pappadam are tasty eaten crunchily.
cutiya n., flea.
culi vt., to suck. *cudur cu:kaŋka*. I want to suck on some snails.
cupili vt., to suck for someone, suck causing someone to be affected.
thur?cateŋ hiti te cu:pikhe. Having afflicted [someone], they suck their blood.
cu?ka 1) adj., sharp, cutting. 2) n., knot, coif.
nhatoŋ cu?tana? Are you going to pierce your ears? *kalau cu?teŋ ca?teŋ hai si:kana?* And after piercing them, what are you going to wear?
cu?li vt., to tie in a knot, tie together (hair, hammock).
cwa n., [< Indo-Aryan] well.
cwaili vt., to distill. *gora cwaiŋhe*. She’s distilling alcohol. *gora cwaina manthu*. The alcohol hasn’t been distilled.

d

dogaili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to split.
dogaipili vt., to split causing someone to be affected.
do’nai n., [< Indo-Aryan] beating.
do’naili vt., to beat, hit, strike.
də’naipili  vt., to beat for, beat so that someone is affected. dənaipīā?!
  Shall I beat [you]?! dənaipi! Beat [him] for [me]!

dəndø’naika me  n., roaring fire.

dəndha’raili  vi., to waddle (a duck). kelaiko mta hasa dəndharaikhe.
  A the duck is waddling in our rice.

dəndha’raipa  adv., northwards, upland.

dasa gor’ha  n., [< Indo-Aryan] eclipse.

dabeli  vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to hold back, suppress.

dabi  n., [< Indo-Aryan] small dull knife used to sharpen a dabiya.

dabiya  n., [< Indo-Aryan] long curved knife; Nep. khukuri.


dada-one  n., brothers. cf. mi-one.

dada’laŋga  n., warp beam, roller.

dadalanga siŋ  n., species of tree (bark is used for stomach ailments).

daga’raini  n., [< Indo-Aryan] midwife.

dahē’  adv., north, northward.

dahē-mahē-dihē-nuhē  adv., [lit. north-south-west-east] everywhere,
  in all directions.

dahēpa  adv., from the north.

dahēpaha  adv., on the north side.

daili  vi., to be left over. m atuisa daihi pi?teŋ pa?teŋ. There is a little
  rice left, having sold it.

dajhil  n., mole; birthmark.

da’laŋda’laŋpa  adv., pendulously. dalalanganpa kundol si:khe. She
  wears earrings heavy with gold.

dalen  n., [< Indo-Aryan] branch.

dalli  vt., to put a pan or pot on the fire to cook. akhata ci dalkhe.
  She’s putting water on the hearth to heat up. sar khįįli kara
  dalsahoi. othe mampha bela hidonhi. It seems she just put the
  wok on the fire to cook the side dish. It’ll still take a lot of time.

dam  n., [< Indo-Aryan] mark, track, footprint.

dama  n., road, path, way.

dambhol  n., large edible root, Discorea species. Nep. tarul.

damca  n., bush, brush, underbrush.

dampa  adv., right (hand).
**dampikyau** n., type of caterpillar that feeds on jute and whose hairs cause stinging when touched.

**dampili** vt., to heat up for, heat up so that someone is affected. *naŋko rhaita dampianiŋ?* Shall I heat up your face?!

**damse** n., jackfruit, *Artocarpus heterophyllus*.

**danai siŋ** n., type of tree. cf. *kabara siŋ*.

**dandhiŋ** n., string worn around the waist by boys and men, which is also used to hold up a loincloth.

**dantako baja** n., [< Indo-Aryan] type of raptor.

**daŋ** n., horn, antler, pincer of a crab or scorpion.

**daŋgara** n., emaciated person or animal. *daŋgara piya!* You skinny cow!

**daŋkha** n., male animal.

**daŋli** vi., to do quickly. *m cali daŋkhe*. She’s trying to eat quickly.

*marci berar ciuli daŋkhe*. Old lady chili pepper is trying to bathe quickly.

**daŋli** vt., to heat up.

**daˈrəm** n., [< Indo-Aryan < Eng. drum] plastic jerkin, drum.

**dardaraili** vi., to quack.

**darhi** n., [< Indo-Aryan] beard, whiskers, moustache.

**dauli** vt., to weed with a hoe. *alubari daukhe*. She’s weeding the potato garden with a hoe.

**dauni** n., [< Indo-Aryan] the threshing of grain by animal.

**dawa** n., type of soft orange fruit.

**dayali** vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to be fond of. *kelaiko dhemalaiheŋ dayakhena madayakhena?* Are you fond of us Dhimals?

**da:berar** n., nickname for a dark-skinned woman.


**da:ka** adj., black.

**da:ka kawa** n., large-billed crow, *Corvus macrorhynchos*.

**da:ka ko?sa** n., black monitor lizard.

**da:kiculho?ka** adj., black as night, pitch black.


da:puli vi., to gradually become dark. da:puhi mə. She’s getting dark, isn’t she?
da? n., shade.
da?ka adj., sour.
da?li vi., to be sour, become sour. da?na manthu. It hasn’t become sour. mada?taŋ wa la socegha. It won’t turn out sour, I thought.
tintili da?khe. Tamarind is sour.
dedul n., nickname.
degor n., [< Indo-Aryan] path.
dera n., village, neighbourhood, dwelling, compound. kelaiko dera lo. Come to our neighbourhood.
deragelai n., villagers; community, society.
desan pej., sickly person.
desankar pej., sickly person.
dese n., salt.
detŋ n., tongue.
dēduʔpa onom., sound that a frog makes, ribbit. comphe
 dēduʔdēduʔpa rhikaikhe. The frog is croaking.
de:li vt., to spit out; catch in a thoci?. wa enoŋ anemane akheʔka
tinten teŋ de:hi. When he saw something unpleasant he spit it out. m
calabelau unthui ninten goten teŋ de:hi. When he found a stone while eating, he spit everything out. de!: Spit it out! thociʔ thon teŋ haya
made:hi. Having put out a thociʔ, it didn’t catch any fish.
deʔli vt., to lick; eat a small amount, taste. acar deʔteŋ m whaŋkhe.
Eat a little acar and the rice goes down easily. nanko beʔko cuču
deʔtana? Are you going to lick your wife’s cunt? (pejorative)
diˈham n., rope, twine.
dihē adv., west, westward.
dihēpa adv., from the west.
dihēpaha adv., on the west side.
dilidili adv., around evening.
GLOSSARY

*dilima* adv., evening, in the evening; approximately 15h00 to around 19h00. *dilidilima am la dhaŋka ci*. Drink hot water every evening.


*dimli* vi., to hurry, walk quickly. *dimka dimka hanekhe*. He walks quickly. *marpha dimkhe*. He is hurrying. *dim!* Hurry up! *marpha dimteŋ dimteŋ hanekhe*. She is walking hurriedly.

*dimpali* vt., to cause to hurry.

*dina* n., [< Indo-Aryan] day.

* dinan adv., every day.

*dimlipala* adv., in slices, pieces. *biha dininipa kuṭihi*. He cut the meat into pieces.

*diŋ* n., Dhimal clan.

*diŋdiŋ* n., small black edible cricket with white stomach, which emerges around November.

*dingili* vt., to send someone. *iŋko inta torse pe:li diŋgilgha*. I sent him there to pick mangoes. *kalau kawaheŋ diŋgilhi la*. And so they sent a crow.

*dingilpili* vt., to send a person for someone.

*dingri* n., round beam used in traditional houses to support the floor.

*dir* n., god, deity.

*dir musar* n., mushroom of the gods (poisonous).

*dirbe* n., lip.

*diuli* vi., to droop, hang down (net, string, stairs, bamboo). ~ *deuli*.

*diupa* adv., in a drooping manner. ~ *deupa*.

*diya* n., water buffalo.

*di:ka* 1) adj., sweet. 2) n., sweetness.

*di:ka bhol* n., yam.

*di:li* vi., to be sweet. *torse di:ka hihi*. Mangoes are sweet.

*di:li* vt., to drive out, chase away. *kiya di:!* Chase the chicken away!

*kiya di:ka?* Shall I chase away the chickens?

*di:co:ˈco:ka* adj., a little sweet, sweetish.

*di:siˈsika* adj., sweet and juicy.

*diʔka* 1) adj., greedy. 2) n., greed.

*diʔli* vi., to be greedy, desirous. *wa marepa diʔhi*. He became very greedy.
diʔli vi., to reach up. ka madiʔgha. I didn’t reach it.
diʔnhali vm., to reach.
do siŋ n., type of tree.
dodhara n., banana flower.
doili vt., to rock, swing, hang. wako canhej doisota doikhe. She’s rocking her son in the hammock. baido doitej ghakhe. She’s swinging on the swing.
doiso n., hammock-type cradle for babies made from an old dhaba? or boʔna. doisota diʔnhaka jamal bhaikhe He’s like a baby hanging in a cradle.
doka n., ability.
doka’raili vi., to cry out, shout.
dokha n., [< Indo-Aryan] deception.
do’khaiɾe siŋ n., type of tree.
dol n., [< Indo-Aryan] bucket, pail.
doli vi., to be able.
dolha n., [< Indo-Aryan] ditch, gully, pond, depression.
domalai adv., later, in the future.
domkala n., layer of ‘bark’ on a banana plant.
domodomopa adv., softly, faintly (sound).
donabare adv., next year.
dondara n., [< Indo-Aryan] open weave basket with a small mouth.
dony part., focus particle.
dony n., thunder.
dony n., loop of rope used to restrain a pig for sacrifice. dony lagaiʔpi.
Put on a dony for me. The rope is looped around the pig’s lower teeth and pulled taut, while another person decapitates it.
Beheading is the traditional method of killing animals, but now is used with pigs only when deity worship is involved.
donydony n., type of sand cricket with large hind legs, which children capture to engage in kicking battles with each other.
donge n., Dhimal clan.
donyli vt., to weigh, measure. inta uʔkhu donγkhe. They are weighing paddy there. ʔhik donγhi. That’s right.
dopha postp., with. dophanγ dopha adv., together.
do'raili vi., to cry out, bellow.
do'raina n., mooing cow.
doriya n., earthworm.
dorka n., sprouting.
dorli vi., to sprout, to germinate. torse sin'ko lha?pa dorhi. The leaves on the mango tree sprouted. m dorli tomhoi. The paddy is about to sprout.
dos n., [< Indo-Aryan] blame.
dosa postp., (var.) with. dosay donj adv., together.
do:li vi., to be finished, be done, be used up. ninte nunte oso belha?li buj do:khoi la. Having got [them], dusk began to fall over there. do:nhi mado:nhi ko? Are you two finished or not? sar do:khe wa la. (I suppose) the vegetables may be getting used up now. do:khe u. They’re getting used up, of course.
do:li vt., to kindle (a fire). me do: m minpali. Start a fire to prepare rice. wa akhata me do:khe. He’s kindling a fire in the hearth.
do:pali vt., to finish. anji khini do:pagha u. I just finished it yesterday, you know.
do?gilli vt., to go around saying.
do?ka n., words, speech. do?ka masa?khena? Do you not heed what you are told?
do?li vt., to say. makunu ka do?li madoã. Otherwise I will not be able to say.
do?pili vt., to say for, tell. do?pia la? Shall I tell [you]? kunu hasu jitihi do?pilau hai do?tana? So when you tell who won, what will you say?
do?pigilli vt., to go around telling.
do?puli vt., to go and tell. ya te do?puañ. This one will go and tell.
do?suli vr., to say to each other, to discuss. hai beñ katha do?skhe?
I wonder what they could be discussing.
dubepali vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to drown, submerge.
dudhe n., [< Indo-Aryan] milk.
dudhe nhöya n., common langur, Presbytis entellus.
dudu n., [< Indo-Aryan] breast.
dudunosi n., nipple.
dui num., [< Indo-Aryan] two.
duika adj., boiled. kiya luilabelau duika ci goikhe. When you pluck a chicken you need boiling water.
duili vi., to boil, bubble. nuiso tho?si duikhe. He’s making spit bubbles from his mouth. ci danjaubeleau duikhe. When water is heated it boils.
dukha n., [< Indo-Aryan] trouble, misfortune, unhappiness.
dukhi adj., [< Indo-Aryan] unfortunate, troubled, unhappy.
dukhileye adj., unfortunate, troubled.
dula n., [< Indo-Aryan] dust.
dulli vi., to go in, enter. kalau ode kabara ramheŋ tiyinasat wa jhar li?ta dulhi. And when that spotted deer saw Rāma, it slipped into the jungle.
dum n., marrow. ~ duŋ.
dumli vt., to put in one’s mouth. m dunkhe. He’s putting rice in his mouth.
dun bherma n., [< Indo-Aryan + bherma ‘wind’] storm.
duŋduŋ n., termite.
duŋgrī n., open-mouthed fishing creel made of reeds and shaped like a carafe (made of patasi or basi).
duphe n., axe, hatchet.
dure adv., [< Indo-Aryan] far, distant.
dusi n., [< Indo-Aryan] fog.
dusili vt., to talk bad about, bad mouth someone, slander.
dusuli vr., to meet. madusugha u. I didn’t run into her, you know.
du’hāli n., to be smokey. duhākhe? Is it getting smokey (in here)?
du:li vt., to root about, dig up with the snout. paya du:khe. The pig is rooting about. dincako paya siŋ du:khe. Wild boars uproot trees.
paya mansar du:hoi. A pig has dug up [your] garlic.
du:li vt., to cremate. me lagaitey dyaŋheŋ du:hi. They lit a fire and cremated the person.
du:sar n., type of taro fed to pigs.
du?li vt., to devour greedily, eat like an animal, gobble up, wolf down. marpha madu?! Don’t wolf down your food so quickly!
dyaloŋ num., four.
dyaj n., person, human.
dyapaha adv., [dy a four + paha side] on all sides, in every direction.

dh

dhəni adj., [< Indo-Aryan] rich, well off.
dha-m n., freshly cooked rice (hot). cf. ra-m.
dha'baʔ n., cloth, thick cotton plaid or striped piece of cloth woven by Dhimal women, approximately four feet by six feet and used as a shawl, sheet or child’s hammock.
dhaili vt., to slash, cut off, hack down (stalks). piyaheŋ capali məkai dhaihi. To feed the cows he cut some cornstalks.
dhakana n., [< Indo-Aryan] cover, lid.
dhakelaili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to push, jostle, shove.
dhale n., skin, bark, outer covering. dyəŋko dhale skin. siŋko dhale tree bark. tuiko dhale egg shell.
dhami n., [< Indo-Aryan] traditional healer, shaman.
dhamli vt., to build. sa? dhamli paisa mhamapigilli dogha. I couldn’t send money to build a house at all. kyarhi dhamli to build an irrigation dike.
dhampali vt., to heat (food, drinks). ci dhampaka bherpa malo. Don’t come near water being heated.
dhampili vt., to heat up for someone. dhampihoi la. It has heated up for [you] now.
dhana adj., young male. dhana wajan. Young man.
dhani adj., young female.
dhaŋgəʔka adj., tall, long. dhəŋgəʔka cudur long-shelled water snail.
dhaŋgəʔli vi., to be tall, be long.
dhaŋgəʔdhaŋgəʔli vi., to be very tall, be very long. dhəŋgəʔdhaŋgəʔkhe. He is very tall.
dhaŋgəʔ n., rooster. cf. bhale, telhi, bhundi kiya, kican.
dhaŋdhaŋgara bajar n., Dhimal fair held during June.
dhaŋka adj., hot (food, drinks, air).
dhaŋli vi., to be hot (food, drinks, air).
dhapadhapali vi., to have a tingly, burning sensation. nhati he?kanj he?kanj nhapu dhapadhapahi. Blowing and blowing his nose, his nose had a tingly burning sensation. istu marci canu lekharako cupini dhapadhapakhe. If you eat a lot of chilis, your anus tingles and burns.
dhar kawa n., house crow, Corvus splendens.
dhari n., loincloth. Some older men and young boys wear the dhari around the house while working or fishing, but it is generally not worn in town.
dharka n., [< Indo-Aryan] stripe.
dharse n., wild species of fruit that is elongated, orange-coloured and sour.
dha’taili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to lie, tell lies. madhataili goiana. You¹ must not lie. madhatai. Don’t lie.
dhauki n., white breasted water hen, Amaurornis phoenicurus.
dha:pa adv., with a thump, smack, wham.
dha:pa vi., to make run. saikal dha:pa magikhe. She doesn’t know how to ride a bike. 2) vi., to come running. arna diyagelai garangurunpa dha:pakhe. Wild water buffaloes come running thunderously.
dha:pali vi., to run away, run off. oso dha:pali. He ran off in that direction.
dhelli vt., to brush against, crowd, be touching. kaseŋ ita madhel. Don’t be crowding me here. asa oso hane. kaheŋ dhelkhe. Move
that way a little. It is brushing against me. *naŋko khokoi oso ta?*. *iso dhelkhe*. Put your leg over there. It’s touching here.

*dhemalai* n., Dhimal people.

*dhemalai katha* n., Dhimal language.

*dhemalaipa* adv., in Dhimal.

*dhemli* vt., to fold; coil. *dhemteŋ gu?*. Fold it up and put it on. *diham dhem*. Coil up the rope.

*dhencikiu* n., drongo, *Dicrurus macrocercus*.

*dhengara* n., log. *dhengarata tara musar dhuʔkhe*. Tara mushrooms are sprouting on the log.

*dhengur* n., rainbow. *dheŋgur lohi rə*. Why there’s a rainbow there. ~ *dhenguru*.

*dheuli* vt., to tether, tie. *o amai meʔsa dheunha?* Oh mother, did you tie up the goat? *dheuna manthu*. She hasn’t tied it up. *diham dheu!* Tie the rope.

*dheunhali* vm., to be tied up, tethered.

*dheupali* vt., to come tether. *ace! dheupa! dheupa!* Oh my! Come tether it! Come tether it!

*dheupili* vt., to tether for. *dheupinha?* Did you tether it [for me]?

*dhe:li* vt., to split, cut in half.

*dhe:pani* aŋ? Please come split [his] head open, okay?

*dhe:pili* vt., to split for, cut in half for someone. *kagati dhe:piã?* Shall I cut the limes in half for [you]? *puriŋ dhe:pianiŋ?!* Shall I split your head open for you?!

*dheʔli* vi., to be struck, hit (by a moving object). *dheʔtana*. You are going to be struck. *dheʔli tomhoi*. He was about to be struck. *siŋ pallabelau dheʔhi*. While cutting down a tree, he was struck.

*dheʔnhali* vm., to be struck inadvertently (by a moving object). *siŋ pallabelau jhondai dheʔnhadhaŋka*. I was almost struck while felling a tree.

*dheʔpali* vt., to strike, knock down, run over. *jhondai gachi dheʔpadhan diyahen*. The bus almost struck the water buffalo.

*dhi’kauri* n., lump. *bhonoiko dhikauri* a lump of earth; *mko dhikauri* a lump of rice.

*dhi’mal* n., a Dhimal.
dhimalpa  adv., in Dhimal.
dhirli  vi., to learn.
dhirpali  vt., to teach.  kanjko bhaipanj dhirpakhe.  She teaches just like me.  wasen pujata dhirpatej dhaba?  gu?lhahi.  Having taught him at the ceremony, he went to put on a shawl.  kase?j dhirpa.  Teach me.
dhi:li  vt., to thrust, jab, strike (with the end of a rod).  lathihoi rempan? dhi?:! gabrekahen!  Jab [him] good with the cane!  The damn bastard!  lathihoi dhi:kã!  I’ll jab [you] with the stick!
dhi:nhali  vm., to bump into, be struck.  makhansin? hanelaubelau khokoita dha:pa dhi:nhasahi.  Not looking while he was walking, it seems he bumped his leg with a smack.  phinutan? dha:pa dhi:nhasagha.  It seems I smacked right into the door.
dhi?li  vi., to reach.  cale?ta berhem madhikhe.  The wall does not reach up to the roof.  kelaiko milin? thekapa dhi?tan ede diham.  This rope will reach all the way to our property.
dhodaigali  n., type of small fish with a large mouth.
dhogilli  vt., to go around pouring drinks.
dholi  vt., to pour out of a large container into another container.
ghailata ci dhoikhe.  She’s pouring water into the clay jug.  jogta ci dhoiteny iso bakharaili goiay.  Having poured the water into the jug, one must distribute it over here.
dhokara  n., [< Indo-Aryan] jute mat.
dhokara camandha  n., large water leech.
dhoko  n., [< Indo-Aryan] 1) hill-style basket carried with a strap on the head; cf. tumce.  2) large inedible type of land snail.
dhol  n., [< Indo-Aryan] drum.
dholi  vt., to pour a drink.
dholi  vt., to cut.  bodhi dholi to cut the umbilical cord.
dholli  vt., to get on, climb into, board (horse, riksha, bicycle).  riksata dyaj dolte?j hihi.  The person is climbing into the riksha.
**dhona** n., woven leaf plate used in ceremonies.  
**dhondro** n., hole or cavity in a tree. *dhondrota wa basahili thalehi.*  
He began to live in the hole in the tree. *odoi siŋta hapako dhondro hiki.* In that tree is a wild cat’s nest. *thokthoke jiiha dhondrota hikhe.* Woodpeckers live in holes in trees. cf. *hodronj.*  
**dhongro** n., hollow tube or container made from a gourd or bamboo.  
*tokarako dhongro* a gourd container. *pasinko dhongro.* a bamboo container.  
**dho:pili** vt., to bend over for, incline for someone. *gandi dho:pihi.*  
She bent over for them.  
**dho?li** vt., to snap, pull apart, cut off (rope). *inuko dihamheŋ dho?!* Snap that rope! *inuko diham dho?teŋ cuma.* Snap that rope and bring it over here.  
**dho?pali** vt., to snap or pull apart and come. *diyā diham dho?pahi.*  
The water buffalo snapped its rope and came. *kumarheŋ dihamhoi dheuteŋ ta?ka highahi. dho?pateŋ dha?hi.* He had tied Kumār up with rope and left him. But he broke his bindings and fled.  
**dhuili** vi., to speak, make noise. *nui madhuikhe.* He’s not speaking. *kelaiko poriwar tharu katha nui dhuikhe.* Our family speaks Tharu language. *domodomopa dhuili* to play softly (radio, drum).  
**dhuipali** vt., to cause to speak, make noise. *manjku madhuipa re! nhatonj ca:sahoi!* Quit causing the shuttle to make noise! It seems my ears have had enough!  
**dhuiti** n., saliva.  
**dhuku** n., turtle. cf. *thori, kaca.*  
**dhuli** vt., to wash (one’s face). *mi dhunha?* Did you wash your face?  
**dhulo** n., [< Indo-Aryan] dust.  
**dhumana** n., ceremonial incense made from the resin of the *skhuwa* tree.  
**dhumli** vt., to fill. *gesata cuiti dhumkha.* I’m pouring oil into the lamp.
dhupali  vi./vt., to wash (someone’s face); come wash (one’s face).
iso mi dhupa. Come wash your face. mi dhupā. I’ll wash [your] face.

dhu: n., [< Indo-Aryan] place to lie in wait for game, ambush spot.

d
ḍəgməgaili  vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to tremble, shake; falter, be unsteady.
bhuĩcal lolabelau ḍəgməgaihi. During the earthquake, the ground trembled.
ḍəgməgaipa  adv., in an trembling, shaking manner. adhimi dyəŋ yumlau buŋ ḍəgməgaipa yumkhe. When half the people sit down, they sit with a trembling thud.

e
e inter., yes.
e inter., oh (in response). na hiso hanekhena, a bai? Where are you going older sister? hate hanekha. I’m going to the market. e. Oh.
ebalai  pron., they, third person plural proximal pronoun.
ede  dem., this. ~ idi.
edoi  dem., this very. ~ idoi.
ek  num., [< Indo-Aryan] one.
ekalaŋ hika  adj., lonely, solitary.
ekdosəm  adv., [< Indo-Aryan] very; a lot.
ekho’ho  adv., [< Indo-Aryan] directly, nonstop. ekho hor o do?pili goiana. You have to tell them directly. kalau ode jihā pharten hanelau ekdosəm ekho hor o hanehi la. So that bird, having taken it in its mouth, while going went nonstop then.
ela  adv., now. ela buŋ still, yet. elay right now. elay khiniŋ just now.
elalau  adv., nowadays.
elau adv., nowadays.
elauselau adv., nowadays.
elka 1) adj., pretty; good; proper. 2) n., beauty; goodness.
elli vi., 1) to be good; be pretty. 2) to be proper, be fitting, be appropriate. atuika jamalaieŋ donaili ma-el One should not beat small children. 3) to get better, recover. osere am elnasiŋ. Drink the medicine so that you will recover.
elpali vt., to cure, make better. elpanasiŋ am! In order to get better, drink (the medicine).
emli vt., to press, massage; to turn on (radio). khokoi emkha. I’m massaging my leg. me emli to warm oneself by a fire. me rempha emsanha. It seems you’re really warmed yourself by the fire. sane? emli to warm oneself in the sun.
empali vt., to cause to press; come press. me empakhe. He came to warm himself by the fire. me empali cumpuka hihi. She took him to warm himself by the fire.
empili vt., to press for, massage for someone. empiā? Shall I give you a massage? jād empiā? Shall I make some rice beer for you?
empali cumpuka hihi.
eŋkhe n., ginger, Zingiber officinale.
eŋli vt., to mix up (flour, earth). waraŋ beran militen bhonoi eŋkhe. The old man and the old woman are mixing up the soil together.
ereli vt., to press down on, bear down on, pin down. paya rimlau erekhe. When catching a pig, they pin it down. jiubhari erekhe. They are pressing down along his body.
esa adv., like this, in this manner.
esalau adv., thus.
esapa adv., like this, in this manner.
e’ the pron., this much.
e’thesa adv., this much.
e:li vi., to catch in one’s throat, choke. hara maca. e:khe. Don’t eat bones. They catch in one’s throat. nam paya e:khoi. Your pig has started to choke. duhā e:li to be smokey, be full of smoke; choke on smoke. duhā e:hoi. It is smokey already.
e:li vt., to carry hanging from one’s shoulder. jhola-sola e:hi bəs. He shouldered his bags and things, that’s it.
GLOSSARY

*e:puli*  vt., to go carrying hanging from one’s shoulder. *gora botal jholata e:pukhe rhe:lhakata.* He is going carrying a bottle of alcohol in a bag while courting.

*e?damasinya*  adv., suddenly.


*e?loloŋpa*  adv., one each. *nhe?noŋ bahata e?loloŋpa nariya ghapuhi la.* He went along playing, an elephant under each arm.

*e?phala*  n., one half, half. *paya e?phala cumagha.* I took half a pig (carcass).

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*gabaili*  vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to dye. *sute gabaikhe.* They are dyeing thread.

*gabinika*  adj., [< Indo-Aryan] pregnant.

*gabreka*  pej., [< Indo-Aryan] whore, bastard. *gabreka enka!*

*gaḍi*  n., [< Indo-Aryan] bus.

*gaipiya*  n., [< Indo-Aryan + piya ‘cow’] cow.


*galaili*  vt., to swing, wave. *daṭheŋ galaikhe.* She’s swinging the pen.

*galbhuŋ*  n., cheek.

*galgali*  n., phlegm.

*galphan*  n., scarf.

*galmi*  vi., to rest, stop. *gamaine.* Let’s take a break. *barka wai losahi. e?jhuk galmi goiaŋ. wai kha?tan be?* It seems it’s raining hard. We’ll have to wait a minute and see whether the rain will let up.

*gampali*  vt., to cause to rest, come to a halt. *m-sar marepaŋ dhaŋhi. ko mha?. gampa.* The meal is very hot. Wait a moment. Let it sit. *maŋku gampa re.* Give the shuttle a rest, I say.

*gamphala*  n., wild sweet red strawberry-sized fruit.

*ganagwali*  n., type of poisonous snake with black and yellow stripes.

*gandi*  n., back.
**GLOSSARY**

**gandi** num.col., [< Indo-Aryan] group of four (round objects).

*e?gandi tui.* Four eggs, *nagandi pe:ka hihi.* Twenty (chicks) have hatched. ~ *ganda.*

**gandili** vt., to count. *gandiā?* Shall I count them?


**ga’rangū ruŋ** n., [< Indo-Aryan] thunder, a crashing noise. *badel ga rangūruŋ pahi.* It thundered.

**ga’rangū runpa** adv., thunderously, with a crashing noise.


**gaseli** vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to join, patch.

**gauri** n., referential term for in-laws whose younger brother and sister are married.

**gawa** n., large track or footprint.

**gawaili** vt., to order, order around, command someone. *kam pali buŋ gawaili goikhe.* One must even order him to do any work.

**gawaiplī** vt., to order for. *asa gawaipisu kelaiko kanchaheŋ.* Order around our*Kānchā* more for [us].

**ga:li** vt., to cook (rice), prepare (rice beer, alcohol). *m wa taimiŋ ga:kihe.* He cooks rice himself. *nani hai m ga:hi be?* What sort of rice did she cook today? *jaŋ ga:ka wa. gora ga:ka wa.* They may prepare rice beer. They may prepare distilled alcohol.

**ga:pili** vt., to cook (rice) for someone; prepare (alcohol) for someone.

**ga?li** vt., to splash, douse, spray. *phaguwako din rueŋ ga?li goiaŋ gulmeheŋ.* One has to throw coloured powder on one’s younger sisters-in-law during *phaguwā.*

**ga?pili** vt., to douse for someone, splash on someone.

**gesa** n., candle, oil lamp, light.

**gika-dhirka** n., knowing and learning, knowledge.

**gili** vi., 1) to know; find out. *hai gila?!* Who knows?! *hai gisuana?!* What do you know? 2) to understand, know how; *atutuipa khiniŋ gikha* I only understand a little. *gigha la.* I know how now. *obalai jharan pujata khanteŋ khuṃteŋ gigha do?khe.* Having watched the ceremony, they all say they know how. 3) to feel, sense. *dhāŋka gikhena?* Does it
feel hot? 4) to suspect. *kelaiko kancha gikhena*? Do you suspect our Kānchā? bhaina gili to seem.

gilgili vt., to chase off, chase around. *a boi obalaihen gilgil*. Uncle, chase them off. *gilgilkh u*. They’re chasing around, you know.
gilgilpili vt., to chase around or off for someone. *ajaiko purin tu:hi.*
gilgilpi an? Grandma’s head hurts. Chase them off for [her], okay?
gilli vt., to chase. *khiya kiyahen gilkhe*. The dog is chasing the chicken.

giˈlub n., [< Indo-Aryan < Eng. ‘globe’] lightbulb.
gimpa adv., chewing with the mouth open (to cool food). *gimpa ni?.*
gimpali vt., to chew, eat food with the mouth open (to cool food).
gimpate ni?. Chew it and swallow.
giˈli vt., to bury (a post), set in the ground.
gipa adv., in an understandable fashion, knowingly, with knowledge.

teka kunu dada gipa magipha lekhegha. Okay then elder brother, I wrote (be it) in an understandable or ununderstandable way.
girgiraili vi., to stomp around, go around making noise. *bejalai wajalai dhaʔteny girgiraikhe*. The boys and girls are running around making noise.
girgho adv., cross-legged. *girgho yumhi*. They sat cross-legged.
giˈli vt., to pour off (the liquid from rice in order to steam it). *mko ci gikhe*. She’s pouring off the rice water.
giʔdhili vt., to close and leave. *phinu giʔdhe!* Close the door when you leave!
giʔli vt., to close, lock, secure, fasten (a necklace). *phinu giʔtã*. Shall I close the door? *tise giʔ!* Put on the necklace!
giʔnhali vm., to close, lock. *nayko phinu giʔnhakhe?* Does your door lock?
go n., 1) kinship term for ego’s wife’s older brothers or elder male cousins, to whom one must show respect. 2) kinship term of address for older sister’s husband by younger brother. cf. huigo.

gogan n., Great hornbill, Buceros bicornis.

goili vi., to have to, must. cali goihi u! One has to eat, you know! esa pali goikhe. One must do it like this. lekheli goika te hensay highakhe. As for what had to be written, there was a lot.

goja n., warp beam tension peg.

goji n., [< Indo-Aryan] pocket.

gojogojopa adv., boorishly, in a longwinded fashion. hinja gojogojopa mado?! kaseŋ cer tanñe h. Don’t talk on in a boorish fashion! I’m getting angry. mado? sai nuwa sona gojogojopa. Please don’t speak boorishly, dear brother-in-law.

golgolaili vi., to speak in a hoarse or unintelligible voice.

goli n., [< Indo-Aryan] bullet, projectile.

golkon haya n., type of fish with a large head.

golli vt., to scoop up with one’s hands. m borata golteŋ galteŋ hate pipukhe. Having scooped up the rice into the sack, he’s bringing it to market. dalota m gol! Scoop up the rice into the basket!

gomana n., type of reddish beetle that appears during the monsoon.

gomli vt., to capture, seize; arrest. wasę gorıŋ taʔ ita. Capture him and keep him here.

gonge n., nickname for a boy.

gophi n., [< Indo-Aryan] talk; bragging.

gora n., distilled alcohol, generally made from rice.

gora mhaka 1) adj., drunk, intoxicated. 2) n., drunkard.

gora-ci n., [gora rice liquor + ci water] drinks, beverages.

gorne sara n., [< Indo-Aryan] starling.

gornel juhã n., species of rat that lives in fields and is considered not too bright and therefore easy to catch.

gos mala n., [< Indo-Aryan] type of silver chain necklace made with loose, open links.

gota adj., [< Indo-Aryan] entire, all. ~ goto.

gotanŋ pron., everything, all. gotanŋ muisa hu:hi. All his body hair fell out.

goʔli vt., to take someone along. ham goʔli to yawn.
gudini  n., 1) heel. 2) banana heart.
gudunpa  adv., in a rumbling manner, thunderingly. wai loli tomhoi.
badel gudungudunpa dhuikhe. It’s about to rain. The clouds are thundering.
guli  vi., to set kernels. məkaiko can guikhoi. The ears of corn have begun to set. m guikhoi. milənbhari ghase ce:khe. gotaŋ bhar hula wa na?The rice has rise to set kernels. They are cutting weeds out by the fields. Will all the fruits fall off?
gujreli  vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to pass (time).
guli  n., slingshot.
gulikathi  n., [< Indo-Aryan] type of chunky silver necklace.
gulli  vt., to roll up. catalai gulke. He’s rolling up the mat. dosana rempha gul ita! Roll up the comforter well here!
gulthai  n., slang.
gumana  n., mouth harp.
gumli  vi., to stay dry. wai lolabelau sa? li?ta gumkhe kalau mabhijikhe. When it rains it stays dry in the house, so he doesn’t get wet. kelai jharaŋ e?thame hiteŋ waiheŋ kha?paine. wa? gumaine. Let’s⁹ all stay in one place and come escape the rain. And let’s⁹ stay dry.
gum‘ saili  vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to ferment, dry out.
gunanjaŋli  vi., to worry, be worried, fret. operesaŋ pali gunanteŋ higha.
I’m worried about having the operation. gunanteŋ hikhe be? I wonder if he’s worried?
gunaso  n., [< Indo-Aryan] sadness, grief, sorrow.
gundha  n., rice chaff, bran.
gungun‘aili  vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to grumble, mumble, hum.
gunjirli  vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to groan, growl.
gungi  n., leopard cat.
gupugupuli  vi., to be very hot (weather). mədesta gupugupukhe. In the lowlands it is very hot.
gu?ka  n., covering, shawl. cf. dhiba?.
gu?li  vt., to put on or cover one’s back (shawl).
gu?lhali  vt., to go to put on one’s back (shawl).
GLOSSARY

**gwabari bajar** n., [< Indo-Aryan] fair that takes place in the town of Damak.

**gwai** n., areca nut (archaic), seed of the fruit of the betel palm, *Areca catechu*. Areca nuts figure importantly in courting and marriage ceremonies in Dhimal culture. cf. supari.

**gwamari** n., [< Indo-Aryan] fennel.

**gwampa** adv., heartily, with an appetite. *rempha gwamgwampa casahi*. It seems he ate quite heartily. *matha?kar! hede kal cali manigna khiniŋ gwamgwampa cahi*. Mother fucker! He ate like he had never got to eat before.

**gyatis** n., [< Indo-Aryan < Eng. gatige] slingshot.

**gh**

**ghən siŋ** n., [< Indo-Aryan] type of tree.

**ghagilli** vi./vt., to play around, go around playing.

**ghaila** n., [< Indo-Aryan] clay jug for holding water or rice beer mash.

**ghaili** vi., to be full, be sated, have enough. *ghaihoina? Have you had enough (to eat)? ghaiwa*. Perhaps he will have had enough (of your antics).

**ghali** vi./vt., to play, play with; socialise, visit with. *nariyako can magha*. Don’t play with an elephant calf. *a bai iso ghali lo*. Oh elder sister, come over here and socialise. *lhudu ghali* to play dice, gamble. *baido ghali* to swing. *sinjko dalejso baido ghakhe*. He’s swinging from the tree branch. *rhauci ghali* to joke. *rhauci ghakhe*. He’s joking. *kusti ghali* to wrestle. *injko dopha kusti ghali hanā to ka buŋ*. I too will go and wrestle with him.

**ghalsi** n., [< Indo-Aryan] clay jug.

**ghalteŋ** n., wooden objects hanging from the loom beater which make a clattering noise when in use.

**ghalhali** vi./vt., to go to play. *baibhari ghalhani*. Please go play over by your elder sisters. *oi oso ghalhasu!* Hey, go* play over there! *bansa ghalhali* to visit, go visiting, go socialise.

**ghampa** n., [< Indo-Aryan] large clay jug for holding water or rice beer mash.
**GLOSSARY**

ghapali vi./vt., to cause to play; come play. *inho beraŋ leta ghali mapitenŋ kusti gandita ghapahi do?khe la.* Not letting them play below, that old woman made them wrestle on her back they say. *dudu ampalabelau wako amai ghapakhe.* While breast feeding, his mother rocks him in her arms.

ghapuli vi./vt., to go along playing. *nhe?noŋ baŋata e?lolonya nariya ghapuh la.* He went along playing with an elephant under each arm.

ghara n., pit, hole.

ghase n., [< Indo-Aryan] grass, weeds.

ghasuli vr., to play with one another. *ekdəm kusti ghasuhi la.* They really wrestled with each other.

ghelti n., drool.

ghensinŋ n., distilled alcohol (stronger than *gora*). ~ *ghyansinŋ*

ghera n., loofa gourd.

ghe’raili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to surround, encircle; block, stop. *te inso rempha gheraisu.* Okay, block it well over there.

gherasinŋ n., loofa gourd vine.

gheːli vt., to carry on one’s hip. *ghaisi gheːkhe.* She’s carrying a clay jug on her hip. *jamal gheːtenŋ bansa ghalhahi.* She put the child on her hip and went visiting.

gheʔlii vt., to stick in (one’s hair), place between two closely fitting objects. *caleʔta toʔsi gheʔtanŋ.* She’ll put the comb between the roof supports. *pelsinŋ gheʔ.* Stick the pencil between (the roof supports). *lheʔ khopata gheʔkhe.* She sticks a flower into her hairdo.

ghiŋli vt., to snatch, grab. *ghiŋ! Snatch it!*

ghogiya n., [< Indo-Aryan] okra.

ghoghorony n., throat, gullet.

gho’kraili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to thrust by the neck.


ghopili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to pierce, jab.

gho’seʔlii vt., to scrub. *ghoseʔ?! Scrub (yourself)! takhala ghoseʔ?!* Scrub the dishes!

ghoːlii vt., to tend (animals), sheppard. *gai ghoːkataŋ ghoːkataŋ belhaʔhi la.* While tending the cows, night fell.
GLOSSARY

gho:puli  vt., to go tend (animals) diya gho:puaine. Let’s go tend the water buffaloes.

ghukulu  n., wild fruit similar to a tangerine

ghu'maili  vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to stroll; return.

ghu'maipali  vt., to turn, rotate.

ghu'raigilli  vi., to stroll around.

ghu'raili  vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to stroll, visit, tour. dɔmɔk ghurasinj. Let’s stroll in Damak. lo ghurai. Come and visit.

ghu'railhali  vi., to go and stroll.

ghu'raipali  vt., 1) to pay back, bring back. 2) take someone for a stroll, walk someone around. bejanhej ghuraipakhe. They walk the girl around (the groom).

ghureli  vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to return, come back; turn around, turn. heʔlau ghuretej loana? When will you return. aroŋ ghureka manthu. He still hasn’t returned. dihẽ ghuretej khaŋgha. I turned and looked to the west.

ghurghur'aigilli  vi., to play around exuberantly, horse around.

ghurghur'aiili  vi., to play exuberantly, horse around, rough house. boibhari ghurghuraisukhena? Are you rough housing around uncle?!

ghuri  n., moment. eʔghurij. Just one moment.

h

həpta  n., [< Indo-Aryan] week.

hai  pron., what. hai-hai  what all, what things. hai doŋ mako  nothing at all. hai doŋ upaisa  adv., somehow, some way.

haibili  adv., why.

haipali  adv., why.

haipali doʔnu  conj., [haipali why + doʔnu if say] because.

haipali kunu  conj., [haipali why + kunu if be] because.

haipali panu  conj., [haipali why + panu if do] because.

hakadhuku  adv., suddenly.

ha'laʔli  vi., to dry (in the sun). lokhon halaʔka hihi. The clothes are out drying. saneʔta m halaʔkhe. Rice is drying in the sun.

hale  n., [< saneʔta m halaʔkhe] plough.
hamli vi., to yawn. hamhi u. There, he yawned.
hamu n., stomach, belly. ~ ham, himu.
hanedo:li vi., to finish going. hanedo:hoi ancay. He already left earlier.
hanehindhili vi., to go and leave behind. sita hanehindhilabelau te jun wako dusman highahi. When they went and left Siṭā behind, her enemy was there.
haneli vi., to go, leave. haneka thame manthu. There was no place to go. ka te mahanaŋka. As for me, I won’t go. nhuʔso haneli to walk behind, follow. sölha haneli to take advice, confer. eʔkhe sölha haneli goiŋ. We⁹ must go once and confer.
hanepa adv., walking, going. dama hanepa sirpu. Walk him along to where he’s going.
hanepali vt., to cause to go.
hanumpa adv., afternoon, this afternoon.
hangar n., (fence) rail.
hangarai n., 1) root of jungle plant with licorice-like flavour that is chewed for sore throats. 2) Oriental pied hornbill, Anthracoceros albirostris.
har n., [< Indo-Aryan] generic term for necklace.
hara n., [< Indo-Aryan] bone; of the same clan.
hã’rami n., [< Indo-Aryan] wicked or accursed person. hari⁹mi!
[You] wicked person!
harcul siŋ n., species of tree with tiny leaves that are crushed and massaged into sprained or sore joints to heal.
hardiya n., [< Indo-Aryan] Dhimal clan.
hareli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to fail, lose (a contest), be defeated. paya jitina bhaiso khuwāhā harehi. Since the pig won, the tiger lost.
hasa n., [< Indo-Aryan] duck. Dhimals raise Muscovy ducks (ciniya hasa) and a type of mallard.
hasu pron., who. hasu-hasu who all. hasu donŋ whoever, no one. hasuko whose.
hate n., [< Indo-Aryan] weekly or bi-weekly town market; market town. ~ hate bajar.
haya n., fish.
GLOSSARY

hāsuli n., [< Indo-Aryan] traditional torque neckband made of silver.

It is no longer in vogue, however, having been replaced by the *candrahar* as the neck ornament of choice by Dhimal women of means.

ha:li vt., to clear jungle (for farming).

ha:li vt., to spread out to dry (in the sun). *m sempali ha:khe*. She’s spreading out the rice to dry.


hede pron., which. *hede paha* which way.

heda n., [< Indo-Aryan] hatred, hate.

heŋgalainhali vm., to shake, vibrate.

heŋgalaili vt., to shake, jiggle.

herli vi., to stretch, pull.

herpali vt., to come pulling, drag. *wa kaseŋ mako mako pateŋ do?kataŋ khur ca:teŋ bahar herpahi*. He kept saying ‘no, no’, grabbed my hand and dragged me outside.

hesa adv., how. *hesa doŋ* however, whatever way.

hesapa adv., how, which way.

heta pron., where. *heta buŋ* wherever.

hethe adv., how much. *hethe rempha!* How good! *hethe buŋ* however much.

he:li vt., to open. *phinu he:li doana?* Can you open the door?

he:pili vt., to open for.


Aren’t you going to blow your nose?

he?loŋ adv., how many.

he?pali vt., to bite the big one, kick the bucket, croak. *nαŋko aba he?pali tomhoi*. Your dad is about to kick the bucket. *nαni gyani he?pahi*. Today Jñānī bit the big one.

he?pili vt., to blow one’s nose [for someone]. *nhati he?pi!* Blow your nose [for me]!
**GLOSSARY**

hidirihadaraŋ n., very large raptor (eagle?). In olden days, parents would tell unruly children that if they didn’t behave, the hidirihadaraŋ would come and carry them off.

higilli vi., to travel, walk about. nepalta hiso hiso higilka hinha? Where all have you travelled in Nepal?

hili vi., 1) to be. kelaiko caka isika hihi. Our food is like this. rempha hinha? Are you well? 2) live, dwell, stay. ita hika thame manthu. siā. ka mahiā. There’s no place [for me] here. I want to die. I don’t want to live. na hiso hikhena? Where do you live? ita higha. Here I am. kathmandu hethe hiana? How long will you stay in Kathmandu? 3) auxiliary verb.

hima n., moment. cf. koma.

himpali vt., to tell, cause to hear.

himpapili vt., to tell for someone. waseŋ himpapi. Tell him for [us].

himpili vt., to let someone hear; listen for someone.

hindhili vi., to stay behind. hindhe o kunu. Stay behind (polite - said when taking leave). hindhihi te ekalaŋ jharta hasu la? Who was left behind alone then in the jungle? injko wajan te hindhihi. That boy was left behind.

hinsa adv., a lot, many. ~ hinja.

higli vt., to listen, hear. seʔpiā na hinana? Shall I kill [you] or are you going to listen? nhatonŋ mahinįkahenŋ waheŋ taʔdhihi. They put a deaf person there and left. kelai bhōtiŋako ciṭtihi lekheka hingha. I heard our nephew wrote a letter.

hipabhari adv., lifelong.

hirhirli vi., to be cold and damp (wind). jhyal giʔ. bherma marepaŋ hirhirsaḥi. Close the window. It seems the wind is really cold and damp!

hisika adj., what kind of.

hiʔso adv., where to, whither. hiso-hiso where all, to which places. hiso donŋ wherever. hisoso where from.

hiti n., blood.

hiʔpli vi., to hiccough. m calabelau hiʔgha. While eating a meal I hiccoughed.

hiʔpli vt., to ask, question. a baigelai, eʔloŋ katha hiʔtŋka Hey older sisters, I would like to ask you a question. hiʔpli jōtini niʔkhe. One
can ask as much as one likes. odoŋ bha?siŋ hi?kha. I ask for that reason. rhuta hi?li to wonder, ponder.

hi?li-daŋli vt., to inquire, question. hi?taŋka-danaŋka. I will inquire.

hi?ti n., hiccough.

hodroŋ n., hollow, hole, cavity.

hoili vt., to finish, use up. miliŋ cakataŋ cakataŋ hoigha. Eating up the land little by little, I used it up. bomiheŋ paisa pikataŋ pikataŋ hoithi. He used up his money giving it to others over and over.

holi vt., to dry fry. tole mahotey baguya majenay. Unless you dry fry the flour, the baguya won’t turn out. kuruŋ hokhe. She’s dry frying rice.

homka adj., light (weight).

homli vi., to be light in weight.

hoŋli vi., to put on, wear (pants, shirt, sari).


ho?li vt., to pull out, extricate, remove, take off, undress. cui ho?taŋka. I’ll pull the sliver out. curoṭ ho?. Take out a cigarette. lokhon ho?khe. He’s undressing. ela ho?tana?! You want to take it off now?!

huigo n., ego’s wife’s younger brother or male cousins.

huˈkagudi n., coconut (archaic). cf. nəriyə.

huldhili vi., to fall and be left behind. oso huldhikhe. He fell and was left back there.

hulli vi., to fall from above. ode bhar misihäta hulhi la. That load fell in his eye then. hulan! It’ll fall! siŋ tanteŋ hulgha. I climbed up a tree and fell.

hulme n., kinship term for ego’s wife’s younger sister or female cousins; husband’s younger sister or female cousins.

hulpali vt., to drop, let down. insa hulpakataŋ hulpakataŋ hulpakataŋ thi?sa cumpuhi ay. Thus, continually dropping them along the way, he only brought back a little. wako pusiŋ hulpateŋ hihi. She is letting her hair down.

huˈlunγa n., kinship term for ego’s husband’s younger brother.

hurli vi., to snore.
GLOSSARY


hu’ rukka adj., exhausted, tired out.

husi n., breath; fog.

hu:li vi./vt., to spill, pour out, fall out. *ŋko mulsa insa hu:kka mako.*

That body hair didn’t fall out for no reason. *la hu:hi.* There, it spilled. *beraŋ ghailako ci hu:khe.* The old woman is pouring water from the clay jug.

hu:pili vt., to pour out for. *puriŋta ci hu:pihi.* They poured water on his head for [him].

i

icikali vi., to be sprained. *khokoi icikahi.* [My] foot is sprained.

iki’ riŋgiya n., large arboreal stinging ant with a black head and abdomen, and red thorax.

ikh inter., exclamation of disgust. It is pronounced forcefully and with falling intonation.

imbalaï pron., third person plural distal pronoun.

imli vi., to swell. *naŋko jiu imli khaŋkhe.* Your body is trying to swell.

insa adv., like that. *insay* just like that; just because, for no reason.

Popular retort of young girls when asked ‘why’. ~ *ensa.*

insalabelau adv., then, at that time. ~ *ensalabelau.*

insalau adv., like that time. ~ *ensalau.*

insika adj., that kind of.

inso adv., that way, to there.

inta adv., there; then, at that time. *intaso* then, after that, from there.

iŋko dem./pron., that; that one.

irirpa adv., in a cool and damp manner. *irirpa belha?hi.* Evening set in in a cool and damp manner.

irli vi., to be cold and damp. *haipali bənaili iŋko. jumni itini menemene irli.* Why build that. Tomorrow or the next day — to be cold and damp for nothing. *wai lotenŋ gotenŋ irhi.* The rain came and everything became cold and damp.

isika adj., this kind of, this type of.

iso adv., in this direction, over here.
istu  adv., a lot. inko beronko istu rhai cuncala?hi. That old woman’s face is really wrinkled.
ita  adv., here. ~ eta.
itangi bo?na  n., type of bo?na with repeating bands of three orange stripes on a black background.
itini  adv., the day after tomorrow, in a couple of days.
i:ka  adj., red.
i:ka ko?sa  n., red monitor lizard.
i:ka nhøya  n., rhesus monkey, Macaca mulatta.
i:ka nhamui  n., small red ant.
i:li  vi., to be red.
i:li  vt., to draw water.
i:lhalaili  vi., to be pink. na?rhai i:lhala?hi. Your face turned pink.
i:lhalaipa  adv., pink. i:lhalaipa rhaite ro?n laipihi. They coated his face with coloured powder until it was pink.
i:ta’tarli  vi., to be or become orange. sau phrijta ta?nu i:atarikhe. If you put fat in the freezer it turns orange.

j

jəbərjəsti  adv., [< Indo-Aryan] by force, without permission. na jəbərjəsti haipali pe:nha? Why did you pick them without asking?
jetini  adv., [< Indo-Aryan] however much.
ja an? kwa an? pron., anyone, whoever.
jabara  n., weeds, sparse vegetation.
jagulai  n., smoke.
jagul aili  vi., to be smokey.
ja'han  n., [< Indo-Aryan] family.
ja’hā n., mosquito.
ja’hāʔka adj., pearly white, brilliant.
jaí pron., whatever.
jaigul n., marsh mugger, *Crocodilus palustris*.
ja’la n., young unripe fruit of a cucumber or pumpkin; nickname for child.
jal n., [< Indo-Aryan] web, spider web; net, square fishing net stretched out on two crisscrossed arched slats of bamboo. It is used predominantly by women.
jali khopa n., type of hair style worn by Dhimal women.
ja’man n., [< Indo-Aryan] young adult (18-28 years old).
jambai n., jaw.
jambu kham n., red crab that lives in fields.
jamli vt., to smash, smite, crush. elay duphehoi jamaniŋ! I’m going to smash you with an axe right now! misiŋko dhenta jamanin! I’m going to smash you with a piece of firewood!
jampili vt., to smite for. nayko purin jampidhanin! I ought to smash your head! nayko seʔguli jampiã! I’m going to smash your testicles!
jaŋli vi., to be excessive, be expensive. jaŋhi mə? It’s become expensive, hasn’t it? jaŋ jaŋ. That’s quite enough (said when food is being served).
japai n., tick (not blood-engorged).
ja’raili vt., to gather dropped grain. khaliŋ m jaraili gikhe. All she knows how to do is gather dropped grain. hanesu jamalai. kelaiko milinbhari thuproŋ sisa m hulka hihi. rempha jaraisu. Go children. A lot of loose rice grains have fallen over by our fields. Gather it well.
ja’raʔjaraʔli vi., to be in a throng, be crowded.
ja’raʔja’raʔpa adv., in a throng, in a swarm. hiso jaraʔjaraʔpa higilsukheni? Where are you going in a throng? cokta hai jeňhi be. dyaŋ jaraʔjaraʔpa hihi. What could be going on at the intersection? People are all in a throng.
ja’raʔpa adv., in a throng, en masse, in a swarm.
GLOSSARY

jaresona n., golden one (lament).
jari n., [< Indo-Aryan] root.
jarli vi., to throng, be crowded.
jasika inter., oh my!
jasusi n., [< Indo-Aryan] intrigue, spying.
jati n., true, real. jatiko monta ta:teŋ lohi be? I wonder whether he came with a true heart?
jati saro n., [< Indo-Aryan] myna bird.
jatibhari n., truth, reality.
jatri bajar n., Dhimal fair.
jatura siŋ n., [< Indo-Aryan] black-necked stork, Ephippiorhynchus asiaticus. This bird is alleged to be named after some historical individual.
jauhara n., hunting deity.
jauthiya n., twins.
jaːdi n., rice beer. cf. bhatiya.
jaːli vi., to stand, stand up.
jaːpali vt., to set up, make stand. misteri nheːmi kunti jaːpateŋ ara ceːkhe. Two carpenters set up a saw-horse and are sawing.
jede pron., whichever.
jelauselau adv., sometimes.
jempili vt. to become for, develop for, bear for someone. tole jempih doːkhe tolesiŋ. The flour tree bore flour for them, they say.
jempuli vi., to gradually become, gradually develop. umer jempukhoi. She’s just now coming of age. kelai dhemalai sukhumbasi jempukhoi la. We³ Dhimals are becoming landless.
jencili vp., to become, develop. kelaiko milinya jinse jencasahi. It seems the rape in our³ fields developed.
jeŋli vi., 1) to become. na kabarako rup jeŋ. You take the form of a spotted deer. jeːpa jeŋhi. She became fair-skinned. suniya jeŋli to become desolate. suru jeŋli to begin. inko dina kalau ekdəm la jhɔgɔra suru jeŋhi la. On that day then they really began to fight. mən jeŋli to feel like. mən majeŋhi. [I] didn’t feel like it. bejat
jeŋli to be shamed, lose face. harena bhaiso kaŋko bejat jena wa. Since [I] lost, I may lose face. 2) to happen, occur, turn out. ede kabara hai pateŋ jeŋkhe ka se?li goiŋka. No matter what happens, I must kill this spotted deer. wako bihu jeŋhoi la. His marriage already happened. romailo jeŋghahi. It turned out pleasant. 3) to be acceptable, be okay, be alright. jenaŋ majenaj? Will that be okay or not? jummi rhimaŋ jendhaŋ re! Tomorrow morning would be okay! 4) to be born. bihu pakalaiko can-camindi jeŋhi. Of those who had married children were born.

jeŋlhali vi., to go to become. maric muni kabarako rup jeŋlhahi. Maricamanĩ went to take the form of a deer.

jesa pron., however. jesa palaubuŋ any way, in any case.

jesalabuŋ adv., any way, in any case.

jeta pron., wherever.

jeľha n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] eldest son.

jeľhi n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] eldest daughter.

je:ka 1) adj., white; fair-skinned. 2) n., Caucasian.

je:li vi., to be white; be fair-skinned.


jidhi n., [< Indo-Aryan] persistence, obstinacy, stubbornness. jidhi pali to be obstinate, be stubborn. ekdəm jidhi pahi. [She] became very obstinate.

ji′hã n., bird.

jihã-juileŋ n., [jihã bird + juileŋ lizard] (small) animals.

ji′hili vi., to be well aligned. wako tasi jihĩka hihi. His teeth are well aligned. jihĩka kundol lagaisahi. It seems she put on some smart earrings.


jimdha n., co-wife.


jimli vi., to sleep; lie down; rest. jim! Lie down! a boi jimhoina? Oh uncle, have you fallen asleep? ka jimā la. I’m going to sleep now. narata jimteŋ hihi. He’s asleep in the hay.
jimpali vi./vt., to cause to sleep, put to bed; come sleep.
jimpapuli vt., to go to put to sleep, go put to bed. jimpapuhi rə. She went and put him to bed.

jinjako paya n., wild boar, *Sus scrofa*. ~ dincako paya.
jinis n., [< Indo-Aryan] creature; thing.
jinse n., rape plant. jinse sar. rape greens.
jirham n., generic term for grasshopper, katydid. ~ jirhan.
jisika adj., whatever kind of.
jisikalabuŋ adj., any kind of.
jitili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to win, beat in a competition. sara dyəŋ giaŋ kaheŋ paya jitihi. Everyone will know that the pig beat me.
jiu n., [< Indo-Aryan] body; life.
ji?ji?li vi., to be very wet and damp (ground). leta yumnu ji?ji?khe. dokara da?li goikhe kalau lekhara bo?bo?khe. If you sit down it’s wet and damp. It’s necessary to lay down a mat and then one’s rear end becomes warm.
ji?li vi., to be wet and damp (ground). bhonoi ji?khe. odoŋ bha?siŋ kelaiko m remkhe. The ground is wet and damp. Because of that our paddy does well.
jog n., [< Indo-Aryan] jug.
jogi n., [< Indo-Aryan] Dhimal clan; wise man.
jokso adv., right away, early, soon. Nep. saberai.
jolaipili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to light for, kindle for, set fire to for someone.
joli vt., to sew. mko bora joañka. I’ll sew up the sack of rice. bhasa joli to weave a cocoon, build a nest. jihā pe?sa bhasa jokhe. Birds and insects build nests.
jolkaili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to shine, glisten, glitter, glow. jhenepeteko mi jolkaiqhe. A jhenepete’s eyes shine.
jolli vi., to shine.
jolti n., intercourse.
jomli vi., to gather, collect, assemble. ci jomhi. Water collected.
jompali vt., to collect, gather. paisa jompakha. I’m collecting money.
jonjo n., moon (babytalk).
jor n., [< Indo-Aryan] pair. ~ jori.
jor khopa  n., type of hairstyle.
joreli  vt., to connect, join, unite, bring together. behai-beheni joreli goian be? I wonder whether it is necessary to bring the parents-in-law together?
joromti  n., short piece of rope, such as to tether an animal.
jo:li  vt., to stir. m jo:khe. She’s stirring the rice. ka jo:kā. I’ll stir.
jo:lhali  vt., to go to stir. ra-m jo:lhā. Go stir the leftover rice.
jo?puli  vt., to float away.
jube  n., ego’s wife’s mother.
judhili  vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to fight.
juiley  n., lizard.
jujhepali  vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to fight, quarrel. mi jujhepali to lock eyes. khur jujhepali to arm wrestle.
juˈkaili  vt., to sick on. kelai dera lolabelau iṅko payaheṅ khiya jukaihi. When it came to our neighbourhood, they sicked the dog on that pig.
juˈkaipli  vt., to sick on for someone. bomiko khiyaheṅ kaṅko khiya jukaipīgha. I sicked my dog on someone else’s dog.
junmi  adv., tomorrow. junmi-itini [junmi tomorrow + itini day after tomorrow] in a couple of days. junmi kalau the next day.
jurukjarak  adj., startled.
juyle  n., [< Indo-Aryan] yoke.
juˈhā  n., mouse; Indian mole rat, Bandicota bengalensis. A common rat that burrows into farmers fields, hoarding large amounts of grain. After the harvest, young Dhimal boys dig up the rat nests to recover the grain and capture the rats to eat.
juwa  n., ego’s wife’s father. na juwa! Your father-in-law! (derogatory exclamation used by young girls.
ju?pli  vt., to stoke, add fuel. misiṅ ju! Stoke it with some firewood! me ju? marpa! m mina wa. Stoke the fire quickly! The rice may cook. me rempha ju? m siṅka yhaa wa. Stoke the fire well! The rice may remain uncooked.
GLOSSARY

jh

jhōndai adv., [< Indo-Aryan] almost.
jhaka adj., unconcious.
jhamajhamali vi., to tingle, experience a burning sensation. kam panu khokoi jhamajhamakhe. If he works, his legs get a burning sensation.
jhan'jauri n., bamboo latticework used to enclose a porch.
jhangiri n., trellis used to train or support viny plants.
jhar n., [< Indo-Aryan] forest, jungle.
jha'raŋ pron., all, everyone. jharanych lampama First of all.
jharka n., [< Indo-Aryan] spinning wheel.
jharka bhol n., large edible root found in the forest.
jharpa adv., intently. jharpaŋ khanjhe. She’s staring.
jharphu n., [< Indo-Aryan] exorcism.
jhategilli vt., to go around thrashing. basulihoi jhategilhi. He went around thrashing it with the flute.
jhateli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to thrash, thresh (by hand).
jhauka adj., big, large.
jhauli vi., to be big.
jhaupali vt., to make larger, raise up (a house).
jha:ka adj., wet, soaked; washed.
jha:li vt., to wet, wash. lisi jha:ka manthu. He hasn’t washed the shit (off his ass). (said by children when someone can’t revive a fire by blowing on it.) khur jha!: Wash your hands!
jha:puli vt., to go and wet, go and wash. jha:pu! Go wash it!
jhempa adv., light; brightly. jhempaŋ until daybreak.
jhemphorophoroka n., dawn.
jhemphuru n., morning star. cf. sukuru phuru.
jhenepete n., type of large black caterpillar with shiny eyes whose hairs sting when touched. It lives on sujini siŋ.
jhenepete siŋ n., type of vine.
jheŋli vi., to become light, become bright.
jhe:li vt., to whittle, shave down. duphehoi khabha jhe:khe. He’s whittling down the post with an axe. cu?ka dabiyai khabha jhe:. Whittle down the post with a sharp khukuri.
jhili vt., to thresh with the feet. nani jinse jhiai. Today let’s thresh the rape. m jhiahoi. We finished threshing the rice.

jhi’lingoi n., red mite; blood blister.
j timpili vt., to bind for, tie up for someone. lo to. jimpia. Come here. I’ll tie it [balloon] for [you].
jhi’li vt., to tie up or together, bind. m jhi’li do:hoi. The paddy is already finished being tied into bundles. wasen jhi’li lagai hi la. He got him to tie him up. bau jhi’li to tie the heddle. bhasa jhi’li to spin a cocoon, build a nest. pe?sa bhasa jhi’khe. Caterpillars build cocoons.

jhire n., vein.
jhirli vi., to quake, get the willies, tingle. akhe?ka anamangaelai ti’na jiu jhirhi ru. Since he saw some awful things, he got the heebie-jeebies. tasi ci:nhana jiu jhirki. Due to biting one’s teeth, one’s body tingles. gandi jhirhi. A shiver went up [my] spine.

jhoko n., amount. ede jhoko this much.

jho’koka n., the size of, as big as. inko nariya motor jhokoka highahi That elephant was as big as a car.

jhokso adv., right away, immediately.

jhola n., [< Indo-Aryan] liquid, gravy, sauce, any soupy dish such as lentils.

jholi vi., to float away. jhora?ta dyay jhoi. A person was carried away in the river.

jhonji n., copse, thicket. inko jhonjita wa syaile te sirihi. The jackal, he slipped into that thicket.

jho’njhoy n., disobedient person. haipali masay khe? jho’njhoy. masa?khe. khan! Why isn’t he obeying? Disobedient boy. He’s not obeying. Look!

jhopa adv., in a flowing manner. cuiti purnita jhopa lagai. Put oil on your head in a flowing manner. jhopa sekhe. It fruits in clusters (like grapes).
GLOSSARY

**jhopali** vt., to carry away in a flood or river. *bane lotey dyaloy sa? jhopahi*. The flood came and carried away four houses.

**jhora?** n., river.

**jhora?ko ali-ali** n., river banks.

**jho’se?** n., hail.

**jhosim** n., small mortar.


**jhuleli** vt., to wobble, swing.

**jhurla** n., type of long-tailed bird of which there are four kinds, the largest being the blue-bearded bee eater, *Nictyornis athertoni* (*barka jhurla*).

**k**

**kə’maili** vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to earn.

**ka** pron., first person singular pronoun I.

**kabara** n., [< Indo-Aryan ‘spotted’] chital, *Axis axis*.

**kabara siŋ** n., the Kābhro tree, *Ficus lacor*. The young tart shoots of this tree are eaten by Dhimals.

**kabarkuburka** adj., colourful.

**kacu** n., large fresh water turtle that grows up to 15-20 kilos.

**kagati** n., [< Indo-Aryan] lime.

**kaicolo** n., [< Indo-Aryan] shell; ear wax.

**kaigilli** vt., to invite. *kaigilhi do?qkhe u!* He says they invited him, you know.

**kaila** n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] fourth-born son.

**kaili** vi./vt., to call, hail, invite. *udini hasuŋ kainha?* Who did you call the other day?

**kaili** vr., to comb, brush (one’s hair). *pusiŋ kaili* to comb one’s hair.

**kaili** n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] fourth-born daughter.

**kailhali** vt., to go to call. *kailhahoi do?qpi*. Tell [him] they already went to call [her].
kaipili vt., to invite; call for someone. ḍakṭər kaipiā? Shall I call a doctor?

kaipili vt., to brush for someone. cuiti cuña! pusiy kaipiā. Bring the oil! I’ll brush [your] hair.

kaka n.m., ego’s father’s younger brother.

kaki n.f., ego’s father’s younger brother’s wife. cf. ate.

kal n., [< Indo-Aryan] era, time period. hede kalko hihi?! What is the world coming to?!

kalai n., lentils.

kalai jihā n., swallow.

ka’lau adv., then, so, and. kalau buŋ moreover, however.

ka’lhamli vi., to jump over.

kam n., [< Indo-Aryan] work; purpose.

ka’mal n., exonym for Rajbangsi. kamalai the Rajbangsi people.


kamkiriya n., [< Indo-Aryan] funeral ceremony.

kamli vt., to weed by hand. alubari kamkhe. She’s weeding the potato garden.

kana n., hole, crevice.

kanabasu excl., never mind, forget it; said when one is annoyed or fed up with someone.

ka’naiti n., dried snot, booger.

ka’nausi n., gold earring worn on the upper part of the ear by women.

kancha n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] youngest son.

kanchi n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] youngest daughter.

kan’denika n., butterfly.

kandhe n., [< Indo-Aryan] shoulder.

kane bagula n., [< Indo-Aryan] cattle egret, Bubulcus ibis.

kantai n., small type of fish.

kan’taili vt., to stretch the warp.

kantila n., weft stretcher.

kan’ko pron., first person singular possessive pronoun my.

kapal n., [< Indo-Aryan] forehead.

kapca n., corner.

karaila n., [< Indo-Aryan] bitter melon.
karaŋkurunj n., black ibis, *Pseudibis papillosa*.
ka'rhaili vt., tana karhaili to prepare the warp by coating the threads with rice paste.
kas'rok onom., sound made by a monitor lizard. ~ kacalok.
kase siŋ n., type of fruiting tree.
kaser n., Dhimal clan.
kata bajar n., Dhimal fair that takes place during the month of Vaisākha in the town of Damuna.
kato n., chin.
katha n., [< Indo-Aryan] language; story; matter, topic.
kathi mala n., [< Indo-Aryan] chunky silver necklace; cf. guli kathi.
kaṭeli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to cut, slice.
kaṭepili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to cut for, slice for someone. da:ka
miŋkau dama cɔ̃tɔ̃apa kaṭepihi. A black cat suddenly crossed [her] path.
kauli vi., to be harsh or unpleasant tasting. idoi sigret kaukhe. These cigarettes are harsh tasting. kauten jegənde oʔcalaʔgha. When it became harsh tasting, I almost threw up.
kauri n., [< Indo-Aryan] cowrie shell, unit of currency in former times.
kauta n., type of turtle.
kawa n., crow.
ka:li vi., to caw. rhima rhima kawa ka:khe. Every morning the crows caw.
ke'ceŋke'ceŋpa adv., in a noisy manner. keceŋkeceŋpa mapasu!
Don’t be noisy!
kea'la:ti n., egg yolk.
kelai pronom., first person plural pronoun we.
kelaiko pronom., first person plural possessive pronoun our.
kelepeceli vi., to make a racket, be noisy. leta hikalai mareŋ kelepecehi. The people down below made a racket.
ke'lendai n., centipede.
ke'liŋke'liŋ n., ruckus, noise, hulabaloo. mareŋ keliŋkeliŋ hihi dyąngelai. People are making a lot of noise. keliŋkeliŋ mapasu!
Don’t make a ruckus.
keˈlinkeˈlinli vi., to make a ruckus, carry on, make noise.
  keliŋkeliŋkhe! They’re making a racket!
kelsi n., [<kiya ‘chicken’ + lisi ‘shit’] chicken shit.
keltaɪ n., small tree squirrel.
kemli vi., to be pliable, be agreeable, be willing.  gonge kam pali marenʃ kemkhe. Gonge is always willing to do work.
keŋkuˈluŋka adj., twisted.
keŋkhene n., waist, lower back.  dada liʔpan yumteŋ keŋkhene yɔkakhe. Having sat all day older brother’s back is sore.
keŋli vt., to smite, hack, strike with with an axe or dabiyə. dupheho kenaniŋ. I’m going to smite you with an axe.
kepa adv., left.
kerə n., [<Indo-Aryan] oath.
keˈsari kusi n., [<Indo-Aryan] lentil shoots.
keuka adj., crooked, uneven.
keuka- meuka n., a jumble.
keuli vi., to be crooked, bent.
ke:li vi., to crack open, hatch.  tui ke:li tomhoi. The egg is about to crack open.  tui ke:teŋ kican pe:khe. After the egg cracks open, the chick hatches.  musar ke:hi. It’s mouldy.  saneʔta masempanu musar ke:kaŋ. If one doesn’t dry it in the sun, it will get mouldy.
keʔ n., husband.
keʔli vi., to be overlapping or crossed (teeth).  kelaiko kanchako tasiŋ thurpili khanʃlabelau mapihi. kunanja ki wako bhenanja tasiŋ keʔhi. When we tried to remove our youngest brother’s tooth for him, he wouldn’t let us. Therefore, another tooth came in overlapping.
kican n., chick, juvenile chicken.
kiculhoʔli vi., to be pitch black.  kiculhoʔhi. She is dark as night.
  karako lekhara kiculhoʔka hihi. The bottom of the wok is pitch black.
kidhimi pron., first person dual pronoun we.  ~ kidhini, kidhijə.
kidhijnko pron., first person dual possessive pronoun our.
kiʔham n., small freshwater crab that lives in burrows beside stream beds and in paddy fields. Dhimals recognise two main species of crab which are eaten roasted, cooked in broth or ground up as sena.  ~ kihaŋ. cf. tharoi kiham, jambu kiham.
ki‘ham  n., kidney.

kikile  n., adam’s apple.

kin’inili  vi., to throb, be sore. purin li?pan jkin’inini. [My] head was throbbing all day.

kin’inipa  adv., throbblingly. keŋkhene kin’inipa tu:naŋ bhaihi. It seems my lower back was throbblingly sore.

kino  pron., first person singular possessive pronoun my (affinal kin register).

kirimirika  adj., unruly, messy (hair).

kitikitika  1) adj., dark. 2) n., darkness.

kitikitili  vi., to be dark, be nighttime.

kiya  n., chicken.

kiya bha’sa  n., woven rectangular basket hung from the roof against a wall of a house as a chicken nest.

kiya dondara  n., 1) open-plait bamboo basket used for carrying fowl.

2) the constellation known as the Seven Sisters.

ki?cali  vp., to feel like, be inclined.

ki?li  vi., to want, desire. loli maki?hi. She didn’t want to come.

mhamaki?khe u. She doesn’t want to at all, you know. aron jiskul haneli maki?khoi la. Again he’s starting to not want to go to school. ci amli ki?haila. I am thirsty. lisili ki?nha? Do you have to shit? khaŋli ki?li to want to see someone, miss someone. kaseŋ khaŋli maki?tana? Won’t you miss me? khaŋli maki?li to dislike someone.

ki?pa  adv., desirous of, wanting. 2) every. ba?sar ki?pan. every year.

mahina ki?pan. every month

ko  part., 1) interjection used when presenting an object. ko! Here, take it! 2) presuppositional particle. 3) equational copula.

koba  n., left face of a drum.

kodala  n., [< Indo-Aryan] hoe.

ko’halony  num., nine.

kohi  pron., [< Indo-Aryan] some, someone.

koicala  n., [< Indo-Aryan] spoon.

koinabare  adv., in two years, the year after next. ~ konabare.

koitini  adv., in four days.
**koko** adj., that same (time period). *koko dina te insa jena wa la.* Then that same day things may happen like that. *koko bela thekapa.* Up until that same time.

**kokoli** n., long-tailed bird known as the treepie, *Dendrocitta frontalis.*

**koko’riŋka** n., small white ant. ~ *kokoriko.*

**kokhe** n., rib.

**kole** n., 1) cowshed. 2) lap.

**koli** n., ankle torque, an oldfashioned style of ankle ornament consisting of a large silver torque. cf. *poiri.*

**kolokololi** vi., to cluck. *kiya kolokolohi.* The chicken clucked.


**koma-hima** n., moment. *koma-hima mha?*. Wait up a moment.

**koma’raili** vt., to hog-tie, tie arms and legs together. *kalau iŋko komaraitey komaraitey isika komarainhakhe.* Then having hog-tied it thoroughly, we hog-tie them like this.

**koma’rainhali** vm., to be hog-tied.

**komli** vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to decrease; improve (illness).

**kompuli** vi., to gradually decrease; to gradually improve (illness).

**konaraj** n., [< Indo-Aryan] cloth beam on a loom.

**konci** n., bamboo branch with a hook on the end.

**kondan** n., heart.

**koŋli** vi., to become bad (egg). *hasako tui koŋhi. onteŋ cali goian.* The duck egg went bad. We’ll have to roast it and eat it.

**kopti** n., [< Indo-Aryan] greedy, dishonest, stingy person.

**kor** n., [< Indo-Aryan] effort.

**kora** n., [< Indo-Aryan] slat of wood or bamboo; rafter.

**kora khati** n., 1) bamboo slat used to carry things on the shoulder. 2) the constellation known as Orion’s belt.

**korci** n., bamboo sliver. *pasimko korci ba:nhateŋ hihi.* He has a bamboo sliver.

**kori** adj., step. *kori ama stepmother. kori can stepson.*

**korko** n., small owl; male owl.

ko'sa? n., berry-sized fruit that is squeezed into a leaf funnel into the ear to heal earaches.

do tek onom., the sound a hen makes when it is alarmed, cluck.

do korkkor kotek. Cluck cluck cluck.

do n., grape-sized fruit that grows underground on the roots of a certain type of tree.

do:li vi., to cluck with alarm. kiya tuili kote:khe. The chicken is clucking (because it is about) to lay an egg.


do:cali vt., to afflict. li?ta dulnu sali ko:cah. If one goes inside, the house goddess will afflict one. kahe? kumsokhoho sali beray ko:cahi. The house goddess afflicted me on account of the potters. mhaigelai ko:cah. Evil spirits afflict [people].

do?cali vt., to pull toward oneself, draw in. bherpa mahane. nariya ko?canau. Don’t go near it. The elephant will pull you close.


do?li vt., to put in a heap, pile together. m ko?tä na maka?tä? Shall I pile up the unhusked rice or not?

do?sa n., monitor lizard, Varanus sp. Monitors are one of the most highly prized game by Dhimals, yet are now rare due to the loss of habitat. There are three types: da:ka ko?sa ‘tree monitor’, i:ka ko?sa ‘fish-eating monitor’, and yauka ko?sa ‘yellow monitor’.

do?na n., old fashioned bo?na worn mostly by old women and Eastern Dhimals. Rajbangsi women also wear them. They have broad plaid swatches at the top and bottom edge and are generally purchased. From an Indo-Aryan word meaning ‘female Koch’ or ‘female Rajbangsi’. Hence kucini bo?na means ‘the bo?na worn by Koche women’.

do?na n., lungfish, Anguilla bengalensis.

do kukuculi vi., to be sore and scratchy. thotai kucukukhe. [My] throat is sore and scratchy.

do n., separate one.

do:li vt., to separate. pateko cuca kuite? ta?li goi?n. We have to separate the stringy fibres of the jute. m jhinahu hoi. koncihoi
kuiteit nara olepa. The paddy has been threshed. Separate the straw with a konci and remove it.
kuku’ruka adj., curly (hair).
kukuwa n., fog, mist.
ku’leŋ n., large raptor. cf. baja.
kulkulaili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to gargle, rinse one’s mouth with water to cleanse it before and after eating. nui kulkulaiten ci burhi. He rinsed his mouth and spit out the water.
kulli vt., to lift up, separate, raise (clothing).
kulpili vt., to lift up for, raise for (clothing). mo?kataŋ mo?kataŋ gotaŋ kulpisakhe an wa cahi. After massaging and massaging, it seems he lifts it all up [her garment].
ku’munda n., type of gourd.
kunaŋ conj., therefore, as a result. kunaŋ ki wako bhenan tasiŋ ke?hi. Therefore, another tooth came in overlapping.
kundol n., gold earring worn on the earlobe by Dhimal women of means.
kunthili vi., to groan (as when defaecating).
kunu adv., then, and, so. kunu?! So?! kunu hai?! So what?!
ku’ri num., [< Indo-Aryan] a score. e’kuri twenty. nhe’kuri fourty.
kuriya adj., lazy.
kurja n., [ kur coo + ja bird] dove.
kurkucu n., taro.
kurli vi., to coo. kurja kurkhe. Doves coo.
kurraj n., roasted rice.
ku’rhaili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to pick up. thalgilka dhol kurhaigha. I picked up the drum that was thrown. lo. kurhai. Come and get it (a snack ).
ku’rhaipili vt., to pick up for someone. kurhaipiā. I’ll pick it up for [you].
kusi n., sprout, bud.
kusti n., [< Indo-Aryan] wrestling. kusti pali to wrestle. ~ kusti ghali.
kusum n., type of fruit. rani kusum ‘queen kusum’ and daŋkha kusum ‘male kusum’.
kutukutupa adv., crunchily, with a crunching sound.
ku’tumba n., [< Indo-Aryan] relative, family.

ku:li vi., to coo.

kya pron., first person singular pronoun I (affinal kin register).

kyarhi n., dike for irrigation, dike for separating fields of rice.

kh

khacepali vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to castrate.

khacuri n., small pox, scabies, measles.

kha’dha? n., fishing creel. cf. duŋgri.


khaisolo n., earwax.

khaila n., mustard soap.

khaili vi., to get loose, become free. a peusa paya khaihi. Oh uncle, the pig has got loose. diya diham dho?pateŋ khaihi. The water buffalo snapped the rope and got loose.

khainhali vm., to become loose or untied. diyako diham hesapa khainhahi? How did the water buffalo’s rope become loose?

khainhapali vt., to unintentionally cause to become untied, accidently loosen. dheuli khaŋlabelau diyako diham khainhapagha. While trying to tether it, I unintentionally caused the water buffalo’s rope to become untied.

khapali vt., to set free, untie, set loose, loosen (knot, rope). diya khaipagha jharbhari cumpuli bha?siŋ. I untied the water buffalo in order to take it to the forest.

khapili vt., to untie for, loosen for someone. lamphako juntau rə juntaura berāŋko khopa cuʔka cahi makhaipili doʔkhe. Juntau and Juntaura say that one shouldn’t untie an old woman’s hair knot.
khairam n., threshing ground.
khal n., [< Indo-Aryan] hide, skin.
khalko n., [< Indo-Aryan] type, variety.
khamalai n., relative, someone of the same clan. taiko dyaneŋ khamalai doŋkhe. wa kaŋko khamalai. They call one’s own person khamalai. He is my relative.
kambha n., [< Indo-Aryan] house post.
kamli vi., to gel, congeal, solidify. payako hiti nəriyolko cuiti khamkhe. Pig blood and coconut oil congeal.
kampali vt., to show.
kampili vt., to watch over for someone; show to someone.
kampuli vt., to go along looking at, go along reading. iskul hanelaubelau kitab khampughahi. While going to school they went along looking at a book.
khani adv., [< Indo-Aryan] only. ~ khali.
khanli vt., to look, look at, watch; try, attempt. ka ḥeptə din agarison naŋko dama khaŋgha. I watched out for your arrival for a week. misiŋ hola khanli. He stared intently. keuka khanli to glare at, look askance. noʔteŋ khanli to discretely glance at, peek. phinuko kanata noʔteŋ khankhe. She’s peeking through the hole in the door. loli khaŋghahi. mapihi. He tried to come, but she wouldn’t let him. wai loli khankhe. It looks like it’s going to rain. ede miŋkau siŋta tanterŋ tunterŋ sarako canheŋ cali khankhe. This cat, having climbed up the tree, is trying to eat the baby birds.
khanlhalni vt., to go to watch.
khara n., crying.
khar n., rabbit. Nep. kharayɔ.
khara lali vi., to be fermented (rice beer).
khari vi., to cry. kharsiŋha. It seems I cried.
kharpali vt., to make cry. haipali jamalaiheŋ kharpakhena ko?! Why is it that you’re making the children cry?!
kharpuli vi., to go along crying. ajaiko mon doŋ kharpukhe. Grandma’s heart goes along weeping.
kharsay n., tobacco.
kharaŋ n., bracelet, bangle.
khati n., [< Indo-Aryan] pole, slat, pin.
kha:co: ˈco:pa  adv., bitterly.
kha:ka  1) adj., bitter. 2) n., thing that is bitter; bitterness.
kha:li  vi., be bitter.
   I wonder whether he has scabies. He keeps scratching.
kha:pili  vi., to scratch for. kajko gandi thalhi. kha:pi. kha:pi. My
   back itches. Scratch it for [me]. Scratch it for [me].
kha?gilli  vi., to flee.
kha?li  vi., to escape, flee; subside, ease up (illness, bad weather). am.
   cibaisi kha?ta wa. Drink. Your cold may go away. mesa kha?hi.
   His fever subsided. wai kha?taŋ be? I wonder whether the rain
   will let up?
kha?pali  vi./vt. to cause to flee, disperse; come flee. wa bejalai
   kha?pateŋ cumpuhi. He caused the girl to flee and took her away.
kuŋko oneheŋ ka hiso kha?pâ ko? Where is it that I can cause my
   little sister to flee? kelai jharay e?thane hiteŋ waiheŋ kha?paine.
   Let’s all come flee the rain in one place. kha?pay la. [The sun]
   will cause [the fog] to disperse.
kh  n., time, occasion. ʔkhe once, one time. ode khe that time, then
khe’kaili  vt., to strew, scatter with feet or hands. kiya gotaŋ khekaahi
   m. The chicken scattered all the rice. wa jompakhe. na
   khekaikhena. He puts them together and you scatter them.
khempili  vt., to split with someone. wasen ekilo biha khempi. Split a
   kilo of meat with him.
kheŋli  vi/vt., to divide, split with, divvy up. kidhiŋ e?mung m kheŋsiŋ.
   Let’s split a man of rice. dophay lokataŋ lokataŋ kheŋnhahi.
   After journeying together, we split up.
khe:li  vt., to play a stringed instrument.
khe?li  vi., to stick to, catch on something.
khe?dhili  vi., to catch on something and be left behind. oso
   khe?dhikhe ru! They get caught over there and are left behind!
   bajarso lokataŋ lokataŋ dahê dera khe?dhii. Coming from the
   bazar, he got held up and stayed behind in the neighbourhood to
   the north.
khe?nhali  vm., to stick to, catch on something.  
torse lo?labelau kaciya khe?nhahi. While dislodging mangoes, the sickle became caught.  
khe?pali  vt., to make stick.  
khe?ti  n., sperm.  
khican  n., puppy, young dog.  
khicili  vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to take a snapshot, shoot (a photo).  
khiirimijirika  adj., rough.  
khilli  vt., to borrow.  
kasen? e?sa? taka khilli pi to. Let me borrow one hundred rupees.  
kancha dopha paisa khilgha. I borrowed money from Kānhā.  
khilli pili  vt., to lend, let borrow.  
khilpali  vt., to come borrow; borrow for someone.  
khimli  vi., to lay one’s head down.  
khokoita khimte? jim. Lay your head on [my] leg and go to sleep.  
khimso  n., pillow. cf. takhim.  
khi?niŋ  adv., only.  
khiŋjara  n., retted jute stalks. ~ khi?rinja.  
khiŋli  vt., to cook a side dish.  
Cudur khiŋli gikhena? Do you know how to cook snails?  
khiya  n., dog. Dhimals raise a medium-sized thin breed of dog for hunting and as a watchdog.  
khiyali  vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to spoil, become bunged up.  
hale coilabelau phali khiyāhi. While ploughing, the ploughshare became bunged up.  
dabiya sa?ta ta?kataŋ ta?kataŋ khiyākhe. Putting the khukuri in the house over and over it became bunged up.  
biha kuṭiLABELau unthuita nincanu dabiya khiyākhe. While cutting meat, if it strikes a stone the khukuri gets bunged up.  
khi?kir  n., fox.  
khi?li  vt., to sprinkle (water) on.  
kanchiko bihuta maila dai jharanheŋ ci khi?hi. At Kānchī’s wedding, Māhilo Dāi sprinkled water on everyone.  
nani kiya ci khi ka manthu. Today they haven’t sprinkled water on the (slaughtered) chicken.  
beula-beulheŋ ci khi?li nilgha. I forgot to sprinkle water on the bride and groom.
GLOSSARY

kho'ca? n., loofa sponge.
khoicala n., shell.
khoili vt., to hang (on a protruding object). lokhon kātica khoihi. He hung the clothing on a nail.
khoinhadhili vm., to catch on a hooked object and be left behind. khoinhadhihi. It was caught and left behind.
khoinhali vm., to catch on a hooked object. lokhon khoinhatey the?hi. The clothes caught and ripped.
kholaka?ka adj., loose fitting (clothing).
khokoro adj., hollow.
kholi vt., choose, select.
khomli vt., to hug, embrace. sanaiti dopha khomteŋ jimgha. I slept embracing a friend. cf. ba?suli.
khomsuli vr., to hug one another.
khonci n., small grass coil basket. For the most part, khonci are not often made nowadays due to the fact that the river banks on which bhasi grows are all privately owned and the materials are unavailable. Tharus, however, still make them.
khonja n., peafowl, Pavo cristatus.
khoŋli vi., to envy, become jealous. kaŋko can bomiko caka tintey khontey khanji. Having seen another’s food, my son watched jealously. wa te bejalai cumpuhoi. na esan khontey hihi. As for him, he already took a girl. Thus you are jealous.
khopa n., [< Indo-Aryan] hair knot.
khopara n., [< Indo-Aryan] threshing hut.
akhirli vi., to limp.
khoter n., pen, cage.
khopli vt., to come down with, catch, be infected with; catch (a thrown object). cibaisi kho?hi. He caught a cold.
khopili vt., to help.
khudra paisa n., [< Indo-Aryan] small change.
khuiju n., elbow.
khui vi., to sigh. maitey khuihi. He grew tired and sighed.
kujalaili vt., to bother, annoy, tease. nelai kaseŋ makhujalaisu! Don’t you pester me!
khuli  vt., to steal.
kundii    n., pestle.
kunta    n., loom pile or post.
kunti     n., piles supporting a traditional house.
kunti ghara  n., loom pit.
kuntila   n., old style of gold earring worn on earlobe.
kupi     vt., to steal for someone, steal from someone. sanaitigelai khipkhe. Friends steal them. nam baiko paisa khipkhena?! Are you stealing your elder sister’s money?!
kur     n., hand, arm.
kursi     n., fingernail, finger.
kusiyar   n., [< Indo-Aryan] sugarcane.
kuri     vi., to get down, descend. kahok kuri te yakan I will have a stopover in Bangkok. kur leta! Come down here!
kwampa    onom., sound of biting.
kwapai    onom., [< Indo-Aryan] sound of biting.
kuvah    n., Bengal tiger, Panthera tigris tigris.

lom berah n., [< Indo-Aryan + berah ‘old woman’] female deity in the Dhimal pantheon. In contrast to the popular Hindu depiction of her as a young and beautiful, Dhimals cast her as an old woman.
la  1) inter., there (expresses completion, exasperation, change). la! hu:hi. There! It spilled. la. olekhoi u. There, he’s starting to coming out (onto the street). 2) part., mirative particle.
lagai     vt., [< Indo-Aryan] 1) to put on. isika cu:kata phelopheleka lokhun lagaihi!? In this cold, he put on light clothing!? 2) to get someone to do something. inta dulpali lagaihi la wasen. Then he had him go in there.
lagaipi   vt., to put on for someone (clothes), dress someone. lagaipi. Put it on [her].
lageli     vi., to befall, affect. mon lageli to like, want. kor lageli to require an effort. senka lageli to suspect.
laili  vi., to be reconciled, be accepting. *khargahi. bolla bolla laihi.*

She was crying, but finally settled down.

laipali  vt., to flirt with, woo; persuade, coax; placate. *hede buŋ kam pali laipali goikhe.* To get him to do any work at all one has to sweettalk him. *dirgelaihen laipake.* He is placating the gods.

laipili  vt., to coat someone, cover someone with. *i:thalaipa rhaita roŋ laipiki.* They coated his face with coloured powder until it was pink.

la’laigilli  vi., to go around having insufficient food and clothing, go around being poor.

la’laili  vi., to have insufficient food and clothing, be poor.

lampali  vt., to cause to go ahead. *ela jogiheŋ lampahi.* Now he made the yogi go ahead.

lampha  adv., in advance, in front, first.

lam’phoile  adv., first, first of all. *ka lamphoile hanā.* I’ll go first.

laŋli  vi., to leave, go ahead. *paisako lagi taiko sa? lanetŋ bides haneli goikhe.* For money it is necessary to leave owns own home and go abroad.

lapalupu  n., disaster, misfortune. *asa pharapa cumpu re! lapalupu nincanjamalaiheŋ!* Bring it a little farther away I say! Misfortune will befall the children! *lapalupu macumpunu.* (There will be) misfortune if you don’t take it away. Nep. *bhavitabya.*

lara  n., [< Indo-Aryan] vine.

lasim bhol  n., cassava, *Manihot sp.*

lata  n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] deaf person (male); ignorant person (male).

latai jihā  n., tailor bird.

later  n., Dhimal clan.

lati  n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] deaf person (female); ignorant person (female).


lawa muri  n., small pale green berry that grows in a cluster and is eaten for sores in the throat.


laya degor  n., [laya rhinoceros + degor path] the Milky Way galaxay.
oso dama la?! Get out of the way there!
la?paka n., thing set apart.
la?pali vt., to make quit; separate. la?paka la?pakhe. They remove the things that must be separated.
la?pili vt., to quit for someone; set free, let go, abandon. khotarso la?pili. He let him out of the pen. dya klasta pørheghakhe. la?pili. He was studying in the fourth grade, but he quit.
la?phala?pha adv., thoroughly. jha: la?phala?pha jha!: Wash (the dishes) thoroughly!
la?suli vr., to quit one another, separate from one another. kalau udhinimi la?suli do?khe phe?suli. And so the two of them quit fighting with one another, they say.
la?thi n., kick.
la?thili vt., to kick, push with the foot.
le n., song.
leˈderka n., shy person.
lederka manthuka n., shameless person.
leˈderli vi., to be shy, be embarrassed, be ashamed. lederkhe wa la ru! She’s being shy perhaps now! maleder! Don’t be shy! haipali lederli? Why be shy?
lekhara n., backside, rear end; ass. ~ lesara.
lekhara cupini n., asshole.
lekhara kana n., asshole.
lekhara dumba n., buttock.
lekharahari postp., behind, in back.
lekhegilli vt., to write and send (a letter). aron aṭhiyabarita buŋ ciṭṭi lekhegilgha. Again in Āṭhiyābārī also I wrote and sent a letter. uŋko kathagelai lekhegil aĩ? Write about those matters, okay?
lekheli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to write. kaseŋ ciṭṭhi lekhegillaubela suta malekhe aĩ? When you write to me, don’t write to my home, okay?
lekhepali vt., to make write. miŋ lekhepali to enroll. kyampusta miŋ lekhepagha. I enrolled at the campus.
lekhepili  vt., to write for someone. *tokdirta esa palau bhorgman lekhepikhe*. God writes his destiny.


lelli  vt., to stick out (one’s tongue). *paya se?teŋ sa?teŋ detoŋ lelkhe*. After a pig has been thoroughly killed, it sticks out it’s tongue.

lelpili  vt., to stick out (one’s tongue) at someone. *ode bejan kaseŋ detoŋ lelpikhe*. That girl is sticking her tongue out at me.

lempali  vt., to make laugh, be funny. *lempakhe*. He makes [me] laugh.

lempili  vt., to laugh at someone. *bejalai lempikhe*. The girls laugh at [me]. *le mpiy naheŋ*. They will laugh at you.

lempia ŋ naheŋ. They will laugh at you.

lencali  vp., to enjoy oneself, have fun. *lencasahi*. It seems they enjoyed themselves.

lenja  n., hornbill species (black).

ley  n., laughter, enjoyment.

leyli  vi., to laugh, smile.

lenli  vt., to spread rice out to dry. *khokoiau m leŋkhe*. She’s spreading out the rice to dry with her foot.

lenway n., Dhimal clan. ~ *lembay*

leta  postp., below, underneath.

le:ka-beʔka  n., singing and drum playing, music.


le:li  vi., to move. *atuisa le!: Move over a little!*

le:pali  vt., to make sing.

le:pali  vt., to cause to move. *mko dalo le:pa*. Move the basket of rice.

leʔli  vt., to make level (ground), smooth out. *kelai hale coiten caiten mawaipatahoi le:nhakhe*. Having ploughed thoroughly, we are leveling out the ground with the leveler.

likati m  n., uncooked sticky rice.

limiya  n., leech.

limpali  vt., to get a stain on.
limui  n., pubic hair (female).
limui beray  n., old lady pubic hair; female ancestor of the later clan.
liŋ  n., (dial.) cultivated land, field. cf. miliŋ.
liŋli  vi., to stain. linay ra! It’ll stain you know! jhəndala lindhany. 
atuisaso malĩhi. It almost stained. It barely missed staining.
lipai  n., fart.
lipali  vi., to fart.
lipapili  vt., to fart at someone. lipapihi. She farted at [me].
lişi  n., shit.
lişi raika  n., diarrhoea.
lişi yoʔka  n., toilet paper.
lišika  n., shitting.
lišili  vi., to shit. lišili kiʔnu mə saleŋta lişi. kalau kodalahoī thaigil aŋ? If you⁴ have to shit—right?—shit on the ground and then throw it away with a hoe, okay? cemtaŋ lisikhe. They shit nearby.
lišilhali  vi., to go to shit. lišilhā. I’m going to go shit.
lišini  n., clitoris.
lišipili  vt., to shit on someone; shit so that someone is affected. wako lokhonta jamal lisipihi. The child shit on his clothes.
liʔli  vt., to bury. jimteŋ liʔsukhena na yumteŋ? Do you bury your dead in a sleeping or sitting position? Dhimals traditionally bury their dead in a sleeping position and destroy personal articles belonging to the dead. Hence little in the way of traditional material artefacts has survived.
liʔpa  adv., daytime. liʔpau all day. liʔpata in the daytime.
liʔpili  vt., to bury for someone; bury something so that someone is affected. mhaigelai kaŋko lokhonko tukara liʔpihi. mhaigelai liʔpinu dyauŋ seŋkhe. The evil spirits buried a piece of my clothing. If the evil spirits bury [something], the person grows thin.
liʔpuli  vt., to go and bury. sikalaiheŋ məncaulita soiteŋ liʔpukhe. They carry the dead away for burial on a stretcher.
liʔta  postp., in, inside.
lodbəde  n., gecko. ~ lodbədeya.
**loili** vt., to separate rice from chafe. *rata taʔteʔ uŋkhu loikhe.*
Having put it in the winnowing tray, she is separating the uncooked rice from the chafe.

**lokara** n., leopard, *Panthera pardus.*

**lokara’kar** n., barking dog.

**lokondoko bhar** n., blossom of the silk cotton tree.

**lokondhi** n., young women from the groom’s side who accompany the bride back to the groom’s home.

**lokoto** n., sweet orange-sized white fruit.

**lo’khon** n., clothes.

**lokhorlokhorpa** adv., [< Indo-Aryan] moving along in a carefree manner (like a dog).

**lokhuri** n., skull.


**lo m cali.** Come and eat.

**mesa loli** to come down with a fever. **bane loli** to be flooded. **bhemti loli** to sweat, be sweaty. **bherma loli** to be windy. **wai loli** to rain. **barka wai losahi.** It seems that a big storm arrived. **wai loli khaʔkhe.** The rain is trying to come. **wai pitiʔpataʔpa lokhe.** It’s sprinkling.

**lompali** vt., to cause to fall down. **lompakhoi! lompakhoi!** He’s making her fall! He’s making her fall!

**lompili** vt., to cause to fall down.

**lomhaŋ katasi** n., medium-sized mottled jungle cat.

**loŋ** class., general classifier. cf. *mi.*

**loŋli** vi., to fall down. **khaŋlhalabelau te lōkšmən lontəŋ hihi.** When he went to look, Lakṣmāņ was lying on the ground. **kukuwa loŋli** to be foggy. **jhaka loŋli** to faint. **husi loŋli** breathe. **pap loŋli** to be a sin.

**lopili** vt., to come for someone, come in honor of. **kalau derako sanaiti-bhayagelai buŋ jharan lopia wa.** And the village friends and buddies too all will come for [the groom].

**lopuli** vi., to come along, approach, near. **jatri bajar lopukhe. Jatri bajar** is approaching.

**losiŋ** n., silk cotton tree, *Bombax ceiba.*
Losisko pe'lsa n., large edible beetle grub that bores into silk cotton trees.

Lo'taili vi., to roll on the ground. Can sitej bhonoita lotaiten lotai ten kharhi. When her son died, she cried rolling on the ground. Ti sanaitigelai, khisa?ta lotaiten lotaiten ghaine. Okay friends, let's play rolling around in the mud.

Lo'taipali vt., to cause to roll on the ground. Wasej jaborjasti tanetens tunetens lotaipahi. Pulling by force, he pulled him to the ground.

Loten khopa n., type of Dhimal hairstyle.


Lo?pili vt., to dislodge for someone.

Lucali vt., to fuck. Lucali piana? Will you let me fuck you? Bolsay lucali to rape.


Lujhun n., hillock, foothill.

Lukulkuli vi., to be squishy, be friable, be loose. Mundha to:ka thameta lukulkuki. The place where the stump was removed was friable. Hai lukulkukhe nani? What is soft and squishy today? (said poking the blanket to see if someone is sleeping under the covers and not visible) Tasi lukulkukhe. [Her] tooth is loose.

Lukulkupa adv., squishily, with goose bumps. Lukulkupa cuŋgha. I was cold with goose bumps. Puyla lukulkupa tiŋgha. I got goose bumps from seeing a snake.

Lulhaika adj., weak.

Lum tole n., steamed rice flour shaped somewhat like a banana.


Lumli vt., to roll, shape (something round). Cur lumli magikhe. He doesn't know how to roll a cigarette. Tole lumka hihi. They are forming tole.

Lumphi n., banana. ~ yumphi.
**Glossary**

**lundhaili** vt., to roll up, wrap up. *cotalai lundhai*. Roll up the mat.

**lh**

**lhay** n., spleen.

**lhaugilli** vi., to go around boasting.

**lhauli** vi., to boast, talk big and do nothing. *wa e?noŋ kam ninhi maninhi meneŋ lhauhi*. Whether he has work or not, he talks big and does nothing.

**lha:li** vt., to peel off, remove, separate. *pecarako dhale lha:khe*. He’s pulling off the scab from the wound.

**lha:pha** n., leaf. ~ **lha:ba**.

**lhe:li** vt., to part, separate, pull apart. *sinda lhe:khe*. She’s parting the part in her hair. *dhaba? lhe:teŋ khay to*. Pull the sheets apart and take a look. *lampha te bejalai sinda malhe:ghakhe. sojhapa kaighahi*. As for before, girls didn’t use to part their hair. They used to come it straight back.

**lhe?** n., 1) flower. 2) placenta.

**lhe?li** vt., to shave off, scrape, peel.

**lhe?nhali** vm., to shave off, scrape, peel. *mho?nu malhe?nhakhe*. If one blows, it doesn’t work (pencil sharpener).

**lhika** adj., heavy. *hisika lhika hihi?* How heavy is it?

**lhili** vi., to be heavy. *mko bora hethe lhiaŋ wa la?* I wonder how heavy the sack of rice will be.

**lhipali** vt., to make heavy. *ciciri m lhipakhe*. Sticky rice makes one lethargic.

**lhipuli** vt., to gradually become heavy. *bhar lhipukhe*. The load gradually grew heavy.


**lho:li** vi., to get up, rise (sun), wake up. *nhisiŋta lisili lho:nha?* Did you get up in the night to shit?

**lho:pali** vt., to make get up, raise, build (fire). *wa inko siŋta basa hika me lho:pahi*. He built a fire in that tree where he was staying.
nhapu lho:pali to be overly proud. nhapu lho:pakhe. He’s overly proud.
lhu:du n., dice.
lhu:li vt., to unravel. na diham lhu:nha. You unravelled the rope.
lhu:nhali vi., to unravel, become unravelled. diham lhu:nhahi. The rope unravelled.
lhu:nhapali vt., to inadvertently cause to become unravelled. wa remka sute lhu:nhapahi. He caused the good thread to become unravelled.

m

m inter., 1) with falling intonation indicates attention is being paid during story telling. 2) with rising intonation solicits agreement.
m n., paddy; cooked rice; meal. m cahoina? Have you eaten?
m-sar n., traditional Dhimal meal, consisting of rice and a side dish of meat and/or vegetables. Nep. dāl-bhāt.
mə part., clause final particle that solicits agreement.
mədət pali vt., [<Indo-Aryan] to help.
mən n., [< Indo-Aryan] heart, mind. ~ mon.
mənaili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to celebrate.
məncauli n., [< Indo-Aryan] stretcher.
məuka n., [<Indo-Aryan] opportunity.
macuʔka adj., dull (knife).
maguri n., [<Indo-Aryan] type of catfish.
maha adj./n., [< Indo-Aryan] great; great amount. maha cuŋ lohi. A great cold arose. ala maha biha naheŋ cumpuli lagaigha. I had you take a great amount of meat.
mahē adv., south, southward.
mahēpa adv., from the south.
mahēpaha adv., on the south side.
mahina n., [< Indo-Aryan] month.
maila n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] second-born son.
maili vi., to be tired. maihoiga. I’m tired. maihoina manthuna. Are you tired yet or not?
maini n., female animal. cf. daŋkha.
maipali vt., to cause to be tired, tire someone out.
maisali vi., to rest. eʔjhuːk maisaine. gotaj khur khokoi tuːsahoi.

Let’s rest for a minute. It seems my arms and legs are all sore.
majhamajhata adv., every now and then.
majhata postp., [< Indo-Aryan] in the middle, between.
makarai n., [< Indo-Aryan] spider.
makiʔpa adv., unwillingly.
makunu adv., otherwise, if not; isn’t it so.
makhalaí n., mussel.
makhi n., bee’s wax.
mala n., [< Indo-Aryan] garland.
malamalaka adj., sweet smelling, fragrant.
malamalali vi., to smell good, be fragrant.
malbo n., [< Indo-Aryan] type of banana.
maˈliːŋgoi n., praying mantis. ~ malimaŋgoi.
mallí vt., to skewer. cena malteŋ metaj phuŋ. Skewer the strips of
meat and roast them on the fire. wako methoj wako khursiŋta esa
malteŋ multeŋ komarainhahi inta. Having skewered its feet and
tail like this, we hog-tied it there.
mamai n., [< Indo-Aryan] ego’s mother’s younger brother.
mamarpa adv., very quickly.
mamekar n., term of abuse. mamekar eŋka.
mami n., [< Indo-Aryan] ego’s mother’s younger brother’s wife.
mampili vt., to catch (fish) for someone. ela mampili goiːŋ. We must
catch some for [you] now.
mandal n., [< Indo-Aryan] main roof support beam.
mandi n., rice porridge.
maneli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to obey.
mansar n., garlic.
manthuli vi., to lack, be without.
maŋku n., [< Indo-Aryan] throw boat shuttle (weaving implement).
maŋli vt., to catch (fish). haya maŋli hanehi. He went fishing. haya
maŋkhena? Are you fishing? kalau haya maŋli cudur bhoːli
kiham cali goianj. And we will have to catch fish, search for snails and eat crab.

maph n., [< Indo-Aryan] forgiveness.

mapha adv., quickly, fast. lo mapha. Come quickly. ~ marpa.

marca n., rust.

marci n., [< Indo-Aryan] chilli pepper.

mareli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to chat, have a talk, shoot the breeze (with bat, katha). dhemalai katha phorra maresakhe. It seems he’s chatting fluently in Dhimal. kalau kelai bat mareaine aũ? And let’s have a chat, okay

maremka adj., bad, no good; unattractive.

mareŋ adv., very.

marepaŋ adv., very.

mariyate pali vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to forsake all, to try anything, be obsessed. ela kabara dona bhaiso te sita mariyate pahi. Now since [he] became a deer, Sītā forsook all. e?loŋ bejan kaŋ dopha loli mariyate pahi. One girl tried everything to come with me.

marpa adv., quickly. ~ mapha.

masariŋgiya n., [< Indo-Aryan] common kingfisher, Alcedo atthis.

ma’th’a? pej., mother fucker.

mathaʔka pej., mother fucker. mathaʔkako ahar! mother fucker’s slop!

mauriya n., [< Indo-Aryan] orphan.

mausa n., [< Indo-Aryan] ego’s mother’s younger sister’s husband.

mausi n., [< Indo-Aryan] ego’s mother’s younger sister.

mawai pata n., [< Indo-Aryan] leveler used in ploughing.

mawaili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to level or smooth out ploughed land. cf. leʔli.

ma:li vi., to disappear, dissolve, fade away. cini cita pinu makhe. If you put sugar in water it dissolves.

me n., fire.

mekhon’aiiti n., ember, live coal.

mellī vi., to be disheartened, be disappointed, be despondent. hai donŋ anemanе cumpulaubųŋ doʔli madonu melkhe. If one is unable to say anything even though someone takes things away, one is despondent.
melmelli vi., to be very disheartened, be very despondent. nanci melmelhi. The poor thing is very disheartened.

mena adv., very, completely. gotān menan akhe?ka hihi. Everything is very bad. esa mena sui ba:na bhaikhe aŋ. Thus it’s just like a pin prick. menan dulpa madulkhe aŋ. It doesn’t go in at all.

mene adv., in vain, for nothing, for no reason. menemenŋ niu bho:khe. He’s searching for a pretext for no reason. menen nemhi gora amli. He acquired the habit of drinking alcohol for nothing. wa e?hoŋ kam niŋhi maniŋhi menen lhauhi. Whether he has work or not, he brags without reason.

mense n., sesame.

mepondo n., hearth, campfire.

merli vt., to stare at, eyeball. miŋkau juhāheŋ merkhe cali bha?sin. The cat is eyeballing the mouse in order to eat it. cali ninā be do?teŋ bomiko caka merhi. Wondering whether he would get some to eat, he stared at the other person’s food.

mesa n., fever.

mesanhali vm., to have a fever.

methoŋ n., tail.

meuka adj., in knots, grumbling (stomach).

meuli vi., to have a grumbling stomach. m-sar meuhi. The meal is grumbling. maca babu. meuhi. Don’t eat it, junior. It’ll grumble (in your stomach).

meumeuli vi., to grumble a lot. jethe calaubuŋ meumeukhe. However much [I] eat, it grumbles a lot.

meumeupa adv., in a grumbling manner (stomach). hamu meumeupa tu:hi. [My] stomach is grumbling and hurts.

meusiumeusiuli vi., to grumble and sting (stomach). hamu meusiumeusiui. [My] stomach is grumbling and stinging. kayko hamu mhitukako meusiumeusiuihoi. My stomach has started grumbling and stinging from hunger. mhituhi wa la. meusiumeusiui. He may be hungry. His stomach is grumbling and stinging.

meusiumeusiupa adv., hamu meusiumeusiupa tu:hi. mhituli do:hoi. [His] stomach hurts in a grumbling and stinging manner. He’s hungry already.
me?nhali  vm., to wind around. siŋta lara me?nhateŋ hihi. A vine is winding around the tree.
me?pili  vt., to twist for, wring for someone; cause one’s stomach to become upset. nhatoŋ me?piä? Shall I twist [your] ear? dhanygai kiya oletomlau nirga me?pisip. When the rooster is about to come out let’s fourth wring its neck. da?ka cateŋ hamu me?pihi. Having eaten something sour, it turned [my] stomach.
me?sa  n., goat.
me?sulîŋ n., cloth beam tension peg.
mi  class., human classifier.
mi  n., eye.
mi jolka juhâ  n., type of rat with large eyes that shine at night.
mi-besa  n., ego’s wife’s sister’s husbands (term of reference).
mi-one  n., elder and younger brothers (term of reference). ~ me-one.
miau  onom., sound that a cat makes, meow.
micikiri  n., mulberry.
midhi  n., dirt, grime, filth (on one’s body).
mihi?ka  adj., to be well milled (no broken grains). ūŋkhu mihi?ka jeŋhi. The rice turned out well milled.
miko lisi  n., eye detritus.
milai  n., couple, pair, man and wife.
miliŋ  n., cultivated land, field.
milili  vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to be arranged.
milipali  vt., to arrange, see to something. tatai milipanhakhe. We arrange it ourselves.
milipapili  vt., to arrange for someone. kalau obalai milipapia wa. They may arrange things for [you].
mimpali  vt., to cause to be ripe or cooked, cook, prepare food.
mimppapili  vt., to cook for someone. mhituhoiŋa. m marpha mimpapi.
I’m hungry already. Cook up some rice for me but quick.
mimui  n., eye lash; eye brow.
mîŋ  n., name; reputation; self.
mîŋka  adj., ripe; cooked.
mîŋkaini beray  n., nickname for a woman, ‘old cat woman’.
miŋkau n., cat. Parents get children to stop crying by saying *miŋkau lokhe* or ‘a cat is coming’, presumably drawn by the child’s crying.

miŋli vi., to be ripe; be cooked; be grey (hair). *m miŋkhoi la.* The rice is almost cooked now. *pusiŋ miŋka hihi.* *waran jeyhoi.* His hair has turned grey. He’s an old man already.

miŋkhoi la. The rice is almost cooked now. *pusiŋ miŋka hihi.* *waran jeyhoi.* His hair has turned grey. He’s an old man already.

mirli vi., to be dank.

misihã n., eyeball.

misihã kanaka n., blind person.

misir n., [me fire + siŋ tree] firewood. *misir selka* chopping firewood.

misiri n., [< Ind-Aryan] rock sugar.

misirikon n., yam bean, jicama (edible root).

miti n., tear, tear drop.

moˈhatari n., Dhimal clan.

molipali vt., [< Ind-Aryan] to massage.

molipili vt., [< Ind-Aryan] to massage someone.

moteri saro n., [< Ind-Aryan] wall creeper (bird).

moːli vt., to lift up (one’s arm as if to strike). *lathe moːkhe.* He’s lifting up the cane (to strike). *khur moːhi.* He lifted up his arm (to strike).

moːpili vt., to mix; rub, massage. *tirpahoi tarpahoi sagua moːp̚hɔi.* Let it cool and then mix in the yeast.

moːg̱pili vt., to rub for, massage for someone. *gandi moːp̱p̚i.* Massage [my] back for [me].

muika adj., sick.

muili vi., to be sick (animals). *paya muikhe.* Pigs get sick. *kiya muiteŋ sihi.* The chicken became sick and died.

muisã n., fur, body hair.

mukabili n., [< Ind-Aryan] way, method. *odoŋ mukabiliso.* In that way.

mulai n., [< Ind-Aryan] daikon radish.

muleŋ khunti n., [< Ind-Aryan] roof post.

mun n., beaten rice.

munci n., broken rice grains.
mundha n., [< Indo-Aryan] stump.

munjhili vt., to wash (dishes, teeth). tasi munjhili to brush one’s teeth. takhala munjhili. to wash dishes.

munsuri n., medium-sized raptor with a white belly. ~ mursini.

murkha n., [< Indo-Aryan] fool, idiot, simpleton.

murli vi., to ooze, ooze out; salivate. ci bhonoi letaso tirka tirka ci murkhe. The water oozes up from the ground nice and cold. tintili cakataŋ kaŋko thoʔsi murhi. While eating tamarind, I started to salivate.

murpali vt., to cause to ooze, make drool, salivate. kaŋko caka tinteŋ wa thoʔsi murpahi. Having seen what I was eating, it made him start to salivate.

murti n., spring, place where water rises from the ground.

musar n., mushroom; mould, fungus.

mutbhāŋga n., [< Indo-Aryan] green bee eater, Merops orientalis.

mh

mhaha n., young man who lives with and works for a woman’s parents in order to earn the right to marry her without paying a brideprice.

mhai n., [usually plural mhaigelai] malevolent nocturnal female ghouls that primarily haunt men who are susceptible away from inhabited areas, but even right outside by the home. If they get a hold of you, they sap your strength, and you become sick and die. They are naked, have slimy skin, long fang-like upper teeth and disheveled hair falling in front of their face. Their eyes glow at night and children get a creepy thrill at having spotted one, with their eyes aglow—blinking. Many attacks are attested, with several men bold enough to attack one when they see it (a friend’s mother was inadvertantly attacked by a neighbour while defaecating). One can not kill them, but they can be disarmed. One should not attempt to wrestle with mhaigelai as their slimy skin renders them ungraspable. The optimal plan of attack is to grab them by the hair, wrap it around one’s hand, and then proceed to smash their face into the ground to dislodge the teeth.
While doing this, force them to say hai doŋ mapā (I won’t do anything). ~ mhan gelai.
mhaili vt., to grind (in a jhato). kalai mhaikhe. She’s grinding lentils.
mhali vi., to be intoxicated, get intoxicated. gora mhahoi. They are drunk on rice alcohol already. gora mhabi wa la u. It looks like they are drunk, you know.
mhalli vt., to look upward, tilt one’s head back. matingha. I didn’t see it. mhalteŋ khay! Tilt your head back and look!
mhapa adv., in a drunken fashion, until drunk. gora mhapa amhi. He drank to the point of drunkenness.
mhawa n., kinship term for ego’s daughter’s husband; term of address used by a man’s wife’s senior relatives.
mha?li vi., to stop, cease, hold up, wait (only used in the imperative).
    e?ghurir miha? aũ. Wait just a minute, okay? miha?! miha?! miha?!
    Wait! Wait! Wait! nidhimi miha?se. You two stop it. koma miha?.
    Hold up a moment (said to a person walking along the road).
mhe?li vt., to whip. wa diyaheŋ mhe?khe. He is whipping the water buffalo. naseŋ dihamhoi mhe?tanja! I’m going to whip you with a rope!
mhituli vi., to be hungry. elay ca. nhu?so mhituana. Eat right now.
    (Otherwise) you will be hungry afterwards. mhituhoiga. I’m hungry.
mhitupa adv., hungrily. mhitupa hili to remain hungry.
mholi vi., to hide oneself. dyar mhokhe. The person is hiding. na lonu wa mhoŋ wa la. If you come, she may hide then.
mholhali vi., to go to hide. kalau khuwāhā mholhahi la. And so the tiger went to hide.
mhopili vt., to hide oneself from someone. mhopi! gyani lohi! Hide!
    Jñānī arrived!
GLOSSARY

mho?li vt., to hide something. kasey tintey rhai mho?hi. Having seen me she hid her face. c?ku hiso mho?nha? Where did you` hide the knife?
mho?ti n., yeast.
mhu mhuika adj., tiny, itsy-bitsy.
mhuika adj., small.
mhuika m n., type of slightly glutinous rice.
mhuili vi., to be small. mhuilabelau tasin? thurli tan? hi kalau bhenay tasin? yo:hi. When he was small, his tooth grew loose and another tooth came in.
mhuipali vt., to make small; to turn down the volume (on a radio).

n

na pron., second person singular pronoun you.
na 1) conj., or. 2) part., clause final question marker.
nadoi n., type of earring worn on the upper part of the ear.
nai inter., [< Indo-Aryan] no.
nai biri n., bear, the sloth bear, Melursus ursinus.
naimhe n., type of grass used for thatching, Imperata cylindrica. Nep khar.
naimhe musar n., type of edible mushroom that grows in naimhe.
naju n., ego`s wife`s older sister; ego`s husband`s older sister.
naka`mundi n., [< Indo-Aryan] nose pin.
nakuna n., barking deer, Muntiacus muntjak.
nalli vt., to know someone, recognize. manalnha? Don`t you` recognise [me]? na kahe? rempha manalkhena wa la. You` may not know me very well.
nal?num., five.
nalpali vt., to introduce, cause to recognize.
nalsuli vr., to be friends, be acquainted, know one another.
**nym** n., 1) ego’s son’s wife; kinship term used by all of a man’s senior relatives to refer to his wife. 2) species of fish-eating bird with a long slender neck, darter, snakebird, *Anhinga melanogaster*.

**nambiri** n., wooden pin holding the beater rods of a loom together.

**nampili** vt., to fetch for someone. *Nampiā? Shall I fetch it for [you]?

**nanabhati** n., [< Indo-Aryan] magic, hocus-pocus.

**nanci** n., term of pity; poor thing. Nep. *bicāra*.

**nani** adv., today.

**nanibare** adv., this year. ~ *nenabare*.

**nāŋga?li** vi., to awaken.

**nāŋpa?lā** vt., to wake up.

**nāŋko** pron., second person singular possessive pronoun your.

**nāŋli** vt., to fetch, get. *Ka ci nāŋli haneka highakha*. I had gone to fetch water.

**napheley** n., side of the face.

**nāra** n., [< Indo-Aryan] straw.

**nāra musar** n., type of edible mushroom that grows in straw.

**nariya** n., elephant.

**nasiŋ** n., reason, cause. *Odoŋ nasiŋ*. For that reason. cf. *bha?siŋ*.

**natinibare** adv., two years ago, the year before last.

**na:ka** adj., muddy, cloudy (water). *Na:ka ci amlī ma-el*. One shouldn’t drink cloudy water.

**na:li** vi., to be muddy, become clouded (water). *Jhora?ta haya manṭlabelau ci nā:khe*. When one fishes in the river, the water becomes muddy.

**nāwa** n., [< Indo-Aryan] new.

**nehare** n., dew.

**nekanai juhā** n., mouse.

**nelai** pron., second person plural pronoun you.

**nelaiko** pron., second person plural possessive pronoun your.

**nelpa** adv., [< Indo-Aryan] blue.

**nemli** vi., to be accustomed to, be used to; acquire the habit of. *Meneŋ nemhi gora amlī*. He aquired the habit of drink for nothing.

**ma-amka dyāŋ cur amlī nemhi u**. A non-smoking person acquired
the habit of smoking cigarettes, you know. nemhoi. He’s used to
[you] already.
nenabare adv., this year.
nerja n., Indian grey hornbill, Ocyceros birostris.
neuta n., invitation.
ni n., day.
nicala?li vt., to become dreary, be quiet and dull. nani manicala?hi.
   Today it wasn’t quiet. nicala?ta wa. It may become quiet and dull
   [without you].
nidasenta adv., all the time, day and night. kha?ka nariya nidasenta
   lokhe. The escaped elephant comes all the time.
nidhimi pron., second person dual pronoun you. ~ nidhinimi.
nidhiko pron., second person dual possessive pronoun your. ~
nidhimiko.
nilli vt., to forget. manilaŋka. I won’t forget. kasey he?lau manil aĩ?
   Don’t ever forget me, okay? aroŋ te nilhoiga. The rest I forgot.
nimpili vt., to tell someone, relate (a tale). niŋka nimpī. Tell [us] a
tale.
nincali vp., to undergo, experience; hurt oneself. masa?nu dukha
   nincana. If you† don’t heed (my words), you’ll experience
trouble. nincagha. I hurt myself. nincaana! You† are going to hurt
yourself! donai nincali to get a beating. thokar nincali to take a
bump, bump into.
niŋkā n., story, fable, folk tale.
niŋko pron., second person singular possessive pronoun your (affinal
register).
niŋli vi./vt., to be available; get, receive, find; manage, succeed,
accomplish. edoi doʔka ciigelai gotaŋ lati jhoraʔta haya maŋkata
   rə kiham yukata niŋkhe. These things that were said are all
available catching fish and crabs in the Lãṭī river. torse bajarta
niŋkhe. Mangoes are available in the market. naŋko ciitthi ninteŋ
ekdo?mai khusi lagehi. Having received your§ letter, I became very
happy. cencula kancha rə cameli kanchiko bihu cali ninana. You§
will get to celebrate Cenculā Kānchā’s and Camelī Kānchī’s
wedding. naseŋ bhejetey haneli niŋnu remka jendhaŋ. If [I]
manage to meet you§ before going, that would be good. naŋko
paisa pigilka kathmandu haneli maningha. I didn’t manage to go
Kathmandu [for] the money that you sent.
nirli vi., to be tickled.
nirpali vt., to tickle.
niru n., calf.
niruko lisi caka sigun n., Egyptian vulture, Neophron percnopterus.
Perceptively and appropriately called the ‘calf shit eating vulture’
by the Dhimal.
nitima adv., afternoon (approx. 10am – 3-4pm).
Go on and swallow the glasses (since you swallowed the
contents so eagerly)!
nokula n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] vain or phoney man.
nokuli n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] vain or phoney woman.
nole n., bobbin.
nole khati n., bobbin pin.
nomka adj., soft, tender, pliable. nomka dyahhej kam araika araika
pahi nancihej. They kept ordering the soft person around, the
poor thing.
nomli vi., to be soft, tender, pliable. payako biha nomkhe. Pork is a
tender meat.
nono adj., unfermented, underfermented.
nosoi n., sash worn around the waist by Dhimal women that doubles
as a head covering and light shawl.
no:li vt., to make smooth, make even, make level; eat (corn) on the
cob. sukataj sukataj no:khe. Polishing and polishing (the rice) it
becomes smooth. m su to. ela no:ka wa ra. Polish the rice. It
might be smooth now. bhonoi no:li do:hoi. The soil is finished
being leveled. mokai no:khe. He’s eating corn on the cob.
no?li vi., to lower the head. tumta no?ana anau. You will lower
your head younger sibling (when I come around). no?tej
khanjhe. She’s watching with her head lowered (on the sly).
nuhē adv., east, eastward. ka?ko dera nuhē hihi. My village is to the
east.
nuhēpa adv., from the east.
nuhêpaha adv., on the east side.

nuí n., mouth.

nuílí vi., to swim (fish, duck, turtle).

nuílí vi., to sound off, emit a sound.

nuípali vi./vt., to make swim; come swimming.

nuípali vt., to make a sound. lipaipa nuípa! Make a farting sound!

nuniya n., [< Indo-Aryan ‘salt’] Dhimal clan.

nuwa n., kinship term for female ego’s elder sister’s husband.

nu?lí vt., to swallow. osere nu?khe. He’s swallowing medicine.

nya pron., first person singular pronoun you (affinal register)

nh

nhaka n., a dance, dancing. nhaka khaylhakha. I’m going to watch
the dancing.

nhali vi., to dance. nhanha? Did you dance?

nhamli vi., to smell, have an odor (disagreeable), stink. sen?sey

nhamhi. It stinks awfully.

nhamui n., ant.

nhapali vt., to make dance, swing around. iŋko dadaheŋ nhapasuni.

Please get that older brother to dance. dabiya nhapateŋ lokhe.

They come swinging the kukhuri around.

nhapili vt., to dance for someone. nhapiā? Shall I dance for [you]?

nhapiti n., dried nasal mucus, booger, snot.

nhapu n., nose; reputation, honour. cf. nhapu ta?li, nhapu lho:pali.

nhapu relinquka n., long nosed person; unfriendly, stuck up.

nhapukana n., nostril.

nhati n., snot.

nhatoi n., heddle pulley (weaving implement).

nhatoŋ n., ear.

nhatoŋ mahiŋka n., deaf person.

nha?siuli vi., to sneeze.

nhe?kuri num., forty.

nhe?lonŋ num., two. nhe?lonŋ donŋ both.

nhe?pa adv., in pairs.

nhisîŋ n., night; approximately 19h00 to around 04h00.
hi?loŋ num., seven.


nho?pali vt., to cause to land, alight. rajta nho?pali to sley, pass the warp threads through the heddle reed.

nhōya n., monkey.

nhumlī vt., to smell something.

nu?dina n., the following day, next day.

nu?gilli vt., to follow around. kicangelai bhundi kiyahēj nu?gilke. Chicks follow the hen around.

nu?li vt., to follow, go behind. khuwāhā nhu?hi. The tiger followed.


nu?so postp., after, behind. iŋko nhu?so. After that.

obalai pron., third person plural pronoun they (unmarked).

obalaiko pron., third person plural possessive pronoun their (unmarked).

doepa adv., from that direction.

odoi dem., that.

odoŋ dem., that very.

odhimi pron., third person dual pronoun they (unmarked). ~ odhinimi.

odhiŋko pron., third person dual possessive pronoun their (unmarked). ~ odhimiko.

oi inter., hey (calling from a distance).

oili vt., to wind. sute oidoŋkhe She’s winding a skein.

oina n., hand-held wooden instrument, consisting of the fork of a branch with a rod inserted at the base parallel to the fork, which is used to wind skeins of thread.

ojha n., [< Indo-Aryan] shaman, traditional healer.

o'khoili vt., to dig up, harvest root crops.

okhuri n., dandruff.

oleka n., interest, profit.
oleli vi., to come out, emerge. *anji pe?sa tuiso olehi.* Yesterday the silkworms emerged from the egg. *gaiko chali bhamka olehi.* The cream came out of the cow thick.

olepali vt., to take out, bring out, remove. *gojiso paisa olepa.* Take the money out of your pocket. *nelai dera gora olepakhe ma-olepakhe rhe:lhakata?* Do they bring out alcohol in your village when courting? *khe?ti olepali* to masturbate.

olepapili vt., to take out for someone; cause someone to be let out. *pasimko korci ba:nhaten hihi. rempha tereteq olepapiaŋka.* [You] have a bamboo sliver. Open it (the wound) good and I’ll take it out [for you].

oli vt., to steam. *baguya okhe.* She’s steaming *baguya.* cf. *baphaili.*

ollī vt., to put on top, put on a roof. *tin olli* to put on a tin roof. *cale? olli* to put thatch on a roof.

one n., kinship term for ego’s younger brother or sister, younger sibling.

onganaiti n., firefly.

onjli vt., to burn, char; cook on the coals, fry (an egg). *haipali onkhena ede ghaila?* Why are you charring this clay jug? *meta pundhui ongha.* I cooked the brain in the fire.

onjnhali vm., to be burned, charred, accidentally burn oneself; to cook (an egg). *khokoi onjnhahi.* He burned his leg. *tui rempha onjnhahi.* The egg cooked well.


osa adv., in that way, in that manner.

osere n., [< Indo-Aryan] medicine.

osere-poiti n., treatment. *osere-poiti pipasu re!* Get her some treatment I say!

oso adv., to there, in that direction.

ota adv., there. *otaso* from there; after that.

ote pron., that much.

othemampha adv., so many, so much, so very. *bihuta othemampha dyan lohi. sar-m mathemhi.* At the wedding so many people came. There wasn’t enough food. *othemampha remka hihi.* It is
so very nice. *othemampha nitima madhe sane?ta?!* (You are sitting there) in such a mid-day heat as this?!

*otthesa* adv., that much.

*o?ya* n., horse.

*o:li* vi., to crow. *kiya o:kaŋ*. The rooster is going to crow.

*o:li* vt., to peel. *insapa o:khena?!* Is that how you’re peel?! *ka buŋ o:kā kagati!* I want to peel the limes too! *lumphi o:hi*. He peeled the banana.

*o?cali* vp., to vomit. *nanci o?cakhe rā*. The poor thing, she’s vomitting.


*o?ka* 1) adj., burnt. *o?ka m*. burnt rice, crust formed on the bottom of the pot when cooking rice. 2) n., burning. *me o?ka*. a burn (on one’s skin).


*o?pali* vt., to burn, burn up. *biha sar o?pahi*. She burned the meat and the vegetables. *jhora?ta sika dyāŋheŋ o?pakhe*. They are burning a dead person at the river.

*o?papili* vt., to burn for someone. *mansar o?papiā do?kha*. I say, shall I burn some garlic [for you]? (garlic roots are burned in mustard oil which is then patted vigorously onto the head to cure colds).

*o?ti* n., vomit.

\[p\]

*pərheli* vi./vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to study, read.

*pərhepali* vt., to teach (formally, as in a class room), make read.

*pərhheapalhari* vt., to go to teach. *oso pərhheapalhadoŋkhe*. He’s going over there to teach.

*pərhheapapili* vt., to teach to, teach for.

*pəhilaka* adv., [< Indo-Aryan] before, first.

*pəkka* adv., [< Indo-Aryan] truly.
GLOSSARY

pañja n., [< Indo-Aryan] talon.

põeraər adv., [< Indo-Aryan] each other.

põereli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to befall; cost. naheŋ dukha porehe panu dukh basuli mho?. If you get into trouble, blow on the flute of trouble. eʔkilo pyaj heʔtaka porekhe? How much for one kilo of onions? ~ poreli.

põethaigilli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to send; mail.

põethaili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to send. kaheŋ cuṭṭhi pəthaisuana? Will you8 write to me?

põeudi ghari vi., [< Indo-Aryan + ghali ‘to play’] to swim (humans).

pacan n., [< paya ‘pig’ + can ‘son’] piglet.

paceli vt., to winnow. m rata pacekhe. She is winnowing rice on a winnowing tray. cf. phasili.

pagilli vt., to go around doing. bejalai hiso hiso ko doʔteŋ obalai bisar pagilghahi wajan jamalai cahi. The boys went around thinking, ‘where is it that the girls are?’.

paʔha n., side, way. eʔpaha...bhenay paha. On the one hand...on the other hand.

paʔhar n., [< Indo-Aryan] hill, mountain.

paʔhariya n., [< Indo-Aryan] hill person, ethnic group originating in the mountains of the Himalayas.

pahariya katha n., the Nepali language.

pairo n., stairs.

paisa n., [< Indo-Aryan] money.

paka-caka n., doing and eating, living.

pakajaka pakajaka adv., rarely, on occasion. pakajaka pakajaka khiniŋ amkha. I only drink on occasion.

pakapaki adv., really, truly. pakapaki cumpuana? Will you8 really take [me] away?

pakpika adj., pakpika dyay. Person walking along the road.

pakpili vi., to walk along (a road). dyay dama pakpikhe. A person is walking along the road.

pakri siŋ n., [< Indo-Aryan] pipal tree, Ficus religiosa.


pakhuta n., [< Indo-Aryan] head scarf.

pa’la n., [< Indo-Aryan] deed, turn, response.
palau n., intercourse.
pali vt., to do, make; say. na hasu pateŋ hi?. Ask saying ‘who are you’?'. bihu pali to wed, marry. na hethe bheneŋ bejan dophar bihu palau buŋ kanŋko mən naŋko dophar hiaŋ. No matter how many different girls you marry, my heart will be with you’. aram pali to rest, relax. phom pali to remember. kam pali to work. dauni pali to thresh grain by animal. gunaso pali to be sad, grieve. hela pali to hate, oppress. jharphu pali to exorcise. tayar pali to get ready. pas pali to pass (a class).
palli vt., to cut down, chop off, lop, behead.
palpili vt., to cut down for, lop off for, behead for someone. pitekataŋ pitekataŋ tole siŋ buŋ palpihi la. Following and following [them], she then also cut down the flour tree (on which they depended).
pane n., [< Indo-Aryan] betel leaf.
panihasa n., [< Indo-Aryan] moorhen, Gallinula chloropus.
panjere n., [< Indo-Aryan] rib, rib cage (of an emaciated person, skeleton). gotaŋ panjere tiŋkhe. One can see all his ribs. cf. kokhe.
pan’ saili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to divine, foretell.
pantha n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] boar, buck. pantha me?sa buck, male goat.
panthi n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] sow, doe.
pap n., [< Indo-Aryan] sin. pap lonyke. That is a sin.
papali vt., to blush, be red in the face (from sunburn or physical discomfort). rhai istu papahi Your face got real red. marci thermu rhai papaŋ. If the chili pepper is piquant, one’s face will turn red.
papapuli vi., to slowly blush, to gradually become red in the face.
rhai papapukhoi. Your face is starting to turn red.
papidhili vt., to do for someone and leave behind. nimta papidhihi. He provided recompense for [him] and left it behind.
papili vt., to do to/for someone, provide for, arrange for someone. na kanŋko bejet khiniŋ papinha. You only caused me shame. na kelaiko lagi hisika hisika kam papinha. You did all sorts of work for us. wako dada buŋ bihu papili do?nu te jendhaŋ. Her older
brother also says arranging a wedding would be okay. *bihu papihi*. They threw a wedding for [them].

*papuli* vt., to go along doing.


*parapa* adv., with a wide bearth, allowing sufficient room, from afar.

*asa parapa cumpu re!* Take it a little ways further over there, I say! ~ *pharapa*.


*pa’rami* n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] ritual friend.


*phul para?nhahi*. We* bo* crossed the bridge. *sa? para?hi*. He passed by the house (not recognising it).

*parba* n., [< Indo-Aryan] Dhimal harvest festival, celebrated at the same time as the Nepali *tiḥār*. *Parba* is a clan holiday and each family celebrates according to their particular clan rules. An important part of *parba* is the sacrifices to the clan deities, with each deity requiring a certain type and colour of animal. Consequently, it involves a significant outlay of money and resources. In addition, household deities are worshiped. Dhimals do not celebrate the Nepali festival *dasāṭi*. This festival is also known as *aūnsi puja*. cf. *asare puja*.

*parbati* n., [< Indo-Aryan] female deity in Dhimal pantheon borrowed from Hindu *pārvatī*.

*pareu* n., [< Indo-Aryan] pigeon.


*pa’ saludi* vi., to move (a bit), shift position. *iso pasai*. Move back a little this way.

*pasim* n., bamboo.

*patalalali* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to be thin and watery (rice beer).

*pataloi bo?na* n., variety of woman’s garment with repeating bands of five verticle orange stripes on a black background.

*pa’tam* n., gizzard.


*pauna* n., bamboo steamer.
**GLOSSARY**

**pau'saigilli** vt., to go around copulating. *bhale cañ̤̃ iñko telhiheñ pausahaanikhe*. The rooster goes around mating with that pullet.

**pau'saili** vt., to mate, copulate (animals). *kalau kican bara?teñ kalau uñko buñ pausaikhe*. So after the chick grows up, it also mates.

**paya** n., pig.

**pāya** n., blood-engorged tick.

**pāya** n., [< Indo-Aryan] wheel.

**pa:li** vi., to set fruit. *yumphi pa:khoi*. The banana is starting to set fruit.

**pecara** n., wound, sore.

**pecere?li** vi., to be soggy (rice). *m pecere?hi*. The rice turned out soggy.

**pegurai** n., red-vented bulbul, *Pycnonotus cafer*.

**pela** n., [< Indo-Aryan] glass (drinking). This word is being edged out by a more recent loan *gilas*.

**peleli** vi., to press, push, thrust in.

**pelsi** n., [< piya cow + lisi shit] cow manure. ~ *pils*.

**pelsiño** n., [< Eng. pencil] pencil.

**pem?aiti bhol** n., large edible tuber with maroonish cast on skin and pale dry flesh. Surface plant is a vine. Hindus eat during *māgh sañkrānti*.

**pempali** vt., to come break, come bust. *puriñ pempanña*? Shall I come bust [your] head?

**pempili** vt., to break for someone. *puriñ pempiñā*? Shall I bust [your] head for [you]?

**pendhi** n., irrigation canal.

**peñli** vt., to break, burst (bone, clay jug).

**peñhali** vm., to be broken, break. *paharso lolabelau lonteñ̤ khokoi peñhahi*. Coming down from the hill, he fell and broke his leg.


**peusa** n., [< Indo-Aryan] ego’s father’s younger sister’s husband. cf. *pisai*.

**pe:li** vt., 1) to pick, pluck. *kalau torse pe:teñ cuma*. Pick some mangoes and bring them. 2) to hatch, hatch out. *kiya kican rempha pe:sañi*. It seems the chicken did a good job hatching out
the chicks. *ede bhundi kiya rempha kican pe:sakhe.* It seems this hen does a good job hatching out chicks.

*pe:nhali* vm., 1) to be picked, plucked. 2) to be hatched, hatch. *pe?sa siŋta pe:nhateŋ hihi.* The caterpillars are hatching out in the tree.

*pe:pali* vt., to come pick; pick and bring. *odoŋ nasiq ka e?juri kaura nimta piteŋ ka ede torse pe:pakha.* Because of that, I left a pair of cowries as compensation and I am coming to pick these mangoes.


*pe?sa* n., bug, insect; maggot; caterpillar. *anji pe?sa tuiso olehi* Yesterday the silkworms hatched.

*picõ* n., [< Indo-Aryan] large type of owl.

*pidhili* vt., to give and leave behind, return, give back; bequeath. *kalau nhe?loŋ basuli pidhihi.* And so they left two flutes behind for [him].

*pigilli* vt., to send. *ka amerikata cițihi mapigilgha.* I didn’t send any letters to America. *wa kaseŋ kharca paisa pigilli khaŋkhe do?gha.* I said he is trying to send me money for expenses.

*pili* vt., to give; allow, let. *paisa lonu ka naseŋ piã do?hi.* He said if money comes, I’ll give it to you’. *hiso haneli mapihi.* They wouldn’t let him go anywhere. *maph pili* to forgive, excuse. *gəlti jeŋnu maph pi.* If there are mistakes, forgive [me]. *dokha pili* to deceive.

*pipali* vt., to come give, give back, bring back, return something. *nhe?kilo pipagha.* I presented them (the beggars) with two kilos.

*pipa aũ!* Bring it back (when you are done), okay? *ajaiheŋ pipa!* Come give this to grandma! *naj amaiheŋ yungai pipaana?* You are going to bring back tumeric to your mother?

*pipuli* vt., to go and give, bring, transport. *tataiko suta kiŋli pipukhe.* They bring them to their own houses to cook. *ajaiheŋ pipu.* Go and give it to grandmother. *ko bəti. pipu oso.* Here, take the bowl and bring it over there.

*pisai* n., [< Indo-Aryan] ego’s father’s younger sister. cf. *peusa.*

*pital* n., [< Indo-Aryan] brass.

*pitana* n., fruitless rice. Nep. *khokori dhăn.*
piteli vt., to track, trail after. insaŋ poisa tintey pitekataŋ pitekataŋ pitekataŋ hanenahi kelai. So having spotted tracks, we went along like that tracking it and tracking it.
piti n., [< Indo-Aryan] gall.
pitipata(pa)pa adv., intermittently, in fits and spurts. wai piti(pata(pa)lokhe. It is sprinkling.
pituli n., oriental magpie robin, Copsychus saularis.
piya n., cow.
piti vt., to sell. micikiri hetheso pitana anau Little sister, how much will you sell the mulberries for?
poali vt., oriental magpie robin, Copsychus saularis.
poison n., tracks, a trail.
polia n., type of fish.
poj class., [< Eng. pose] (camera) shot, pose; dya poj hanehoi Four shots are already gone.
pokpa adv., in a smacking manner, with a blow.
pokpokiyajihā n., sultan tit.
pombleleli vi., to lie face down.
pomli vt., to cuddle, hold close; keep for oneself. pomteŋ jimteŋ hihi. He’s sleeping cuddling. canheŋ pomteŋ hihi. She is holding her child close. kiya kican pomkhe. The chicken is covering the chicks. payako biha cali eklay pomgha. I kept the pork to eat for myself.
pojghali vt., to fill. kyarhita ci pongo̱hachi. They filled the channel with water. borata m pongha̱khe. He is filling the sack with rice.
porecai n., [< Indo-Aryan] acquaintance.
poseli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to raise, rear (human or animal). maposeā ka. I won’t raise [you].
potintiyi n., [< Indo-Aryan] blossom headed parakeet, Psittacula cyanocephala.
potoka adj./n., small, short, diminutive. nhatọ potoka. Small-eared person.
potoli vi., to be small, be short, be diminutive.

potolon n., bottom layer of thatch on a roof, usually consisting of naimhe.

potopotoka adj., very short, very small.

po:li vt., to cut, sever, snip. khati po:li to divorce. jetha milai naniso khati po:kaŋ do?khe. Jetha says that from today on the couple will divorce.

po:pili vt., to sever for, snip for someone. eloŋ khokoi po:pika hihi. They cut off one of her legs. dama po:pili to hinder someone, obstruct someone’s progress, keep from achieving one’s goals. dama po:pikhe. They are obstructing [her] progress.

po?li vt., to put in a pile with ones hands, scoop together. m po?khe. He’s scooping together the rice. cf. ko?li.

pugili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to arrive, reach; suffice. iŋkoŋ arna diyako bəthanta pugihi iŋko kawa. That crow reached that very herd of wild water buffalo.

puili vt., to embroider, weave (net, basket, carpet). cf. thirli.

puja n., [< Indo-Aryan] worship.


pukareli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to exclaim.

puli vi., to go, leave, set out (on foot). dama te puhi. He hit the road. bai gadi maninteŋ dama te puhi. Not having caught a bus, older sister set out on her way.

pulpulaili vt., to dote.

pundhui n., brain.

pupuli vt., go and bring back (for someone). pupu an? Go and bring one back, okay? sar manthutenŋ pasai sar pupuhli. Not having any vegetable he went and brought back mustard greens.

purbiya 1) adj., [< Indo-Aryan] eastern. 2) n., a speaker of the eastern Dhimal dialect (usually found in the plural). purbiyalai eastern Dhimals.

purin n., head.

purkhagelai n., [< Indo-Aryan] ancestors.

pusiŋ n., hair. pusin hu:ka n., a bald person.
putuli vi., to sulk. paisa mapitē putuhi. Not having given him any money, he sulked.
pūya n., snake.

**ph**

phārōk 1) adj., [< Indo-Aryan] different. 2) n., difference.
phārra adv., [< Indo-Aryan] smoothly, flowingly, fluently.
phaguwa n., [< Indo-Aryan] Hindu holiday celebrated by dousing people with water and coloured powder.
phaili vi., to flow.
phali n., [< Indo-Aryan] ploughshare.
phalna n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] someone else, another person. phalna dyāŋ. Another person.
pharlī vt., to carry in one’s mouth. waheŋ pharteŋ cumpuhi jharbhari. Having taken him in his mouth, he took him away towards the forest.
pharpuli vt., to carry away in one’s mouth. wa ŋko cōtalai pharpuhi.
   It carried that mat away in its mouth.
pharuwa n., [< Indo-Aryan] hoe. cf. kodala.
phasili vt., to clean stones and debris from rice before cooking. thuli unkhu phasitē m ga:. Thūli, clean the rice and cook it. wa unkhu maphasikhe. She doesn’t clean the rice.
pha:li vt., to carry a heavy object on one’s shoulder.
phe’ceŋ n., tuber used to control vomiting (similar in appearance to ginger, but fatter).
phelepheleka adj., thin, sheer (cloth).
phelna n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] other person. ~ phalna.
phelni n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] other person.
pherli vt., to spin. un pherli to spin wool. sute pherkhe. She is spinning thread.
pher’saiti thori n., type of tortoise.
phesa n., broom. ~ phesar.
phe:li  vt., to sweep, wipe, swing from side to side. kalau e?loŋ bebal esa saleŋ phe:ghahi do?khe. And so they say a woman was sweeping the ground in this way. nhapu maphe:kana? Aren’t you going to wipe your nose? tau phe:ten phe:ten hihi. [I] really have to piss. napleŋ phe:li to turn one’s head away.
phe:pigilli  vt., to go around sweeping for someone. ode bewal te odoŋ nariyaheŋ phesaru phutphutpa phe:pigilhi. That woman went around sweeping up those elephants one by one with a broom.
phe:pili  vt., to sweep for, wipe for someone. nhati phe:pi. Wipe your snot.
phe?dam sinj  n., wild jackfruit tree, ‘monkey jackfruit’.
phe?dhili  vt., to beat and leave. na kaŋ camindiheŋ na bihu paana do?ten inson phe?dhili la. Saying ‘you want to marry my daughter?’, he beat him over there and left him behind.
phe?gilli  vt., to go around beating.
phe?gili  vt., to beat, strike; wash clothes by beating against a hard object. kalau inta galabaji porekataŋ porekataŋ loksmanheŋ te khokoi ca:ten siŋta phe?ghi la hanuman. So then in the heat of the fight, Hanumān took Laksmana by the legs and beat him against a tree. naŋko phe?ka anemanegelai manthu? Don’t you have anything to be washed?
phe?nhadhili  vm., to be struck and be left, bang into and be left, fall down and be left behind. phe?nhadhili. He was struck and left behind.
phe?nhagilli  vm., to go around banging into, go around falling down. gora mhahi wa la u. phe?nhagilkhe. He’s probably drunk now, you know. He’s going round bumping into things and falling down.
phe?nhali  vm., to be struck, to bang into, fall down.
phe?puli  vt., to go and beat.
phe?sugilli  vr., to go around fighting.
phe?suka  n., fight, battle, quarrel.
phe?suli  vr., to fight, beat one another. phe?suli thalehi. They began to fight. nhe?mi ekdom phe?sukhe. The two of them really fight.
phe?supali  vt., to come to fight one another.
**phinu** n., door.

**phirli** vi., to shiver, shake.

**phirphir’aili** vi., to shiver all over, shake all over. *phirphiraighakhe.*

He was shivering all over.

**phi’isi?pa** adv., in a hissing manner.


**phom** n., memory, recollection, remembrance.

**phonbara** n., hives, rash.

**pho’paili** vi., [< Indic-Aryan] to hiss (snake).

**phor** n., burrow, tunnel.

**phorli** vi., to tunnel, burrow. *juhā militā phorkhe.* Rats burrow in the field. *ko?sa jharta phorkhe.* Monitor lizards tunnel in the forest.

**photo** [< Eng. *photo*] photograph.


**pho?gilli** vi., to blow around.

**pho?li** vi., to blow, be blown. *kagocgelai bhermata pho?khe.* Papers are blowing in the wind.

**pho?pali** vt., to make blow.

**phulepuli** vi., [< Indic-Aryan] to swell, expand.

**phunga** n., hole. *lekhara phunga* anus. *nhapu phunga* nostril.

**phunka** adj., roasted, barbecued. *phunka biha.* roasted meat.

**phunli** vt., to roast over coals, barbeque, burn (corpse). *me thongaien payako biha phuŋ.* Get the fire going and roast the pork. *ela suta haneli goian phunli phanli.* Now they must go home to roast them up.

**phura** n., large straw container about two feet high and four to five feet around. It is plastered with mud to store rice seeds for planting the following year.

**phurma(s)** n., [< Indic-Aryan] expense.

**phuru** n., star.

rə 1) part., contrastive particle. 2) conj., [<Indo-Aryan] and.
ra n., winnowing tray.
ra-m n., left over rice, reheated rice from a previous meal. ɪŋko
takhalata ra-m hihi. olepateŋ case. There is left-over rice in that
pot. Take it out and eat it.
raithi vt., to scatter, sow. lisi raihi to have the runs, have diarrhoea. lisi
raikhena? Do you have the runs?
rainhali vm., to be scattered.
raipuli vt., to go along scattering. insika cali ma-el. lisi raipukhe.
One shouldn’t eat such things. One goes around having diarrhoea.
raj n., [<Indo-Aryan] reed in a heddle.
raja n., [<Indo-Aryan] king.
rakarakaka adj., difficult.
ramli vi., to disappear, be lost. anemanegelai doŋ rama wa. Things
may get lost.
rampali vt., to lose something, cause to disappear. dilip rampahi.
Dilib lost it.
rampapili vt., to lose someone else’s belongings. kalau rampapinu?
And if [you] lose it?
rampuli vi., to gradually be lost, die out, slowly disappear. sale ɪŋko
me doŋ rampukhe. That damn fire is dying out.
ragli vi., to be stiff. tatui ragli to have an erection.
rasombari bajar n., a Dhimal fair.
rathum n., Dhimal clan.
rauka adj., stiff, stale. rauka m pih. ka macaŋka! She gave [me] stale
rice. I won’t eat it!
rauli vi., to be stiff, stale. dyaŋ sinu raukhe. If a person dies, he
becomes stiff.
raupili vt., to be stiff for, become stale so that someone is affected.
ciciri m maraupikhe. Sticky rice doesn’t become stiff.
raːli vt., to tie up, bind. khuwāhāheŋ rimteŋ ramteŋ raːteŋ ta?li
goiaŋ. khaʔnu kelaiheŋ caa wa. We⁹ must capture the tiger and
keep him tied up. If he escapes, he may eat us\textsuperscript{9}. dyaŋheŋ siŋta ra:nhahi. We\textsuperscript{9} tied the person to a tree.


rela n., [\textless Indo-Aryan] joke.

remka adj., good; appropriate; pretty.

remli vi., to be good, be pretty.

rempha adv., well, in a good manner; thoroughly.

re’remka adj., very good, very pretty.

re?li vt., to crush (with the teeth), gnaw, chomp. nhisintha tasi re?khe. He grinds his teeth at night. hara re?khe. He’s chomping on a bone. mun re?tana? Do you want to chomp on some beaten rice?

rimdhili vt., to capture and leave behind. dhangai rimdhihi. She caught the rooster and set it aside.

rimli vt., to catch, capture. kaseŋ rimteŋ cumpuhi. They caught me and took me away. cf. gomli.

rit n., [\textless Indo-Aryan] fine.

roigilli vi., to crawl around. nhamui sa?ta roigillkhe. Ants are crawling around in the house.

roili vi., to crawl; be winding (road). dadako can roili gikhe. Older brother’s son knows how to crawl.

roipuli vi., to go along crawling. jamal ajaiko bherpa roipukhe. The child is crawling along towards grandma.

romli vt., to straighten things up, put in an orderly fashion. gotay anename rainhaka highahi. romkataŋ romkataŋ belha?hi. All the things had been scattered. By the time things were straightened up it was evening.

ropa n., [\textless Indo-Aryan] 1) transplanting. ropa thiŋli to transplant. 2) small track, footprint. cf. poisa.

ro?li vi., to be partially dried. biha ro?khe. rempha senka manthu. The meat is partially dried. It hasn’t dried thoroughly. hinja bhənainu san timpanu ro?khe. If one is boastful and proud, one becomes partially dried.


ru’mal n., [\textless Indo-Aryan] handkerchief, napkin, handtowel.
rh

**rhai** n., face.

**rhaili** vt., to scratch, claw. *naibiriko can magha. rhaianau!* Don’t play with a bear cub. It’ll scratch you.

**rhauci** n., joke.

**rhauli** vi., reply, retort, respond. *othemampha kaigha kalau buŋ marhauhi*. I called to him repeatedly, but he didn’t respond.

**rha:li** vi., to be partially ripe.

**rha?li** vt., to demolish, tear down, dismantle. *ode dyay hai biŋ sa? rha?khe ko? na bhenay dyayko miliŋta sa? dhampahi be? na kunu ki sa? rha?li goihi*. Why is it that that person is tearing down his house? I wonder, did he have his house built on someone else’s land. Or did he just have to tear it down?

**rhe:gilli** vt., to go around asking for, go around begging. *inho bejalai hai hai rhe:gilhi?* What did those girls come around asking for?

**photo khicili rhe:gilhi**. They came around asking for their photo to be taken.

**rhe:li** vt., to ask for, request.

**rhe:lhaka** n., courting.

**rhe:lhali** vt., to go ask for, court. *hesa pateŋ rhe:lhakhe?* How do they court?

**rhe:pili** vt., to request for someone, to ask for on someone’s behalf.

**rhe:ti** n., permission. *dyay dophā rhe:ti cuma*. Get permission from a person.

**rhe?li** vt., to squeeze, compress.

**rhi’kaili** vi., to yell, call out. *comphe dēdu?dēdu?pa rhikaikhe*. Frogs call out *dēdu? dēdu?*. *rhikaiteŋ nhatoŋ thumteŋ lokhe*. He’s coming with his ears covered from the yelling.

**rhili** vt., to move, transport. *gaḍita unthui rhikhe*. They are moving stones in a truck. *eʔkhe nojər rhiteŋ khaŋgha*. I glanced over once.

**rhi’ma** n., morning, in the morning (approx. 04h00 to around 10h00).

*eʔrhima* early morning, first thing in the morning.

**rhiŋka** adj., tall, long. *rhiŋka beray* (nickname for a woman).
GLOSSARY

rhiŋli vi., to be long, be tall.
rhipuli vt., to go along moving, go along transporting away.
rhi'wa?li vi., to be startled, be surprised.
rhi:li vt., 1) to shake, shake out. sidau rhi:kaŋ. She’ll shake out the quilt. 2) to make a fuss, raise a ruckus. hai rhi:ka hihi ko?! What’s all this fussing about?! cika rhi:li to act up, be insincere, act silly (said of girls). cika marhi:! suta rempha kam pa! Don’t act silly! Work hard at home!
rho:li vt., 1) to block, hinder; fish with a net. jənti lolabelau beulaheŋ dama rho:khe. When the wedding procession arrives, they block the groom’s path. jale rho:khe. They are fishing with a jale net.
rhuili vt., to pull down (vines, cobwebs).
rhumi vt./vi., to wait, wait for. koma rhum. Wait a minute. waheŋ rhumteŋ hi. You be waiting for him.
rhuta postp., over, above, on top.
rhu:li vt., 1) to take, accept; cost. cale? si?li nhi?-sai taka rhu:khe. It costs seven hundred rupees to thatch a house. na ede koṭa hetheso rhu:nha? How much does this room cost you’s? hetheso rhu:hi? How much did it cost (did they accept)? bhag rhu:li to take part. 2) to straighten up, tidy.
rhu:pili vt., 1) to take for someone. 2) to tidy up for someone. ka bejalaiheŋ thame rhu:pigha. I tidied up for the girl.
rhu?li vt., to cause to fly up, dislodge juvenile birds from the nest from below, hunt birds at night with a net or a tho?si?. tho?si?hoi pasimta bagula rhu?khe. They are hunting egrets in the bamboo with a tho?si?. jale siŋso baira lagaikhe kalau danaikhe. They throw a net up around a tree and beat it.

səbda n., [< Indo-Aryan] word.
salha n., [< Indo-Aryan] advice.
səmjheli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to remember.
səmjhepali  vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to remind.

səpəna  n., [< Indo-Aryan] dream.

səstəli  vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to be cheap, be inexpensive.

sa'ba'ili  vi., to look good in, suit, flatter. masabaikhe. It is not flattering.

səbun  n., [< Indo-Aryan] soap.

səguwa  n., type of black yeast made from the seed of the bantai tree, that is used to brew ghyansig.

sai  n., hump on a cow.

səila  n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] third-born son.

səili  vt., to touch. ram ləksəməŋhej saihi dəkhe. Rāma touched Lakṣman they say. saikhe ya? Do [they] touch this (sort of thing)?


sait  n., [< Indo-Aryan] fate, fortune.

saitər  n., exonym for the Austroasiatic-speaking Santal.

saitər khopa  n., type of hair style.

saj  n., [< Indo-Aryan] beater, tool used in weaving.

sajəka  adj., ready.

sajəli  vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to get ready, prepare. sajəkho'ina? Are you about ready?

sajko diham  n., beater suspension cords on a loom.

səkha  n., sieve, strainer. cf. saphauni.

sal siŋ  n., [< Indo-Aryan] sal wood.

səley  n., ground.


saldona thori  n., type of tortise.

sali  n., household goddess. ~ sali berəŋ.

səlli  vt., to pick out, look over, examine, check out. sar collabelau remka saltej colkhe. When purchasing vegetables, he picks out good ones and buys them. wa bejəlai salkhe. He’s checking out the girls.

saman  n., [< Indo-Aryan] things, belongings, stuff.
samuthi bo?na n., style of bo?na with alternating bands of one and two orange stripes on a black background. ~ s? muthi.

san n., pride.

sanai n., shehnai, a woodwind musical instrument. Nep. sahanãi.

san?aiti n., friend.

sane? n., sunshine.

sane?ka adj., sunny.

sane?li vi., to be sunny. jumni sane?tan masane?tan? Will it be sunny tomorrow or not?

sangalo n., [< Indo-Aryan] cockroach.

sanjoi n., [< Indo-Aryan] bridge.


sar n., vegetable; cooked vegetable or meat side dish to accompany rice. This word also occurs in many vegetable names, e.g. musar ‘mushroom’, mansar ‘garlic’, cunsar ‘fiddlehead’.

sara adj., [< Indo-Aryan] all.

sa’ral n., bow for a musical instrument.

sa‘rangi n., [< Indo-Aryan] a stringed musical instrument.

sari’hipa adv., orderly, in a row.


sa’taili vt., to knead.


sau n., fat.

saujirham n., edible type of katydid. cf. bajirham.

sauli vi., to be fatty, exude fat. saujirham saukhe. Katydids are fatty.

saunu musar n., type of edible mushroom that is found during the month of Sãun.

sa:li vt., to sieve, strain. jãd sa:khe. She’s straining rice beer. baguya banailabelau u?khu bo:te? tole sakhata sa:li goikhe. When one makes baguya, one grinds the rice and then one has to sift the flour in a sieve.

sa? n., house.

sa?li vt., to heed; believe; obey. kase? masa?khena?! You don’t heed me?! sa?li goiana masa?li? Do you have to obey or not?
Glossary

*sa?li* vt., to block, stop up, dam up. *pendhiko ci sa?teŋ miliŋta lagaikhe.* They divert water into the irrigation canals and channel it into the fields. *bandha*


*sa?pili* vt., to block up for someone. *pendhiko ci sa?pil! Block up the water in the irrigation canal for [me]!*

*se* n., grain (rice). *se-m. grain of rice.*

*sedha* n., [< Indo-Aryan] porcupine.

*seli* n., [< Indo-Aryan] round doughnut-like deep-fried pastry. Generally cooked and eaten on festive occasions and when visiting a women’s natal home. Newly adopted festive food item traditionally filled by *tole* and *babhor.* Nep. *sel roti.*

*seli* vi., to bear fruit, set fruit. *nenabare kaŋko kagati thuproŋ sehi.* This year my lime tree bore a lot of fruit. *donabare seŋ be maseaŋ?* I wonder whether it will bear fruit next year or not. *kagati sekhe.* The lime is bearing fruit.

*sel’kaili* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to barbeque, roast over a fire (on a skewer). *biha selkaitŋ phuŋkhe.* He is roasting the meat. *meta selkai cena biha!* Roast the strips of meat on the fire!

*selli* vt., to chop (wood). *misiŋ selkhe.* He’s chopping firewood.

*selpili* vt., to chop for someone. *ka selpiã.* I’ll chop it for [them].

*sempali* vt., to dry, dry out. *marci sempateŋ taʔka hihi.* [They] have set out chilis to dry.

*senã* n., relish, salty condiment.

*seŋka* adj., dried, dried up; thin, emaciated, shrivelled. *seŋka beraŋ ‘nickname for a woman’.*

*seŋli* vi., to be dried; be thin, be emaciated, be shrivelled. *m cali manthuteŋ seŋhi.* Not having had food, he grew thin.

*seŋseŋ* n., stink, stench. *seŋseŋ nhamhi.* It smells awful.

*sesa’laili* vi., to scoot around on one’s rear end (child). *jamalai sesalaikhe.* Children scoot around on their rear ends.


*sēsu* n., arboreal insect that bites (onomatopoeic).
se:li vi., to be rough, be coarse. naŋko dhale se:khe. Your\textsuperscript{8} skin feels rough. darhi se:hi. His beard felt rough.

se?guli n., testicle. se?guli e?lon hii! [You] only have one testicle!

se?li vt., to kill. se?tanŋ buruŋ! I’m going to kill you right away!

jharanŋheŋ se?tako. Let them kill them all.

se?li vt., to fry, deep-fry. seli se?teŋ su?teŋ caine buŋ. Let’s\textsuperscript{9} also fry up some seli and eat it. cuiita babor se?khe. One fries babor in oil.

se?nhali vm., to be killed. se?nhakhoi! We’re starting to be killed!

bajarta paya se?nhakhe. Pigs are killed in the bazaar.

se?pali vt., come and kill; turn off (light). gesa se?pa! Turn off the light!

se?papili vt., to cause to be killed for someone; come and kill for someone. ka odon nasin naŋko hanumanheŋ ka se?papigha. That’s why I came and killed your\textsuperscript{8} Hanumān.

se?pili vt., to kill for someone, kill so that someone is affected; turn off for, extinguish for someone. kiya se?pihi. They killed a chicken for [him]. se?piä naseŋ?! Shall I kill you?! gesa se?piä? se?pi. Shall I kill the light for [you]? Kill it. kyaset se?piä? Shall I turn off the stereo for [you]?

se?se? n., testicle. ~ se?ce?.

se?thaldhili vt., to kill and leave for dead.

sidau n., mattress.


sidhi n., bedbug, Cimex lectularius.

sigun n., vulture.

siˈhaire n., [< Indo-Aryan] shadow, shade.

siˈhān n., seed, grain (small).

sika adj./n., dead. sika anemane dead thing. sikalai dead ones, the dead.

siˈka?li vi., to feel queasy, make one feel queasy, be repulsed.

makhalaicali sika?kha. Eating mussels makes me feel queasy.

sika anemane cali sika?khena? Does eating things that have died make you\textsuperscript{8} queasy? sika?tana an. I said you\textsuperscript{8} will be disgusted by it. loksmen e?lon don lha?bata cali sika?khe la wa. Eating off the same leaf makes Lakṣman feel queasy.
si’ka?pa adv., quietly. anji dilima hasu matiŋpa ka sika?pa hanegha
Yesterday evening I left quietly so that no one would hear.
sika?pa hi! Be quiet!
sikiumikiupa adv., [< Indo-Aryan] crawling with, be lousy with.
sikret n., cigarette.
sikri siŋ n., type of tree.
sili vi., to die; be exhausted, be in great discomfort. siã! I’m going to
die! (said while getting a vigorous massage). sinhakhe be
hin hakhe be. Do we¹ live or do we² die? sihoiga. I’m exhausted.
sihoiga! I just died! (said when the campfire became too hot)
sili madoka n., evil person who is unable to die.
silsi’au n., chain of events, series.
sim n., mortar hollowed out of a log and shaped like an hour glass.
When not in use it is turned upside down and may be used as a
seat or step.
si’nara n.m., vain or selfish man.
si’nari n.f., vain or selfish woman.
sinca³i vp., to live to an old age, live long. budha?paŋ sincaíne.
Let’s³ live to an old age. na budha?paŋ sinca aũ? Live to an old
age, okay? (blessing said to an elder when visiting) nidhimi
budha?pa sincaí. Live⁴ to an old age (said when giving tika to
the bride and groom). budha?paŋ sincaí be. I wonder whether he
will live to a ripe old age (said when someone who is being
discussed suddenly appears. In English – ‘speak of the devil’).
sinda n., part (in hair).
sinhuli vi., to survive, come back to life. lumpiko can thiŋlabelau
sin huhi. When I planted the banana offset it survived. pasim siŋ
thinteŋ masinhuhi. I planted a bamboo plant and it didn’t survive.
lōksman sinhuhi. Lakṣman survived. ka bōlla-bōlla sinhuha. In
the end I survived.
sinhupa adv., alive, living. sinhupaŋ hesa hihi ra idoi warañ. ela buŋ
sika manthu idoi warañ. How is this old man alive. He still hasn’t
died, this old man.
siŋ n., tree; plant (bush, vine).
siŋ n., [< Indo-Aryan] horn.
siŋ taŋka juhā n., long tailed tree mouse, Vandeleuria oleracea.
siŋka adj., unripe; fresh, green; uncooked.

siŋka-miŋka n., ripe and unripe things; cooked and uncooked things; dried and fresh things.

siŋko dhale n., tree bark.

siŋli vi., to be raw; be uncooked.

sipali vt., to finish (eating or drinking), polish off. a dada, sipa. aroŋ atuisa ita hihi. Older brother, finish it up. There’s still some here.


sira n., head louse.

si’raili vi., to be cooked (rice). m siraitey miŋhi. The rice cooked and was done. m siraika manthu. The rice hasn’t cooked.

sirgilli vt., to accompany around, guide around. waseŋ derabhari sirgilkhe. He’s accompanying him around the village.

sirijat n., Dhimal communal festival, also known as asare or asare puja.

sirkhati n., shed stick (guide stick), tool for weaving.

sirli vt., to accompany, guide. domok haneli sirkha naseŋ. I am accompanying you to Damak.

sirpali vt., to accompany toward, guide over. ka waseŋ suta sirpali goiā. I will have to accompany him home. sirpa! Accompany him over here.

sirpuli vt., to accompany someone to, escort, guide to. naŋko amaiheŋ heta thekapa sirpunha? Where did you escort your mother to? naheŋ saʔ thekapar sirpuŋka buruŋ. I will accompany you directly to your house.

sisa m n., rice that falls to the ground during harvest.

sitiri n., gums. cf. tasi.

sitisitili vi., to be cooked to a tee (rice). nani m ga:ka sitisitihi. Today the rice cooking was done to a tee.

sitisitipa adv., in a well-cooked manner. sitisitipa siraihi. It cooked to a tee.

si:li vt., to wear (earrings). nhatoŋta kundol dalaŋdalanpa si:kaŋka. wajalai jharanŋ khana wa. I will wear large pendulous earrings on my ears. Then the boys may all look.
GLOSSARY

si?dhili vt., to go and leave behind, leave and forget something. hiso si?dhiihi wa la be u? Now where did he go and leave it I wonder? si?li vi., to breathe.

si?li vr., to shave, trim, cut. darhi si?khe. He’s shaving.

si?li vt., thatch a roof. cale? si?li goika hihi. It is necessary to thatch the roof. cf. olli.

si?pali vt., to cause to be cut, have shaved. pusinj si?pali goiã. I have to have my hair cut. pusinj masi?pahe panu hai pasukhena? If you don’t have your hair cut (during mourning), what do youª do?

si?puli vi., to go off (negative connotation). khali inta si?pukhena! All youª do is go off over there! si?puka hihi! He’s gone off! hiso si?pukihi?! Where did he go off to?!

so’baipa adv., comfortably, with pleasure.

soceli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to think, ponder, consider; think up, devise. kalau uysko malik buy hai sosehi. And what did that master devise? ~ soseli.


soili vt., to carry (a long object with two people). sikalaieŋ mœncaulita soiteŋ li?pukhe. They carry dead people on a stretcher and go bury them.

soipuli vt., to carry away (long object with two people). bimari dyãŋheŋ soipuhi. They carried the sick person away.

sojhaka adj., [< Indo-Aryan] straightforward, honest.

sojhapa adv., [< Indo-Aryan] in a straightforward manner, honestly.

solli vi., to eat or drink up, eat or drink to the last bit. lha?pha sar cali solkhe. He eats up all the lha?pha vegetable. m solteŋ cakhe. He eats up all his food.

so’loi n., indigo, genus Indigofera. This plant is grown and used to dye thread a rich lustrous blue-black colour.

solo’loŋka adj., straight.

solosoloka adj., upright, straightforward (person); just right (thing).

kiya solosoloka hihi. The chicken is just the right size.

solpa adv., to the last (bit or drop). gora solpay amhi. He drank up all the alcohol. solpa cahi. He ate it all up.

sona n., [< Indo-Aryan] gold.

sona sigun n., Eurasian griffon, Gyps fulvus.
soŋli  vt., to put in a pot or pan (by hand) to cook. dhaŋka cita unŋku soŋkhe. She’s putting rice into the hot water. kharata sar khiglabelau sar soŋhi. While cooking the side dish in a wok, she put the vegetables in to cook.

sormu musar  n., small edible mushroom with a black cap.

sorsor’aili  vt., to scoop up. unŋku hu:hi. rempha sorsoraiten ta?. The rice spilled. Scoop it up thoroughly and put it (there).

sora  n., [< Indo-Aryan] date, the dark oval fruit of the date palm, Phoenix dactylifera.

sosa’laili  vi., to scoot around on one’s rear end (adult). gora amteŋ sosalaikhe. After drinking alcohol they scoot around on their rear ends.

so:li  vt., to exchange, switch; transfer. kaṭhmānduta paisa so:kana? Will you exchange money in Kathmandu? mgelay buŋ so:ka hikhe. They (the rats) also have transferred rice and such.

so:suli  vr., to exchange with one another. wa rə ka lokhon so:sugha. He and I exchanged clothes with each other.

so?  n., piss, urine.

so?li  vi./vt., to piss. maso?tana? Aren’t you going to piss? sidau so?li magoikhena? Shouldn’t you not wet the mattress?

so?lhali  vi., to go to piss. na hiso hanenha? Where did you go? so?lhagha. I went to piss. so?lhaana. Are you going to piss?

so?pili  vt., to piss on someone, piss so that someone is affected. mho?kalaiheŋ puriŋta so?piŋ. He’s going to piss on the (conch) blowers’ heads. la gotaŋ kətu so?pihi. There, he completely pissed his shorts.

so?so?  n., urine. ~ so?co?.

su  n., cough.

sui  n., [< Indo-Aryan] needle.

suili  vi., mi suili to be jealous of, resent, look with envy. bomiko kam paka mi suikhe. He is jealous of what other person have done. bomiko caka tinten mi suihi. Having seen what someone else was eating, she became envious.

suisuika  adj., cranky, ill-tempered, ill-intentioned, menacing.

suisuipa  adv., menacingly, in an ill-tempered manner. mi suisuipa khaŋhi u. She looked over menacingly, you know.
suiyasuiyapa  adv., bitingly, harshly (words).  She spoke bitingly.
sujini  sing n., type of tree. Nep. sajini.
sukulu  n., lung. sukulu konday tumsiŋheŋ hiso mhoʔpinha? Where did you* hide the pride and joy of my life (lungs, heart and liver)?  ~ suˈkulu.
sukuru phuru  n., morning star, venus. Nep. durwa tārā.
sukhata  n., [< Indo-Aryan] dried fish.
sukhumbasi  adv., [< Indo-Aryan] landless.
suli  vt., to husk, pound in a mortar to remove the husk. simta m sukhe. She’s husking rice in a mortar. sim manthunu na hiso suana wa la? If there is no mortar where might you* husk then?
sumloŋ  num., three.
sumsumˈaili  vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to stroke.
suniya  adv., [< Indo-Aryan] desolate, quiet, empty.
sunsan  adv., [< Indo-Aryan] desolate, quiet, empty.
suŋli  vt., to put on (shoes, watch). cəppəl suŋ! Put on [your] flipflops. supali  vt., to have someone husk, cause to be pounded in a mortar to remove the husk. dahē hanā m supali. I’m going northward to have some rice husked.
suri  n., whistling. suri mhoʔli to whistle.
surli  vt., to suck in, suck up, inhale. paip-hoi pepsi surkhe. He’s drinking Pepsi with a straw. cur surkhe. He’s puffing on the cigarette. ~ suruli.
sursure  n., chicken lice.
suru  n., [< Indo-Aryan] beginning, start.
suruli  vi., to begin, start. kalau torse pe:teŋ cumaka doʔka surughakhe. So he began to pick and bring the mangoes as instructed.
suˈta  adv., home; room.
suˈte  n., [< Indo-Aryan] thread.
suˈtoʔ  n., honey comb.
su tuʔpa  adv., stealthily, secretly, unnoticed. obalaiko suta sutuʔpa hanegha. I went to their* house unnoticed.
suːli  vi., to cough. ham suːli to yawn.
su?li vt., to stroke, rub, caress oneself. khokoi imlaubelau su?kaŋ
su?kaŋ pahi. When his leg swoll up, he kept stroking it and
stroking it. jolti su?li to have intercourse.
su?pili vt., to stroke someone, caress for someone. mhaigelai kasey
jamka belata nhisỳta su?pihi. The mhaigelai caressed me at night
while sleeping.
syaile n., [< Indo-Aryan] jackal.
syaile ghara n., [< Indo-Aryan] escape hole.


t

tə part., then, so.
təkdir n., [< Indo-Aryan] fate, destiny.
tərpha n., [< Indo-Aryan] behalf.
ta postp., on, at.
ta siŋ n., sal tree, Shorea robusta.
taham n., type of large river fish. ~ taham haya.
tai pron., own, self.
taimi pron., one’s self.
tairham n., shrimp. ~ tairhaŋ.
taise n., cucumber.
ta’ka n., [< Indo-Aryan] money; unit of currency, one rupee.
takhala n., [< Indo-Aryan] pot.
takhim n., small wooden stool. cf. khimso.
tali n., 1) moon. 2) right hand side of a drum. cf. koba.
talipa n., Dhimal clan.
ta’loili vt., to patch.
tamba n., [< Indo-Aryan] bamboo shoot.
tamli vi., to become compressed, be compacted. no:ka bhonoi wai
loten tamhi. After it rained, the smooth soil was compacted.
coika bari wai lonu tamaj. If it rains, the ploughed fields will
become compacted.
tampa adv., compactly. ujkhu tampa lagai. Put the paddy on
compactly.
tampali  vt., to compress, compact. *no:ka bhonoita jamalai ghateŋ tampahi.* The children played on the smooth soil and compressed it.

tampali  vt., to make rise. *cer tampali* to get mad, become angry. *cer tampanha?* Did you^ become angry? *cer matampa aĩ?* Don’t be mad, okay?

tamui  n.m., male pubic hair.

tana  n., [< Indo-Aryan] loom; warp.

taneli  vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to pull.

taŋ'gaili  vt., to hang up, suspend, tie (to two objects, as in a clothes line).

tangho  n., onion.

taŋli  vi./vt., to climb, rise, rise up. *wa siŋ rhuta taŋhi.* He climbed up a tree. *maha cuŋ taŋhi la.* A great cold arose then. *wa phutphatpa taŋhi.* Each climbed up one by one. *cer taŋli* to become angry.

tara musar  n., edible fungus that grows on fallen logs.

ta’raili  vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to cross. *sikar ghali bha?siŋ wa ōya cumtenj jhora? taraighakhe.* In order to hunt, he took his horse and was crossing a river.

ta’raili  vt., to whip. *gaiko kila rempha tarai.* Whip him good with a cow whip. *akara wajanheŋ kilahoi taraikhe.* He’s whipping the disobedient boy with a whip.

ta’raŋba’raŋli  vi., to be startled, look around scared or surprised.

taraŋbaranpa  adv., in a startled or surprised manner. *wa jimtenj jamtenj nhisinta taraŋbaranpa lho:hi.* After falling asleep, he arose in the night with a start.

tasi  n., tooth.

ta’taimi  pron., very own self.

tatiri  n., boar bristle.

tatui  n., penis, male genitals.

tau  n., penis.

tauli  n., towel.

tause?  n.m., testicles, male genitals. *tause? phe?pianiŋ purinţa?* Shall I beat [my] genitals on your head?

ta:ka  adj., tasty.

ta:ka-di:ka  n., tasty and sweet things.
ta:ka-malamalaka  n., tasty and fragrant things.
ta:ka-ta:ka  adj., delicious.
ta:li  vi., to taste good, be tasty. ta:hi mata:hi. Does it taste all right or not? dese mata:hi. It’s not salty enough. mənta ta:li to stay (in one’s heart), fancy someone. waseŋ mənta ta:hi. He likes her. na hasuheŋ mənta ta:nha? Whom do you8 fancy?
ta:pa  adv., sweetly, deliciously, in a tasty manner. ta:pa phunteŋ caine. After roasting it in a tasty way let’s9 eat. ta:pa le:sahi. It seems they sang sweetly.
ta?dhili  vt., to put and leave. nhatoŋ mahiŋkaheŋ waheŋ ta?dhihi. They put the deaf person there and left.
ta?pali  vt., to cause to be put; come and put. wa kaŋko suta lokhon ta?pahi. He came and put clothes at my house. saikal inta ta?pagha. I had the bicycle put there.
ta?pi  n., open weave loose mesh basket used as a temporary enclosure over ducks or chickens and their babies (and sometimes human babies).
ta?pidhili  vt., to put for someone and leave. odon siŋta e?jori kaura esa ta?pidhihi. He thus put a pair of cowries in that tree for [him] and left.
taʔsupali vt., to cause to put to one another. bɔɗika parî cali thalebelau udhimi param taʔsupahi. When they started to have the party, [they] had them\(^a\) become ritual friends with each other.

tebre te hasa n., cormorant, *Phalacrocorax carbo*.

tegre n., Dhimal clan.

teli vi., walk, go by foot. teten hanehi. He went by foot. *dama teli* to walk along.

telohi n., pullet, young hen.

temli vi., to soak. *ka nheʔni ahal temtey yhaaŋka*. I will stay and wallow for two days. *paya khisaʔta temtey hihi*. The pig is soaking in the mud. *munko lagi jumni m cita temtey taʔli goian eʔni jhoko*. For beaten rice, we have to put rice in water tomorrow and put it aside — for about one day.

tey siŋ n., the tātārī tree, *Dillenia pentagyna*.

teŋli vi., to begin, be about to. *haneli teŋhi*. He is about to go. *rhai da:pa teŋhi*. Her face turned black with fear.

teperate n., collared falconet, *Microhierax caerulescens*.

teraʔ n., wooden instrument in the shape of a cross with a metal hook on the end of the base that is used to spin rope.

tereli vt., to believe, obey. *materekhe*. He doesn’t obey.

tereli vt., to pull apart (a wound, eyelid). *rempha mi tere! liʔta naŋko peʔsa dulka hihi*. Pull your\(^b\) eye apart but good! A bug has gotten in it. *pasimko korci ba:nhateny hihi*. *rempha tereteŋ olepapiaŋka*. You have a bamboo sliver. Pull it apart good and I’ll take it out for [you].

terey n., small intestines. cf. *bhuti*.

terey-bhuti n., intestines, small and large intestines.

tertere n., musical instrument.

tetemeteka adj., tight (clothes).

teu li vi., to flutter, thrash around. *hasaheny dönailabelau teukhe*. When you strike a duck it flutters.

teu’raili vi., to flop about, thrash about. *haya ciso olepanu teuraikhe*. If you take a fish out of the water it flops around.
teu raipa  adv., in a flopping manner. kancha raj kumarhey teuraipay donaihi. Kāncchā beat Rāj Kumār until he kicked and flopped about.

te:li  vt., to plaster, smear with a mixture of dung, mud and water. sa? te:khe. She’s plastering the house. na sa? te:khena? You are plastering the house?

te?gilli  vt., to go around sticking to, hang around with someone, stay by someone’s side. wako dopha khiniŋ te?gilkhe. All he does is hang around with him.

te?li  vi., to stick, stick to, stick with someone; wear (a sash). mi te?hi. His eye was stuck shut. bihuta alte-alteni jeŋlabelau keŋkheneta jeːka nosoi te?khe. At the wedding while acting as helpers, (the girls) wear white sashes around their waist. lekharata lisi te?ka hihi. Shit has stuck to your backside. naŋko dopha te?gʰa. I stuck around with you.

te?li  vt., to cover, enclose. bhundi kiyahenŋ te?li goiaŋ. It is necessary to enclose the hen. ta?pita te?teŋ ta?pi bhundi kiyahenŋ. kicangelai joma wa. Cover the hen in the ta?pi. Maybe the chicks will gather about.

te?pali  vt., to stick on, cause to stick.

te?pili  n., handwoven thigh-length wrap for men (generally plaid).

ti  n., thing, object. hai ti? What is it?

ti  inter., come, come on. ti. hanaine. Come on. Let’s go.

tidhui  n., lymph node.

tikar  n., embankment. cf. ardanŋ.

tikar dolha  n., uneven surface, pond embankment.

tili  n., space below a traditional pile house, where lumber and firewood are stored, a pig may be tethered, pit looms constructed or a pen for fowl can be built.

tilti  n., blue-tailed bee-eater, *Merops philippinus.*

timpagilli  vt., to show around. kalau na kaseŋ matiŋka thamegelai timpagilnha. And you showed me around to places that I hadn’t seen.
GLOSSARY

timpali vt., to show. dos timpali to blame, accuse. san timpali to be prideful, be pompous.
timpapili vt., to show to someone, show for someone.
timpili vt., to let someone see, show someone. lekhara phunga i:lhalaipti timpili. He showed the pink of his asshole. wa dhipiri i:lhalaipti timpili. She showed the pink of her vagina.
tintailo n., dragonfly.
tintili n., [< Indo-Aryan] tamarind, Tamarindus indica.
tintoi n., wart.
tinha n., pubic louse.
ti:li vi/vt., to see, be visible. matiŋkhe. It’s not visible. dyañ te matiŋhi la. He didn’t see anyone. e?mi-nhe?miko bihu jenŋa tiŋnha wa la. Perhaps you’ saw one or two weddings happen. əpəna tiŋli to dream.
tir n., [< Indo-Aryan] arrow.
tiraˈ’aiipa adv., (standing) upright.
tirbirˈaili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to hurry with arms and legs akimbo. m cali hethe tirbiraihi be! How he hurried to eat the meal!
tirbirˈaipa adv., in a hurried flailing manner, with arms and legs akimbo. tirbiraiipa dhaʔkhe! It’s running like mad!
tirili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to pay.
tiripali vt., to cause to pay, fine someone.
tirka adj., cool, cool and damp. tirka tirka bherma lohi. A cool and damp wind has arisen.
tirli vi., to be cool.
tiro n., [< Indo-Aryan] thigh.
tirpali vt., to cool. kalau iŋko bhətiyaheŋ tirpali goikhe. Then one has to cool the rice beer.
tise n., type of silver chain necklace.
tisti mai n., the Tista river.
titiriu n., lapwing, Vanellus species.
tiya n., [< Indo-Aryan] Indian ring-necked parakeet, Psittacula krameri.
ti:li vi., to blaze (fire). me mati:hi u! rempha ju?! The fire isn’t blazing, you know! Stoke° it well!
tiʔli vt., to grope, feel about; catch by hand (fish). haya tiʔli haneli goiaŋ. haya niŋkhe maniŋkhe be? We⁰ must go catch fish with our hands. I wonder whether there are any fish or not. barka haya tiʔteŋ niŋgha. After enclosing it with my hands, I caught a big fish. nanŋko kapal tiʔ. Put your hand on your forehead.
togilli vt., to go around digging. wa kana jharbhari togilkhe ekdəm. He goes around the forest digging holes – lots of them.
toi n., piece. biha toi! Piece of meat! (term of abuse).
toika adj., fat, rotund.
toili vi., to be fat, be rotund.
toili vt., to hang, hang up.
toipili vt., to hang up for someone. toipi. Hang it up for [me].
tokara bāya n., hornet.
tokara sar n., bottle gourd.
tokeli vt., to set or fix (a date). kalau aroŋ ek-dui mahanako batta are bihu tokea wa la. So in another one or two months, again they set the date for the wedding. ka ede din tokegha. I set the date for this day.
tokepigilli vt., to go around setting or fixing (a date) for someone. wa tokepigila wa. He may go around setting the date for [them].
tokepili vt., to set or fix (a date) for someone.
tole n., flour, something made from flour.
tole siŋ n., type of tree, flour tree. Nep. piṭhare.
toleli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to pick up.
toli vt., to dig. nheʔ pharureka sum pharuwa tokataŋ kalau olekhe inta. Digging with two or three hoes, they emerge there.
tolhali vt., to go and dig. juhā tolhali kaighakhe. They were calling him to go to dig for rats.
tom n., grave.
tomli vi., to be about to. kelai dəmək haneli tomnhahoi. We⁰ are about to go to Damak.
tomhe n., piece of red meat (without fat).
tonli vi., to jump. comphe tonli. The frog jumped.
topala n., bundle.
topala-bhanji n., bundle of things.
toreli vi., to cross, cross over (river, bridge, log).
torka n., [< Indo-Aryan] hole in a tree, cavity. wa injko torkaso olehi. He emerged from that hole.
torse n., mango.
totali vi., to hang (by one’s hands). siŋta totaiten ghanhahi. We played swinging in the trees.
totainhali vm., to be hung (by the neck). piya totainhate hihi. The cow (that was tied to the tree) is hanging by the neck.
to:li vt., to transfer, put away, move. dhokara to:li nilg. I forgot to put away the jute mat. kaŋko pusen to:li khaŋkhe! He’s trying to transfer my hair!
to:pali vt., to cause to move; to bring in. tauli to:panha? Did you bring in the towel?
to:pili vt., to move for someone. yhaako! ka to:pi. Leave it be! I’ll move it for [you].
to?li vt., to become attached, become stuck to; stutter. kaseŋ haya maylabelau camandha to?hi. While fishing, a water leech became attached to me. katha to?ke. He stutters.
to?si n., comb, bamboo comb.
to?si jihā n., common hoopoe, Upupa epops.
tu’ghumli vt., to cover oneself, put over (one’s head). barka wai lokhe. sati? tuğum. It is raining hard. Cover yourself with the umbrella. nosoi tuğum. Cover yourself with your nosoi.
tu’ghurli vt., to bend down, stoop. tuğurten khaŋhi. He bent over and looked.
tui n., egg.
tuili vi., to lay eggs. tuili bhokhe. It’s planning to lay an egg. bhasa niŋnu intan tukhe. If it finds a nest, it lays eggs right there.
tuirham n., fly. ~ tuirhaŋ.
tulos num., six.
tulhu’numka n., round, circular.
tum’bula’bulali vi., to feel queasy, feel like vomiting.
tumce n., basket. Nep. dhoko.
tumli vt., to gather, collect (fodder). tintili siŋko daleŋ tumli goian. We have to gather tamarind branches. daleŋ tumaine. Let’s gather branches.
GLOSSARY

**tumsiŋ** n., liver.
**tumta** n., chest, breast.
**tunjai** n., musical instrument (cane washboard?).
**tuŋgro** n., hollow wooden container used in wedding ceremonies, nowadays mostly made of dried gourds.
**tupri** n., [< Indo-Aryan] hat.
**tu'tungre** n., mole cricket. The mole cricket is believed to be beneficial and related to good harvests. Therefore, people are reluctant to harm this creature.
**tu'wāhe** n., type of edible land snail.
**tu:li** vi., to hurt, ache. gotaŋ khur khokoï tu:sahoi. It seems my body aches all over. *mi tu:li* to be jealous, be envious. *mon tu:li* to have one's feelings hurt.
**tu:li** vt., to overturn, dump out. duŋgiko haya karata tu:. Dump out the fish from the creel into the wok.
**tu:nhali** vm., to be overturned.
**tu:nhapali** vt., to accidently overturn, knock over. haipali cer taŋhi? gilasko ciheŋ tu:nhapanha! Why did anger arise? You knocked over a glass of water!
**tu?:li** vt., to put on (hat, glasses); close up, seal, enclose. *wa cesma tu?:ka hihi*. He is wearing glasses. *ka nhatoŋ cu?:ka kana tu?:hi*. My ear piercings closed up. *kicantapihoi tu?:*. Enclose the chicks with the *ta?:pi*.
**tu?:pali** vt., to come cover, come seal (a hole). *kana tu?:pa*. Come plug up the hole.

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**th**

**thəgeli** vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to cheat.
**thər** vt., [< Indo-Aryan] clan, lineage.
**thaidhili** vt., to slice and leave, slash and leave. *dabiyahi thaidhili*. He sliced him with a *khukuri* and left.
**thaigilli** vt., to dispose of, throw away, throw around. *thaigil*. Throw it away. ~ *thalgilli*. 
thaili  vt., to hew, slash, hack. wa lumphi siñ thaikhe. He’s slashing banana plants.
thainhali  vm., to be knicked, be slashed. anguli dabiyahoit autisa thainhahi. He knicked himself a little with the khukuri.
thaipigilli  vt., to throw away for someone, throw away something belonging to someone. gotaj anemanegelai thaipigilhi. He threw away all [my] things.
thaldhili  vt., to throw and leave, abandon. inta jharbhari insa thaldhika highakhe. They had abandoned him like that there in the forest and left.
thaileli  vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to begin, start. dirgelai dopha bat mareli thalehi. He began to converse with the gods. aroñ bho:li thalenhahi la. Again we9 began to search.
thalli  vi., to itch. gandi thalhi. [My] back itches.
thalli  vt., to throw.
thalpuli  vt., to throw away, go discard. ~ thaipuli.
thame  n., [< Indo-Aryan] place. ~ thane.
thameli  vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to locate.
than  n., [< Indo-Aryan] shrine, temple. Dhimal shrines are simple small wooden structures. In Āṭhiyābārī, the village shrine is about two feet tall and lies beside a large Pipal tree. They are only used during communal celebrations.
thaŋka  adj., hard.
thañli  vi., to be hard (wood, meat, etc.).
thuroi kiham  n., small dark crab that lives down long holes in stream banks.
thuru  n., Dhimal clan; Indo-Aryan-speaking group of lowland peoples, who primarily live to the west and south of the Dhimal.
thesim  n., large mortar. cf. jhosim.
tha?li  vt., to fuck. ma tha?! Fuck your mother! ma tha?ka! Mother fucker!
theka  adj., great, immense. theka nariya jeñhi! He’s become a great big elephant (sarcastically - he’s become a bigwig).
thekapə  postp., up to, until.
themli  vi./vt, to be enough, suffice; have enough. dhaŋka ci themnha? Do you have enough hot water? themgha. I have
enough. *ŋko kam pateŋ cali pali te rempha mathemkhe.* Doing that work, there’s not even enough to survive on.

**thempali** vt., to cause to be enough. *jharanheŋ thempali goiana.* You must ensure that every one gets enough.

**theyli** vt., to set down (a heavy object). *ghase bojha esa theyhi.* He set the load of grass down thus. *ghailako ci rempha they. makunu phuṭea wa.* Set down the clay jugs of water well. Otherwise they may break.

**therka** adj., piquant, spicy.

**therli** vi., to be piquant. *thernay wa m macahi.* Because it was piquant he didn’t eat the meal.

**theuli** vi., to be part ripe and part unripe. *lumphi theukhe.* The banana is half ripe and half unripe.

**thewa** n., [< Indo-Aryan] Indian roller, *Coracias benghalensis.*

**the:li** vt., to slap. *cer tanteŋ kaseŋ haiapali the:nha? naseŋ buŋ kaŋko cer taŋmu the:kā.* Why did you become angry and slap me? If I get mad, I’ll slap you too.

**the?ka** adj., cut up, ripped, torn.

**the?li** vi., to be cut up, be ripped, be torn.

**the?pili** vt., to tear or rip for someone.

**thiduwa?li** vi., to be startled. *nani søpənata mhaigelai tinteŋ thiduwa?teŋ lho:gha.* Today I dreamed about *mhaigelai* and arose startled.

**thika** n., tiny, small.

**thi’ka?li** vi., to reach, arrive. *he?nita thika?khaṇa suta?* How many days does it take you to get home? *nhe?nita thika?ṭā.* I will reach it in two days.

**thikthike** n., gecko, gecko that lives in homes. It is named after the sound it makes and Dhimals often echo the gecko’s calls, especially the first ones of the evening.

**thili** vi./vt., to be scared, be afraid of. *la boiheŋ thihi.* There, he became afraid of uncle. *miŋkauseŋ thikhena?* Are you scared of cats? *mathi.* Don’t be afraid. *thiā wa.* I might be afraid.

**thiŋli** vt., to plant, transplant. *ropa thiŋli* to plant (rice seedlings), transplant.

**thipali** vt., to frighten.
thirka  n., weaving.
thirli  vt., to weave.
thirthir’aili  vt., to sprinkle (water, rice) on.
thi’ta?li  vi., to stumble; do intermittently, stop and start at intervals.
  unthuita bokheteng thita?gha. I tripped on a stone and stumbled.
  kam paka buŋ khanĩŋ thita?teŋ kam pakhe. Even when working, he only works intermittently.
thithika  n., teeny-weeny, very small. obalai thithika dyiŋ ma-amkhe. They’re little people. They don’t drink (alcohol).
  Kānchā is brushing off his back.
thi:pili  vt., to brush off for someone. kaŋko gandita pe?sa hihi —
  thi:pi! There’s a bug on my back — brush it off for [me]!
thobeli  vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to push someone’s face into something.
thobenhali  vm., to have one’s face pushed into something, fall on one’s face. unthuita bokheteng thobenhagha. I tripped over a stone and landed on my face.
thoka  n., [< Indo-Aryan] silver armlet traditionally worn by Dhimal women, but no longer in vogue.
thokthoke jihã  n., woodpecker. cf. cēja.
thoŋgai  vt., to take burning material from one place to another. me
  thongaiteng ju?! Bring some fire and then stove it. mekhonaiti
  thongaiteng airontha lagaiteng lokhonta rempha lagai. Bring some coals, put them in the iron and apply it well to the clothes.
thoŋli  vi., to be tan, be dark from the sun.
thoŋli  vt., to lead.
thora  n., tortoise.
thisa?  n., large elongated creel with a narrow neck.
thotoma  n., [< Indo-Aryan] beak.
tho:li  vt., to pound, hammer.
Tho?dara  n., bamboo section of cilim. tho?dara cilim pipe and smoke chamber.
Tho?li  vi., to spit.
  Having emptied out the Tho?ci?, it didn’t spit out any fish.
Tho?pili  vt., to spit on/at someone. Tho?pihi. She spit on [me].
Glossary

tho'isi n., spit, saliva.
tho'isi n., woven conical trap to catch fish. ~ tho'ici.

thu'ca? n., fibre. pateko thuca? jute fibre.

thuicu n., woody cocoon of a large moth; spoon made from such a cocoon. The pupae of this moth is rubbed on one’s head for headaches.

thu'ka?li vi., to arrive, reach. elau buŋ thuka?hi mathuka?hi wa la?

Did it perhaps arrive by now or not. ka kalau tikət kațeteŋ bəs dholgha suta thuka?gha. I then purchased a ticket, boarded a bus and arrived home.

thu'ka?lhali vi., to go to arrive.

thu'ka?pali vt., to cause to arrive, cause to reach. ode thameta thuka?pahi la waheŋ. He made him arrive at that place then.

thumdhili vt., to cover and leave behind. kiya oleli tomlau dhoko thumdhisįŋ. When the chicken is about to emerge, let’s cover it with a basket and leave.

thumli vt., to cover (body, porch). nui thumka hihi. Her mouth is covered.

thumnhali vm., to be covered (body, porch).

thuneli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to block, lock up. ode khotarta thuneteŋ ta?ka highahi. He had been locked up and kept in that cage.

thunenhali vm., to be locked up, be blocked. ka pinjurita thunenhaka highakha. I had been locked up in a cage.

thupro adj., [< Indo-Aryan] a lot, much.

thurli vi., to break; fall out (tooth). ela keŋkhene thura wa. My back may break now. mon thurhi. He is brokenhearted. tasiŋ mathurhi wa la. kunąŋ ki ke?hi. His tooth didn’t fall out perhaps, because another grew over it.

thurpili vt., to break for someone, break someone else’s belongings.

thu:cali vt., to be afflicted by mhaigelai. nhisiŋta ekalan hilageŋ thu:cakhe. At night when one is alone, the mhaigelai afflict. thu:cateŋ hiti te cu:pikhe kalau dyąŋ sikhe. Having afflicted, they suck one’s blood and the person dies. dir tanlabelau dyąŋheŋ thu:cakhe kalau ci:pikhe. When the god is rising up, it afflicts the person and then it bites them. jiuta daga...
banaipikhe. deragelai phalnaṃḥ mhaigelai thuːcakhe. The mhaigelai afflict villagers and strangers.
thuːli vi., to afflict, put a mark on. mhaigelai thuːkhe. hiso mahanesu. The mhaigelai afflict. Don’t go anywhere. jiu maremkalai buŋ thuːkhe. Those of unsound body also afflict.
thuʔka adj., acrid.
thuʔka lheʔ n., marigold.
thuʔli vi., to taste sharp, taste acrid. tintili mulai thuʔkhe. Tamarind and daikon radish taste acrid. basiya anemanegelai thuʔkhe. Stale things taste acrid.

ṭ

ṭikot n., [Eng.] ticket.

ṭh

ṭhik adv., [Indo-Aryan] alright, okay, fine. ṭhik doṇhi. That’s fine.
thikli vi., to be alright, be okay, be fine. ṭhikhi. That’s fine.
thikṭhak adv., [Indo-Aryan] in order, all set.

u

u 1) inter., over there. 2) part., referential particle.
uda n., [Indo-Aryan] otter.
u’daili vi., to throw a tantrum.
udini adv., the day before yesterday; a couple of days ago, the other day; recently. The time frame of this adverb may be very subjective and may refer to an event that occurred weeks ago or even scores of years ago (such as referring to the arrival of the Santhal or Sarar in southeastern Nepal).
ulka n., behest, urging. bomiko ulkaso lonha na? Or did you come under the behest of another?
ul’kaili vt., to urge. phalna kaheṇ bēʔ bhoːli ulkaighahi. Another person was urging me to search for a wife.
ulta adv., [<Indo-Aryan] contrary, opposite; inside out, reversed, backwards.
ulta okharai n., root of a plant similar to ginseng.
ultili vi., [<Indo-Aryan] to be reversed, turn inside out, turn upside down; be transformed into, turn into (one’s opposite). ca? dangara ultihi. He turned into a shrivelled up thing. misihā ulti to become unconscious, faint.
umelli vi., [<Indo-Aryan] to boil. ci bukbakbukbakpa umelhoi. The water came to a rolling boil.
umer n., [<Indo-Aryan] age.
umpai n., nickname (male).
undhili vi., to tip over, fall over, keel over, capsize. wa maisatey undhisahi. Having grown tired, he apparently keeled over. siŋ pallabelau undhihi. While chopping down the tree, it fell over. maisagha. undhiā la. It seems I’ve become tired. I’m about ready to keel over. nōu undhihi. The boat capsized.
undhinhali vm., to fall over, overturn. siŋ bhermata undhinhahi. Trees fell over in the wind.
undhinhapali vt., to inadvertently knock over, accidentally overturn.
undhipali vt., to knock over, topple.
unthui n., stone, rock.
ŋko dem., that (distal).
ŋkhu n., uncooked rice.
upai n., [<Indo-Aryan] method, way; way out, solution. kalau inta upai manthu la hiso buŋ. And so there was now way out anywhere.
uraigilli vi., to fly around.
uraili vi., [<Indo-Aryan] to fly; go quickly, be suddenly gone. e?bigha milīŋ uraihi. One bighā of land was gone suddenly (sold for expenses).
uraipali vt., to make fly.
uraipapuli vt., to cause to fly away, carry off flying. pəndhrə sai gai bastuko bhar uraipapuhi e?loŋ jihā. One bird flew off carrying a load of 1500 cows and livestock.
uraipuli vi., to fly away, fly off.
urni n., [<Indo-Aryan] stringed musical instrument.
GLOSSARY

u?li vt., to uproot, pull up, pull out. khambha u?taine. Let’s pull up the house post. ghase u?khe. She’s pulling up weeds. ode payako tatiri u?hi. He pulled out that pig’s boar bristle.

u?li vt., to scrub (oneself). khailahoi pusin u?khe. She’s scrubbing her hair with mustard soap. paya ciunu khal u?khe. If a pig bathes, it scrubs it’s hide.

w

wa pron., third person singular pronoun he, she, it (unmarked distal).
wabal n., man, young married man.
wai n., rain.
wajan n., boy, young man (unmarried).
wa?kharaka adj., deep (hole, water).
waray n., old man. warangelai elder men; forefathers.
waran-berangelai n., elders; ancestors.
warli vi., to keep silent. hai do?taniy re. hai waraniy re. What shall I say to you. What shall I remain silent to you about. rhe:kalai warte hihi. The beggars are remaining silent.
warwarli vi., to be mottled, multicoloured. lomha? katasi warwarkhe. The lomha? katasi is mottled.
wase adv., [< Indo-Aryan] disappointed; without success.
wasta n., [< Indo-Aryan] care, concern, interest.
wasuwasuli vi., to float in the air.
wasuwasupa adv., floating in the air, in a cloud. paya ahar wasuwasupa cahi. The pig ate the slop so that it was floating in the air.
wa:li vt., to take out of, remove. bakarso m wa:ten d?mek pi?li cumpukhe. Having removed rice from the storage container, he’s taking it to Damak to sell.
wa? conj., [< Indo-Aryan] or, and. ~ ba ~ ba?

wh

whancali vp., to live with, be taken in by, be housed. hane u ode wajan dopha whancali! Go ahead and go there, to live with that
boy! gabreka! wako dopha khiniŋ te?gilkhena? otaŋ whanca matha?! Whore! All you’s do is stick around with him. Go live there, mother fucker!

*whanca*hal* vt., to go to live with, go be taken in by. *wako dopha whanca*hal*ha*. Go live with him. *naŋko aba dopha whanca*hal*ha*. Go live with your father.

*whan*li vi., to go in, enter. *ita mayum. na lekha*ra kana whananau.*

Don’t sit here. It (the nail) will go up your rear end. *jāḍ amnu m mawhaŋkhe*. If you drink rice beer, rice doesn’t go down.


*wha*pili vt., to put in for someone.

*y*...

*yəka* adj., to be achey and sore, out of joint. *gandi yəka hihi*. My back is sore and achey. *khur yəka hihi*. My arm is achey and sore.

*yəkayəkali* vi., to be very sore, be really ot of joint. *jhempa li?paŋ yumnu keŋkhene yəkayəkakhe*. If one sits day and night, one’s lower back gets really out of joint.

*ya* pron., third person singular pronoun he, she, it (marked proximal).

*yampili* vt., to step on for, trample for someone, trample someone’s belongings; massage someone by walking on them. *kican yampihi*. He trampled the (woman’s) chick. *marcigelai yampihi*. It (the chicken) trampled the chilis and things. *yampiə?* Shall I massage [you]?

*yancere* n., loom treadle.

*yəŋli* vt., to step on, trample. *khokoi yaŋli ma-el. tu:khe*. One shouldn’t step on others’ feet. It hurts.

*yare* n., term of address between the wives of brothers.

*yauka* adj., yellow.

*yauka koʔsa* n., yellow monitor lizard, *Varanus flavescens*. 
yauli  vi., to be yellow. *sarta istu yungai pinu yaukhe*. If you add a lot of turmeric to the vegetable, it becomes yellow.

yauyauka  adj., deep golden yellow.

yauyauli  vi., to be a deep golden yellow. *yauyauhi*. It turned a deep golden yellow.


yapili  vt., to fan someone. *ya?su ya?pi!* Fan [me] with the fan!

yasu  n., fan. ~ ya?so.

ye?lonj  num., eight.

yoli  n., ladle.

yl:li  vi., to sprout, poke out, emerge (a tooth, beard, feather).

  *tumahina jamalko tasi yo:khe*. At six months, a child’s teeth come in. *dari yo:hoi*. [Your] beard has come in.

yl:li  vt., to set out, dish up, serve. *m sar yo:teŋ cumapikhe*. She sets out the rice and vegetable, and brings it for him.

yl:lhali  vi., to be setting in, be emerging, be poking out (a tooth, beard, feather). *tasi yo:lhakhe*. The tooth is coming in.

yl:pi  vt., to set out for, dish up for someone, serve. *səŋkarjiheŋ parbatı m yo:pika highakhe*. Pārvatī had dished up the meal for Śaṅkarjī. *yo:piā?* Shall I serve [you]?

yl:li  vt., to wipe, wipe up. *lisi yo:li magikhe*. He doesn’t know how to wipe his ass. *yo:teŋ thaigilhi*. She wiped it up and threw it away.

yuli  vi., to be worn down, be burned down. *kaŋko pusin yulhi*. My hair is worn down. *cur yulhi*. The cigarette burned down.

yumgilli  vi., to go around sitting, sit around. *kelai yumgila jhoko*. About the size as when we sat around (in childhood).

yumka  n., sitting place.


  ~ *yuŋli*.

yumpali  vt., to set, place in a sitting position. *kalau hanetęŋ hunetęŋ are botol gora yumpaa wa*. And so having gone there, again they may set out a bottle of alcohol. *dhoka yumpateŋ ta?ka hihi*. They have set down the door.
yumpili vt., to sit for; provide a seat, let sit. iso yumpi. Sit over here for [me]. Yumpi! Let [him] sit!

yungai n., turmeric, Curcuma longa.

yu:li vt., to poke; catch (crabs); plant (large seeds). kaseŋ yu:khena? Are you poking me? kiham yu:kaine! Let’s catch some crabs! (When catching crabs that live in streamside burrows, it is necessary to stick one’s arm down the hole and gently poke to see if a crab is there.) jamal lisi yu:teŋ deŋ khe. The child poked the shit and is licking it. calai insŋ yu:li goiŋ. That’s just how one must plant the seeds.

yu?li vi., to decrease, be used up, die down, recede, be stubby, be sparse. lumpiko lha?pha ceŋ kanaŋ ceŋ yu?li doŋ hoi. Cutting and cutting the banana leaves, they are already stubby. gesako silendha yu?hi. The wick of the oil lamp is used up. ede cuiti lagaikanaŋ lagaikanaŋ haipali cuiti lagaikhena? pusŋ yu?teŋ hanekhe. Putting this oil on over and over, why do you put on oil? Your hair is becoming stubby. ekalŋ ekalŋ naimhe yu?khe. The naimhe grass is becoming sparse. me yu?li doŋ hoi. The fire has died down already.

yh

yhalŋ li vi., to be slippery, be slimy. iso mahane. yhalŋ taŋ. Don’t go this way. It’ll be slippery. dama yhalŋ hi. The road was slippery. pairo yhalŋ khe. The stairs are slippery. lapha sar mɔnta mataŋ haipali doŋ nu yhalŋ khe. I don’t like lapha sar because it is slimy.

yhal vi./vt., to remain, stay; leave be, let be. yhaako. Let it remain (as it is). insika kathŋ yhaako. wasta mapa! Leave that kind of talk be. Don’t pay it any mind! naŋko miŋ yhaanaŋ. Your name will go down in history. ka nheŋ ni jimtenŋ yhaŋka. I’ll stay here sleeping for two days. hethe yhaan? How long will you stay?

yhaŋli vt., to make one’s way through vegetation, blaze a trail. jharbhari yhanteŋ yhanteŋ dukhaso misŋ bho:gha. Blazing a trail through the forest, I sought firewood with difficulty. m yhanteŋ yhanteŋ lisĩhi. Having made his way through the paddy, he shit.
yha?li vi., to leak, drip. inta wai yha?hi? Did the rain leak in there?
    wai yha?khe ede cale?ta. This roof leaks. misihãpa miti yha?khe.
    Tears fell from her eyes.
yha?pa adv., in a dripping or leaking manner. miti yha?pay kharhi
    nancihey. She cried her eyes out, the poor thing.
yha?pali vt., to cause to drip or leak; shed.
yhu?gilli vt., to go around stripping from the stalk. lha?pha
    yhu?gilkhe. They’re going around stripping leaves from the stalk.
yhu?li vt., to strip off, strip from, remove. jamalai m yhu?khe. The
    kids are stripping the rice kernels from the stalk (by running it
    through their hands). kiyako dhale yhu?khe. She’s stripping skin
    off of the chicken.
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