A sketch grammar of Lamjung Yolmo

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This book provides the first grammatical description of the Lamjung variety of Yolmo, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal. The volume outlines key ethnographic information about the speakers of Lamjung Yolmo, including an account of the historical migration from the Melamchi Valley to low hills in the Lamjung District. The relationship to other Yolmo varieties, including that spoken by the main population in the Melamchi Valley, and the Syuba variety spoken in Ramechhap, is outlined, as well as its place within the Central Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman. The focus of the volume is the grammatical description, which encompasses the major features of the language. The chapter on phonetics and phonology includes discussion of the vowel and consonant inventories, as well as the lexical tone system. The parts of speech chapter includes argumentation for the existence of word classes including nominals, verbs, adjectives, adverbs postpositions, interjections, discourse markers and honorifics. The chapter on the noun phrase includes discussion of pronominal forms, articles and case-marking. The verb phrase chapter includes discussion of tense, aspect and modality, including the evidential distinctions made in the language. The final chapter looks at features of clause structure, including relative clauses, complement clauses, nominalisation, clause combining questions and reported speech. A collection of interlinearised texts is also included.

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Cover photo: Above Namgyu. Photo taken by Lauren Gawne.

Acknowledgements

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List of abbreviations

1	first person	INCL	inclusive
2	second person	INF	infinitive
3	third person	INS	instrumental
ABL	ablative	IMP	imperative
ALL	allative	IPFV	imperfective
AUX	auxiliary	LOC	locative
CAUS	causative	M	male
CLF	classifier	NEG	negative
COND	conditional	NMLZ	nominaliser
COP	copula	NMLZ.LOC	locational nominaliser
DAT	dative	NON.PST	non-past tense
DU	dual	OPT	optative
DUB	dubious	PART	particle
EGO	egophoric	PE	perceptual evidential
EMPH	emphatic	PERF	perfective
ERG	ergative	PL	plural
EXCL	exclusive	PST	past
F	female	Q	question
FOC	focus	REL	relativiser
GEN	genitive	RS	reported speech
HON	honorific	SG	singular
HORT	hortative		

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1 *Introduction*

Lamjung Yolmo is an isolated dialect of Yolmo,[1] a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal. The Lamjung Yolmo speech community arrived in the hills of west Lamjung after migrating from the Melamchi Valley area of Nepal, over 200 kilometres by road to the east, some one hundred years ago. The Yolmo population of Lamjung settled in half a dozen villages, as well as the district capital Besisahar. More recent migration patterns have seen speakers move to larger towns and cities, as well as overseas to seek employment. Although it is still spoken as a home language, the rise in migration and the presence of Nepali as the language of education means that Lamjung Yolmo, like many other small languages the world over, is facing a precarious future as the current generation of children grow up. Although Lamjung Yolmo is still similar enough to Yolmo spoken elsewhere to allow for mutual intelligibility, it exhibits differences, especially in key areas such as the copula system.

This sketch grammar provides an overview of Lamjung Yolmo. It is not intended to be an exhaustive description of the language, but to outline the major features of this previously undescribed dialect. This introduction provides description of the presentation of examples (§1), some of the data collection methods used (§2) and the orthography that is used throughout (§3). In chapter 2 I present a description of the Yolmo people of Lamjung, and their relation to other Yolmo groups. In the process of migrating away from the area of the Melamchi Valley where the majority of Yolmo speakers still reside, speakers of Lamjung Yolmo have retained some elements of traditional cultural practice, but not all. I then introduce the phonology of the language (chapter 3). This is followed by an overview of the parts of speech (chapter 4), and then chapters on the noun phrase (chapter 5) and verbs phrase (chapter 6). The final chapter of grammatical description focuses on clause structure (chapter 7). A collection of interlinearised texts are presented in chapter 8.

1. A note on examples

This section outlines the way example sentences are presented in this grammar. All example sentences include the initials of the speaker, and reference the file or notebook from which they were taken. All examples longer than a single lexeme include the utterance segmented for morphemes, interlinear glossing and a translation into English.

(1)   *mò*   *ɲàl-ke*
        3SG.F   sleep-NON.PST
        'she sleeps.'   (AL 090915-02)

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[1]   Yolmo (ISO 639-3 scp) is also found in the literature as Yohlmo, Hyolmo and Helambu Sherpa. These various names and their relationship are discussed in chapter 2.

[2]   http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/LG1/

For (1) we know it comes from speaker AL, and the file is 090915-02. These file names correspond with their names in the Paradisec archives[2] and also provide an indication of the date of recording; the file in (1) was recorded on the 15th of September 2009. Basic information about the most frequently cited speakers is given in Table 1 below.

When example sentences come from naturally occurring data, such as a narrative or conversation, a time code is also given (2).

(2)   *tòŋbo   mìn*
         tree   COP.EGO.NEG
         'this is not a tree.'   (SL 091108-01 02:21)

This time the speaker is SL, the file is 091108-01 and we know it comes from naturalistic data because the time code is present. This utterance occurred 2 minutes and 21 seconds into the recording. Where relevant, I make note of which activity the example is drawn from in the discussion. Metadata describing the activities recorded can be found in the Paradisec archive.

Should an example be taken from observation, but not a recording, this is made clear in the context given for the utterance. The date of the observation and location in fieldnotes are be given. The speaker initials are also included if the person is known, although sometimes the utterances were overheard in group situations.

(3)   *yàabu   dù   mìndu*
         good   COP.PE   COP.PE.NEG
         'is it good or not good (to eat)?'   (22/11/2010 book 7: 46)

Thus we know the utterance in example 3 was made on the 22nd of November 2010 and it can be found in book 7, on page 46.

Where examples have been taken from the work of other people their orthography and glossing conventions have been maintained unless otherwise stated. Any orthographic or glossing conventions that are not consistent with the format I have used or are not transparent from context are explained. To illustrate, (4) comes from Hari's (2010) sketch grammar of the Melamchi Valley variety of Yolmo.

(4)   *ʹkho-ni   ʹmaɛʈar   ʹyihn-gen*
         he-FOC   teacher   be-EMPH
         'I am quite sure that he is/was a teacher.'   (Hari 2010: 67 ex. 74)

Some examples involve lexical items that are borrowed into Lamjung Yolmo from other languages. For these items I indicate the borrowing it in brackets. Most borrowings are from Nepali. Some words, such as *phón* 'phone,' are marked as being

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2   http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/LG1/

borrowed from English, although they are most frequently borrowed into Nepali first before being used in Lamjung Yolmo.

Finally, I have included cognates from Written Tibetan in examples throughout the phonology chapter (chapter 3), and for key lexical items in other chapters. Written Tibetan can be considered an abstracted and idealised form of Old Tibetan, also motivated by historical reconstruction from current varieties (Jacques 2014). This is to allow for greater diachronic comparison. Example (5) comes from chapter 3, and is a minimal set of the retroflex consonants. For each item a number of forms are given. The first column is the lexical item written using the International Phonetic Alphabet. The second, in italics, is the same word in the orthography used in the rest of the volume (discussed in section 3 below). The orthography I use draws on the IPA, and many forms will look similar. The third is the English gloss for the lexical item. The fourth is the Written Tibetan form given in angle brackets. The Written Tibetan forms are taken from Goldstein (1984) and I have used Jacques (2012a) for the transcription system, as it is based on the IPA, and therefore it more closely aligns with my own transcription system for Lamjung Yolmo than other systems.

(5) /ɖ/ vs /ʈ/ vs /ʈh/

ɖù *ɖù* 'grain' <ⁿbru>

ʈù *ʈù* 'six' <drug>

ʈʰú *ʈhú* 'ruler' <(ⁿgo)kʰrid>

Table 1 below gives a list of the most commonly cited speakers in this sketch grammar, and some basic information about each of them. A full list of Lamjung Yolmo speakers who participated in the documentation process is given in the Appendix. All Lamjung Yolmo speakers are bilingual in Nepali, which is the wider language of trade and interaction with neighbouring communities, and now the language of education in Nepal. Nepali is also the contact language that I use the majority of the time I spend with Lamjung Yolmo speakers.

Table 1: Main consultants.

Name	Gender	Age	Village	Relation
AL	Female	47	Namgyu	
SL	Female	34	Namgyu	Younger sister of AL
DML	Female	70	Toljung	
KL	Female	26	Toljung	Daughter of DML
ST	Female	32	Toljung	Daughter of DML
RL	Male	17	Toljung	Grandson of DML, maternal nephew of KL and ST
SBL	Male	26	Nayagaun	Distant uncle of RL

2. Methodology

Data used in this book were collected over a three and a half year period on three separate field trips to Nepal, totalling 10 months (September-December 2009, September 2010 to February 2011 and January-March 2012). Time on each field trip was spent between working with speakers who had migrated to the cities of Kathmandu and Besisahar and time spent in Yolmo-speaking villages in Lamjung. Recordings were made with more than twenty speakers of the language between the ages of 5-70 and informal consultation and interaction occurred with a much larger number of speakers.

This sketch grammar was initially written as part of my PhD research, which focused on the interactional uses of a number of features of Lamjung Yolmo, including evidentiality, modality, questions and reported speech (Gawne 2013a). Much of the data collection involved activities designed to elicit these targeted structures. Throughout this sketch grammar I refer to example sentences from a number of these activities. In this section I give a brief overview of these tasks to assist in contextualising the examples.

The first is the 'Family Story.' The task is based around 16 images. With these images it is possible to form a single narrative. The canonical narrative tells the story of a family attempting to overcome a point of conflict, however the images are open-ended enough to allow participants to change the storyline around or create a whole new narrative. This task was developed as a way of eliciting socially interactive data. This task is discussed in more detail in San Roque, Gawne, et al. (2012).

The story of the Jackal and Crow is another picture task, but more appropriate for a wider range of age groups (Kelly & Gawne 2011). It is a fable-style story of the two title characters across nine images. A crow takes a fish and flies to a tree, a jackal passes by, sees the crow and decides he wants the fish. The jackal devises a plot where he gets the crow to sing by complimenting him on his voice, thus making the crow drop the fish. In the final images, the jackal is happy with his meal while the crow is sad in his tree. Several of the texts in chapter 8 are from different people telling this story.

I also used two pre-existing video stimulus kits. The first is the Put Project (Bowerman, Gulberg, Amjid & Narasimhan 2004) and the second is the Reciprocal Project (Evans, Levinson, Enfield & Gaby 2004), both developed at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen. Both sets contain short videos of people acting out situations. The first set involves a lot of 'putting' situations, placing or dropping different size objects onto, into and near other objects, some examples include putting a rag in a pipe, putting water in a cup and dropping a book on a table. The second set involved people acting out reciprocal and non-reciprocal events. For example in one video, two people give each other a book, and in another video one person gives the other a book without any reciprocal action.

Another activity I used that is referred to several times in this sketch grammar is the 'Twenty Questions' game. This is based on a game popular with Western children where one person thinks of an object and the other players must figure out what that object is by asking yes/no type questions about features of the object. To make it easier for participants I took photos of everyday items around the village (a broom, an ox, a shoe) for use in the game. This task was run once with RL and SNL (101120-02), which resulted in one round played in Nepali and one round in Lamjung Yolmo, and

once with AL and SL (120214-02) which was much more successful and involved seven rounds in Lamjung Yolmo with participants taking turns to guess the item. This second recording resulted in almost two hundred question and answer pairs across the seven rounds.

All sessions were recorded on a Zoom H4n audio recorder at CD quality (44.1 kHz, 16-bit stereo) and narrative tasks involving pictures or stimulus were also video recorded using a Flip HD video recorder and a Canon Ixus 100is when available. Both were chosen for their compact size and economical battery use.

Audio files were imported to the computer and narratives were transcribed in Transcriber (Boudahmane, Manta, Antoine, Galliano & Barras 2008) for the first fieldwork session and later ELAN (Hellwig, Van Uytvanck & Hulsbosch 2009). Lexical items and elicited sentences were entered into the program Toolbox (Buseman & Buseman 2009) for interlinearisation and to build a database of the lexicon. The plot function in *R* (R Development Core Team 2014; version 2.14.0.) was then used to generate pitch traces for tone and prosody analysis.

In regards to archiving, all data from this project has been stored with the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (Paradisec http://paradisec.org.au/). This includes audio and video files, scans of field notes, program files from Transcriber, ELAN and Toolbox as well as a corpus of images, all with appropriate metadata. This is to ensure that future generations, of both the Lamjung Yolmo community and linguists, may have access to these materials. The information about the archived data is also available at the Open Language Archives Community (OLCA www.language-archives.org).

3.   Orthography

In this section I outline the main features of the orthography that is used throughout this sketch grammar. The orthography used is a mixture of standard IPA symbols and other orthographic conventions.[3] Several symbols move away from IPA for ease of transcription. The alveolar liquid [ɹ] is represented by the standard character 'r'. The dorso-palatal glide [j] is written as 'y' in the orthography.

For aspiration, non-superscript 'h' has been used in keeping with Roman orthography of Nepali, and many of the Tibeto-Burman languages of the area. For example, 'th' is used for [tʰ]. The voiceless liquids [ɹ̥] and [l̥] are represented as 'rh' and 'lh' respectively. This is for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is easier to write. Secondly, it is a common convention in other Tibeto-Burman languages with the same sounds (including Hari 2010 for Melamchi Valley Yolmo and Kelly 2004 for Sherpa). And thirdly, the voiceless liquids always take high tone (see chapter 3), like the aspirated stops and affricates and thus the orthography makes this similarity more salient.

Table 2 below presents the consonant phonemes of Lamjung Yolmo by place and manner of articulation. Where the orthography differs from standard IPA characters the version used in this sketch grammar is presented in brackets next to it.

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[3]   An orthographic convention for Lamjung Yolmo has also been created using the Devanagari alphabet, which is used in the production of community resources.

Table 2: Lamjung Yolmo consonant phonemes, including regular orthographic symbol in brackets where different to IPA symbol.

	Bilabial	Apico-alveolar	Lamino-post-alveolar	Apico-retroflex	Dorso-palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p pʰ <ph> b	t tʰ <th> d		ʈ ʈʰ <ʈh> ɖ	c <ky> cʰ <khy> ɟ <gy>	k kʰ <khy> g	
Fricative		s z	ɕ ʑ				h
Affricate		ts tsʰ <tsh> dz	tɕ tɕʰ <tɕh> dʑ				
Nasal	m	n			ɲ	ŋ	
Liquids		l̥ <lh> ɹ̥ <rh> l ɹ					
Glides	w				j		

The orthographic standard for vowels is presented in Table 3. While the majority of symbols remain the same as IPA conventions, the back open rounded vowel [ɔ] has been modified to <o> for ease of transcription, as there is no [o] for it to contrast with. Long vowels are denoted with a doubled vowel (e.g. 'aa') instead of the lengthening diacritic [aː] to simplify transcription and prevent a single symbol from having diacritics for both length and tone. Also, other linguists working on related languages have used two letters to represent a single continuous vowel sound (See Höhlig & Hari 1976 and Nishi 1978 for Syuba and Hari & Lama 2004 for Yolmo).

Table 3: Lamjung Yolmo vowels standardised orthography.

Short:		Long:	
	i		ii
	u		uu
	e		ee
	o		oo
	a		aa

2   *Lamjung Yolmo Context*

Lamjung Yolmo is spoken in Nepal by around 700 people living in half a dozen villages a few hours walk to the west of Besisahar, the main town of the Lamjung district. These speakers migrated from the Melamchi Valley area around a century ago, and are practicing Buddhists of the Nyingma school. Although they have not maintained all cultural practices still found in the original areas of settlement, they still have patrilineal clans and exogamous marriage (§2.5). The Yolmo people of Lamjung live at altitudes of around 1500-1900 meters and maintain a range of agricultural crops. Traditionally they also made paper and bamboo products.

   This chapter provides information about Lamjung Yolmo and its speakers. In section 1 I situate Lamjung Yolmo in the wider linguistic context, both in its relationship to closely related languages and its place in the larger linguistic schema. Section 2 gives more specific information about where the language is spoken and the people who speak it. Previous work on related languages is detailed in section 3.

1.   Relationship to other languages

1.1. Language family

   Yolmo belongs to the Central Bodish (also known as Central Tibetan) group of the Tibeto-Burman family, most often considered to be a branch of the larger Sino-Tibetan family. Yolmo was not included in many of the earliest analyses of the distribution of languages in the Tibeto-Burman family, however Syuba (previously known as Kagate), which can be considered as a variety of Yolmo, did make it into early classifications. Syuba was classified as a Central Bodish language by Grierson (1909/1966), and this analysis was maintained by Shafer (1966), Voegelin & Voegelin (1977) and Thurgood & LaPolla (2003: 9). Other languages frequently included in this group are Sherpa, Jirel, Tibetan, Nyamkat and Jad. Tournadre (2014) further breaks the group down, dividing the 'Central section' languages such Lhasa Tibetan from languages of the 'South-Western section', which include Yolmo and Syuba as well as Kyirong, Tsum, Nubri and other varieties.

   I refer to these languages that are closely related to Lamjung Yolmo as 'Tibetic' languages as per Tournadre (2014). This term captures a broader range of languages than are in the Central Bodic group. It represents around 50 languages that all have a common origin in Old Tibetan. This is a narrower grouping than 'Bodic', which can often include Kiranti languages, and Bodish, which includes Tamangic languages, whose connection to the Tibetic group pre-dates Old Tibetan. This grammatical sketch is not primarily intended to serve as a historical or comparative analysis of the features of Lamjung Yolmo under consideration, however I draw on the established literature on other Tibetic languages throughout my analysis.

Within this group of Tibetic languages Yolmo is more closely related to some languages than others. The most interesting links appear to be with "sub-dialects" of Tibetan (which tend to be languages in their own right) rather than the classical or Standard[4] varieties that have received so much scholarly attention. Kyirong Tibetan is spoken in the Kyirong county in western Central Tibet (Huber 2005). Bielmeier (1982) noticed the similarity of Kyirong Tibetan, Yolmo and Syuba and even at a cursory inspection the Yolmo dialects have more in common with Kyirong Tibetan than other varieties of Tibetan. This correlates with known records of Yolmo history and migration. Clarke (1980b: 83) traces the settlement of Yolmo speakers in the Helambu and Melamchi valley area to the arrival of Tibetan religious practitioners in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Below (§2.2) I outline the migration history of Lamjung Yolmo speakers from the Melamchi Valley area where the majority of Yolmo speakers reside. Similar migration events lead to Syuba speakers residing in Ramechhap and a population of Yolmo speakers residing in Ilam. There is a strong level of similarity between the Yolmo spoken in Melamchi Valley and the languages of these diaspora communities. Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) states on the Helambu Sherpa information page that the language is not mutually intelligible with Syuba. In contrast, Hari (2010: 1), who has worked extensively with both languages, argues that "to quite a large extent they are mutually intelligible dialects". I have observed speakers of Lamjung Yolmo conversing with speakers of Syuba with no apparent effort, and I have been told be speakers of both Lamjung Yolmo and Syuba that they are able to converse with Melamchi Valley Yolmo residents as well. Hedlin (2011) found that Syuba and Melamchi Valley Yolmo are more closely related than either are to Kyirong, the geographically nearest related language, which concords with the analysis in Gawne (2013b) and the observations of Yolmo speakers I have talked to about this.

The similarity to Kyirong Tibetan also points to a similarity with Gyalsumdo (Hildebrandt & Perry 2011). This Tibetan dialect is spoken in a small cluster of villages in southern Manang, just north of the Lamjung Yolmo settlement area. While the similarity between Gyalsumdo and Yolmo is striking, it appears that the geographic proximity of Gyalsumdo and Lamjung Yolmo is merely coincidence. Lamjung Yolmo speakers migrated to the area comparatively recently and there is strong evidence to suggest that Gyalsumdo speakers arrived in Manang from Kyirong, a considerable time earlier than the Yolmo arrived in Lamjung (Hildebrandt & Perry 2011, Mumford 1989).

Gawne (2010) presented a small-scale survey of the lexical similarity of the main branch of Melamchi Valley (M.V.) Yolmo, Lamjung Yolmo and Syuba following the method outlined in Blair (1990). The lexical similarity of the three languages is summarised in Table 4:

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[4] In this book I will be referring to 'Standard Tibetan' and not 'Lhasa Tibetan'. As Vokurková (2008) notes 'Standard Tibetan' and the variety spoken around Lhasa provide a "language of standardization" and is influenced by other languages in the diaspora, as well as influencing them. While I use the term Standard Tibetan to discuss these varieties, I acknowledge that there are differences between the 'Standard' and 'Lhasa' varieties (Róna-Tas 1985: 160-161).

Table 4: Lexical Similarity: M.V. Yolmo, Lamjung Yolmo and Syuba.

Languages compared	Lexical similarity
M.V. Yolmo and Syuba	79%
M.V. Yolmo and Lamjung Yolmo	85%
Lamjung Yolmo and Syuba	88%

The first thing to note is that all three of Yolmo, Lamjung Yolmo and Syuba have a very high lexical similarity. This is further evidenced by comparison to other Tibeto-Burman languages identified as sharing similarities with Yolmo; according to Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) Yolmo has a lexical similarity of 65% with Lhasa/Standard Tibetan and 61% with Sherpa. Also interesting to note is that Syuba and Lamjung Yolmo have a higher lexical affinity with each other than with the main Yolmo language, which may lend weight to the folk history of their concurrent migration. Hari notes that the variety of Yolmo spoken north of the Melamchi Valley, towards the Helambu Valley is "quite different" (2010: 5), and it remains undocumented. Speakers of Syuba and Lamjung Yolmo have also told me that they find the more northern variety less easy to understand, which conforms with Hari's observations.

Based on linguistic, ethnographic and historical evidence, Lamjung Yolmo, Melamchi Valley Yolmo and Syuba should all be regarded as dialects of the same language. Although Syuba speakers consider their language to be separate for the sake of this discussion I refer to these three dialects together as 'Yolmo.'

1.2. Relationship to other Yolmo varieties

Yolmo speakers in Lamjung arrived a little less than a century ago, from the Melamchi Valley. Yolmo is still currently spoken in the Melamchi Valley, which spreads north and north-east from Kathmandu to the south of the Helambu area. The Helambu region, encompassing both the Helambu and Melamchi Valleys is considered the central area of the traditional Yolmo population (Hari & Lama 2004: 669). This mainly falls into the Nuwakot and Sindhupalchok districts of the Bagmati zone. Around the same time as the Lamjung group migrated, a similar group moved east to the Ramechhap district, and their language is now referred to as Syuba[5] (Höhlig & Hari 1976). There is a group of Yolmo speakers in Ilam that migrated around the same time (Thokar 2009). Although there is no documentation as to why these groups left the Melamchi Valley, it would appear that this was a way to either reduce population pressures in the area, or for those migrating to seek new opportunities. None of the speakers who left for either Ramechhap or Lamjung appear to have been of high social standing, which may have been the motivation for migration.

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[5]   The Syuba (ISO 639-3 syw) have been referred to in the existing literature by the exonym *Kagate* (see Grierson 1909/1966, Höhlig & Hari 1976, Höhlig 1978, and Gawne 2013b). They now prefer the endonym *Syuba*, and the recent publication of the Syuba-Nepali-English dictionary (HIS Nepal 2015) indicates sufficient community-wide support for this change.

Lamjung Yolmo speakers generally agree that the migration to Lamjung took place around five to six generations ago, although there is no definitive date. 92-year-old BBL from Nayagaun (now living in the Terai), one of the eldest remaining speakers, says that it was his grandparents' generation who moved, so we can assume that it was around a century ago that speakers settled in the area. Although I have found little documentation to support the oral history of the Yolmo speakers in Lamjung, there is some corroborating evidence in the field diaries of Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf (see section 2.2). Some speakers are quite specific about the details regarding the migration, including the names of villages their ancestors are reported to have come from on the eastern boarders of the traditional Yolmo region. It would be worth comparing the Yolmo spoken in those specific villages and in Lamjung.

Figure 1 is a map of Nepal, indicating the geographical relationship between the Melamchi Valley and the group of Yolmo speakers in Lamjung, as well as other groups of interest discussed in this chapter.
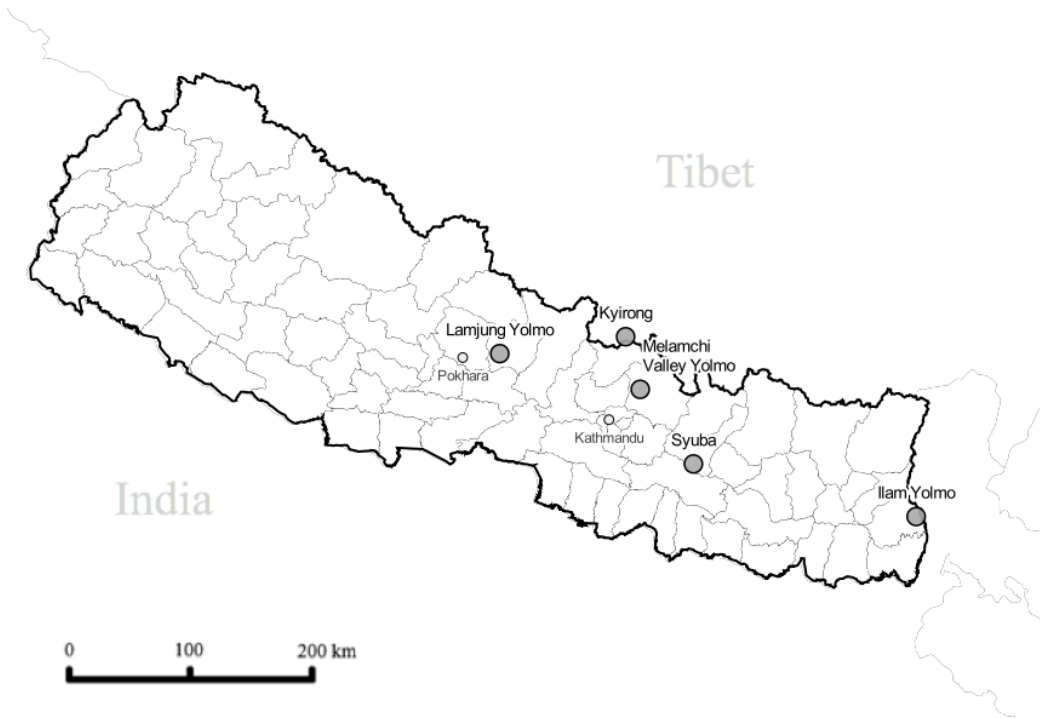
Figure 1: Map of Nepal with the locations where Yolmo is spoken.

There are estimated to be around 10,000 speakers of Yolmo in the Melamchi Valley area, where the Lamjung Yolmo speakers migrated from. Hari & Lama (2004: 702-03) report that some speakers claim there are as many as 50,000. This is a great deal more than the approximately 700 speakers in Lamjung. The Yolmo speakers of Melamchi Valley also trace their origin back to a migration event; some three hundred years ago their ancestors made the journey from the Kyirong, in what is now Southwest Tibet, across the Himalayas to settle in the Helambu and Melamchi Valleys (Clarke 1980a,

van Driem 2001: 864, Desjarlais 2003: 7). The name 'Helambu' is said to be a corruption of the name of the language and cultural group *Yolmo* (Hari & Lama 2004), although Goldstein (1975: 69) and Clarke (1980b: 4) give a less plausible etymology deriving from a combination of the words *hee* (potato) and *laphug* (radish), a supposed reference to the main crops of the area. The people and their language are still often referred to as Helambu Sherpa, a reference to their cultural similarity to the relatively prestigious Sherpa of the Solu-Khumbu region, with whom the Yolmo people aligned themselves in the 1970s and 1980s (Clarke 1980a). Interestingly, with the rise of interest in smaller cultural groups in Nepal since the introduction of democracy the Yolmo people no longer identify as Sherpa and see themselves as being a distinct cultural group (Desjarlais 2003: 8).

In recent years the Yolmo speakers of the Lamjung District have had contact with Yolmo speakers in other areas through the Yolmo Society. This society has a branch in Besisahar – the capital of the Lamjung district – and distributes calendars and organises occasional events. They are more active in town although their influence does reach into the villages. Lamjung Yolmo speakers also attend Yolmo Society events in Kathmandu, along with Yolmo speakers from Melamchi and other areas of Nepal (Gawne 2016b).

The oral history of the migration to Lamjung is similar to that of the Syuba of the Ramechhap district (Höhlig & Hari 1976, Gawne 2016b). Their stories are almost identical, except that the language community that is the focus of this grammatical description moved about 200 kilometres west of the Melamchi Valley, while the Syuba moved a similar distance to the east, and settled in the Ramechhap district. Both groups left one to two centuries ago, according to local oral history, and in similar numbers, and when they arrived in their destination took up or maintained the trade of bamboo weaving (for the Lamjung Yolmo population) and papermaking. The Nepali term for paper is *kagate*, and both the Syuba of Ramechhap and the Yolmo of Lamjung have been referred to exonymously as *Kagate*. The profession of paper maker is considered to be a low caste occupation in the strict Hindu caste system that exists in Nepal. It seems that while the Yolmo in the Melamchi Valley area are of a relatively high social standing (Clarke 1980b, 1990), those who left the area do not hold a similar social standing in their new environments. Whether this reflects their historic social position within Yolmo society, or came about as a result of their travels, has not been established.

Fieldwork carried out by students of Tribhuvan University as part of the Nepal Linguistic Survey noted there is also a pocket of Yolmo speakers living in the Ilam district in the very far east corner of Nepal (Thokar 2009). Goldstein, Tsarong & Beall (1983) also refer to a pocket of Kagate speakers living in the Solu area, but make no reference to their origins. The earliest reference to Kagate is in Grierson's (1909/1966) linguistic survey of India. Bonnerjea's (1936) survey of the phonology of several languages, also makes mention of Kagate. He refers to speakers as living in 'the east of Nepal' and in Darjeeling, India. An initial look at the lexical items used in the study indicates that it is, at the least, a cognate of Yolmo and the Syuba spoken in Ramechhap. Given that the name Kagate is related to the work-based caste, it should not be expected that every reference to 'Kagate' definitely has an origin in the Yolmo

community, there may be other papermakers with the designation 'kagate' who do not speak a language related to Yolmo.

Bishop (1998: 14, 24) makes passing references to a group of Yolmo speakers in the village of Siran Danda in the Ghorka region, which is not too far from Lamjung. According to Bishop these speakers moved to the area with a Yolmo Lama some time in the mid 20th century. People in the area still spoke Yolmo when Bishop met them, however they had married with Tamangs and other ethnic groups in the area. This gives evidence that movement away from the original Yolmo area is quite common. As Bishop notes, the ecology in the Melamchi and Helambu valleys does not have the capacity to sustain a large population, which may account for these waves of migration away from the area over time. The tendency for language groups to migrate and dissipate is very common in Nepal (Sharma 2008: 67), and the population of Yolmo speakers do not appear to be immune to this.

What makes the Lamjung group of Yolmo speakers particularly interesting is their rather unusual migration path. Prior to malaria being brought under control, people from the mountains were generally unwilling to move to the humid flatlands (Banister & Thapa 1981). Having said that, Gurung (1989) has observed that the general route of migration in Nepal has been for people to move from the higher mountains to somewhere lower but more or less directly south of their original homelands, much like the original group of Lamas who moved south across the Himalaya to settle into the Melamchi Valley area from Tibet, to build the communities that are now known as Yolmo. When this tendency has now been followed, the other general tendency has been for eastward migration, much like the Yolmo who moved to Ramechhap, Ilam, and Darjeeling, east of their original homelands. Thus the westward migration of the Lamjung Yolmo group is quite a novel migratory event compared to the usual trends in Nepal (although the report of Yolmo speakers in Ghorka from Bishop (1998) indicates that this may not be an isolated event). Also, although there appear to have been multiple migration waves to various parts of Nepal around the same period a century ago, a more recent study by Bishop (1993) indicates that permanent migration away from at least one Melamchi village in a twenty-year period was very low compared to the national trend.

1.3. Language name

Yolmo is also referred to as Helambu Sherpa. There is also variation in the spelling of Yolmo. Here the language is being referred to as *Yolmo*, however it is also often written *Yohlmo* or *Hyolmo*. The inclusion of the 'h' reflects the low tone of the word, which is can be realised with breathy voice (Hari 2010).

The speakers of Yolmo in Lamjung are also referred to by other ethnic groups in the area as *Kagate*, much like the Syuba of Ramechhap. In his notes from his time with the Gurung communities of Lamjung, von Fürer-Haimendorf observes that the Tamangs of the area (although he most likely means the Yolmo group) "are sometimes described as 'Kagate Bhote'" (von Fürer-Haimendorf 1957: 278). *Bhote* means 'people of Tibetan origin' (Adhikary 2007: 270). This name, von Fürer-Haimendorf states, is a reflection of the fact that they make paper (Nepali *kāgat*), "[t]his paper is sold locally and also

sold to Tibet." Even today the Yolmo in Lamjung are occasionally referred to as *Kagate Bhoti* although this is considered pejorative, even by non-Yolmo speakers.

Earlier anthropological work by Clarke (1980a: 79) and Desjarlais (1992b: xiii) also referred to Helambu Valley Yolmo people as speaking Kagate, although as Hari (Hari & Lama 2004: 701) notes, this should not be taken too seriously as there was little ethnographic work at that point that established Yolmo as a separate group to Kagate.

Similarly the Yolmo language of Lamjung is often referred to as *Lama*, or *Lama Bhasa* in Nepali (*bhasa* being the Nepali word for language) or *pèepa tám* ('Tibetan people' and 'language' in Yolmo). This preference for *Lama* is related to their Buddhist faith and is a term used for, and by, many other Buddhist groups as well. *Lama* is also used as the family name in official government documentation for all Lamjung Yolmo speakers. The origin of this naming convention is unclear, and is not found in any of the other Yolmo groups I have met to date. The complex relationship between language name, history and social status for these groups is discussed in more detail in Gawne (2013b, 2016b).

Members of the Ramechhap Syuba group I have spoken to are proud of their name and their heritage. They are known by the Nepali origin name Kagate, but increasingly prefer the endonym *Syuba,* which also means 'paper maker' but in Yolmo/Syuba. Speakers from the Lamjung area, however, are not proud of the Kagate label, because of its historical significance as a low-caste occupation. The term preferred by speakers is *Lamjung Yolmo*. This indicates its origins from, and close link to, the language spoken in the Melamchi valley, and prevents confusion with the Syuba of Ramechhap.

Throughout this grammatical description reference is made to the language of the main group of Yolmo speakers as documented by Anne Marie Hari (2010). Upon her advice (Hari p.c.) the language of this group is referred to as *Melamchi Valley Yolmo* as the main population she works with are located in this area. In her own work she refers to *Yohlmo*. I continue to refer to the community in Ramechhap and their language as *Syuba*.

2. Speaker demographic

2.1. Location

The variety of Lamjung Yolmo in this study is spoken in five culturally homogenous villages situated 2-3 hours walk west of Besisahar, the main town of the Lamjung district. These five villages are spread over a large, hilly area and the walk between the two most distant is no more than one hour (Figure 2). There is not a great deal of variation in language use between villages. The area is heavily agricultural and surrounding villages are populated by Buddhist Gurungs, Tamangs and small numbers of Chetri and Brahmin Hindus. Lamjung Yolmo speakers do not use their language with outsiders, instead resorting to Nepali, and for older speakers, small amounts of Gurung.

Table 5 presents basic information about the five villages. It is based on a survey of households made by the Yolmo Social Service Society while collecting donations for

the construction of a *kòmpa* (Buddhist temple) in Besisahar. The number of families seem a little low from my observations of village life, but they likely account for multiple generations in a single household. The numbers give a good indication of general distribution of speakers across the villages. These villages are in two contiguous Village District Committee (VDC) zones. Although these villages form the basis of the study, the Lamjung Yolmo-speaking population is by no means limited to these villages. Some families from these villages have moved to larger villages such as Kapurgaun, which are closer to the local school. These figures represent a strong decline in the local population, AL said that when she lived in Namgyu village as a child some forty years ago there were at least thirty five or forty houses there, and now there are only five households.

Table 5: List of Villages and households

Village Name	Village Development Committee (VDC)[6]	Number of families
Ghaleshing	Baglung Pani	5
Namgyu	Baglung Pani	5
Nayagaun	Maling	12
Toljung	Maling	8
Pondri	Maling	7

A map of the area is presented in Figure 2, which is based on my own GPS data. The road that runs between Kapurgaun and Maling is, for the most part, the highest ridge of the mountain and is wide enough for a jeep, with the villages lower down on narrower paths for foot-traffic only. The Yolmo-speaking villages are in green. The other villages are traditionally Gurung village, and trading centres. The gompa (Buddhist temple) between Toljung and Nayagaun is also marked on the map.

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6   The Village Development Committee (VDC) is the smallest unit of governance in Nepal. They usually consist of a central village and then a number of 'wards'. In the area of Lamjung where the Yolmo speakers live, each 'ward' is usually one of the villages within the VDC area. In this area each VDC usually has at least one primary school.
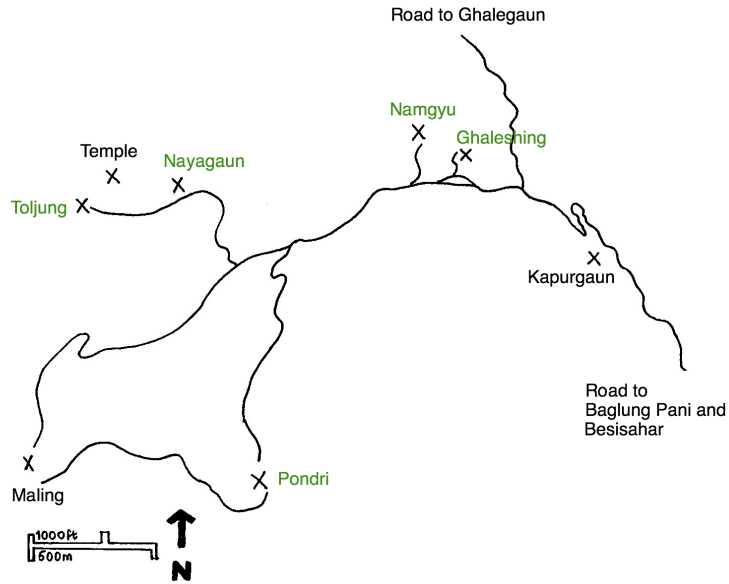
Figure 2: A map of the Lamjung Yolmo speaking villages (drawn by C. Gawne).

Yolmo villages consist of a cluster of stone and mortar houses surrounded by the terrace fields of those households. Figure 3 is a photograph of the view of Nayagaun from the fields between Nayagaun and Toljung. In the distant left is Namgyu and above that is Ghaleshing.

Figure 3: A view of Nayagaun from the fields between Nayagaun and Toljung.

There are also over twenty households of Lamjung Yolmo speakers in Besisahar, and while some of these are recent migrants who have come down from the villages it appears there has been a Yolmo population in the city for as long as there have been Yolmo speakers in the area. There are also other villages with Yolmo speakers, with Khudi, north of Besisahar, being one of the larger. These other villages tend to be less culturally/linguistically homogenous than the five listed above. For example the survey indicates there are only four Yolmo households in Khudi, which is a town of at least 100 households. According to locals there are small pockets of Yolmo speakers that spread all the way north along the rivers from Khudi to the border with Manang, and possibly even further beyond. No known detailed survey of the area can be drawn upon to validate these claims. This grammar is based on speakers from the five villages in Table 5, but there is certainly more work to be done establishing just how many Yolmo speakers there are in the Lamjung area and how similar their language is. I worked briefly with one Yolmo speaker from Khudi (VL) and there was nothing immediately noticeable or different about her speech compared to the speakers from the five villages above.

2.2.   Migration to Lamjung

The oral history of Lamjung Yolmo speakers, and the lexical similarity between Lamjung Yolmo and other varieties, indicates that there was a relatively recent migration event from the Melamchi Valley to Lamjung. There is corroborating evidence of this migratory event in the field diaries of legendary anthropologist Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf.

In 1957 von Fürer-Haimendorf spent a period of time in the prosperous Gurung village of Ghalegaun, which is one of the highest villages of the area near the Yolmo villages, and a regional centre. Von Fürer-Haimendorf was there to study the local Gurung society, in his notebook he makes a passing reference to recent migrants in the Kapurgaun area:

> "On the land of Kapurgaun there are three Tamang settlements, only some 25 years ago: Toljung, Nayagaun, Namgyul. The Tamang settled with permission of the Gurung Jimal. The Tamangs came from the east of the Nepal valley: – then their kinsmen joined them, they cultivated new land, cleared of forest."
> (von Fürer-Haimendorf, unpublished fieldnotes Nepal 1957, no. 12 "Gurung": 89)

Migration as an ongoing process rather than a single event, and with the household as the major unit of migration historically rather than the individual, is a common scenario in the Himalayan area (Childs 2012). Toljung, Nayagaun and Namgyul [sic] are all Yolmo speaking villages today. The reference to the people in these villages is interesting. Tamang are an indigenous group in the main Yolmo speaking area and there are also groups of Tamang in Lamjung. It is possible, but unlikely that there was

an original population of Tamang in these villages who were then displaced by the Yolmo speakers, as this is not attested in any of the oral history, and most families have oral histories that involve their land being cleared and houses being built by their own ancestors. It is possible that the Yolmo speakers in the area were referred to as Tamang at some point. Indeed, the Syuba speakers of Ramechhap have been noted as historically referring to themselves as Tamang when talking to outsiders (Höhlig & Hari 1976: 1). Tamang are of a lower social standing in the Yolmo area (Clarke 1980a), and it is likely that although the Yolmo speakers in Lamjung speak the more socially prestigious Yolmo language, it is possible that they were not of high social standing prior to migration.

Von Fürer-Haimendorf's report would place the migration some time around 1932, whereas the report of the 92-year-old Yolmo speaker I interviewed would put it around 1912 at the earliest. It also indicates that the migration event was not an immediate exodus from the original language area, but a slower process where more and more families came after an initial wave of settlers.

Further on in von Fürer-Haimendorf's notes (p. 306) he mentions that there were "Lamas" in Maling, who were quite different from Gurung Lamas and came across from "Yelmu" three generations earlier. He reports that some twenty to twenty-five households migrated but by his report there were now around 120, and they still spoke the Yelmu language. Vitally, he also listed their clans 'domba', 'chianu' and "sheangba". Once again, the dates are slightly later than those estimated by the Yolmo speakers, but still within a similar window. More importantly, this time the reference is to Yolmo, and the language, and the clans match those of the current residents. 'domba' clearly refers to the *dòŋba* and 'sheangba' to the *ɕàŋba*, the final one 'chianu' is something more of a mystery, but could possibly be *tɕàba*.

The question here is whether there was perhaps another group of Tamangs who settled in the three villages, as mentioned above, and were later displaced by the more prominent Yolmos who had settled nearby. I have seen absolutely no evidence of previous Tamang habitation in the area currently occupied by Yolmo speakers, and no legacy of Tamang language in their speech. What is also possible is that von Fürer-Haimendorf received two different reports on the same community of Yolmo speakers, who were sometimes also considered to be Tamang because of their social standing. With so few written records it is unlikely we will ever know for certain.

2.3. Speaker numbers

Gauging speaker numbers is a difficult task, compounded by the lack of population retention in the villages in Lamjung. Many have left to seek employment opportunities in larger cities of Nepal, such as Besisahar, Pokhara and Kathmandu, or overseas, with Korea, Israel and various Arab countries being popular destinations. Others have moved to the Terai, further south in Nepal, where farming is easier and the weather is less harsh. Community members do not always leave as family units. Often men will travel to find employment for prolonged periods of time leaving their wives and children in the village, which results in the majority of those still resident in the home villages being predominantly female. This is a pattern found in many of the villages in the area;

according to data from the 2001 census extracted by Digital Himalaya (2010), in the immediate district of 2641 people there were 110 females aged 30-34 compared to only 43 males of the same age.

Given the population movement the best possible estimate of speaker numbers is anywhere from 500-1000 speakers. This figure takes into account those who have left their villages, however it is not really known to what extent speakers living in places like Besisahar, Kathmandu and the Terai still use their mother tongue, and the levels of intergeneration transmission of the language that are currently occurring.

2.4.   Language use

Lamjung Yolmo is used at a village and domestic level. As one Gurung speaker from a neighbouring village described it, Lamjung Yolmo is an 'inside' or 'underneath' language – with speakers using Nepali for communicating with outsiders.

Nobody in any of the villages is truly a monolingual Lamjung Yolmo speaker – even the most elderly speakers who have spent their whole lives in the village speak Nepali (an Indo-Aryan language not related to Yolmo) to a competent level in communication with outsiders. Nepali is also increasingly being used in the home. This appears to be especially true of those that have moved away from Yolmo-speaking villages, as schools are run in Nepali and parents want their children to speak the language before going to school. Parents I spoke to said their teenage children had good passive understanding of Yolmo, but did not speak the language particularly well. There is still evidence of intergeneration language transmission in the villages of Toljung and Nayagaun.

Lamjung Yolmo speaker generally consider themselves to all speak similarly, but there are some opinions that illustrate some possible variation between villages. The main observation people make is of the difference between the group of five villages in the hills, given in Map 2.1, and those pockets of Yolmo speakers who live nearer to Besisahar and Khudi. DML believes that people in the five upper villages talk "quicker" than those who live lower down. She also notices a small amount of lexical variation. AL also agrees that speakers in the upper villages talk "quicker" than those down lower, indicating that there is, for locals, an observable difference in the Yolmo spoken by these two groups. AL also observes that of the five main villages people in Namgyu and Pondri talk slower than Nayagaun and Toljung. This is possibly something to do with some phonetic reductions in fast speech that I have observed in speakers from Nayagaun and Toljung (c.f. the pronunciation of the past tense suffix in chapter 3, section 2.2), and a more systematic study of inter-village variation would likely find evidence to corroborate AL's observations.

AL also had the opportunity to visit the Melamchi area. She observed that they use more honorifics, especially verbal honorifics, which are now rarely, if ever, used in the Lamjung dialect. She attributed the use of these honorifics, and their social politeness, in Melamchi to the superior social standing of the Yolmo speakers in that area.

2.5. Culture

Lamjung Yolmo speakers are Tibetan Buddhist of the Nyingma school of Mahayana Buddhism. Like many other language groups who have a Tibetan origin, many speakers take the surname Lama. This use of Lama is to be differentiated from the title of Lama as a Buddhist religious figure. There are a number of these Lamas who perform religious work in the community, often local men who travel away to study and return to the community. They live in their family households within the villages and continue to participate in agricultural work when not being called upon for religious duty. Lamjung Yolmo speakers do not use the Ucen script used to write their language. For many speakers of Yolmo, literacy skills are generally in the Devanagari alphabet of Nepali, or English. This reflects the fact that speakers of Lamjung Yolmo all speak Nepali as well as their own language. Only those who left to be trained as Lamas having any literacy in Tibetan.

Unlike the Yolmo living in the Melamchi Valley and Ramechhap areas, the people of Lamjung do not maintain a culture of Shamanism. This system of belief, tied deeply to notions of illness and healing, is separate from Buddhism but works to complement it. Shamanism was the major focus of Desjarlais' (1992b) anthropological study of the Yolmo in Helambu. Although Yolmo speakers in Lamjung are aware of the idea of Shamanism, the practice is restricted to the local Tamang and Gurung people, indicating that this feature of Yolmo culture did not make the transition when Yolmo speakers immigrated to the Lamjung area.

Yolmo speakers in Lamjung do not wear traditional Tibetan dress as many, especially older, speakers do in the Melamchi and Helambu area. The Lamjung Yolmo women wear lungi (long cotton wrap skirts in bright colours) and tshirts or Nepali-style kurta surwal. Older men wear a wrapped dhoti, but younger men will wear Western clothes. Lamjung Yolmo speakers also have not maintained traditional Yolmo-language songs, nor the traditional dance style; instead they sing and dance to Nepali songs. As Lamjung speakers of Yolmo become more aware of their roots they are beginning to embrace their language and culture more. At least one Lamjung Yolmo speaker (CL) sings in his native language, and another speaker in Besisahar is reported to have started a group for people to perform traditional *ɕàpru* dance, including dressing in traditional Tibetan clothing.

Tea is another domain where Yolmo speakers in Lamjung have changed to suit local practices. Unlike in their ancestral homelands, they do not consume salt butter tea as a general practice. Although some speakers will salt their tea as a preference, they use black leaf tea, as opposed to the distinct fermented bricks of *Pu-erh* that are used for Tibetan butter tea, and they do not churn the tea in the preparation.

Lamjung Yolmo speakers traditionally lead an agrarian life. The main crops are rice, finger millet and corn, with smaller crops of potato, mustard seed and other vegetables. Animals kept include chickens (for eggs), goats, buffalo (for milk) and oxen (for ploughing). The meat of all of these animals is also eaten. The soil is fertile, but the steep terracing of the land and lack of access to modern agricultural machinery makes farming labour-intensive.

The household is the major organisational unit of village life. There is no official organisational hierarchy beyond the household, with larger-scale organisation occurring

due to family relationships and implicit social expectations. As Desjarlais (1992a: 1109) mentioned in his observations of Yolmo living, although each household is autonomous it operates within a village where households must work together. Within the household there is a patriarchal hierarchy with those that are older bearing more responsibility.

2.6. Clans

Yolmo speakers in Lamjung belong to exogamous patrilineal clans, like the Melamchi Valley Yolmo and Syuba communities. There are three major clans: *dòŋba*, *tɕàba* and *ɕàŋba*. Certain clans tend to reside in particular villages, with Nayagaun being predominantly *ɕàŋba,* Toljung *dòŋba*, Pondri *tɕàba* and Namgyu and Ghaleshing being a mix of mainly *dòŋba* and *ɕàŋba*. There is one household of *tɕàba* in the predominantly *dòŋba* village of Toljung.

In the lower areas around Khudi there are also other clan groups, including *gòle*, *mùkten* and *yèba*. These clan names of the lower area Yolmo are also shared by Tamangs, which indicates that Yolmo speakers in Lamjung have ties to the Tamang community post- and possibly pre-migration to the area.

Of these six clan names, five are attested by Hari & Lama (2004) in their list of clan names. The only one that is not attested is *mùkten*, which is a common clan name among Tamang groups. Hall (1982: 103), for example, lists *moktan* as a Tamang clan in the Helambu area. All of the other five are listed by Hari & Lama (2004: 675) as 'non-Lama clans' as opposed to a smaller list of 'Lama clans'. They do not give a definition of what differentiates Lama clans from non-Lama clans.

Speakers participate in clan activities. One of these is a triennial prayer ceremony called *kàn púza*. Two men of the clan are trained to lead the day-long ceremony, which involves sets of chants in front of a prayer place set with white rice *tórma* statues,[7] incense, unhusked rice, and vessels of water. The two males lead the chant, and use a *gyàŋ rò* drum, with other males joining in the chanting and dancing. Many of the clan sit around behind the chanting men. There does not appear to be any restriction on non-clan members attending. This is something that the clan does external to their Buddhist beliefs, and although the two men do not identify as shamans, this is the closest thing I have observed to the shamanic culture mentioned by Desjarlais (1992b).

Yolmo people cannot marry someone of their own clan. Marriages between Yolmo speakers are still very much the norm, and because villages are mostly single-clan marriages are most likely to be inter-village. After marriage a bride will go to her new husband's house and become a member of that household, although she retains her own clan affiliation.

A Yolmo *mùkten* and Tamang *mùkten* cannot marry. There are also some Tamang clans that have affinities with Yolmo clans and this prevents marriage. For example, the Yolmo *tɕàba* clan are commensurate to the Tamang *toka* clan and thus cannot intermarry.

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7   *Tórma* are also used in Buddhist worship. Any remaining Shamanistic practice and the current Buddhist belief are deeply integrated in the culture of Yolmo and other communities.

The eldest son and his family will inherit the house from his parents, and younger brothers and their wives traditionally continue to live in the house or build a new house in the village. More frequently, sons are moving away for work, leaving their wives in the family house and returning, or moving with them to cities or flatter farming land in the Terai. Unlike Sherpa and Tibetan communities (Ortner 1978) there is no traditional practice of polyandry. Bride kidnappings are no longer practiced, however they did so as recently as a generation ago according to older members of the community.[8]

3. Previous work

Extensive documentation work has been carried out on Yolmo over the last twenty years by Anna Marie Hari. This has resulted in the publication of a large and comprehensive Yolmo-English-Nepali dictionary (Hari & Lama 2004) as well as a grammar (Hari 2010). Yolmo has also been the subject of several anthropological studies. Graham Clarke wrote a series of papers on the social structure and religion of Yolmo life (Clarke 1980a, 1980b, 1983, 1985, 1990, 1991), and more recently Robert Desjarlais has written two monographs on the Yolmo people of Helambu, one on shamanic healing practices (1992b) and the other looking at life, death and the senses (2003), as well as a series of articles on similar themes (1989a, 1989b, 1991a, 1991b, 1992a, 2000). Peters & Price-Williams (1980) also briefly discuss fieldwork with shamans. Bishop (1989, 1993, 1998) has looked at the changing lifestyle of the Yolmo of the Melamchi area and the reduction of grazing, as well as the migratory patterns of present-day residents of the area, and although she refers to the Yolmo speakers as Sherpas, she also acknowledges their difference from the Sherpa of the Solu-Khumbu area. Bishop has also been involved in the production of a documentary film (Bishop & Bishop 1997) that also explores these themes. The changing lifestyle of the Helambu Yolmo in recent years has also been examined by Pokharel (2005).

Although Syuba (spoken in Ramechhap, as discussed above) has a much smaller speaker population than Yolmo (1,500 compared to at least 10,000) it has, until recently, received much more attention from linguistic researchers. Höhlig & Hari (1976) produced a comprehensive phonemic summary of the language, and Höhlig (1978) went on to publish a paper on speaker orientation.[9] Nishi (1978) has published a paper on Syuba tone and register as well as a survey paper (1979) on a range of languages, including Syuba. Syuba has also been discussed in Goldstein, Tsarong & Beall (1983) and Bonnerjea (1936).

After an extensive survey of the available literature, to date there are no known publications regarding Lamjung Yolmo beyond my own work. This sketch grammar therefore constitutes a major component of the initial documentation of this dialect of

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[8] Bride kidnapping is where the bride is taken from her family by the groom and his kin, rather than taken to the groom's village as part of a wedding ceremony. For discussion of these in the Helambu and Melamchi Valley area see Desjarlais (2003) and Sato (2007).

[9] Höhlig (n.d.) also created a typewritten Syuba-English-German-Nepali dictionary. A copy of this was left with a Syuba speaker. We subsequently digitised and reformatted it to share with Syuba speakers more widely (Gawne 2014b).

Yolmo. A Lamjung Yolmo-Nepali-English dictionary (Gawne 2011a) has already been produced, utilising a modified Devanagari script for Lamjung Yolmo created in consultation with the speakers.[10] This choice of script was the preference of speakers, who have varying degrees of literacy in Devanagari. While the Ucen script is better at representing the sounds of Tibetic languages, there is almost no literacy in this script amongst the Yolmo of Lamjung, except for the few who receive training as Buddhist Lamas. Therefore the modified Devanagari script was preferred by the speakers of the language to allow as many people in their community as possible to have access to the dictionary. The research presented in my PhD thesis (Gawne 2013a) also provides in-depth discussion of specific features of the language, including evidentiality, modality, reported speech and question structures.

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[10] The dictionary (Gawne 2011a) was made in partnership with the World Oral Literature Project. Copies have been printed and distributed to Lamjung Yolmo speakers through the "Doing great things with small languages" ARC Discovery grant (DP0984419) held by Nick Thieberger and Rachel Nordlinger at The University of Melbourne.

3 *Phonology*

Lamjung Yolmo has 36 consonant phonemes and 10 oral vowel phonemes. The consonant phoneme inventory and arguments for the contrasts are presented in section 1 and vowel phonemes are presented in section 2. The tone system is presented in section 3, while section 4 presents the phonotactics of Lamjung Yolmo, including syllable structure, consonant clusters and a brief discussion of diphthongs. Stress is mentioned briefly in section 5 and morphophonemic change in regards to voicing and deletion is outlined in section 6. Throughout this chapter the Lamjung Yolmo data is presented in International Phonetic Alphabet script and accompanied by the same item in the Lamjung Yolmo orthography (see chapter 1, §3) as well as the English equivalent. Where there is a Written Tibetan cognate, it has been included in this chapter. The Written Tibetan forms are taken from Goldstein (1984) and presented in the orthographic style of Jacques (2012a), which has the benefit of being based on IPA characters and therefore more accessible to readers unfamiliar with other Written Tibetan transcription systems.

1. Consonant Phoneme Inventory

Consonant phonemes in Lamjung Yolmo can be divided into obstruents and sonorants. Obstruents include stops, fricatives and affricates, while sonorants include nasals, liquids, trills and glides. The inventory of consonants phonemes is displayed in Table 6, with salient allomorphs presented in square brackets where appropriate.

Table 6: Lamjung Yolmo Consonant Phonemes

	Bilabial	Apico-alveolar	Lamino-post-alveolar	Apico-retroflex	Dorso-palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p pʰ b	t tʰ d		ʈ ʈʰ ɖ	c cʰ ɟ	k kʰ g	
Fricative		s z	ɕ ʑ				h
Affricate		ts tsʰ dz	tɕ tɕʰ dʑ				
Nasal	m	n			ɲ	ŋ	
Liquids		l̥ ɹ̥ l ɹ [r]					
Glides	w				j		

1.1. Obstruents

1.1.1. Stops

Stops include voiced, voiceless unaspirated, and voiceless aspirated forms. There are five places of articulation; bilabial, apico-alveolar, apico-retroflex, dorso-palatal and velar. All stop phonemes can appear at syllable onset, but only voiceless unaspirated bilabial and velar stops can occur syllable-finally.

A minimal set[11] showing the contrast of the three bilabial stops is presented below:

(1)   /b/ vs /p/ vs /pʰ/

        bù   *bù*   'insect'   <ⁿbu>
        pù   *pù*   'son'   <bu>
        pʰú   *phú*   'blow'   <pʰu brgʲab>

From this contrasting minimal set we can establish /b/, /p/ and /pʰ/ as separate phonemes.

The phonemic status of the three dental stops is established below:

(2)   /d/ vs /t/ vs /tʰ/

        dù   *dù*   copula, perceptual evidence   <ⁿdug>[12]
        tú   *tú*   'vagina'   <stu>
        tʰú   *thú*   'meet'   <tʰug>

From this minimal set we can see that /d/, /t/ and /tʰ/ are individual phonemes.

The phonemic status of the three retroflex stops in relation to each other is established in the minimal set below:

(3)   /ɖ/ vs /ʈ/ vs /ʈh/

        ɖù   *ɖù*   'grain'   <ⁿbru>
        ʈù   *ʈù*   'six'   <drug>
        ʈʰú   *ʈhú*   'ruler'   <(ⁿgo)kʰrid>

---

[11] It should be noted briefly here that voiceless aspirated stops, fricatives and affricates can only take high tone, voiced stops can only take low tone, and voiceless unaspirated stops can take either high or low tone. Therefore no minimal set with all of these stops will have exactly the same tone value across all three items. Tone is marked with a diacritic above the vowel. This will be discussed further in the section on tone (§3).

[12] The final <g> in Written Tibetan forms is consistently not found in Lamjung Yolmo. Sometimes the vowel that remains is lengthened, while other times it is not. There is no robust explanation for this, other than the observation that perhaps the long/short vowel phonemic distinction is not as robust as described in Hari (2010). As I discuss in §2.2 below on vowel phonemes, the distinction between long and short is not strong. Syuba speakers do not acknowledge a length distinction in their variety and have omitted any vowel length distinction from their orthography (HIS Nepal 2015).

From this minimal set we can conclude that /ɖ/, /ʈ/ and /ʈʰ/ are separate phonemes.

There is no minimal set to show phonemic status of the three dental stops in relation to each other. Instead, minimal pairs are given for each distinction below:

(4)   /d/ vs /t/
        dà   *dà*   'bow and arrow'[13]   \<mda>
        tá   *tá*   'see'   \<lta>

(5)   /d/ vs /tʰ/
        dì   *dì*   'this'   \<ⁿdi>
        tʰí   *thí*   'join'   \<mtʰud>

(6)   /t/ vs /tʰ/
        tè   *tè*   'sit'   \<bsdad>
        tʰé   *thé*   'listen'   \<tʰos>

This allows us to establish that the three dental stops are separate phonemes, giving us /d/, /t/ and /tʰ/.

There are also minimal pairs that confirm that the retroflex and dental stops are separate phonemes as well:

(7)   /ɖ/ vs /d/
        ɖù   *ɖù*   'grain'   \<ⁿbru>
        dù   *dù*   copula, perceptual evidence   \<ⁿdug>

(8)   /ʈ/ vs /t/
        ʈɔ̀   *ʈò*   'wheat'   \<gro>
        tɔ̀   *tò*   'stone'   \<rdo>

(9)   /ʈʰ/ vs /tʰ/
        ʈʰú   *ʈhú*   'ruler'   \<(ⁿgo)kʰrid>
        tʰú   *thú*   'meet'   \<tʰug>

The phonemic status of palatal stops is established in the near-minimal set below:

---

[13] This form in Yolmo has come to refer to both the bow and arrow, although in Standard Tibetan and other varieties it just means 'arrow'. This reflects a lack of archery in Lamjung life.

(10)   /ɟ/ vs /c/ vs /c^h/

    ɟà: *gyàa*   'place'   <rg^{j}a>[14]

    cá   *kyá*   'float'   <rk^{j}al>[15]

    c^{h}á   *khyá*   pronoun, 2nd person pl.   <k^{hj}ed>

The phonemic status of the velar stops in relation to each other (11), and in relation to the palatal stops (12)-(14), is established below. The voiced pair in (14) are represented as a near-minimal distinction as there are few items with voiced palatal stops in the lexicon:

(11)   /g/ vs /k/ vs /k^h/

    gɔ̀:   *gòo*   'head'   <mgo.bo>

    kɔ̀   *kò*   'door'   <sgo>

    k^{h}ɔ́   *khó*   pronoun, 3rd person male sg.   <k^{h}o>

(12)   /k/ vs /c/

    ká: *káa*   'stop'   <bkag>

    cá: *kyáa*   'feel cold'   <^{n}k^{h}yags>

(13)   /k^h/ vs /c^h/

    k^{h}á   *khá*   'mouth'   <k^{h}a>

    c^{h}á   *khyá*   pronoun, 2nd person pl.   <k^{hj}ed>

(14)   /g/ vs /ɟ/

    gùri   *gùri*   'cat'

    ɟùp   *gùp*   'fast'   <mg^{j}ogs.po>

In (14) we see that for *gùp* there has been a loss of the vowel in the second syllable, which is also the case in Dzongkha (van Driem & Tshering 1998: 365). The word *gùri* is non-Tibetan in origin, but is found in closely related Tibetic languages including Yolmo, Syuba and Kyirong (Huber 2005), as well as Nubri and Gyalsumdo (Hildebrandt & Perry 2011), suggesting it has been in the language for some time, although none of these languages indicate a clear origin.

---

[14]   I have included <rg^{j}a> 'broad, vast' as the possible Old Tibetan cognate, although this is not at all certain. This would have entailed a semantic shift, perhaps in a phrase. For the correspondence to work Guillaume Jacques (p.c.) has suggested something like <rg^{j}a.k^{h}ab> "whole country, all the places, completely" as a possibility. This analysis is currently not verifiable.

[15]   The historical form rkjal is 'to swim', which has changed to a meaning closer to 'float' in Yolmo, with the newer complex form *tɕál kyàp* for swim.

1.1.2.   Fricatives

Fricatives occur as voiced and voiceless forms in both alveolar and palatised post-alveolar places of articulation, and as voiceless forms at the uvular. All fricatives only occur syllable-initially.

A minimal pair establishing the phonemic status of the voiced and voiceless alveolar fricatives is given below:

(15)   /z/ vs /s/
      zɔ̀   *zɔ̀*   'make'   <bzo>
      sɔ̀   *sɔ̀*   'eat' (imperative) <zo>

This establishes two distinct fricative phonemes /z/ and /s/.

The minimal pair below establishes that the palatalised post-alveolar voiced and voiceless forms are also different phonemes:

(16)   /ʐ/ vs /ɕ/
      ʐà: *ʐàa* 'leave' <bʐags>
      ɕá: *ɕáa* 'split' <bɕags>[16]

The glottal fricative is voiceless and only occurs word initially:

(17)   /h/
      há kɔ̀   *há kɔ̀* 'know/understand' <ha go>

As a phone it is not in complementary distribution with any other phone and is thus established as the phoneme /h/.

1.1.3.   Affricates

Affricates have voiced, voiceless and voiceless aspirated forms and occur in two places of articulation; alveolar and palatised post-alveolar. All affricates only occur syllable-initially.

A minimal set establishing the phonemic status of the alveolar affricates is given below:

(18)   /dz/ vs /ts/ vs /tsʰ/
      dzà   *dzà* 'climb up' <ⁿdzeg>
      tsá   *tsá* 'below'   <rtsa> 'root'[17]
      tsʰá *tshá* 'salt'   <tsʰa>

---

[16]   The Old Tibetan form given for 'split' is the past tense for of <gɕog>, with 'cleave' being another possible translation.

[17]   The cognate form in Old Tibetan for 'below' is 'root', indicating semantic shift.

The minimal set above established /dz/, /ts/ and /tsʰ/ as individual phonemes.

A near-minimal set establishing the phonemic status of the palatalised post-alveolar affricates in comparison to each other is given below. These form a minimal set with the alveolar affricates in the example above, establishing the phonemic status of all the affricates.

(19)   /dʑ/ vs /tɕ/ vs /tɕʰ/

        dʑà: *dʑàa*   'put'   \<ⁿdzog>[18]

        tɕà   *tɕà*   'chicken'   \<bʲa>

        tɕʰá   *tɕhá*   'break' (transitive)   \<btɕag> (past of \<gtɕog>)

By establishing the minimal and near-minimal contrasts between the affricates we also establish /dʑ/, /tɕ/ and /tɕʰ/ as individual phonemes.

1.2. Sonorants

The class of sonorants in Lamjung Yolmo consists of nasals, liquids, trills and glides.

1.2.1. Nasals

Nasals occur in four places of articulation; bilabial, dental, palatal and velar. Each can occur syllable-initial and all nasals except the palatal nasal can occur syllable-final.

A minimal set establishing the phonemic status of the four nasals is given below:

(20)   /m/ vs /n/ vs /ɲ/ vs /ŋ/

        mà   *mà*   negator prefix (past)   \<ma->

        nà   *nà*   'to be ill'   \<na>

        ɲà   *ɲà*   'fish'   \<ɲa>

        ŋà   *ŋà*   'five'   \<lŋa>

With this minimal set we can establish four distinct nasal phonemes; /m/, /n/, /ɲ/ and /ŋ/.

1.2.2. Liquids

Lamjung Yolmo has both apico-alveolar and lateral-alveolar liquids. Both have a voiced and a voiceless form. Voiced liquids can occur syllable initially and syllable finally, and can also occur as the second element in a consonant cluster (see 1.6.1.2 for more detail). Voiceless liquids only occur word initial.

---

[18] The form *dʑàa* for 'put' is unusual in relation to Old Tibetan and other cognates. There may be some influence of the Old Tibetan past form \<bzag>.

There is only one attested example of a voiceless apico-alveolar liquid:

(21)   /ɹ̥/
         ɹ̥élmu   *rhélmu*   'round'   <ril mo>[19]

Although there is only this one example, I am treating it as a separate phoneme. Even in Old Tibetan this phoneme was rare (Hill 2010b), and so its rarity in the current lexicon of a Tibetic language is not surprising.

Below we have minimal pairs to establish that the other liquids are all separate phonemes:

(22)   /ɹ/ vs /l/
         ɹɔ̀   *rò*   'friend'   <rogs>
         lɔ̀   *lò*   'year'   <lo>

(23)   /l/ vs /l̥/
         lɔ́   *ló*   reported speech marker   <lo>
         l̥ɔ́   *lhó*   'south'   <lho>

With these minimal pairs we can establish that /ɹ/, /l/ and /l̥/ are separate phonemes, and the limited data available I have also classed /ɹ̥/ as a marginal separate phoneme.

Voiced alveolar liquids are in free variation with alveolar trills in some environments for some speakers:

(24)   /ɹ/ vs /r/
         pɹíw   *príw*   'monkey (small)'   <spreɦu>
         príw   *príw*   'monkey (small)'   <spreɦu>

As the alveolar central approximant is more common that the trill, and appears in contrast to the alveolar lateral, both /ɹ/ and /r/ are considered allophones of the phoneme /r/.

1.2.3.   Glides

Glides occur at two places of articulation; bilabial and palatal, and are always voiced.

Bilabial glides /w/ are more accurately named labio-velar glides. I have only one example of these occurring word-initially in Lamjung Yolmo. Hari & Lama (2004) have only one *wáŋ* 'ritual food' and the Syuba dictionary (HIS Nepal 2015) has around fourteen entries. In Lamjung Yolmo /w/ also occurs syllable-initial in the second syllable of a word, as a coda and as the second element of a consonant cluster (see section 4.2 for more on consonant clusters), as shown below:

---

[19]   Goldstein (1984) does not include this cognate, but it is found in Jäschke (1865/1954: 530).

(25)	wála	*wála*	'under'	<ⁿog la>
	ʈʰáwa	*ʈháwa*	'kite'	<kʰra(ba)>
	tsháw	*tsáw*	'grandson'	<tsʰa bo>
	swà	*swà*	'nettle'	<zwa>

Note that the form 'nettle' is a rare case of the preservation of a medial -w-, represented by the wa-zur in Tibetan orthography (Jacques 2009, Hill 2013). This preservation is also observed in other forms, including the word *rwàa* 'horn' <rwa>.

Palatal glides /j/ only occur word initial:

(26)	jà:bu	*yàabu*	'good'	<jag.po>
	jùl	*yùl*	'village'	<jul>
	jíbi	*yíbi*	'grandmother'	<zwa>[20]

While both glides occur in restricted environments there appears to be no factors controlling this and they are thus treated as two separate phonemes; /w/ and /y/.

2. Vowel Phonemes

Lamjung Yolmo has five vowels, each with a length distinction, making a total of ten vowel phonemes. These are presented in respect to their height and backness in Table 7. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, all vowel phonemes use the relevant IPA diacritic, except the sound /ɔ/ which is written in the orthography as a closed <o> for convenience.

Table 7: Lamjung Yolmo Vowel Phonemes

i i:		u u:
e e:		ɔ ɔː
	a a:	

Two minimal sets establishing the phonemic status of each places of articulation are given below:

---

[20] There is a cognate for this form in Melamchi Yolmo and Kyirong, with Huber (2005: 275) giving a tentative analysis that it is likely related to the written Tibetan<pʰʲi.mo>.

(27) /i/ vs /u/ vs /e/ vs /ɔ/ vs /a/

kʰí	*khí*	'dog'	<kʰʲi>
kʰú	*khú*	'can'	<mkʰo>[21]
kʰé	*khé*	pronoun, 2ⁿᵈ person sg.	<kʰyod>
kʰɔ́	*khó*	pronoun, 3ʳᵈ person sg male	<kʰo>
kʰá	*khá*	'mouth'	<kʰa>
ɕì	*ɕì*	'four'	<bʑi>
ɕè	*ɕè*	'eat', honorific	<bʑes>
ɕù	*ɕù*	'sit', honorific	<bʑugs>
ɕɔ̀	*ɕò*	'curd'	<zo>
ɕà	*ɕà*	'grease'	<zag>

With these two minimal sets it can be established that the five points of articulation represented in Table 7 are individual phonemes.

Vowels occur in two forms, long and short, with short vowels being more common across the lexicon. The length of the vowel does not affect its quality. While the length difference is not highly distinct there are enough minimal and near-minimal pairs across a range of environments to attest to its existence:

(28) /i/ vs /iː/

tɕí	*tɕí*	'what'	<tɕʰi>[22]
tɕíː	*tɕíi*	'one'	<gtɕig>

(29) /u/ vs /uː/

ɕù	*ɕù*	'sit', honorific	<bʑugs>
ɕùː	*ɕùu*	'enter'	<ⁿjug>

(30) /e/ vs /eː/

pè	*pè*	'do'	<bʲed>
pèː	*pèe*	'Tibet'	<bod>

(31) /ɔ/ vs /ɔː/

tɔ́	*tó*	'rice, cooked'	<lto>
tɔ́ː	*tóo*	'be hungry'	<ltog>

---

[21] This is an unusual correspondence with the Written Tibetan form, which uses the /o/ vowel. The verb with the /u/ vowel is also attested in related languages including Melamchi Valley Yolmo and Kyirong.

[22] The loss of aspiration in the Lamjung Yolmo form is unusual, but also attested in Melamchi Valley Yolmo and other related languages including Gyalsumdo, Nubri and Kyirong.

(32)   /a/ vs /aː/
          sá   *sá*   'ground'   <sa>
          sáː   *sáa*   'burn, transitive'   <sreg>

2.1.   Environmental Effects

2.1.1.   Centring

Consonant environment can affect vowel placement. Palatal plosives and approximants cause the back vowel phonemes /u/ and /o/ and the low vowel phoneme /a/ to centralise. These examples are set out differently to the ones above, the first form in angled brackets is the phonemic representation, the second in square brackets is the phonetic representation, then the orthographic form is given in italics followed by the English gloss:

(33)   /u/   >   /ʉ/
          /jùl/   [jʉ̀l]   *jùl*   'village'
          /gyùpa/   [gyʉ̀pa]   *gyùpa*   'fast'

(34)   /ɔ/   >   /ɵ/
          /jɔ̀lmo/   [jɵ̀lmo]   *yòlmo*   'Yolmo'

(35)   /a/   >   /ɐ/
          /jàmbu/   [jɐ̀mbu]   *yàmbu*   'Kathmandu'
          /gyàa/   [gyɐ̀ː]   *gyà*   'place'

2.2.   Nasalisation

Nasalisation often occurs in two environments; on the non-past and the past tense suffixes. The regular form of the completed past tense is *-sin*. In rapid speech for some speakers the final nasal is dropped and the vowel nasalised:

(36)   /sà-sin/   >   [sà-sĩ]   'eat-PST'

The non-past tense is pronounced as [ge] or [gẽ] in free variation:

(37)   [sà-ge]   *sàge*   'eat-NON.PST'
          [sà-gẽ]   *sàge*   'eat-NON.PST'

This is likely due to the fact that the suffix was historically *-gen*, as it still is in the Yolmo spoken in the Melamchi Valley area (Hari & Lama 2004).

Nasalisation does not occur for lexical items that end in [en], for example:

(38) [pɹéken] *préken* 'monkey (large)'
      [*prékẽ] *préken* 'monkey (large)'

Therefore it is likely that nasalisation for the two suffixes given above is related to their high frequency and explains the nasalisation of the non-past tense suffix even though the final velar nasal has been lost.

3.   Tone

Lamjung Yolmo has a binary high/low lexical tone distinction that is marked on the first syllable of the word. Similar systems have been described in closely related languages including Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari 2010), Sherpa (Watters 1999, Kelly 2004) and Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003).

There are many tone minimal pairs in Lamjung Yolmo. One pair has been given below for each of the five places of articulation for vowels:

(39) ɕí   *ɕí*   'die', imperative <ɕi>
      ɕì   *ɕì*   'four'   <bʑi>
      ké: *kée*   'voice/noise'   <skad>
      kè: *kèe*   'split'   <dgas>[23]
      pú   *pú*   'body hair'   <spu>
      pù   *pù*   'son'   <bu>
      kɔ́mba   *kómba*   'thirsty'   <skom.pa>
      kɔ̀mba   *kòmba*   'temple'   <dgon.pa>
      sámba   *sámba*   'new'   <gsar.ba>[24]
      sàmba   *sàmba*   'bridge'   <zam.pa>

The distribution of tones in Yolmo is attributable to changes in the original consonant forms in Classical Tibetan. Initial unvoiced stops in Classical Tibetan are realised as voices aspirated with high tone. Unvoiced stops with prenasalisation also become aspirated with high tone. Voiceless stops with an initial consonant become voiceless unaspirated. Voiced stops in Yolmo, which take low tone, come from Classical Tibetan prenasalised voiced forms, while initial voiced stops and those that are part of initial clusters are realised in Yolmo as voiceless unaspirated with low tone. These mechanisms are summarised in Table 8 below.

---

[23] The Written Tibetan cognate given here is the future form. Coming from the present form<ⁿgas> we should get *ge. This voiceless initial is also observed in Melamchi Valley Yolmo.

[24] The irregular nasal in the Lamjung Yolmo form is also attested in Melamchi Valley Yolmo, Syuba, Kyirong and even in Sherpa (Tournadre, Sherpa et al. 2009).

Table 8 Summary of the relationship between Lamjung Yolmo tone and Classical Tibetan forms

pV > phV́	bV > pV̀
CpV > pV́	CbV > pV̀
NpV > phV́	NbV > bV̀

The minimal pairs in (38) above demonstrate several of these mechanisms. Below are examples with an initial voiceless and both voiced and voiceless consonants with initial nasals:

(39)   pʰá   *phá*   'pig'   <pʰag>[25]
       kʰálma   *khálma*   'kidney'   <mkʰal.ma>
       bù   *bù*   'insect'   <ⁿbu>

Tone not only establishes lexical difference, but in a closed set of verbs the change in tone indicates a change in transitivity:

(40)   làŋdɔŋ   *làŋdoŋ*   'rise' imperative
        láŋdɔŋ   *láŋdoŋ*   'raise' imperative

        rɔ̀ptɔŋ   *rɔ̀ptoŋ*   'break' imperative
        rɔ́ptɔŋ   *rɔ́ptoŋ*   'break something' imperative

The origins of tone from more complex consonant clusters in Old Tibetan means that it is predictable in some environments. It is low following voiced stops and affricates:

(41)   bù   *bù*   'insect'   <ⁿbu>
        dà   *dà*   'bow and arrow'   <mda>
        ɖù   *ɖù*   'grain'   <ⁿbru>
        gɔ̀ː   *gòo*   'head'   <mgo.bo>
        zùbu   *zùbu*   'body'   <gzugz.po>

Tone is always high following all aspirated stops, affricates and voiceless liquids, as shown below:

---

25   Although this form is aspirated in Jäschke (1865/1954) it has been demonstrated by Hill (2007) that there was no phonemic distinction between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless consonants in Old Tibetan. This is also relevant for <mkʰal.ma> 'kidney' in this example.

(42) pʰá   phá   'pig'   \<pʰag\>
      tʰéka   théka   'straight'   \<tʰad.ka\>
      ʈʰáwa   ʈháwa   'kite'   \<kʰra(ba)\>
      cʰému   kyhému   'cheap'   \<kʰʲe\>
      kʰí   khí   'dog'   \<kʰʲi\>
      tsʰé   tshé   'colour'   \<tsʰos\>
      tɕʰú   tɕhú   'water'   \<tɕʰu\>
      l̥áma   lháma   'stale'   \<lhag.ma\>

The Written Tibetan form given for *kyhému* is *kʰʲe*, which means 'profit' as this seems to be the most likely fit. The form *lháma* is possibly a narrowing of 'the rest (of the food).'

Low tone words are often produced with breathy voice, although the degree of breathiness can vary greatly. Even those speakers who do use breathy voice will not use it in all instances. Impressionistically it is more common for females than males to use breathy tone, perhaps as a strategy to make low tone perceptually stronger. High tone words are produced with modal voice. The relationship of tone and register is common across Tibeto-Burman languages (for a summary see Bradley 1982).

Hari (2010), in her analysis of Melamchi Valley Yolmo, gives a four way tonal difference, with a distinction between 'falling' and 'basically level' contours for both high and low tones. There are very few minimal or near minimal pairs that Hari gives, and all hand drawn tone contours for Yolmo in Hari & Lama (2004: 797-799) show an eventual falling of the contour, regardless of whether they are falling or level tones. There is no evidence given that the four-way distinction is phonologically valid for speakers of the Lamjung variety of Yolmo, and may be a phonetic artefact of historical processes.

Gawne & Teo (2012) examined the acoustic properties of the tone system of Lamjung Yolmo. In this experiment we looked at a set of tone minimal pairs recorded with AL (50 year old female) and RL (18 year old male), all of which can be found in both Lamjung and Melamchi Valley Yolmo. For both speakers we recorded the minimal pairs in carrier sentences and divided the high and low tones into the respective categories in Hari's (2010) analysis (1 being low falling, 2 being low level and 3 and 4 being high falling and level respectively). Figure 4 gives the pitch traces for these tokens for speaker AL in open syllables.
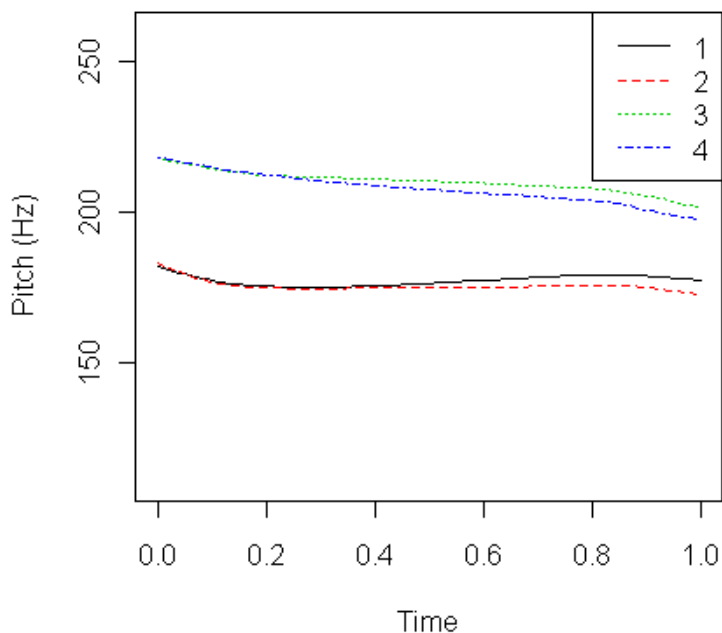
Figure 4: Tone pitch traces for AL in open syllables

Given the chart above, it was unsurprising that there was no significant different between tone contours 1 and 2 or between 3 and 4 with ANOVAs done at 50% and 80% of the vowel segment and Tukey's post-hoc test. The same held for both AL and RL across open syllables, nasal final and disyllable items. It appears from this acoustic evidence that tonal contour distinctions are not found in Lamjung Yolmo. This is interesting given that Höhlig & Hari (1976: 40-45) also observed a difference between level and falling contours in Syuba, indicating that Lamjung Yolmo may be the only known dialect that has neutralised this distinction.

The only affixes to display tone properties are the verbal negator prefixes *mà-* and *mè-*, which both have low tone. If the following root has high tone it is be influenced by the preceding low tone:

(43)   *mà-túp*   <ma-gtub>
       NEG.PST-cut
       'did not cut'

       mè-túp   <ma-gtub>
       NEG.NON.PST-cut
       'do not cut'

Observation of low tone on negator prefixes is not common in Tibetic languages. Hari (2010) also gives this analysis for the Melamchi Valley variety of Yolmo. Figure 5 below gives a pitch trace for example (44):

(44)   *khé*   *mà-tɕám-pa*
     2SG   NEG.PST-dance-PST
    'he did not dance'   (AL 110215-01)

Note that in this example sentence there is a high tone on either side of the negator prefix. When we look at a pitch trace for this utterance we see that there is a distinctive lowering of pitch over the vowel of the negative prefix. This lowered pitch, which indicates low tone, is frequently seen with the negator prefix. We can see this on both the raw pitch trace and the smoothed version. The aspiration of the initial affricate in the verb *tɕám* means that part of the pitch trace is not captured, but there is still a distinctive drop in the part of the utterance where the negator is located.
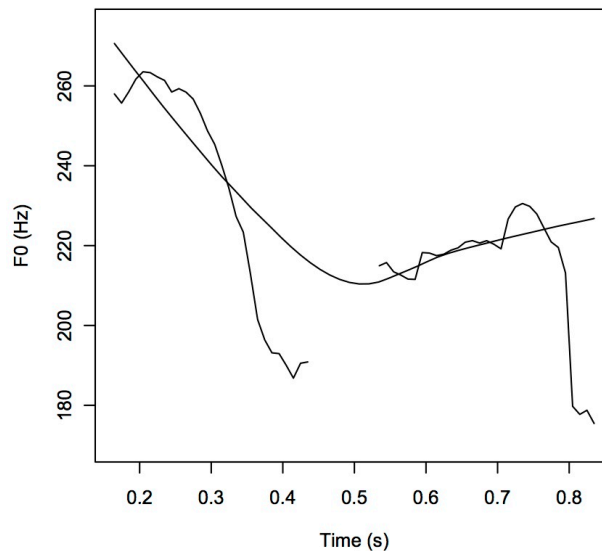
Figure 5: Tone pitch trace of negative prefix with smoothing line for example 44

Figure 5 was generated using Praat (Boersma & Weenik 2007) to represent a string of pitch values and the associated time values. The plot function in *R* (R Development Core Team 2014; version 2.14.0.) was then used to generate the pitch trace. The scatter plot smooth function in *R* computes a smooth curve by means of a Lowess function.

Although Figure 5 above demonstrates the type of pitch lowering observed with negative suffixes, more controlled experimental data is needed to perform a full acoustic analysis of the tone value of negative suffixes. Individual drops in pitch like above could be contributed to suprasegmental pitch patterns, however this distinctive drop is observable in numerous elicited and naturalistic examples.

Unlike the negative prefixes discussed above, no verb suffixes appear to have a tone value specified independent of the root.

4.   Phonotactics

4.1.   Syllable structure

Lamjung Yolmo has a (C)(C)V(C) syllable structure, with some restrictions regarding the initial configuration of two consonants and a limited set of consonants that can occur as the final consonant. There is a preference for consonant onset, although this is not mandatory.

All consonants and vowels can occur word-initial. All vowels and a restricted set of consonants can occur word-final. This consonant set includes voiceless unaspirated bilabial and velar stops, voiced liquids, the voiced labio-velar /w/ and all nasals except the palatal. There is a restricted set of syllable-onset consonant clusters (discussed in section 4.2 below). The syllable patterns that have been found in Lamjung Yolmo are presented below:

(45)   V   ɔː   *òo*   'there'
       VC   ùɹ   *ùr*   'fly'   \<ɦur\>
       CV   pù   *pù*   'son'   \<bu\>
       CVC   pɔ̀ɹ   *pòr*   'leave'   \<bor\>
       CCV   pɹù   *prù*   'write'   \<bris\>[26]
       CCVC   pɹùl   *prùl*   'snake'   \<sbrul\>

4.2.   Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters are only permitted in the syllable-onset in restricted environments. The alveolar liquid /r/ has only be observed occurring after voiced and voiceless unaspirated bilabial stops and voiceless unaspirated velar stops, as shown below:

(46)   pɹíw   *príw*   'monkey (small)'   \<spreɦu\>
       bɹèː   *brèe*   'rice, uncooked'   \<ⁿbras\>
       kɹému   *krému*   'scarf'   \<dkris\>

The dorso-palatal glide can occur after voiceless bilabial stops, both aspirated and unaspirated. To date there are no items where it occurs with a voiced bilabial stop:

---

[26] This irregular rhyme is also attested in the closely related Melamchi Valley Yolmo and Syuba, but in the more distantly related Kyirong the form is *prī*, which is expected based on the Written Tibetan cognate (see Hill 2005).

(47) pjáŋ   *pyáŋ*   'hang'   <dpʲaŋs>
      pʰjá   *phyá*   'wipe/sweep'   <pʰʲags>

Note that the verb 'hang' is cognate with the past tense form of the Old Tibetan *dpʲoŋ*.

The bilabial glide /w/ can also occur as the second element of a consonant cluster. So far it has been recorded in the following environments:

(48) swá   *swá*   'rice, unhusked'   <zwa>
      swà   *swà*   'nettles'   <so.ba>
      kwèla   *kwèla*   'clothing'   <gos.la(ba)>
      tʰwá   *thwá*   'mallet'   <tʰo.ba>
      rwà꞉   *rwàa*   'horn'   <rwa>

swá and *swà* are recorded in Melamchi Valley Yolmo as having a vowel between the two elements of the consonant cluster; *sɔ́wa* and *sɔ̀wa* respectively (Hari & Lama 2004). This indicates that there has been a reduction of these items from two syllables to one, with the loss of the vowel between /s/ and /w/. There is no lexical item in Melamchi Valley Yolmo similar to *kwèla* (Hari & Lama 2004). Although I have given a Classical Tibetan form above, it is possible that this is actually a more recent lexical borrowing from the Lamjung speakers' Gurung neighbours. Glover, Glover & Gurung (1977) give the Gurung word for clothing as *kwẽ*.

4.3. Diphthongs

In the analysis above, the labio-velar glide at the end of a syllable is treated as a consonant, and as such there are no attested diphthongs in Lamjung Yolmo. The closest thing to a diphthong in the language is the lexical item below:

(49) máiba   *máiba*   'bad'
      ʔmái.ba   *máiba*   'bad'
      má.i.ba   *máiba*   'bad'

This word can be analysed as being formed from the word for good *yàabu* with the negative prefix *mà-*, which, through reduction as the word is separated from its lexical origins, result in a diphthong in running speech.

5. Stress

Stress is not a salient phonological phenomenon in Lamjung Yolmo. There are no observable perceptual cues for phonemic stress and it is only used by speakers as a strategy for lexical emphasis.

6.   Morphophonemics

6.1.   Voicing

Stop initial suffixes are unvoiced following unvoiced plosives, and alveolar liquid /ɹ/ (50). These suffixes become voiced following nasals and lateral liquid /l/ (50). They are also always voiced following all vowels (51) except /e/, where the voiceless form is also sometimes used (52). Examples of these processes are shown with the *-tɔŋ/-dɔŋ* variation in the imperative suffix:

(50)   á táp-tɔŋ   *á táptoŋ*   'bite!'   <btap>
        tér-tɔŋ   *tèrtoŋ*   'give!'   <ster>
        sìn-dɔŋ   *sìndoŋ*   'complete!'   <zin>
        làŋ-dɔŋ   *làŋdoŋ*   'stand!'   <laŋ>
        ɲàl-dɔŋ ꞉   *ɲàldoŋ*   'sleep!'   <ɲal>

(51)   ʈìi-dɔŋ   *ʈìidoŋ*   'ask!'   <dris>
        p.ɹù-dɔŋ   *prùdoŋ*   'write!'   <ster>
        lɔ̀-dɔŋ   *lòdoŋ*   'return!'   <zin>
        sà-dɔŋ   *sàdoŋ*   'eat!   <laŋ>

(52)   pè-dɔŋ   *pèdoŋ*   'do!'   <bʲed>
        tè-tɔŋ   *tètoŋ*   'sit!'   <bsdad>
        sé-tɔŋ   *sétoŋ*   'kill!'   <bsad>
        tʰé-dɔŋ   *thétoŋ*   'hear!'   <tʰos>

Voicing also affects words in compounds. For example, the base-ten counting system (see chapter 5, §6.1) is a compounding with the second element being the word for 'ten,' *tɕú*. The voiceless affricate /tɕ/ becomes voiced when the first item in the compound ends with a vowel, lateral liquid or nasal, as shown below:

(53)   súmdʑu   *súmdʑu*   'thirty'   <gsum bcu>
        ɕíptɕu   *ɕíptɕu*   'forty'   <bzi bcu>
        ŋáptɕu   *ŋáptɕu*   'fifty'   <lŋa bcu>
        tùktɕu   *tùktɕu*   'sixty'   <drug bcu>
        tìndʑu   *tìndʑu*   'seventy'   <bdun bcu>
        kyàdʑu   *kyàdʑu*   'eighty'   <brgʲad bcu>
        kùptɕu   *kùptɕu*   'ninety'   <dgu bcu>

6.2. Deletion

Deletion of the voiced velar stop occurs in the inter-vocalic position. This is shown with the possessive/genitive suffix *-ki/-gi* in running speech when it is attached to vowel-final syllables:

(54)   /ŋà=gi/   >   [ŋà-i]
          1SG=GEN

In Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 102-103), where the genitive has the allomorphs *gi, gyi, kyi,* and *'i,* with the last form only occurring after vowels. In Lamjung Yolmo however, the deletion of the /g/ to give only *-i* is not consistent and therefore is only described as a phonological process and not analyses as a set of allomorphs.

This process does not only occur on the boundaries of morphemes and lexemes in running speech, but also in the middle of them as well:

(55)   /màgi/   >   [mà-i]   *màgi*   'corn'

Deletion of other consonants intervocalically has not been observed.

4 *Parts of speech*

In this chapter I discuss the parts of speech in Lamjung Yolmo. This starts with the nominals in section 2, verbs in section 3, adjectives in section 4, adverbs in section 5, and postpositions in section 6. Interjections and discourse particles are discussed together in section 7. Finally I look at honorific forms in Lamjung Yolmo in section 8. These are in their own section as they encompass both nouns and verbs. The different parts of speech are determined by the distributional characteristics of each word, as well as their inflectional properties. Semantic differences also play a part in determining word classes. The parts of speech are mutually exclusive classes, although words can change class through derivational processes.

1. Parts of Speech

The categories of the parts of speech of Lamjung Yolmo are presented in the list below, with definitions and more information about each in sections afterwards:

1. Nominals
   (i) nouns
   (ii) pronouns
   (iii) demonstratives
2. Verbs
   (i) lexical verbs
   (ii) copulas
   (iii) auxiliaries
3. Adjectives
4. Adverbs
5. Postpositions
6. Interjectives and discourse markers

The first two classes discussed are nominals and verbs. Both of these classes are inflected for multiple grammatical categories. Nominals inflect for categories such as case and number, while verbs inflect for tense and aspect. These two are also the largest open word classes. The remaining parts of speech that are discussed are all non-inflected. These include adjectives, adverbs, postpositions and interjections.

2. Nominals

Semantically, nouns typically denote objects, both concrete and abstract. A noun by itself is sufficient to constitute a noun phrase, but may also occur with adjectives and demonstratives. However, demonstratives and numerals may also constitute a noun phrase by themselves, so this is not a sufficient definitional criterion. All nouns take case suffixes and the plural suffix where appropriate. Cases that are marked in Lamjung Yolmo are genitive, ergative, instrumental, locative, allative, dative and ablative. These

are discussed in more detail in chapter 5. There are three types of nominals; nouns (§2.1), pronouns (§2.2) and demonstratives (§2.3).

2.1. Nouns

Nouns are an open class and by far the largest of the three types of nominals. Morphologically, count nouns can take the plural suffix *=ya:*

(1) *rò*   'friend'
     rò=ya   'friends'

The plural suffix is optional if the number can be inferred from context, either visually or because of previous mention, or is not relevant. This is true of both human and non-human animate and inanimate nouns.

Syntactically, nouns can be modified by a demonstrative, which typically appears to the left of it in a noun phrase.

(2) ***òodi***   *ḍòkṭor*   *saá=la*   *dù*
     that   doctor(Eng)   ground=LOC   COP.PE
     'that doctor is on the ground.'   (SL 091108-01 18:55)

(3) ***òodi***   *mílam*   *yàabu*   *yèke*
     that   dream   good   COP.EGO.PST
     'that dream was good.'   (AL 100924-01)

Nouns can also be modified by an adjective (4) and/or a number (5), which typically appears to the right of the noun in a noun phrase.

(4) *pìza*   ***tɕhómbo***
     child   big
     'big child.'   (AL 091108-01 30:59)

(5) *mèeme*   ***kàpu***   *tɕíi*   *thóŋ-sin*
     grandfather   old   one   watch-PST
     'an old man watched.'   (AL 091108-01 23:30)

Nouns can be either simple, compound or complex; these are discussed in more detail in chapter 5, §2.1. Nouns can be created from verbs using a range of derivational suffixes. This process of nominalisation is discussed in chapter 7, §4.

2.2. Pronouns

Pronouns are a small, closed class of nominals. They distinguish between person (first, second and third), number (singular, dual and plural) and also make

inclusive/exclusive distinctions in first person non-singular. There are also two third person singular pronouns that make a male/female gender distinction for humans. Pronouns have the same case marking as regular nouns, although only some take regular plural marking. Pronouns are discussed further in chapter 5, §3.

Pronouns differ from nouns in several ways. Firstly, there is no use of the morphological plural suffix except for the third person inanimate pronoun. Secondly, there is no co-occurrence with determiners, adjectives or numbers.

2.3. Demonstratives

Demonstrative pronouns have a proximal/distal distinction. There is also a third, less-used demonstrative that indicates something as being distal but within view, unlike the basic distal where the visibility of the item is not specified.

Demonstratives crosscut the other word classes as they can occur not only as the head of a noun phrase (6), but can also function as a modifier of another noun (7) (see also chapter 5, §3.2).

(6)   ***òodi***   *yàabu*   *yè*
       that   good   COP.EGO
       'that is good.'   (AL 100922-01)

(7)   ***òodi***   *mì*   *yàabu*   *yè*
       that   person   good   COP.EGO
       'that person is good.'   (AL 100922-01)

3.   Verbs

Verbs are the clausal predicate. There are three main types of verbs: lexical verbs (§3.1), copulas (§3.2) and auxiliaries (§3.3). Each has their own syntactic distribution, and are discussed in turn below.

3.1. Lexical verbs

Lexical verbs in Lamjung Yolmo are an open class of verbs and make up the majority of verbs. Semantically, these generally refer to actions, states and events. Verb stems are usually monosyllabic, however they can be simple (composed of one element) or complex (see chapter 6, §2.1). Verbs can be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive (see chapter 7, §1). There is no evidence of derived verbs. While the semantics of the verb in relation to volitionality and control can interact with the evidential system, it is not as central to the Lamjung Yolmo lexical verb structure as it is in other Tibetic languages (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 141; Zeisler 2004: 250-259). This may be a result of Yolmo's ongoing contact with Nepali, which does not encode volitionality distinctions, or contact with Tamang, which has had observable effect on

other features of Yolmo grammar without affecting lexicon (Owen-Smith & Donohue 2012).

Verbs must inflect for tense or aspect. There is a basic tense distinction of past/non-past. Finite verbs can take a tense suffix, either past *-sin* (8) or non-past *-ke.* Verbs can also inflect for perfective or imperfective aspect (tense and aspect are discussed in more detail in chapter 6, §3). Negation on lexical verbs is by prefix (8).

(8)   *ŋà*   ***ɲàl****-sin*
         1SG   sleep-PST
         'I slept.'   (AL 090916-06)

         ŋà   *mà-****ɲal***
         1SG   NEG.PST-sleep
         'I did not sleep.'   (AL 090916-06)

3.2.   Copula verbs

Copula verbs in Lamjung Yolmo are a small closed class. There are two types of copula verbs, which take different nominal predicates. The equational takes two noun phrases, while the existential can take one noun phrase, or a noun phrase and an adjectival phrase (9) or another noun phrase marked for location, possessive.

(9)   *òodi*   *lú*   *yàabu*   ***dù***
         that   song   good   COP.PE
         'that song is good.'   (RL 110129-01)

Copula verbs do not take any of the tense or aspect suffixes of lexical verbs, other than the perfective suffix *-ba* which can be used with the perceptual evidential and the existential egophoric, and is a fossilised component of the equative egophoric.

The negative forms of copulas are related to the negative prefixes for lexical verbs, but are more blended (10).

(10)   *dì*   *tòŋbo*   ***yìmba***
         this   tree   COP.EGO.NEG
         'this is a tree.'   (AL 091108-01 02:23)

         dì   *tòŋbo*   ***mìn***
         this   tree   COP.EGO.NEG
         'this is not a tree.'   (SL 091108-01 02:21)

They do not only function as the main verb in a clause (10) but also in some structures a subset can be auxiliary verbs.

3.3. Auxiliary verbs

There are two small sets of auxiliary verbs, one from lexical verbs, the other from copula verbs. Both sets are used in combination with main lexical verbs in some syntactic structures. Both sets of auxiliaries occur after the lexical verb, and have their own syntactic features. The two sets of auxiliaries can co-occur with a single lexical verb.

The first set of auxiliaries can also function as a lexical verb. The most common auxiliary verb of this type is *tè,* which is the same as the lexical verb 'sit'. In (11) we can see this verb functioning as the main clause predicate with its lexical meaning 'sit'. In (12) it is being used as an auxiliary to carry additional aspect information. In this example the reference is an image of a man standing, indicating that as an auxiliary the verb has had much of its lexical semantics bleached.

(11) *mèeme   kápu   tɕíi   thóla   **tè**-sin   dù*
      grandfather old   one   above   sit-PST   AUX.PE
      'an old man sat above.'   (AL 091108-01 00:53)

(12) *dì   yàrdala   nám thíŋ=la   tá-ti   **tè**-sin   dù*
      3SG   up.towards   sky=LOC   look-PERF   AUX-PST   AUX.PE
      'he looked up to the sky.'   (AL 091108-01 25:07)

The auxiliary *tè-* is discussed in relation to the imperfective aspectual information it contributes to the clause in chapter 7 (§3.1). When negated, the strategy is the same as with lexical verb negation.

The second set of auxiliaries are those derived from copula verbs. This is a subset of copula verbs that can occur in limited combination with some tense/aspect markers (13). I discuss these combinations in chapter 6, §1.2.

(13) *ɔ̀odi   lú   yàabu   thé-ku   **dù***
      that   song   good   hear-IPFV   AUX.PE
      'that song sounds good.'   (RL 110129-01)

When used as auxiliaries the copula verbs can contribute tense and evidential or modal information.

4. Adjectives

Adjectives are a word class that modify nouns. Examples of adjectives in Lamjung Yolmo are given in (14)-(17). This word class undergoes no known inflectional or derivational morphological processes to distinguish them systematically. Comparative and superlative constructions are periphrastic, and are discussed in chapter 5 (§7). Adjectives that modify nouns within a noun phrase usually occur after the noun (16), but there are occasional examples where they occur before the noun (17).

(14) *pìza   tàpse   **tɕhómbo** yè*
     child   now   big   COP.EGO
     'the child is now big.'   (SKL 101023-06)

(15) *dì   phóɕop   **khyému** yè*
     this   soap   cheap   COP.EGO
     'this soap is cheap.'   (AL 091001-01)

(16) *mèeme   **kàpu**   tɕíi   thóŋ-sin*
     grandfather   old.animate   one   see.PST
     'an old grandfather saw.'   (AL 091108-01 23:31)

(17) ***ŋómbu***   *míi*
     blue   eye
     'blue eyes.'   (KL 120304-02)

For many speakers, including AL, the adjective always follows the noun in the noun phrase, while for others including KL and her family from Toljung, the adjective does precede the noun in naturalistic speech (17). The adjective never occurs in the head position. The word class of adjectives is distinct from the word class of nouns. We can see this in basic sentence structure, wherein a sentence equating two noun phrases uses the equational copula (18) while a sentence containing a noun phrase and an adjective uses an existential copula (19).

(18) *òodi   mì   ŋà=ki   rò   **yìmba***
     that   person   1SG=GEN   friend   COP.EGO
     'that person is my friend.'   (AL 091109-01)

(19) *khó   tɕhúkpu   **yè***
     3SG.M   rich   COP.EGO
     'he is rich.'   (SKL 101023-06)

Distinguishing the class of adjectives from adverbs is more difficult owing to the small number of adverbs in Lamjung Yolmo and the preference for deriving them from adjectives.

5.   Adverbs

Adverbs form a small word class that serves two main functions. The first is to modify the manner of the main verb, the second is as a clause level subordinator.

When adverbs modify the verb they are situated just before the verb. While there are a small number of adverbs that are unique lexical items, many created through combination of an adjective with the verb *pè* ('do') in the perfect form (20).

(20)   *yàabu   pè-ti*
    good   do-PERF
    'well.'   (AL 091012-03)

(21)   *mò*   **kùlba   pè-ti**   *lèn-ku*   *dù*
    3SG.F   slow   do-PERF   sing-IPFV   AUX.PE
    'she is singing slowly.'   (AL 091012-03)

Adverbs are also used as subordinators at clause level, where they mark temporal and manner subordination (see chapter 7, §3). The two most common lexical adverbial forms are (22) *tòŋla* 'before' and *tíŋla* (23) 'after'. The complement clause follows the adverbial head.

(22)   *ɲàl-kandi*   **tòŋla**   *ŋà*   *ʈò-ke*
    sleep-NMLZ   before   1SG   read-NON.PST
    'I read before going to sleep.'   (AL 091015-02)

(23)   *tó*   *sà-ti*   **tíŋla**   *ŋà*   *khyásala*   *dògan=la*   *kàl-sin*
    rice   eat-PERF   after   1SG   market   shop=DAT   go.PERF-PST
    'after eating lunch I went to the market.'   (AL 091013-01)

There are also lexical suffixing strategies for adverbial structures, which are discussed in more detail in chapter 7, §3.1.
There are a number of lexical manner adverbs in Lamjung Yolmo, including *límu* (24) and *tìle*, which both translate as 'like', and *dènmu* which would translate as 'like this'. The subordinated manner adverb takes a nominaliser suffix.

(24)   *khúŋ*   *tábu*   **límu**   *gyùbu*   *tɕóŋ-ku*   *dù*
    3PL   horse   like   fast   run-NMLZ   COP.PE
    'he runs fast like a horse.'   (AL 091109-03)

Unlike for temporal adverbs there are no affixing strategies known for manner adverbs.

6.   Postpositions

As with all Bodic languages, the adposition in Lamjung Yolmo is a postposition. Many typical postpositional functions are realised by the case marking suffix *=la* which attaches to nouns (see chapter 5, §5 for case marking) and is used to mark spatial and temporal relations (locative), movement towards a goal (allative), and the recipient of a transitive or ditransitive verb (dative). There is also a small, closed class of lexical postpositions (25).

(25) *nàŋla*   'inside'   <naŋ>
       phíla   'outside'   <pʰyi logs>
       tòŋla   'before, in front'   <mdun>
       tíŋla   'after'   <gzug la>
       kyàpla   'behind'   <rgʲab>
       ʈhárdi   'above'   <thod>
       tsála   'across'   <rtsar la> ('near')
       phákonla   'below'   <phar phjogs>
       pàrkila   'between'   <bar la>
       tàlda   'later'
       phòla   'near'
       tshúr   'this side'   <thag ɲe po>
       yàrla   'up'   <yar>
       ɲímu   'with'   <sɲe> ('lean against')

These appear directly after the object noun phrase (26)-(28), which fits with the general right-headed tendencies of the language.

(26)   *tɕháŋ*   **ɲímu**   *tɕhú*   *lú-kandi*
       alcohol   with   water   put.into-NMLZ
       'put alcohol in with the water.'   (KL 101026-05 0:51)

(27)   *mèeme*   *kápu*   *tɕíi*   *thóla*   **tè**-sin   *dù*
       grandfather   old   one   above   sit-PST   AUX.PE
       'an old man sat above.'   (AL 091108-01 00:53)

(28)   *ɲà*   *lùndi=ki*   *khá*   **nàŋla**   *ɕùu-tɕe*   *pè-ku*   *dù*
       fish   jackal=GEN   mouth   inside   enter-INF   do-IPFV   AUX.PE
       'the fish entered into the jackal's mouth.'   (RL 101026-06 02:39)

7. Interjections and discourse markers

The final category of interjections and sentence-final particles is really a category with two distinct sets of short particles that take no affixation and are not grammatically obligatory. Interjections can occur at any point in the sentence, while discourse markers are monosyllabic and sentence-final.

The only interjection recorded to date is *átɕha*. It is mainly used to express dismay after the speaker says something they feel to be incorrect. It can constitute a complete utterance by itself, or occur at any point in an utterance as a corrective interjection (29), therefore a syntactic definitions of this feature is not really illuminating. This example comes from the Family Story (chapter 1, §2), where AL uses the Nepali loan word for 'newspaper/magazine' *pótrika* before remembering the Yolmo equivalent *ɕígu*, and expresses her dismay at using the wrong word:

(29) *khyópiza*   *tɕíi=ki*   *pótrika*   *tsòŋ...*   *pótrika...*   **átcha**
      man   one=ERG   newspaper(Nep)   sell   paper(Nep)   sorry

      ɕígu   *tsóŋ=ki*   *tè-sin*   *dù*
      paper   one=ERG   newspaper(Nep)   sell
      'a man sells newspaper… newspaper…sorry, has sold newspaper.'
                                                      (AL 091108-01 11:52)

Discourse markers are monosyllabic sentence-final elements in this language. They are grammatical in their function, and are used to modify the content of the preceding clause. To date, there is no evidence that they can be used anywhere other than sentence-finally. They are different to nominal emphatic markers (discussed in chapter 5, §8) in that they operate at the clausal level instead of just the noun. A broad analysis of several of them has been given here, however they warrant more detailed study. The reported speech particle *ló* is used to indicate that the utterance is the reported speech of another person (30).

(30) *dì*   *mèemeya*   *ɖò-ke*   **ló**
      this   family   go-NON.PST   RS
      'this family is going (she said).'   (AL 100926-01)

This particle is discussed in more detail in the section on reported speech in chapter 7, §9.

A very common discourse marker is the long, high *óo* which is used frequently in natural discourse. It has an invocative sense similar to the English use of 'ok*?*' as a tag at the end of a sentence (31)-(32).

(31) *nàŋbar*   *thú*   **óo**
      tomorrow   meet   PART
      'tomorrow (we) meet, ok!'   (AL 091002-01)

(32) *khé=ki*   *mèeme=la*   *khé=ki*   *pìza*   *pìru*   *tér-toŋ*   **óo**
      2SG=GEN   family=DAT   2SG=GEN   child   small   give-IMP   PART
      'give (it) to your family, your small child, ok!'   (SBL 101124-03 25:56)

The particle *ná* when used alone gives the sentence a degree of supposition (33).

(33) *khyá*   *sà-ʈo*   **ná**
      2SG   eat-DUB   PART
      'you will eat, I suppose?'   (AL 091206-01)

In contrast, the particle *lée* adds emphasis to the utterance (34).

(34) *khyá*   *sà-ke*   ***lée***
      2SG   eat-NON.PST   PART
      'you will eat.'   (AL 091206-01)

This is not quite the imperative that the English reading gives, but a more generally emphatic sense. The particles *ná* and *lée* are most often heard used together, and give a sense of polite request to the utterance (35).

(35) *sò*   ***ná***   ***lée***
      eat.IMP   PART   PART
      'please eat.'   (RL 101029-02)

8.   Honorifics

As with many other Tibetan languages, Lamjung Yolmo has a set of honorific forms of common words. This includes a small set of honorific verbs and an even smaller set of honorific nouns. These include honorific verbs and nouns, which are used when talking to Lamas or other people of high social standing, as Beckwith (1992: 5) notes for Standard Tibetan, they are never used to refer to oneself, or one's own possessions. A list of the honorific that are recalled by speakers of Lamjung Yolmo are given with their non-honorific equivalents below (36).

(36)

Honorific from	Regular form	English	Written Tibetan
ɕè	*sà*	'eat'	<za, bzes>
ɕù	*tè*	'sit'	<bsdad, gzugs>
sìm	*ɲàl*	'sleep'	<bsŋal ('lay'), gzim>
phép	*òŋ*	'come'	<ⁿong, pʰebs>
ɕàŋ	*làŋ*	'stand'	<laŋ, bzeŋ>
tɕhé	*thúŋ*	'drink'	<mtʰuŋ, mtɕʰod>

Readers familiar with the literature on Tibetan in Chinese will recognise vestiges of the honorific <-j-> infix as discussed by Gong (1977). This is visible as the palatalisation in the honorific forms for 'eat', 'stand' and 'sit'. Honorific verbs can take tense and negation, but do not take imperative marking. To give an imperative sense they are used bare.

The nominal set is smaller, and contains mainly the words that form the basis of the more elaborate set of honorific nominals discussed in DeLancey (1998). Unlike the verbs which would sometimes occur in sentence elicitation, nominal honorifics were only ever given in isolation. Other forms were not recalled.

(37)

Honorific from	Regular form	English	Written Tibetan
yàp	*ába*	'father'	<apʰa, yab>
tɕhák	*làkpa*	'hand'	<lag pa, pʰʲag>
ɕápʈa	*tíŋba*	'foot'	<rtiŋ.ba, zabs>

These honorific forms are rarely used in regular conversation, and many speakers do not use them at all. Below we see some examples of honorifics in sentences. Examples (38) uses an honorific verb form while (39) uses an honorific noun.

(38)   *rìmburʨhe*   **sìm**-*sin*   *dù*
        lama.reincarnate   sleep.HON-PST   AUX.PE
        'the Rinpoche slept.'   (AL 101217-01)

(39)   *yùm*   *khím=la*   *yèʈo*
        mother.HON   house=LOC   COP.DUB
        'mother (probably) comes to the house.'   (AL 120311-01)

These utterances demonstrate that the speaker is marking the superior status of either the addressee or another referent individual. This is similar to a feature known as Subject Honorific in the literature on Japanese (Harada 1976). As these forms can also be used to also humble the status of the speaker, they also have a degree of what is known as Object Honorific, or Subject Humbling, in the literature on Japanese. There are no examples of Allocutive honorifics in Lamjung Yolmo, where the honorific marks the addressee who is not an argument of the verb (see Antonov 2013).

It is highly likely that these forms have not been used in Lamjung Yolmo at all for some time, and have been reappropriated by speakers looking to align themselves with Melamchi Valley Yolmo and other varieties of Tibetan. The person who most frequently used or discussed honorific forms was AL, who lives in Kathmandu and is connected with other groups of Ethnic Tibetan Nepalis. In contrast, speakers in Melamchi Valley recalled these forms, and many more, quite easily from what I obverved in a brief visit to the area. This almost complete lack of the use of these honorifics in Lamjung Yolmo is one regard in which it is different to that spoken in Melamchi valley.

5   *Morphology of the noun phrase*

This section takes the nouns phase as its focus. I start by looking at the structure of the noun phrase in section 1, before focusing on lexical nouns in section 2. I first look at simple nouns in section 2.1, then compound nouns in section 2.2, proper nouns in section 2.3 and the process of pluralisation in section 2.4. I then turn to pronouns, in section 3, before looking at articles in section 4, case-marking in section 5 and numerals and measurements in section 6. Finally I look at the role of the adjective in the noun phrase in section 7 and nominal discourse suffixes in section 8.

1. Structure of the noun phrase

The noun phrase in Lamjung Yolmo consists of an obligatory noun or pronoun. It is possible for it to also contain a determiner, case-marker, numeral classifier, number marker or focus marker. The word order is consistent; a template of prototypical noun phrase order would be:

(Determiner) Noun=CASE(-FOC)(=PL) (Numeral Classifier) (Number) (Adjective)

Some examples of noun phrases are given below, marked in square brackets. As can be seen, nouns can be either concrete (1)-(3), or abstract (4):

(1)   *[tɕhómbo   háɖa]*
       [big   alcohol.distilling.pot]
       'big distillation pot.'   (KL 101026-05 1:01)

(2)   *[bènzi]   thóla   [khyópiza ɲí]   [sáa=la]   [kyopìza   tɕíi]*
       [bench(Eng)]   above   [man   two] [ground=LOC] [man   one]
        'on the bench, two men, on the ground, one man.'   (AL 091108-01 06:12)

(3)   *[pìza]   [áma-ti   ɲímu] pháŋ-sin   dù*
       [child]   [mother-FOC   with]   carry-PST   AUX.PE
       'with the mother the child was carried.'   (AL 091108-01 09:35)

(4)   *[òodi   mílam]   yàabu yèke*
       [that   dream]   good   COP.EGO.PST
       'that dream was good.'   (AL 100924-01)

2. Types of lexical nouns

Nouns in Lamjung Yolmo can be either simple or compound, although simple nouns are much more common. Each is discussed below section 2.1 and 2.2 respectively.

After this proper nouns, which differ from regular lexical nouns, are outlined in section 2.3 followed by a discussion about the plural form of lexical nouns in section 2.4.

2.1. Simple nouns

Simple nouns can be either monosyllabic (5) or multisyllabic, with disyllable structures are the most prevalent form of multisyllabic simple noun (6):

(5)   *tshá*   'salt'
       khá   'mouth'

(6)   *khámbu*   'peach'
       dzùbu   'body'
       kòtolo   'sickle holster'

2.2. Compound nouns

There are a number of instances where it appears that nouns have been formed from compounding; notably these nouns are longer than the simple nouns and are often trisyllabic. In the examples below the original lexical items are taken from Hari & Lama (2004) for Melamchi Valley Yolmo. *khyòwa* is not used in Lamjung Yolmo and *pèemi* specifically refers to a wife, the word *pìʑa* in Lamjung Yolmo refers to a baby or child. Neither of the compounded forms that exist in Lamjung Yolmo appear to exist in Melamchi Valley Yolmo.

(7)   *khyòwa*   +   *pìʑa*   *khyòpiʑa*
       man   +   child   'man'

(8)   *pìimi*   +   *pìʑa*   *pèmpiʑa*
       woman   +   child   'woman'

The compound noun only carries tone on the first syllable and therefore are treated as single lexical items. Compounding appears to not be particularly productive and the small number of compound nouns found are used consistently across a number of speakers.

Complex nouns are formed when one or more nouns or nominalised verbs are used together, as shown in (9) and (10).

(9)   *kháṭ*   *zà-kandi*   *khópi*
       bed(Nep)   put-NMLZ   room
       'bedroom.'   (AL 091019-02)

(10)   *dzùbu*   *ʈhú-sa*
        body   wash-NMLZ.LOC
        'bathroom'   (AL 091019-02)

There have been more examples collected that resemble these, indicating that this strategy is much more productive than the compounding seen above.

2.3.   Proper nouns

Proper nouns are a sub-group of lexical nouns that behave differently to other nouns. Proper nouns refer to specific locations, such as village or town names, or to personal names. They do not occur with number marking or articles and to date there are no examples of proper nouns occurring with adjectives. Instead they occupy the whole noun phrase.

(11)   **rám**   *tóo-ku*   *dù*
        Ram   hunger-IPFV   AUX.PE
        'Ram is hungry.'   (AL 270112-01)

(12)   *ŋà=ki*   *mìn*   **sòm**   *yìmba*
        1SG=GEN   name   Som   COP.EGO
        'my name is Som.'   (RL 110208-02)

2.4.   Plurals

Lexical nouns other than proper nouns can take a plural using the suffixing clitic *=ya* (13)*,* or a dual using the separate lexical item *ɲípu* (14)*.* There is no indication that the plural is more likely to occur with human or non-human nouns.

(13)   *rò*   'friend'
        *rò=**ya***   'friends'

(14)   *khyópiza*   'man'
        *khyópiza **ɲípu***   'two men'

Both are optional, and not invoked if the number is clear from context or if an overt number or adjective is used with the noun. This appears to hold consistent regardless of whether the noun is human (15), animate (16) or inanimate.

(15)   *pèmpiza*   *súm*   *dù*
        woman   three   COP.PE
        'there are three women.'   (AL 101012-02 21:07)

(16)   *ɲà   túpre-raŋ*
     fish   many-EMPH
     'many fish'   (RL 101027-02 01:11)

    Only count nouns are marked for plurality, although given the optional plurality this is often hard to distinguish.

(17)   *tɕà*
     chicken
     'a chicken'   (AL 091020-03)

(18)   *tɕà=ya*
     chicken=PL
     'chickens'   (AL 091020-03)

(19)   *tɕà   ɲí*
     chicken   two
     'two chickens'   (AL 091020-03)

(20)   **tɕà   ɕá   ɲí*
     chicken   meat   two
    *'two chicken meat'   (AL 091020-03)

(21)   *tɕà   ɕá   kilo   ɲí*
     chicken   meat   kilo(Eng)   two
     'two kilos of chicken meat'   (AL 091020-03)

    The plural suffix comes before case marking, as shown in section 5 below. Where the noun phrase includes an adjective the plural marker will come after the adjective, indicating that this is a clitic (22).

(22)   *néki   sámba=ya*
     cooking.pot   new=PL
     'new cooking pots'   (AL 100924-01)

3.   Pronouns

    Lamjung Yolmo has personal, demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns, these are discussed in turn below.

3.1.   Personal Pronouns

    Personal pronouns are given in Table 9.

Table 9: Personal pronouns in Lamjung Yolmo

	Singular	**Dual**	**Plural**
1.inclusive	ŋà	òraŋ ɲípu	òraŋ
1.exclusive		ɲì ɲípu	ɲì
2.	khé	khyá ɲípu	khyá
3.male	khó	khúŋ ɲípu	khúŋ
3.female	mò		
3	dì / òodi	dì ɲípu	dìya
reflexive		ràŋ	

Many of these will be recognisable to those familiar with related languages. The form for first person singular is found in Old Tibetan (Hill 2010a), and many related languages that are spoken today. The first person plural form is the same as that given by Hari (2010: 27) for the Eastern variety of Yolmo spoken in the Melamchi Valley. The Western form is *ùu,* which is not in Lamjung Yolmo, but is the cognate found in Syuba, indicating that perhaps Lamjung Yolmo speakers did originate in a different parts of the Melamchi Valley. This could be considered linguistic evidence in favour of the oral history of the Lamjung Yolmo speakers that they migrated from the eastern area of the traditional Yolmo region (see chapter 2).

The second person singular form is palatalised in Kyirong, Melamchi Valley Yolmo and Syuba, but not in Lamjung Yolmo. The plural form is the same across all varieties. As discussed below, the plural form can also be used as an honorific singular form. Höhlig's (n.d.) Syuba word list gives the gloss as singular, but both Hari (2010: 27) and Huber (2005: 68) give the form as plural, which is the analysis I have also presented.

The forms of the singular third person pronoun *kho-na* and the feminine equivalent *mo-na* in Old Tibetan are realised as *khó* and *mò* respectively in Lamjung Yolmo, as is also the case for Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari 2010: 27) and Kyirong (Huber 2005: 67). The third singular *dì* comes from the Tibetan demonstrative *ⁿdi*, and is still used as an article form in Lamjung Yolmo as well, as discussed in section 4 of this chapter. The plural form *khúŋ* is also attested in Melamchi Valley Yolmo and Syuba. In Kyirong, the third person plural is *khõ̀ː*, the lengthened nasalised vowel indicating that this is a likely cognate and once again confirming that in relation to other Tibetic languages the Yolmo varieties and Syuba are most similar to each other.

The reflexive form is the same as that attested by Hill (2010a) for Old Tibetan. This form is also attested in Syuba and Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari 2010: 27). Interesting, while it is also found in Kyirong, it no longer has the final velar nasal, but a lengthened and nasalised vowel. It is also presented in Huber's (2005: 67) pronoun paradigm as fused with other forms, giving *kʰōrã̀ː* 'himself' etc. Thus the Yolmo varieties and Syuba appear more conservative in the phonological form of the reflexive.

The innovation of the dual forms is not mentioned for Kyirong (Huber 2005), but Hari (2010: 27) gives dual forms for first, second and third that are, like for the Lamjung variety, the plural forms but with *ɲíi* instead of *ɲípu*. I have yet to determine if this dual category also exists in Syuba, but the lack of dual in Kyirong does indicate that this many be a relatively recent innovation in this smaller cluster of related languages.

As with lexical nouns, plural forms can and do frequently occur without a plural marker (23), however they can also be used with the plural suffix (24). It is still unclear if the plural is used to any pragmatic effect, or whether it is simply optional.

(23)   *ɲì*   *tɕémendo*   *sà-ke*
         1PL.EXCL   egg   eat-NON.PST
         'we are eating egg.'   (AL 090915-04)

(24)   *ɲì=ya*   *yèmbu=la*   *yè*
         1PL.EXCL=PL   Kathmandu=LOC   COP.EGO
         'we are in Kathmandu.'   (AL 090916-02)

Although not obligatory in this context, pronouns can also co-occur with numbers:

(25)   *khó=ya*   *súm*   *òŋ-ke*
         3SG.M=PL   three   come-NON.PST
         'they three are coming.' (AL 120121-01)

Pronouns can occur with adjectives but this is a forced meaning and quite uncommon. (26) would be acceptable to AL if there were two women in the room (one big and one small) and the larger one was asleep.

(26)   *tɕhómbo*   *mò*   *ɲàl-ke*
         big   3SG.F   sleep-NON.PST
         'the big she is sleeping.'   (AL 120121-01)

Pronouns cannot occur with determiners (27), even to give a coerced meaning.

(27)   **dì*   *mò*   *ɲàl-ke*
         this   3SG.F   sleep-NON.PST
        **'this she is sleeping.'   (AL 120121-01)

For non-first person pronouns the plural form can be invoked to distinguish a higher level of formality (29) with singular reference instead of the standard singular form (28); this occurs frequently in paradigm elicitation.

(28)   *dàŋ*   *kùŋmu*   **khé**   *ɲàl-sin*
           yesterday   night   2SG   sleep-PST
           'last night you (singular) slept.'   (AL 090916-06)

(29)   *dàŋ*   *kùŋmu*   **khyá**   *ɲàl-sin*
           yesterday   night   2 PL   sleep-PST
           'last night you (singular, high) slept.'   (AL 090916-06)

An example from more naturalistic data occurred during the Family Story task (see chapter 1, §2). One of the characters in the story is an old man. In (30) we see the older man being referred to with the plural form to convey more respect while the younger man (who they infer is his son) is referred to with the less respectful pronoun form (31):

(30)   *kàpu*   *tɕíi*   *mìn*   **khúŋ**   *ába*   *yìmba-na*   *kí*
           old.animate   one   COP.EGO.NEG   3PL   father   COP.EGO-COND   or
           'it's not an old man it is their father maybe.'   (SBL 101124-03 21:12)

(31)   *dì*   **khó**=*ki*   *ába*   *yìmba*
           this   3SG.M=GEN   father   COP.EGO
           'this is his father.'   (SBL 101124-03 08:05)

In naturally occurring narrative and conversation the subject or agent noun phrase can often be dropped if it is clear from context. In (32) the last overt reference to the agent was a half a dozen utterances ago, however it is still clear from the context who the referent is. In (33) there is no overt verbal reference to the agents, however the speaker and her interlocutor have a single image that they are both looking at, thus making the referent of the utterance clear to both.

(32)   *healthpost=la*   *kàl-sin*   *dù*
           healthpost(Eng)=DAT   go.PERF-PST   AUX.PE
           '(they) went to the healthpost.'   (SBL 101124-03 03:02)

(33)   *phársi*   *ʈúu-ti*   *dù*
           pumpkin(Nep)   pick-PERF   AUX.PE
           'picked pumpkins.'   (SBL 101124-03 06:34)

Note in (32) that *kàl* is a generic verb 'to go', although it is likely related to the more specific Standard Tibetan <rgal> 'to cross'. Yolmo shares this semantic distinction from Central Tibetan varieties with Kyirong (Hedlin 2011: 121), and can be considered a specific feature that supports Tournadre's (2005) argument that we should include Yolmo and Kyirong in the same group within the larger Central Tibetan grouping.

3.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

There are three basic demonstrative pronouns *dì, tóodi*, and *òodi*:

(34) *dì*   'this'   proximal
      tóodi   'this/that'   mid-distal
      òodi   'that'   distal

The proximal is the same as the third singular personal pronoun used for proximal objects. The mid-distal is used for things that are considered to be not proximal but can still be seen. The distal is used for things that are not proximal and either visible or not to the speaker.

(35) **dì**   *kálam*   *yìmba*
      this   pen(Nep)   COP.EGO
      'this is a pen.'   (AL 091001-01)

(36) **òodi** *kálam*   *yìmba*
      that   pen(Nep)   COP.EGO
      'that is a pen.'   (AL 091001-01)

For examples of their usage as articles see section 4 below.

3.3. Interrogative Pronouns

The following interrogative pronouns have been recorded for Lamjung Yolmo:

(37) *sú*   'who'
      nàm   'when'
      kàla   'where'
      tɕípe   'why'
      tɕí   'what'
      kàndi   'which'
      súgi   'whose'   (lit. who=GEN)
      súla   'whom'   (lit. who=DAT)
      kànmu   'how'

There is no word order change when interrogative pronouns are used (38)-(40).

(38)   *khúŋ=ki*   *mìn*   **tɕí**   *yìmba*
    3PL=GEN   name   what   COP.EGO
    'what is his name?'   (RL 200212-03)

    khúŋ=ki   *mìn*   **sòm**   *yìmba*
    3PL=GEN   name   Som   COP.EGO
    'his name is Som.'   (RL 200212-03)

(39)   **kàze**   *bòdʑ*   *tè-sin*
    how.many   o'clock(Nep)   sit-PST
    'what is the time?'   (RL 200212-03)

    kù   *bòdʑ*   *tè-sin*
    nine   o'clock(Nep)   sit-PST
    'it is nine o'clock.'   (RL 200212-03)

(40)   *pìza*   **kàla**   *yèba*
    baby   where   COP.EGO.EMPH
    'where is the baby?'   (RL 200212-03)

    pìza   **khím=la**   *yè*
    baby   house=LOC   COP.EGO
    'the baby is in the house'   (RL 200212-03)

The interrogative pronouns *sú* ('who') and *tɕí* ('what') are the only two that form cliticised interrogatives with the egophoric equational copula *yìmba* in naturalistic speech, giving *súmba* (41) and *tɕímba* (42) respectively:

(41)   *ŋà=ki*   *dì*   *ába*   **súmba**   *áda*   **súmba**
    1SG=GEN   this   father   who.COP.EGO   brother.elder   who.COP.EGO

    pòmo   **súmba**   *ádzi*   **súmba**
    daughter   who.COP.EGO   sister.elder   who.COP.EGO
    'who is my father? who is my brother? who is my daughter? who is my older sister?'   (SBL 101124-03 10:52)

(40)   **tɕímbaʔ**
    what.COP.EGO
    'what is it?'   (AL 091001-01)

In careful speech, and in writing, speakers will separate the forms. These cliticised forms are also found in Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari & Lama 2004).

The use of interrogative pronouns in question constructions are discussed in more detail in the section on question structure in chapter 7, §8.

3.4.   Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns in Lamjung Yolmo have been rarely recorded consistently across speakers or even with the same speaker. Some common forms are given below:

(43)   *tíbirere*   'some' (count nouns)
         tíbitɛi   'some' (mass nouns)
         tɕí àŋ   'anything' / 'nothing'
         mì dzàmmaraŋ   'everyone'

Some examples of the use of relative pronouns in clauses are given in (44) and (45).

(44)   *ŋà   ɲímu   **tɕí àŋ**   mè*
         1SG   with   nothing   COP.EGO.NEG
         'I have nothing with me'   (SBL 101124-03 25:51)

(45)   ***tíbitɛi***   *dùba*   *dèla*
         few   COP.PE.EMPH   here
         'there are a few (fish) here'   (SUL 101027-02 01:04)

4.   Articles

There are no words in Lamjung Yolmo that exclusively function as articles. There are, however, words that do have an additional function as articles. They are not always used and the definiteness of the noun phrase cannot be inferred from their absence. The proximal demonstrative pronoun and third person pronoun *dì* is used to signal definiteness (46)-(47), as are the distal variants *òodi* (48) and *tóodi* (49).

(46)   ***dì***   *mì*   *nàkpu koʈa=le*   *lép-sin*   *dù*
         this   person   black   room=ABL   arrive-PST   AUX.PE
         'this black person arrived from the room.'   (AL 081109-01 24:10)

(47)   ***dì***   *tɕàro=ki*   *lú*   *nèn   ɣè*
         this   crow=ERG   song   sing   AUX.EGO
         'the crow sings a song.'[27]   (RL 101027-01 02:08)

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[27] Lamjung Yolmo speakers consistently translate *tɕàro* as 'crow' or काग *kāg* in Nepali, which can be either raven or crow. This is the same for Syuba speakers, the Syuba dictionary (HIS Nepal 2015: 161) gives only 'crow'. Both ravens and crows live in Nepal, and Hari and Lama (2004: 168) gives a translation as 'crow; raven'. There is no other lexical item for either raven or crow.

(48) **òodi** *lú* *yàabu* *dù*
      that   song good   COP.PE
      'that song is good.'   (RL 110129-01)

(49) **tòodi** *míí=la* *phó-kandi*
      that   eye=DAT   hit-NMLZ
      '(he) hit that eye.'   (AL 091108-01 16:22)

Note that in (49) the verb 'sing' has two forms; *nèn* and *lèn*, which are in free variation. Speakers frequently use these forms interchangeably, although *lèn* is used more frequently in the corpus materials. This variation is not reported as present in Melamchi Valley Yolmo, Syuba or Kyirong. Also note that although the word *tɕàro* is related to the older form <bʲa.rog> 'raven', It is translated from Nepali by Lamjung Yolmo speakers as काग 'crow'.

The plural demonstrative is not used as a determiner (51), only the single (50). Plurality is conveyed on the noun itself, not the determiner, which is functioning as an article.

(50) **di** *mì=ya*   *yòlmo* *yìmba*
      this   person=PL Yolmo   COP.EGO
      'these people are Yolmo.'   (AL 120121-01)

(51) ***di**=ya* *mì*   *yòlmo* *yìmba*
      this   person   Yolmo   COP.EGO
      *'these people are Yolmo.'   (AL 120121-01)

It should be noted however that when a demonstrative pronoun is not being used as an article it can take the plural marker as it is acting as the noun in the noun phrase (52).

(52) *òodi=ya* *yàabu* *yè*
      that=PL   good   COP.EGO
      'those are good.'   (AL 100922-01)

The numeral 'one' *tɕíi* can be used as an indefinite article, as is demonstrated in examples (53) and (54).

(53) *pèmpiza* **tɕíi** *dàla* *gòo* *tàm-ti*   *tè-sin*   *dù*
      woman   one   here   head   bind-PERF AUX-PST   AUX.PE
      'a woman here had her head bound.'   (AL 081109-01 04:17)

(54) *mèeme*   *kàpu*   **tɕíi** *thóŋ-sin*
      grandfather old.person   one   watch-PST
      'an old man watched.' (AL 091108-01 23:30)

As can be seen in the examples above, these uses of demonstratives and numbers for these functions does not constitute a consistent lexical class of articles as they do not appear in a constant location in the noun-phrase. The demonstratives always precede the noun as they do in their other functions, while the number *tɕíi* follows.

5.   Case-marking

Like other Tibeto-Burman languages of this branch of the family Lamjung Yolmo has a small number of case-markers that perform multiple functions. For languages related to Lamjung Yolmo with similar systems see Kelly 2004 for Sherpa, Vesalainen & Vesalainen 1980 for Lhomi, and Tournadre & Dorje 2003 for Standard Tibetan. For Tibeto-Burman languages in general see LaPolla 1995, and the two special editions of Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area on optional case marking in Tibeto-Burman Languages in 2011 and 2012 (Chelliah & Hyslop 2011).

The case-markers in Lamjung Yolmo are:

=*ki*	genitive, ergative, instrumental
=*la*	locative, allative, dative
=*le(gi)*	ablative

Each case-marker is glossed with these specific functions for every utterance, rather than a general glossing for each form. This is for a number of reasons. The first is that there is no underlying feature of each group of meanings that could be glossed. Secondly, although they have the same form, their functions vary; for example, as shown below, the ergative suffix =*ki* is optional while the instrumental =*ki* is obligatory. Finally, as mentioned above, Tibeto-Burman languages frequently have multiple functions for each case-marking form, and these are always differentiated in the glossing, for example the Dumi ergative and instrumental (van Driem 1993: 62, 65) and Sherpa =*la* which is used for dative, associative, allative, instrumental, comitative and locative (Kelly 2004: 307). Some of these shared forms have arisen through collapsing distinct forms in older varieties. Tournadre (2010) and Hill (2012b) show that in Classical Tibetan the genitive is -*kyi* in contrast with an instrumental or ergative -*kyis*. This distinction has collapsed in Yolmo, as well as Kyirong.

The case-markers are phonologically bound, as explained in chapter 3, §6.1. The genitive/ergative marker is voiced in some environments. Case-markers are morphologically clitics; in (55) the genitive marker scope is across the two conjoined nouns in the possessor position and in (58) we see the dative scope across the two conjoined nouns in the object position. It is less preferable to have the case marker on both the conjoined nouns as in (56) and (59) and the case marker cannot be used on only the first conjoined noun as in (57) and (61).

(55) *ása   ráŋgi sùsma=**ki**   khím*
      Asa   and   Susma=GEN   house
      'Asa and Susma's house.'   (AL 100923-01)

(56)   *ʔása=**ki**   ráŋgi sùsma=**ki**   khím*
       Asa=GEN   and   Susma=GEN   house
       ?'Asa and Susma's house.'   (AL 100923-01)

(57)   **ása=**ki**   ráŋgi sùsma   khím*
        Asa=GEN   and   Susma   house
       *'Asa and Susma's house.'   (AL 100923-01)

(58)   *khó   sàse   ŋà   ráŋgi khyá=**la**   tér-sin*
       3SG.M   food   1SG   and   2SG=DAT   give-PST
       'he gives food to you and me.'   (AL 100923-01)

(59)   *khó   sàse   ŋà=**la**   ráŋgi khyá=**la**   tér-sin*
       3SG.M   food   1SG=DAT   and   2SG=DAT   give-PST
       'he gives food to you and me.'   (AL 100923-01)

(60)   **khó   sàse   ŋà=**la**   ráŋgi khyá   tér-sin*
        3SG.M   food   1SG=DAT   and   2SG   give-PST
       *'he gives food to you and me.'   (AL 100923-01)

Subjects of intransitive verbs and of transitive verbs where the ergative case is not used take no overt case marking. These are fulfilling a nominative case function, however as there is no overt case marker it is not glossed. The relatively consistent SOV word order and disambiguation in context ensure that speakers of Lamjung Yolmo rarely confuse sentence arguments in contexts without overt case-marking.

Where the noun has a plural marker the case-marking suffix comes after the plural-marking suffix (61).

(61)   *mèeme   kápu=ya=**ki**   árak   thúŋ-ke*
       grandfather   old.person=PL=ERG   alcohol   drink-NON.PST
       'old men drink alcohol.' (AL 091016-01 02:49)

5.1.   Case-marker =ki; genitive, instrumental and ergative

The case marker *=ki* has three functions: as the marker of a possessor in a possessive relationship (genitive), the entity that indirectly instigates an action (instrumental), and the agent of a transitive verb (ergative). These uses are all discussed separately below, and have some differences with regards to optionality. I have grouped them together in this section for easy of presentation, but they should not be presumed to be acting the same. Example (60) is the only sentence in the corpus where all three uses of the case marker are found in the one utterance.

(62)   ŋà=**ki**   dì   ɕérma   pìza   súm=la   ŋà=**ki**   làkpa=**ki**
       1SG=ERG   this   girl.young child   three=DAT   1SG=GEN   hand=INS

       ɕáu   tér-sin
       apple   give-PST

   'I gave the three young girls apples with my hand.'   (AL 100926-01)

The genitive function is used for alienable (63) and inalienable possession (64).

(63)   ŋà=**ki**   khím
       1SG=GEN   house
       'my house.'   (SBL 101124-03 01:58)

(64)   tɕádzuŋma=**ki**   khá
       bird=GEN   mouth
       'the bird's mouth.'   (ST 120304-01 06:36)

The second use of the *=ki* clitic is to mark instrumental case:

(63)   ŋà   ŋà=**ki**   làkpa=**ki**   tɕémendo   sà-ke
       1SG   1SG=GEN   hand=INS   egg   eat-NON.PST
       'I eat egg with my hand.'   (AL 091029-02)

(64)   tɕàro=**ki**   khá=**ki**   ɲà   dzùm-sin   dù
       crow=GEN   mouth=INS   fish   seize-PST   AUX.PE
       'the crow seized the fish with its mouth.'[28]   (KL 101026-06 0:27)

   In situations where two of the *=ki* suffixes are needed it is not reduplicated. In these situations speakers only use the suffix once. For example, in (67) the *=ki* suffixed to *tɕhódo* is glossed as an instrumental, but given that it is the agent of a transitive clause it could also be marked as ergative:

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[28] Note that here the gloss for *dzùm-* is given as the generic action 'seize'. It is quite possibly a reflex of <ⁿdzum> 'close the mouth', which would be semantically appropriate for the example given here, and several others from Jackal and Crow tellings. Having said that, we also see examples from tellings of the Family Story where the verb is being used to refer to a woman clutching corn in her hands. There are also other examples not cited here from the family story where the man is arrested by the police and dragged away where *dzùm-* is also used. Therefore it appears to have undergone a broadening from the cognate in Written Tibetan.

(67)   *khó=**ki***   *tɕhódo=**ki***   *ɲà*   *sá=la*   *tàp-ke*
       3SG=GEN   lip=INS   fish ground=DAT   drop-NON.PST
       'I eat egg with my hand.'   (RL Jackal and Crow picture book)

When asked to give a gloss of such a sentence into Nepali speakers generally chose to give only one of the forms. It is possible that the one suffix is undertaking both functions, or it is clear enough from context so that it's not so important to overtly mark the ergative function, as discussed with regard to optional ergativity, discussed immediately below.

Finally, the case-marker *=ki* is also used to mark the ergative case, appearing on the agent of transitive verbs (68)-(69).

(68)   *áma=**ki***   *làkpa* *tɕíi=**ki***   *pìza* *dzùm-timaraŋ*
       mother=GEN   hand   one=ERG   child   hold-IPFV
       'the mother's hand held the child.'   (AL 091108-01 05:05)

(69)   *tɕàro=**ki***   *ɲà*   *dzùm-sin*   *dù*
       crow=ERG   fish   seize-PST   AUX.PE
       'the crow took the fish.'   (KL 101026-06 0:22)

Ergative is not always overtly marked in Lamjung Yolmo. This is a common feature of ergative marking in Central Tibetan languages, occurring in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre 1991, 1995), and as LaPolla (1995, 2003) demonstrates, optionality of ergativity is the preference in Tibeto-Burman languages; indeed DeLancey (1990: 78-79) argues that this can be traced back to Proto-Tibeto-Burman. There is also a small sub-set of intransitive verbs where the subject takes the dative marker, which are discussed at the end of §5.2 below.

In a cross-linguistic survey that includes the Tibeto-Burman family, McGregor (2010) notes that the optionality of ergativity is rarely simply a result of free variation, but occurs in specific environments. For Lamjung Yolmo the optionality of ergative case-marking depends on a number of factors; those that I discuss below include agentivity, tense and habitual mood. There is still a lot to be done in the cross-linguistic study of ergativity, and there is also more work to be done on ergativity in Yolmo, but the discussion below presents some of the more salient observations.

Subjects of transitive verbs that display strong agentivity are more likely to take ergative marking. In (70) from the Jackal and Crow story (see chapter 1, §2) we see AL does not mark the agent of the verb *ʈúu*, meaning to pick or pick up, but she does use the ergative marker in (71) for the more strongly agentive *dzùm*, which means take, or take away, but is also often used in situations where English would use capture or seize. For this verb the action is more agentive and so it is more likely to be marked with the ergative (71).

(70)　　*tɕádzuŋma*　*tɕíi*　*òŋ-ti*　*ʈúu-ti*　*khér-sin*
　　　　　bird　　　　　one　　come-PERF　pick.up-PERF　take.away PST
　　　　　'a bird came, picked up (the fish), took it away.'　　(AL 101010-01 06:36)

(71)　　*tòŋbo*　*thóla*　*tɕádzuŋma=**ki***　*ɲà*　*khá*　*nàŋla*　*dzùm-ti*
　　　　　tree　　above　　bird-ERG　　　　　fish　mouth　inside　　take-PERF

　　　　　tè-sin　　　*dù*
　　　　　AUX-PST　　AUX.PE
　　　　　'up in the tree the bird took a fish in its mouth.'　　(AL 101010-01 07:24)

This does not mean that there is a defined set of verbs that take ergative marking in all contexts. In (72) and (73) we see the verb *dzùm* being used by two different speakers with different tense constructions. In (72) ALL uses the *=ki* ergative marker, but in (73) AL uses the same verb without the ergative, even though she does so in a later section of the narrative, as shown in (71) above.

(72)　　*tɕàro=**ki***　*maachhaa*　*dzùm-sin*　*dù*
　　　　　crow=ERG　　fish(Nep)　　take-PST　　AUX.PE
　　　　　'the crow took the fish.'　　(ALL 101028-01 01:56)

(73)　　*tɕàro*　*khá=la*　*dzùm-sin*　*dù*
　　　　　crow　　mouth=LOC　take-PST　　AUX.PE
　　　　　'in the crow's mouth, took (the fish) away.'　　(AL 101010-01 01:35)

An interesting feature of this agentivness is that it appears from narrative examples that the subject of an intransitive verb can sometimes take ergative case if the agentivity of the subject is a highly salient feature of the event (74). This is not very common, but this example indicates it is possible.

(74)　　*lùndi=**ki***　*òŋ*　*tè-ke*
　　　　　jackal=ERG　come　AUX-NON.PST
　　　　　'the jackal is coming.'　　(RL 101027-01 03:49)

This agentive element of the ergative marker in Lamjung Yolmo indicates that the motivation for ergativity is not entirely syntactic, but more pragmatic. This is similar to the analysis of ergative marking in other Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancey 2011, Coupe 2011). It has been suggested that perhaps 'agentive marking' is a better term than ergativity, given that the distribution is strongly motivated by this factor (Chelliah & Hyslop 2011).

The use of the ergative marker also correlates with tense. As observed by Hari (2010: 39-42), the ergative marker is more common in past tense constructions than non-past tense in Melamchi Valley Yolmo. This pattern appears to also exist in

Lamjung Yolmo, with examples of the ergative appearing more often on past tense constructions (75) than non-past (76).

(75) *ŋà*   *tó*   *sà-ke*
      1SG   rice.cooked   eat-NON.PST
      'I eat rice.'   (RL 101023-03)

(76) *ŋà=**ki***   *tó*   *sà-sin*
      1SG=ERG   rice.cooked   eat-PST
      'I ate rice.'   (RL 101023-03)

In elicited constructions there are examples of the ergative marker not being used with past construction (77).

(77) *khé*   *mèndza*   *kyúr-sin*
      2SG   bowl   throw-PST
      'you threw the bowl.'   (AL 100928-01)

This is likely because in elicited paradigms the speaker usually decides to start the paradigm with or without the use of an ergative marker and then stays with this for most of the set. There are far fewer naturalistic examples where the ergative marker is not used in past tense constructions, indicating that while speakers can impart grammatical roles without the use of case markers there is a preference for using them in conversation and narrative.

Habitual constructions are also less likely to have ergative marking than other constructions (78).

(78) *ŋà*   *tó*   *sà-dze*   *yèke*
      1SG   rice   eat-INF   AUX.EGO.PST
      'I used to eat rice.'   (AL 091009-03)

If we presume that ergativity is pragmatically motivated (McGregor 2010) then perhaps it is not so important to mark the agentivity of the subject if the action is habitual as opposed to a single event.

5.2. Case-marker =la; locative, allative and dative

The case-marker *=la* is used to mark several functions which are discussed in turn. These are spatial and temporal relations (locative), movement towards a goal (allative), and the recipient of a transitive or ditransitive verb (dative). The case marker *=la* is also used with the subject of a small subset of verbs.

Examples of the locative use in a range of spatial constructions are presented in (79)-(81):

(79) ŋà   khím=**la**   yè
      1SG   house=LOC   COP.EGO
      'I am in the house.'   (RL 100208-02)

(80) ába=ki   gòo=**la**   sáwa bù   dù
      father=GEN   head=LOC   spider   COP.PE
      'there is a spider on father's head.' (RL 120217-02)

(81) ɲì=ya   yèmbu=**la**   yè
      1PL.EXCL=PL   Kathmandu=LOC   COP.EGO
      'we are in Kathmandu.'   (AL 090916-02)

Examples of the locative use in temporal constructions are presented in (82) and (83).

(82) ɲì   bàkal   sà pémba=**la**   ɲò-ke
      1PL.EXCL   group   Saturday=LOC   shop-NON.PST
      'we shop on Saturday.'   (AL 091029-02)

(83) ɲì   bàkal   màgi   dàwa=**la**   ɕàmu   dù
      1PL.EXCL   group   Mag(Nep)   month=LOC   cold   COP.PE
      'in the month of Mag we are cold.'   (AL 091029-02)

Example of the allative use are given in (84) and (85).

(84) árak   tùŋ-ti   dzì-ti   òŋ-ti   péemi=**la**
      alcohol   drink-PERF   drunk-PERF   come-PERF   wife=ALL
      '(he) drank alcohol, got drunk and came to his wife.'[29]   (AL 091108-01 09:30)

(85) helʈpost=**la**   kàl-sin   dù
      healthpost(Eng)=ALL   go.PERF-PST   AUX.PE
      '(they) went to the healthpost.'   (SBL 101124-03 03:02)

Examples of the dative use, where it is not in subject position are given in (86) and (87).

(86) khyá=ki   ŋà=**la**   tó   tér-ti   yèke
      2PL=ERG   1SG=DAT   rice.cooked   give-PERF   AUX.EGO.PST
      'you gave me rice.'   (AL 091029-02)

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[29] The form for 'drunk' is an irregular correspondence with the Written Tibetan <bzi>. The expected form is *si*. In Melamchi Valley Yolmo the form is *zí* and in Syuba is *dzì*, indicating a common irregularity of the form across closely related cognates.

(87) ŋà=**la**   láure   kwèla   tér-ti   yè
      1SG=DAT   soldiers(Nep)   clothing   give-PERF   AUX.EGO
      'the soldiers give me clothing.'   (SBL 101123-04 25:22)

The case marker *=la* also marks the subject in a small set of intransitive verbs. Hari (2010: 39) refers to this class of verbs as the 'receptive' set while those verbs that pattern using ergative marking as the 'active' verb set. This set of dative-marked intransitive patients denote personal, and usually internal, states (88) and actions (89). In data collected so far it appears that the receptive set in Lamjung Yolmo is smaller than in Melamchi Valley Yolmo.

(88) ŋà=**la**   tóoba
      1SG=DAT   hungry
      'I feel hungry.'
      (lit. 'to me hunger is felt.')   (RL 101027-01 04:12)

(89) ŋà=**la**   pàl-ni   sém   kyé-ku   dù
      1SG=DAT   sleep-FOC   mind   think-IPFV   AUX.PE
      'I would like to sleep.'
      (lit. 'to me sleeping is thought.')   (RL 101123-02)

There is a similar process, and set of verbs, in Nepali. Acharya (1991: 150) refers to this set of verbs in Nepali as "requir[ing] the obligatory fronting of the dative complement." This leads to the same structure with a dative verb where verbs not in this category would have a standard subject. The verbs given as examples of this set in Nepali include the same sense of personal experience or state that is found in dative subject verbs in Yolmo. Zeisler (2004: 262) argues that it is only the Western Tibetan varieties that demonstrate regular dative subjects. She also argues that these structures arose because these Tibeto-Burman languages have contact with New Indo-Aryan languages in areas like Ladakh and Baltistan. Read (1934: 64) and Bielmeier (1985: 139f) list verbs that take dative subjects in Balti, and Zeisler (2004: 627) gives a list from her own work on Ladakhi. Both are similar to the subset of verbs that take dative subjects in Lamjung Yolmo including internal states, thoughts and desires. The sets do not match up exactly, for example both authors working on Balti give verbs meaning 'to fall asleep' as being able to take dative case, but this is not so in Lamjung Yolmo (although 'to feel sleepy' would give a valid dative subject construction).

The most likely explanation for these isolated sets of languages with dative subjects is that in two geographically isolated parts of the Tibeto-Burman family we see a process of assimilation of Indo-Aryan morphosyntax as a result of sustained language contact. That these structures also occur in Melamchi Valley Yolmo and Syuba, but not in Kyirong, indicates that they may have developed in this small cluster of languages some time in recent centuries.

5.3. Case-marker =le(ki); ablative

The ablative is used to mark the location that something is moving away from. In speech there is variation in form between either =*le* (90) and =*leki* (91):

(90) *bèsisahar=le*   *yàrki*   *gàɖi=la*   *tɕʰúdze*   *pí*   *yè*
      Besisahar=ABL   up   bus=LOC   hour   two   COP.EGO
      'Up from Besisahar two hours in a bus.'   (AL 091006-01 00:40)

(91) *nàmgyu=leki*   *kʰáwa kàŋ*   *dzàmmaraŋ*   *tʰóŋ-ke*
      nàmgyu=ABL   mountain.peak   all   see-NON.PST
      'from Namgyu you can see all the mountain peaks.'   (AL 091006-01 01:08)

The difference between the use of =*le* or =*leki* could possibly be a difference of containment, as shown by the example below where the source location is relatively constrictive of the object moving away. The speaker was very clear that only =*leki* was appropriate as in (92) and that (93) would be ungrammatical.

(92) *pèmpiza*   *tɕíi*   *tèbul*   *tʰóla*   *tè-ti*   *ɕígu*   *nàŋla=leki*
      woman   one   table(Eng) above   sit-PERF   paper   among=ABL

      tòriyaŋ   *tén-ku*   *dù*
      cucumber   pull.out-IPFV   AUX.PE
      'a woman sat above the table, from amongst the papers (she) pulled a cucumber.'[30]   (AL 101006-01)

(93) **pèmpiza*   *tɕíi*   *tèbul*   *tʰóla*   *tè-ti*   *ɕígu*   *nàŋla=le*
       woman   one   table(Eng) above   sit-PERF   paper   among=ABL

      tòriyaŋ   *tén-ku*   *dù*
      cucumber   pull.out-IPFV   AUX.PE
      *'a woman sat above the table, from amongst the papers (she) pulled a cucumber.'   (AL 101006-01)

This sentence was elicited using the video stimulus from the Put Project (Bowerman, et al. 2004, discussed in chapter 1, §2). Other videos in the kit that elicited the =*leki* form included those where small items were retrieved from a bottle, a paper envelope, a garment pocket and a hole in a tree. Utterances where the =*le* form was used included those where items were retrieved from the ground and the top of a person's head. This pattern would appear to confirm the analysis, however what is or is not considered to be a containment situation needs to be refined.

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[30] Note that *tén* 'pull out' is unaspirated. The cognate forms in Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari & Lama 2004) and Syuba (Höhlig n.d.) are also unaspirated, although the form in Kyirong is aspirated *tʰēn* (Huber 2005).

5.4. Associative and comitative 'ɲímu'

Unlike Sherpa, which shares many case-marking similarities with Lamjung Yolmo (see Kelly 2004), associative and comitative do not use the *=la* case marker but are marked lexically using the innovated postposition *ɲímu* 'with'.

Example of the associative (94):

(94) ŋà   ŋà=ki   ádzi   **ɲímu** lú   lèn-sin
     1SG   1SG=GEN   sister.older   with   song   sing-PST
     'I sang a song with my older sister.'   (AL 091029-02)

Example of the comitative (93):

(95) ŋà   tó   **ɲímu** tɕémendo   sà-sin
     1SG   rice   with   egg   eat-PST
     'I ate egg with rice.'   (AL 091029-02)

A cognate form is not given for Kyirong, but is attested in Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari & Lama 2004: 140) and Syuba (Höhlig n.d.). On the basis of the Lamjung Yolmo form Guillaume Jacques (p.c.) suggests that *ɲímu* is related to the Written Tibetan verb <sɲe> 'to lean against', perhaps in the past form <bsɲes> with the <-mu> nominaliser. The form given in Syuba is *ŋímu*, consistent with Hari's analysis that palatal nasals with a high vowel are underlyingly velar. In Hari & Lama's (2004) dictionary of Yolmo spoken around the Melamchi Valley area, they give the main form as *námbu*, with two geographic variants; it is more likely to be *yámbu* in the western part of the language area and *nímbu* in the east. While this is another lexical item that gives support to Lamjung Yolmo speakers' assertions that they are from the eastern part of the Yolmo region (see chapter 2, section §1.2), it does mean we have to account for the appearance of a /b/ in the Melamchi Valley varieties, which may be a development that has arisen since the migration of Syuba and Lamjung Yolmo speakers away from the area.

6. Numerals and measures

Lamjung Yolmo has two counting systems, one in base ten and one in base twenty. The base twenty system is now only used by a small number of people who are mostly older, and even they often only remember parts of the system. Even the base ten system is only known to around 20 by many speakers, who then switch to Nepali to count higher.

6.1. Cardinal Numbers

The base ten and base twenty counting systems have the same forms from one through to nineteen:

(96)
tɕíi	'one'	\<gtɕig\>
ɲí	'two	\<gɲis\>
súm	'three'	\<gsum\>
ɕì	'four'	\<bʑi\>
ŋá	'five'	\<lŋa\>
ʈù	'six'	\<drug\>
tìn	'seven'	\<bdun\>
kyè	'eight'	\<brgʲad\>
kù	'nine'	\<dgu\>
tɕú	'ten'	\<btɕu\>
tɕúdzi	'eleven'	\<btɕu-gtɕig\>
tɕíɲi	'twelve'	\<btɕu-gɲis\>
tɕúpsum	'thirteen'	\<btɕu-gsum\>
tɕúpɕi	'fourteen'	\<btɕu-bʑi\>
tɕéŋa	'fifteen'	\<btɕo-lŋa\>
tɕúʈu	'sixteen'	\<btɕu-drug\>
tɕúptin	'seventeen'	\<btɕu-bdun\>
tɕépkye	'eighteen'	\<btɕo-brgʲad\>
tɕúrku	'nineteen'	\<btɕu-dgu\>

The irregularity of the forms for *tɕéŋa* 'fifteen' and *tɕépkye* 'eighteen', with /é/ instead of /ú/ can be seen to carry on an irregularity found in the Classical Tibetan forms. The form of *tɕíɲi* 'twelve' appears to be a more recent irregularity, also appearing in Melamchi Valley Yolmo and Syuba, but not in the more distantly related Kyirong.

From there, the two different systems diverge:

(97)
base ten		base twenty		English
ɲídzu	(2x10)	*kháldzi*	(20x1)	'twenty'
súmdzu	(3x10)	*kháldzi tɕú*	(20x1+10)	'thirty'
ɕíptɕu	(4x10)	*khálɲi*	(20x2)	'forty'
ŋáptɕu	(5x10)	*khálɲi tɕú*	(20x2+10)	'fifty'
tùktɕu	(6x10)	*khálsum*	(20x3)	'sixty'
tìndzu	(7x10)	*khálsum tɕú*	(20x3+10)	'seventy'
kyàdzu	(8x10)	*khálɕi*	(20x4)	'eighty'
kùptɕu	(9x10)	*khálɕi tɕú*	(20x4+10)	'ninety'

As Mazaudon (2010) notes the phenomenon of having two difference base systems, here a decimal and a vigesimal, operating simultaneously in a single language is not uncommon in the Tibeto-Burman area. Given that both systems are used rarely, there has been no clear information about which contexts each system is preferable in, although AL did indicate that the base twenty system is more preferable when money and weights are involved.

Other than the increments of ten shown above, a sample of other numbers in the base twenty counting system are shown (98) to give an idea of how the numbers are arranged between the increments of 20.

(98)   *kháldzi ɲí*   (20+2)   'twenty two'
        kháldzi súm   (20+3)   'twenty three'
        kháldzi tɕídzi   (20+11)   'thirty one'
        kháldzi tɕíɲi   (20+12)   'thirty two
        kháldzi tɕúpsum   (20+13)   'thirty three

The pattern continues in this fashion until both systems collapse back together at one hundred (99):

(99)   *màna kàŋ*   'one hundred'
        màna ɲí   'two hundred'
        màna súm   'three hundred'
        màna ɕì   'four hundred'
        màna ŋá   'five hundred'
        màna ʈù   'six hundred'
        màna tìn   'seven hundred'
        màna kyè   'eight hundred'
        màna kù   'nine hundred'

The origin of the form *kàŋ* for 'one hundred' is not clear. The equivalent form in Kyirong, Melamchi Valley Yolmo and Syuba is *kyà* (Huber 2005: 277; Hari & Lama 2004: 589; HIS Nepal 2015: 14). There have been no elicited numbers beyond this in Lamjung Yolmo; instead speakers use the Nepali numbering system.

6.2. Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers have been harder to elicit than cardinal numbers, and do not appear to be used as frequently. There are two constructions for ordinal numbers, both based on the cardinal system. The first uses a *-pa* suffix, which is voiced in the environment of vowels or voiced consonants, and is also the ordinal structure found in Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari 2010: 68). The second uses a *-la* suffix, which is not found in Melamchi Valley Yolmo and is most likely derived from the locative case marker discussed in section 5.2 above. The *-pu* suffix for ordinals found in Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari 2010: 68) has not been observed in use by Lamjung Yolmo speakers to date. Example (100) is a list of the first dozen ordinal numbers using both systems.

(100)   -pa suffix   -la suffix
   tòŋbo   *tɕíila*   'first'
   ɲíba   *ɲíla*   'second'
   súmba   *súmla*   'third'
   ɕìba   *ɕìla*   'fourth'
   ŋába   *ŋála*   'fifth'
   ʈùkpa   *ʈùkla*   'sixth'
   tìnba   *tìnla*   'seventh'
   kyèba   *kyèla*   'eighth'
   kùba   *kùla*   'ninth'
   tɕúba   *tɕúla*   'tenth'
   tɕúdziba   *tɕúdzila*   'eleventh'
   tɕiŋiba   *tɕiŋila*   'twelve'

No speakers readily gave ordinal numbers over 20 and it's likely that Nepali is more often used for ordinal constructions in daily speech.

6.3. Quantifiers

Some quantifiers in Lamjung Yolmo are given in (101).

(101) *phé*   'half'
   kàŋ   'full'
   tòŋba   'empty'
   màŋbu   'much'/ 'many'
   tíbitɕi   'few' (count nouns)
   tíbirere   'some' (mass nouns)
   ʈàŋse   'every'

As with numerals and adjectives these quantifiers occur after the noun in the noun phrase as in (102) and (103).

(102) *ɲìma* **ʈàŋse-raŋ**
   day every-EMPH
   'every day.'   (AL 100922-02)

(103) *ɕìŋ* **màŋbu** *yè*
   farm many COP.EGO
   'there are many farms.' (AL 091006-01-02 01:22)

6.4. Measures

Like Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari & Lama 2004: 715-717), Lamjung Yolmo speakers use the Nepali system of weights and measurements, which is based around the *pathi* (just under 90 ml), *mana* (8 pathi, or 700 mls) and *muti* (5 mana, or 3 kg).

6.5. Nominal Classifiers

There are three different nominal classifiers. As they all have different grammatical forms, and are only used optionally in limited contexts for emphasis, they do not constitute a particularly unified grammatical category. The three different nominal classifiers are *mènda*, *thál* and *káraŋ*. I discuss them as classifiers because they are considered by speakers to be semantically opaque, and are used to indicate that the referent is human or animate.

The first nominal classifier is *mènda,* which occurs with human animate nouns preceding a number (104). In elicited examples the speaker has agreed that not using the classifier also produces an acceptable utterance (105), and the majority of elicited and naturalistic speech does not involve use of this form.

(104) *dì   mì   **mènda** ʈù   mòomo   sà-ke*
　　　　this   person   CLF   six   momo   eat-NON.PST
　　　　'These six people are eating momos.'　　(AL 091106-02)

(105) *dì   mì   ʈù   mòomo   sà-ke*
　　　　this   person   six   momo   eat-NON.PST
　　　　'These six people are eating momos.'　　(AL 091106-02)

(106) **dì   khí   **mènda** ʈù   mòomo   sà-ke*
　　　　this   dog   CLF   six   momo   eat-NON.PST
　　　　*'These six dogs are eating momos.'　　(AL 091106-02)

(107) *dì   khí   ʈù   mòomo   sà-ke*
　　　　this   dog   six   momo   eat-NON.PST
　　　　'These six dogs are eating momos.'　　(AL 091106-02)

The second nominal classifier is *thál*, used for animals and objects, both concrete and abstract. This marker is only used to emphasise the quantity, so in (109) the speaker would only use *thál* to express their surprise at the duration of time.

(108) *tɕhúdze   ɲí*
　　　　hour   two
　　　　'two hours.'　　(AL 101007-01)

(109)   *tɕhúdze   ɲí   **thál***
     hour   two   CLF.EMPH
     'only two hours!'   (AL 101007-01)

As can be seen from the example, this nominal classifier appears to the right of the number that it is referring to, while the nominal classifier *mènda* appears to the left of the number, between it and the noun. Therefore, while the two nominal classifiers are semantically in complementary use (with *mènda* used for human animate objects and *thál* used for non-human animate and all inanimate objects) they do not occur in the same position in the word order of the noun phrase.

The final numeral classifier is *káraŋ*. Although none of the three nominal classifiers can be said to be of high frequency use in Lamjung Yolmo this one is the least frequently used of the three. (110) comes from one telling of the Jackal and Crow story (see chapter 1, §2).

(110)   *tɕádzuŋma   ɲí   **káraŋ**=ki   kàl   màrki*
     bird   two   *CLF.EMPH=ERG* go.PERF down

     ɲé   ɕór-sin   dù
     chase   get.out-PST AUX.PE
     'two birds went down and were chased out.'   (AL 101010-01 11:15)

Like *thál,* this nominal classifier appears to be used to emphatically highlight the number of non-human animate or inanimate objects. In this story the speaker had been occasionally referring to a single bird, and occasionally to a pair, so in describing this part of the narrative it's apparent that she wants to make it clear there are two birds.

7.   Adjectives

The class of adjectives modify nouns, and were discussed briefly in chapter 4, §4. As seen in these examples, an adjective always follows the noun and number that it is marking. It is very unusual for speakers to use more than one adjective to modify a noun. The only naturalistic example of this is (111), where AL was describing a video stimulus, although it does have non-standard word order with the adjectives preceding the number (111).

(111)   *sá=la   bàltiŋ   **kárpu   tɕéemi**   tɕíi   dù*
     ground=LOC bucket   white   small   one COP.PE
     'a small white bucket is on the ground.'   (AL 101010-01 11:15)

More commonly, if there is a number as well as an adjective then the adjective follows the number, as in (112) and (113).

(112) *dì* *mì* *ʈù* ***tɕúkpu***
        this   person   six   rich
        'these six rich people.'   (AL 061109-02)

(113) *pèmpiza* *kyè* ***dzèbu***
        women   eight   beautiful
        'eight beautiful women.'   (AL 090914-01)

One relatively productive method of creating adjectives is to use a verb stem, which is often reduplicated, with a *-pa* suffix:

(114) *rùl-*   'rot'   (intransitive verb)
        rùl rùlba   'rotten' (adjective)

(115) *pàŋ-*   'wet   (transitive verb)
        pàŋ pàŋba 'wet'   (adjective)

It is likely that this process is related to the historic *-pa* nominaliser found in other Bodic languages (Noonan 1997, 2008).

7.1. Comparatives

There are very few examples of comparative adjective forms in the data collected for this project and it appears that it is not a preferable construction for speakers. These have a form very similar to Nepali (Acharya 1991: 121), where two noun phrases are placed together, followed by form to indicate the comparative, followed by the adjective:

(116) *khyá=ki*   *khím*   *ŋà=ki*   *khím*   *mádi*   *tɕómbo* *yè*
        2PL=GEN   house   1SG=GEN house compare big   COP.EGO
        'your (plural) house is bigger than my house.'   (AL 091001-02)

(117) *ŋà=ki*   *khím*   *dzàmma* *mádi*   *tɕómbo* *yè*
        1SG=GEN house   all   compare big   COP.EGO
        'my house is the biggest of all.'   (AL 091001-02)

7.2. Superlatives

Superlatives in Lamjung Yolmo are also lexically constructed rather than relying on morphological information attached to the adjective. This is in contrast to the use of the superlative suffix *-ɕo* found in Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari 2010: 31).

(118) ŋà=ki   khím   **dzàmma nàŋla** tɕómbo yè
       1SG=GEN   house   all   among   big   COP.EGO
       'my house is the biggest.'   (AL 091001-02)

(119) ŋà=ki   **dzàmma   nàŋla**   tɕómbo   pòmo=ki
       1SG=GEN   all   among   big   daughter=GEN

       bìha   pè   sìn-sin
       wedding(Nep)   do   complete-PST
       'My eldest daughter's wedding is done.' (AL 090929-01 02:35)

8. Discourse suffixes

There are two nominal discourse suffixes recorded to date; *-di* and *-ni*. Both of these are optional and give prominence to the noun to which they attach. All examples collected only show these suffixes being used on the subject or agent of a sentence, and never the patient or object. These suffixes are able to occur in all phonological environments so they do not appear to be in morphophonemic variation.

According to Hari both of these forms can be found in Melamchi Valley Yolmo, but while she glosses the *-ni* particle as a focus marker, the *-di* suffix is referred to as an emphatic marker for experiencer in an attributive copula construction (Hari 2010: 25-26). Also, while Hari notes a regular morphophonemic variation between *-ti* and *-di* for the *-di* suffix in Melamchi Valley Yolmo, all examples collected to date for Lamjung Yolmo indicate that the suffix is voiced in all environments.

Both suffixes have been recorded attached to both animate and inanimate nouns. As a general tendency *-di* is more likely to attach to human animate nouns while *-ni* is more likely to attach to inanimate nouns. As these suffixes are difficult to elicit in non-naturalistic utterances it is hard to tease apart what, if any, difference there is in the emphatic function they share.

The focus-marking suffix always precedes the case-marker, as shown in (120). As we can see from example (121) it can also suppress the case-marker, and often does. Example (122) shows the suffix coming after the plural suffix.

(120) árak   tùŋ-ti   khyógo-**di**=ki
       alcohol   drink-PERF   husband-FOC=ERG
       'this husband drank alcohol.' (as opposed to another man) (AL 091108-01 09:28)

(121) áma-**di**   dàla   màgi   làkpa=la   màgi   dzùm-sin   dù
       mother-FOC   here   corn(Nep)   arms=LOC   corn   seize-PST   AUX.PE
       'this mother is carrying corn in her arms.'   (AL 091108-01 31:39)

(122) òodi   khím=ya-**di**
       that   house=PL-FOC
       'those houses.' (not the other ones).   (AL 100924-01)

One use of the *-ni* focus marker is in concessive constructions, where the subject of the second clause is focused (123). This may indicate that this particle has use in building contrastive focus.

(123) *dì   máse   tséma   ɛ̀ìmbu   dù   pìtɛa tó-**ni***
       this   dhal   vegetable.curry tasty   COP.PE   but   rice.cooked-FOC

       ɛ̀ìmbu   mìndu
       tasty   COP.PE.NEG
       'the daal and vegetables are tasty but the rice is not tasty.'   (AL 101005-15)

6 *Morphology of the verb phrase*

In this section I look at the features of the verb phrase and its components. I start with the copula verbs and their different functions in section 1. Section 2 focuses on simple and compound lexical verbs (§2.1), and then stem classes (§2.3), which are notably absent in Lamjung Yolmo. The inflection of the finite verb is set out in section 3, including tense (§3.1), aspect (§3.2), mood (§3.3) and verb valency (§3.4.). I look at causatives in section 4 and finally verb negation in Lamjung Yolmo in section 5.

1. Copulas

Lamjung Yolmo has a set of copula verbs. Not only do these verbs function as standard copulas (discussed immediately below), but like many Tibeto-Burman languages they are also used as auxiliary verbs, where they contribute modal information. Copulas are not inflected for person, number or politeness level and many do not distinguish tense. They do not take any of the tense or aspect suffixes that mark lexical verbs (§6.3), although the negative polarity forms are all clearly related to the lexical negation prefix discussed in section 5. Copulas of equation identify something by linking two noun phrases. There are also copulas of existence. These can be used with a single noun phrase to denote an existential construction, or they can be used for location, by also taking a locative-marked noun phrase, possession, by taking a genitive-marked noun phrase or attribution, by taking an adjectival phrase.

This section is not intended to be an exhaustive demonstration of the copula verbs. Instead it is intended to outline the main functions of each copula. The copula and evidential system and its use in interaction is complex and contextually dependent. More detailed discussion of the copula verbs and their role in interaction can be found in Gawne (2013a) and Gawne (2014a).

Table 10 gives the copula forms in Lamjung Yolmo. The distinctions along the side denote functional distinctions, including arguments licensed and tense, while those along the top are the semantic distinctions, all of which I discuss in turn. The negative form is presented beneath each affirmative form, and italicised.

Table 10: The Lamjung Yolmo copula system

	Egophoric	Dubitative	Perceptual evidence	General fact
Equation	yìmba[31] *mìn*	yìnḍo *mìnḍo*	(dùba) *(mìnduba)*	-
Existential present	yè *mè*	yèṭo *mèṭo*	dù *mìndu*	òŋge *mèoŋge*
past	yèke yèba *mèke mèba*		dùba *mìnduba*	

As can be seen in Table 10, only the existential egophoric copula has distinct forms that occur in the past tense. The *yèba* form is related to the lexical *-pa* past tense suffix (discussed in §3.1.2). The *yèke* form cannot be morphologically analysed, as the *-ke* suffix is a non-past tense suffix for lexical verbs (§3.1.1). The general fact copula is only used in existential constructions, as I discuss briefly in (§1.6), the egophoric is used to construct an equational sentence about generally known facts.

Languages related to Lamjung Yolmo have been described as having a 'conjunct/disjunct' distribution to their evidential forms. This includes Tibetan (DeLancey 1992) and Sherpa (Schöttelndreyer 1980, Kelly 2004). This analysis does not provide a sufficient account of evidentiality in languages like Lamjung Yolmo, because they do not account for the full relationship between the evidential forms, different agents, and other grammatical features. For further discussion of this topic see Tournadre (2008) and Hill & Gawne (forthcoming).

1.1. Copulas of equation and existence

The equational copula has the primary function of identifying something by equating two independent noun phrases, as shown in the examples below:

(1)   *dì   kàpu   **yìmba***
       this   old.animate   COP.EGO
       'this is the old man.'   (SBL 101124-03 00:55)

(2)   *òodi   mì   ŋà=ki   rò   **yìmba***
       that   person   1SG=GEN   friend   COP.EGO
       'that person is my friend.'   (AL 091109-01)

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[31] Some speakers of Lamjung Yolmo reduce the *yìmba* copula in running speech so that it sounds more like [*mà*]. Not all speakers do this, and those speakers who do are not consistent in this pronunciation. This reduced form is not used in careful speech or writing (as discussed with RL 110208-02).

The 'existential' copula is somewhat misleading as a name, as it performs a variety of functions. Genetti (2007: 190), van Driem (1993: 168) and Hari (2010) all refer to the 'existential' copula in their analyses of similar forms, even though it often includes other functions, including location, possession and attribution. Caplow (2000) coined the term ELPA, referring to each of the functions above, to make it clear that this copula construction is not used exclusively for existential constructions. The term has also been taken up by Garrett (2001). Although I find that the acronym ELPA makes the function of the copula more transparent I use the more generally accepted term 'existential' in this discussion.

Here we see the existence function (3).

(3)   *mò*   *yèke*
        3SG.F   COP.EGO.PST
        'she existed' (AL 100922-01)

The locative function requires the presence of a locative marker:

(4)   *ŋà*   *khím=la*   *yè*
        1SG   house=LOC   COP.EGO
        'I am in the house.'   (AL 090916-02)

(5)   *ɕàmu*   *ŋà=ki*   *gòo=la*   *yè*
        hat   1SG=GEN   head=LOC   COP.EGO
        'the hat is on my head.'   (AL 090916-02)

Possessional use of the existence copula involves a genitive case marked subject:

(6)   *ŋà=ki*   *làkpa*   *tɕómbo*   *yìmba*
        1SG=GEN   hand   big   COP.EGO
        'I have two big hands.' (AL 090924-02)

The final use of the existential copula discussed here is in attribution, where a quality, expressed using an adjective, is attributed to somebody (7) or something (8):

(7)   *khyá*   *nàdi*   *yèke*
        2SG   ill   COP.EGO.PST
        'you were ill.'   (AL 091104-01)

(8)   *dì   tɕhú   súŋbu **yè***
       this   water   clean   COP.EGO
       'the water is clean.'   (AL 091001-01)

1.2.   Copulas as clause-final auxiliaries

The copulas do not only function as the main verb of a sentence; some can also function as an auxiliary verb in certain constructions. This is a common use of copulas in Tibeto-Burman languages and is also found in Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari 2010: 60) and Sherpa (Kelly 2004: 351).

In (9) the copula is the main verb in the clause, while in (10), the copula comes after a lexical verb as an additional component of the verb phrase.

(9)   *òodi   lú   yàabu **dù***
       that   song   good   COP.PE
       'that song is good.'   (RL 110129-01)

(10)   *òodi   lú   yàabu thé-ku   **dù***
       that   song   good   hear-IPFV   AUX.PE
       'that song sounds good.'   (RL 110129-01)

The general fact copula (*òŋge*) and equational egophoric (*yìnɖo*) and equational dubitative (*yèʈo*) copulas are not used for anything beyond standard copula verb constructions (the egophoric copulas are used in nominalised constructions as discussed in section 3.1.1). When used as verbal auxiliaries the copula verbs bring to the utterance the same modal sense that they have as copulas, thus Table 11 summarises the copulas that have this use, which can be seen as a subset of Table 10. Again, the negative forms are given in italics below their equivalent affirmative forms.

Table 11: Lamjung Yolmo copula verbs used as clause-final auxiliaries.

	Egophoric	**Dubitative**	**Perceptual evidence**
present	yè *mè*	yèʈo *mèʈo*	dù *mìndu*
past	yèke yèba *mèke mèba*		dùba *mìnduba*

This subset of the system can provide a tense distinction in the egophoric, and the presence of the dubitative means that epistemic as well as evidential distinctions are still possible. The structures that use copulas as auxiliaries are perfective (§3.2.1) and imperfective (§3.2.2), habitual (§3.2.3) and narrative past (§3.1.2). The function of copulas in these structures is outlined in the relevant sections below.

In all of these structures the copulas are grammatically obligatory elements. Speakers do sometimes omit the copula from the utterance in naturalistic speech. Although the copulas are behaving more like auxiliaries in these structures I continue to refer to them as copulas throughout this sketch grammar.

1.3. Egophoric copulas

Having outlined the grammatical constructions that the copulas can occur in, I discuss the semantics of each category.

The egophoric (EGO) copulas[32] are used when the speaker is not relying on external evidence, but on their own knowledge for an utterance. In (11) we see the egophoric being used as an auxiliary, while in (12) the equivalent non-past form is being used as the existential copula.

(11)   *ŋà*   *tó*   *sà*   *tè-ti*   ***yèba***
          1SG   rice.cooked   eat   AUX-PERF   AUX.EGO.PST
          'I was eating rice.'   (AL 091104-01)

(12)   *ŋà=ki*   *mèemeya*   *mèeme*   *tìn*   ***yè***
          1SG=GEN   family   people   seven   COP.EGO
          'my family is seven people.'
          (lit: my seven person family exists)   (AL 090929-01 00:02)

(13)   *òodi*   *mì*   *ŋà=ki*   *rò*   ***yìmba***
          that   person   1SG=GEN   friend   COP.EGO
          'that person is my friend.'   (AL 091109-01)

In all of the examples above the speaker is either a participant in the event described (11) or knows from repeated long-term exposure the state of their friendships (13) and family structure (12). In such situations the speaker is drawing on their own cognitive experience for evidence rather than external perception. Thus the deictic function of the evidential is not to point to a specific event, but to the speaker's own internal knowledge state. For this reason these copulas are named egophoric (gloss EGO). I made this choice because 'egophoric,' rather than 'self' or 'self knowledge,' detaches the 'ego' from the speaker – which is useful for question structures where it's not the questioner's 'self knowledge' that is invoked but their intended respondent's (see chapter 7, §8).

The egophoric form is attested in other closely related languages. Within the study of Tibetan the equivalent copulas have been referred to, amongst other things, as 'participant specific' (Agha 1993: 157), 'self-centred" (Denwood 2000), 'personal'

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[32]   In earlier publications these were left unglossed for semantic content and referred to only as 'copulas' (Gawne 2011a, 2011b, San Roque, Gawne, et al. 2012). In Gawne (2013a) I used the term 'ego' as per Garrett (2001). I use 'egophoric' here as it is now commonly used in discussions of Tibetic languages (see Tournadre 2004; 2008, Hill & Gawne forthcoming).

(Caplow 2000), and 'egophoric' (Tournadre & Dorje 2003), or shortened to 'ego' (Garrett 2001). While each of these definitions have their own nuances and caveats, and the exact uses of the forms differ, they all speak to the fact that the information for making the assertion comes from the speaker's own knowledge state.

It should be noted that while the egophoric in Lamjung Yolmo is similar to that in Standard Tibetan, the semantics are not exactly the same. In discussion of the Standard Tibetan cognate it is observed that it indicates a close relationship between the speaker and the subject (Garrett 2001: 102; Tournadre 2008). In contrast the Lamjung Yolmo egophoric forms can be used with any person reference. In (14) we see AL's response when asked to name the item being shown to her.

(14) *dì*   *kàlda*   ***yìmba***
      this   bag   COP.EGO
      'it's a bag.'   (AL 110217-03 01:44)

This is the default way of answering this question, and in no way was AL asserting that the bag is hers, which would be the only possible reading of an equivalent utterance with a cognate form in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre p.c.). That the egophoric in Lamjung Yolmo can be used for a broader range of situations appears to contribute, in part, to the lack of focus on volitionality in the Lamjung Yolmo verb structure, as it can be used with a wider range of person agents and subjects than just first person, or first person related, volitional actors.

As in Standard Tibetan (Garrett 2001), there are some constructions in which egophoric copulas appear to have non-evidential use, such as conditionals (15), complex noun phrases created through nominalisation (16) and other fixed phrases, such as *"yìmba ná kí"* which denotes an implicit alternative (17).

(15) *ŋà*   *ɲímu*   *ʈáŋa*   ***yè-na***   *ŋà*   *sàse*   *ɲò-tɕe*   *yèke*
      1SG   with   money   COP.EGO-COND   1SG   food   buy-INF   AUX.EGO.PST
      'if I had money with me, I'd have bought food.'   (AL 031109-02)

(16) *mò=ki*   *ʈàbu*   *ráŋgi*   *khí*   ***yè-kandi***   *phóto*
      3SG.F=ERG   horse   and   dog   COP.EGO-NMLZ   photo(Eng)

      bìta=la   *pér-ku*   *dù*
      surface=LOC   stick-IPFV   AUX.PE
      'she was sticking the horse and dog poster on the wall.'   (AL 101006-01 08:12)

(17) *kàpu*   *tɕíi*   *mìn*   *khúŋ*   *ába*   ***yìmba***   ***ná***   ***kí***
      old.animate   one   COP.EGO.NEG   3PL   father   COP.EGO   PART   or
      'it's not the old man. He is maybe the father, or...'   (SBL 101124-03 21:11)

As per Garrett's (2001) analysis of Standard Tibetan, I argue in Gawne (2013a) that the semantics of egophoric copulas is something that is present in interaction. Given

that the current egophoric copulas were historically the only copula forms in Classical Tibetan (Tournadre & Jiatso 2001: 66), it is perhaps not surprising that they still have a presence in fixed expressions. Compared to the other copula choices, the semantics of the egophoric is less incongruous in a fixed construction, where modality is not necessarily relevant. For a more detailed discussion about egophoric evidentiality as a common category in Tibetic languages see Tournadre & LaPolla (2014) and Gawne (forthcoming).

1.4. Dubitative copulas

The dubitative (DUB) forms *yìnḍo* and *yèṭo* are for when a speaker is less than certain about the proposition in the utterance.[33] This form carries no evidential weight; the person may have direct perceptual evidence or not, what is instead marked is the speaker's lack of full certainty. I have indicated this lack of epistemic certainty in the English translation with the use of lexical forms such as 'possibly' and 'may.'

An appropriate context for the utterance in (18) would be where the speaker has spotted something in the room, but from this distance is unsure if it is a bangle, or band for tying up hair.

(18)   *dì   dìw   **yìnḍo***
       this   bracelet   COP.DUB
       'this may be a bracelet.'   (RL 101028-04)

In this situation, the speaker believes that it is likely to be a bracelet, but does not have enough evidence to be sure of it. Had the speaker been certain that it was a bracelet it would have been appropriate to use the perceptual evidential copula.

Unlike the other copula distinctions, the dubitative is not based on the speaker's evidence to hand (ego, perceptual or general fact), but their certainty about the information. Therefore, it is not an evidential form, but one that marks epistemic certainty.

The dubitative can be used in situations similar to where the inferential evidential can be used in other languages. For example, in (19) the speaker sees his brother's shoes by the door, because he has not seen his brother he can not use the perceptual evidential, but he can use the dubitative to indicate that his brother is likely to be in the house.

(19)   *rídzan   khím=la   **yèṭo***
       Rijan   house=LOC   COP.DUB
       'Rijan is probably in the house.'   (RL 110129-01)

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[33]   These were referred to in earlier analyses as 'uncertainty' (UNCERT) copulas (Gawne 2011a, San Roque, Gawne, et al. 2012).

The dubitative can also be used for other situations where the speaker does not have direct perceptual evidence, such as to speculate on the thoughts of a second or third party. In (20) below, the speaker was cooking dinner and spoke to herself, while in (21) she was addressing her sister who was not providing her any assistance as while she tried to figure something out.

(20) *rò   tóo   **yèʈo***
     friend   hunger   COP.DUB
     'my friend is probably hungry.'   (KL 23/01/11 Book 8: 8)

(21) *khyá   áŋ   ŋò   mà-ɕee   **yèʈo***
     2SG   also   know   NEG.PST-know   AUX.DUB
     'you also probably do not know.'   (KL 120304-02 05:39)

The dubitative allows the speaker to voice a statement about the mental state of another person, but not be seen to be presuming to know exactly what another speaker is thinking or feeling.

There are other strategies speakers can use to indicate that they are not certain about the information given, including the dubitative mood suffix (§3.3.4), and framing the information as a question (see chapter 7, §8).

The two dubitative copula forms are based on the egophoric copula forms with the addition of the *-ʈo* suffix (which has undergone voicing after the voiced nasal in *yìnɖo*. This suffix is used for dubitative constructions with lexical verbs, however it is used exclusively for non-past events, while the copulas can also occur in past tense constructions. This tense-restriction difference is shown in the examples below. Both (22) and (23) are considered acceptable by speakers, as there is no tense-restriction for the copula form. For the dubitative suffix (24) is considered grammatical by speakers, but not (25) as it involves the dubitative suffix on a lexical verb in a past tense utterance, indicated by the presence of 'yesterday.'

(22) *tàpse   khó   òŋ   **yèʈo***
     now   3SG.M   come   AUX.DUB
     'he is probably coming now.'   (RL 101028-04)

(23) *dàŋ   mò=la   tóoba   **yèʈo***
     yesterday   3SG.F=DAT   hunger   COP.DUB
     'she was probably hungry yesterday.'   (AL 100929-01)

(24) *tiriŋ   mò=la   tóo-**ʈo***
     today   3SG.F=DAT   hunger-DUB
     'she is/will be probably hungry today.'   (AL 100929-01)

(25) **dàŋ   mò=la   tóo-ʈo*
       yesterday   3SG.F=DAT   hungry-DUB
      *'she was probably hungry yesterday.' (AL 100929-01)

1.5.   Perceptual evidential copulas

The perceptual evidentials (PE) are used to indicate that the source of information is sensory perception.[34] This copula is used for information that is external to the speaker as opposed to personal knowledge (EGO). The scope of perceptual evidence in Lamjung Yolmo is across all of the senses, including sight (26), sound (27), touch (28), smell (29) and taste (30). It can also be used with perception that is internal to the speaker for a subset of lexical verbs that are known as 'endopathic' (31). These are discussed in section 2.5. The *dùba* form is more emphatic and often occurs with past tense events.

(26) *dì   kàpu   mì   **dù***
      this   old   person   COP.PE
      'this is an old person.'   (SBL 101124-03 01:08)

(27) *òodi   lú   yàabu   thé-ku   **dù***
      that   song   good   hear-IPFV   AUX.PE
      'that song sounds good.'   (AL 101010-01 02:34)

(28) *jhola   ʦéndi   **dù***
      bag(Nep)   heavy   COP.PE
      'the bag is heavy.'   (ST 26/01/11 book 8: 10)

(29) *tó   ʈìma   ɕìmbu   **dù***
      rice.cooked   aroma   tasty   COP.PE
      'the rice smells tasty.'   (AL 100929-01)

(30) *dì   ɕìmbu   **dù***
      this   tasty   COP.PE
      'this is tasty.'   (RL 120217-02)

(31) *ŋà=ki   tèmba sàl-ku   **dù***
      1SG=ERG   remember-IPFV   AUX.PE
      'I remember it.'   (AL 101013-02)

Just because an event is witnessed, this does not mean that the speaker must use the perceptual evidential. Indeed, the perceptual evidential and the egophoric copulas are

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[34] These were referred to in San Roque, Gawne, et al. (2012) as mirative (MIR) forms, following Hari's (2010) analysis, and in Gawne (2011b) were only glossed as copulas without reference to semantic function.

often used in the same context, even by the same speaker. The two utterances below were made by AL while I was performing a magic trick using a scarf that would change colour. After changing the scarf from red and blue to yellow and green, she observed the new colour (32) when I ask her to tell me what colour it was before, her included a restatement of the current colour (33). With each utterance AL is looking at the scarf, and touching it. Therefore, it is not that she has different evidence, but she is choosing to highlight difference evidence. I discuss this example, and others, in more detail in Gawne 2013a: 225-228).

(32) *ŋómbu   yìmba*
      green   COP.EGO
      'it is green'   (AL 120209-02 01:07)

(33) *tàpse-ni   ŋómbu   **dù***
      now-FOC   tomorrow   AUX.PE
       'now it is green.' (AL 120209-02 01:31)

The perceptual evidence copula has a closely related form *dùba*. Like those verbs with a *-pa* suffix discussed in §3.1.2. below the *dùba* form often has a past tense sense in elicited sentences:

(34) ***khó   nàŋbar   òŋ   dùba***
       3SG.M   tomorrow   come   AUX.PE.EMPH
       *'he comes tomorrow.'   (RL 101006-01)

(35) *khó   dàŋ   òŋ   **dùba***
       3SG.M   yesterday come   AUX.PE.EMPH
       'he came yesterday.'   (RL 101006-01)

(36) *khó   nàŋbar   òŋ-ke*
       3SG.M   tomorrow   come-NON.PST
       'he will come tomorrow.'   (RL 101006-01)

I have glossed *dùba* as 'emphatic.' This emphatic dimension can mean that the sense is not just of perception, but what was perceived is counter to expectation, or novel enough to be worth drawing attention to. Grammatical encoding of information that is new or unexpected is known as 'mirativity' (DeLancey 2001). As this is a pragmatic tendency, and not a robust grammatical function of *dùba* I have not glossed the form as mirative.[35] In these utterances *dùba* appears to be less constrained to past tense than

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[35] Hill (2012a) argues against the robustness of 'mirativity' as a cross-linguistic grammatical category, and that without any solid evidence of the existence of a syntactic phenomenon there should be no need to use the term mirativity. I use it to refer to the pragmatic overtones that speakers identify in examples like (37) above. Even DeLancey (2012, p. 554) now concedes that in Standard Tibetan "despite its strong mirative connotations, the immediate

lexical verbs with the *-pa suffix*. This means that in some contexts an utterance like (37) can be used if the speaker is surprised by unexpected information. For example, if the person had left their child with someone, and came back to find the child is now at another person's house.

(37) *ŋà=ki   pìza   khé=ki   khím=la   **dùba***
      1SG=GEN   child   2SG=GEN   house=LOC   COP.PE.EMPH
      'my child is in your house.'   (SKL 101023-06)

Although there is an element of unexpected or novel information for emphatic perceptual evidentials, this is a contextually-dependent pragmatic effect of the primary semantics of perceptual evidence which arises in some contexts.

The *-pa* suffix also adds perfective aspect to an event. The sentences below are taken from AL viewing the MPI-created Put Project video (see chapter 1, §2). (38) and (39) use the regular *dù* form, while (40) and (41) use the *dùba* form.

(38) *ʈèbul   thóla   mòdze   tɕii   **dù***
      table(Eng) above   banana   one   COP.PE
      'on the table is a banana.'   (AL 101006-01 12:04)

(39) *kémba=ki   tòo-ku   **dù***
      tongs=INS   put.down-IPFV   AUX.PE
      'with the tongs (the person) was putting (the banana) down.'
                                                (AL 101006-01 12:33)

(40) *ʈèbul   thóla   tɕhé   **dùba***
      table(Eng) above   book   COP.PE.EMPH
      'on the table was a book.'   (AL 101006-01 31:19)

(41) *pèmpiza   tɕii=ki   gòo=la   mèndo   **dùba***
      woman   one=GEN   head=LOC   flower   COP.PE.EMPH
      'in a woman's hair was a flower.'   (AL 101012-02 24:46)

These examples are useful because it is almost impossible to construe a way in which these utterances are mirative. AL gives no indication that these events are less expected than any others. When I asked her what the difference would be in choosing to use *dù* or *dùba* in example (40) she said *dùba* would be for a book that would remain on the table whereas *dù* would be for a book that was moved. Example (41) was given when I had stopped the video after the flower had been removed. So here *dùba* represents something static or completed while *dù* is used for something that is still in

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evidence [perceptual evidential] category in Tibetic languages is, strictly speaking, an evidential category, and thus by definition not a pure mirative", much like my analysis of Lamjung Yolmo and other analyses of Standard Tibetan (Garrett 2001; Hill 2012a).

progress, hence why we see *dù* used with imperfective aspect and *dùba* with completed events.

Volitionality is not as central to copula choice in Lamjung Yolmo as it is closely related languages (for Sherpa see Kelly 2004, for Standard Tibetan see Tournadre 2004, 2008). In those languages the perceptual with first person indicates a lack of volitionality on behalf of the speaker. There are situations where volition does appear to be relevant to the semantics of the utterance for Lamjung Yolmo, particularly in regards to first person. In (42) below the perceptual is used because speakers prefer to not use the egophoric for first person non-volitional because the speaker's knowledge of the event is not drawn from their existent knowledge state.

(42)　　*ŋà*　　*tàpse*　*tɕám-ku*　　　**dù**
　　　　1SG　　now　　dance-NON.PST　AUX.PE
　　　　'I am now dancing.'　　　(RL 110204-03)

This is not the case for all persons, for second or third person the choice of copula would be more likely to indicate the speaker's source of knowledge than the volitionality of the action. Even for first person, the role that the modal marking plays does not relate exclusively to volitionality. In (42) above, this form could be used of a non-volitional action, as described, but could also be used to refer to a video of oneself dancing. Even if the dancing was volitional in the video, the focus here as for second and third person subjects is on the evidential status of the utterance. As another example, if a person broke a pencil accidentally they would say the same thing as if they broke it deliberately (43). This does not involve the inclusion of a copula.

(43)　　*ŋà=ki*　　*tɕhá*　　*tè-sin*
　　　　1SG=ERG　break　　AUX-PST
　　　　'I broke (the pencil).'　　　(RL 120217-02)

If instead, the end result is witnessed, which is why the perceptual is used, and the emphatic form is preferred. For example, in (44) the pencil is accidentally broken in the bag, but the speaker did not find out about it at the time, realising it later when they found the pieces in the bottom of their bag.

(44)　　*ŋà=ki*　　*kálam*　　　*tɕhá*　　**dùba**
　　　　1SG=ERG　pencil(Nep)　break　　AUX.PE.EMPH
　　　　'I have broken the pencil.'　　(RL 120217-02)

This is less intrinsically linked to volitionality, and is more closely linked to the marking of information about an event that is completed, that is newly perceived at the time of utterance, and then the sense of volitionality arises from this. The use of the emphatic form is linked as much to the perfective-past sense that the *-pa* adds as it is to any emphatic newness.

Finally, although the perceptual evidential is used when an event is perceived, this does not mean that it is obligatory to use the perceptual evidential when talking about

information that you have through perceptual evidence. Both of the utterances in (45) and (46) were made when speakers were describing a novel item that they were looking at in various stimulus-based activities, yet neither of them involve the use of the perceptual evidential copula.

(45)　　*dì　　hããs　　**yìmba***
　　　　this　　duck(Nep)　　COP.EGO
　　　　'this is a duck.'　　　　(AL 120209-01 02:29)

(46)　　*tàze　　bòkas　　nàŋla　　ʈáŋa　　**yè***
　　　　now　　box(Eng)　　inside　　money　　COP.EGO
　　　　'now the money is inside the box.'　　　　(RL 110208-02 04:11)

These uses are not anomalies, but a common part of how people describe the world as they perceive it.

1.6.　General fact copulas

The final copula form is the general fact (GF) *òŋge*. While the above are used for specific statements, the general fact copula is used for statements of common fact. The facts are usually attributes or properties of things. It is the only one of the copula verb set that cannot be used for anything other than the copula functions. This difference between the general state copula (48) and the regular copula (47) can be seen in below.

(47)　　*dì　　kágati　　kyúrpu　　**yè***
　　　　this　　lemon　　sour　　COP.EGO
　　　　'this lemon is sour.'　　　　(AL 091016-02)

(48)　　*kágati　　kyúrpu　　**òŋge***
　　　　lemon　　sour　　COP.GF
　　　　'lemons are sour.'　　　　(AL 091016-02)

Verbs can also be used in this construction; here one speaker uses the infinitive construction while the other uses the -*kandi* nominaliser for the same utterance:

(49)　　*ɲàl-tɕe　　yàabu　　**òŋge***
　　　　sleep-INF　　good　　COP.GF
　　　　'sleep is good.'　　　　(RL 101125-01)

(50)　　*ɲàl-kandi　　yàabu　　**òŋge***
　　　　sleep-NMLZ　　good　　COP.GF
　　　　'sleep is good.'　　　　(VL 101224-01)

The general fact copula is most likely derived from the lexical verb *òŋ* 'to come'. Tournadre & Jiatso (2000, p. 57) observe that the Standard Tibetan final auxiliaries all derived from action, motion or stative verbs, so it is not so unusual a process in these languages. Although this copula may have been derived from a lexical source there is clearly some morphological reanalysis, as many speakers leave the non-past tense marker on the verb when there is a negator prefix (51).

(51)   *kálaŋ sè   kyúrpu   **òŋge***
        lapsi   sour   COP.GF
        'lapsi (fruit) are sour.'   (RL 101125-01)

(52)   *kálaŋ sè   ŋàrmu   **mè-òŋge***
        lapsi   sweet   NEG-COP.GF
        'lapsi (fruit) are not sweet.'   (RL 101125-01)

This is something that cannot be done with lexical verbs (as discussed in section 5 below), instead the tense marking suffix is not expressed. Speakers still understand, and very occasionally use the negative form of the general stative copula as *mèòŋ* instead of *mèòŋge*, indicating that for some speakers the reanalysis of the form *òŋge* as a single item is not complete.

The general stative copula is only used in the non-past tense, even by speakers who do not appear to analyse the -*ge* element as a separate non-past tense marker:

(53)   *khó   yàabu mì   **òŋge***
        3SG.M   good   person COP.GF
        'he is a good man.'   (UL 110115-01)

(54)   **khó   yàabu mì   **òŋ-sin***
        3SG.M   good   person COP.GF-PST
        *'he was a good man.'   (UL 110115-01)

For past tense constructions, the regular past tense form *yèke* is used, sometimes with the reported speech marker *ló* to indicate that the information comes from other people, and thus is generally accepted knowledge:

(55)   **mì   yàabu **òŋge***
        person   good   COP.GF
        *'that person was good.'   (RL 101125-01)

(56)   **mì   yàabu **òŋge**   **ló***
        person   good   COP.GF   RS
        *'that person was good.'   (RL 101125-01)

(57) *mì*   *yàabu* **yèke**   **ló**
      person   good   COP.EGO.PST   RS
      'that person was good.' (RL 101125-01)

This is a relatively unusual use of the reported speech particle (which I discuss in more detail in chapter 7, §9). The general fact copula is also attested in Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari & Lama 2006: 38), although not in Sherpa or Tibetan. It is likely that the general fact copula is calqued from Tamang, which has an equivalent form in similar limited distribution (Owen-Smith & Donohue 2012).

2. Lexical Verbs

Lexical verbs carry the main semantic content of the verb phrase. In this section I look at both simple and compound verbs (§2.1), volitionality (§2.2) and the notable absence of verb stems in Lamjung Yolmo as compared to Melamchi Valley Yolmo (§2.3). I also touch on the relationship between lexical verbs and case-marking (§2.4) and look at the set of Endopathic verbs (§2.5).

2.1. Simple and compound verbs

Verbs in Lamjung Yolmo can be simple or compound, although simple verbs are more common across the lexicon. Simple verbs are formed from a single root and can have a range of syllable structures; VC, CV, CVC, CCV and CCVC have been observed to date. The citation form of verbs includes the imperative suffix *-toŋ* (the variation in voicing is discussed in chapter 3, §6.1, briefly the /t/ is unvoiced following voiceless stops, /r/ and /e/):

(58) *ùrtoŋ*   'fly'
      òŋdoŋ   'come'
      ŋ̀udoŋ   'cry'
      thétoŋ   'hear'
      ɲàldoŋ   'sleep'
      tértoŋ   'give'
      prùdoŋ   'write'
      prùptoŋ   'fall down'

Compound verbs are formed by combining a verb with either a noun or another verb (59).

(59) *lóp tér-toŋ*   'teach'   (learn give-IMP)
      kèe kyàp-toŋ   'call'   (noise fall-IMP)
      lè pè-toŋ   'work'   (work do-IMP)
      ʈèmba sal-doŋ   'remember'   (remembrance converse.IMP)

As discussed in section 5, negative prefixes attach to the main verb of the clause. With compound verbs they attach to the second element (60).

(60)   *lè **mà**-pe*   'did not work'   (work NEG.PST-do)
        *ʈèmba **mà**-sal*   'did not remember'   (remembrance NEG.PST-converse)

Thus, we can establish that some verbs are likely to have historically been compound verbs even though the meaning of the individual elements is not currently salient for speakers (61)-(63). In (63) we see a complex verb based on the form *kyàp,* which has a broad range of senses including 'fall', 'hit' and 'close', and is often used to build more complex verbs.

(61)   *há kò-doŋ*   'know'   (know-IMP)
        *há **mà**-ko*   'don't know'   (NEG.PST.know)

(62)   *á táp-toŋ*   'bite'   (bite-IMP)
        *á **mà**-tap*   'don't bite'   (NEG.PST.bite)

(63)   *tɕál kyàp-toŋ*   'swim'   (swim-IMP)
        *tɕál **mà**-kyàp* 'don't swim'   (NEG.PST.swim)

The same negation process as is found in Dolakha Newar (Genetti 2007: 175-176), whereby multi-syllable words take the negation on the second syllable.

Verb forms borrowed from Nepali involve slightly different morphology. Many Nepali verbs borrowed into Yolmo take a suffix *-ti* before any of the usual Yolmo tense or aspect marking. This suffix is not voiced in any environment, unlike the perfective aspect marker *-ti*. In (64) the Nepali verb *ʈal-* 'patch' takes the *-ti* suffix before the past tense marker. The addition of *-ti* is not glossed separately in my interlinearisation of Nepali verbs.

(64)   *dènmu   khó=ki   dàla   kwèla   ʈál**ti**-sin   **dù***
        this.way   3SG.M=ERG   here   clothing patch(Nep)-PST   AUX.PE
        'in this way here he patched the clothing.'   (SBL 101124-03 16:44)

In negated clauses it is this *-ti* suffix that takes the negation suffix. In (65) we see this with RL asking a binary question where both the affirmative and negative forms of the Nepali verb *pher-* 'breathe' are used.

(65)   *úu phérti   mì-**ti**   yè   ló*
        breathe(Nep)   NEG-(breath)   AUX.EGO   RS
        'it breaths, or doesn't breathe, did you say?'   (RL 101120-02 09:11)

2.2.   Volitionality and control

One of the key features discussed in analyses of verbs in Tibetic languages is that of control (Sun 1993: 961-964; Garrett 2001: 17-19; Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 141; Zeisler 2004: 250-259, Huber 2005: 84-88). This distinction is one where verbs are classed depending on whether the agent is a volitional actor who has control over initiating the event, and as Zeisler (2004: 251) notes, typically also has control over the intended result or not. As has been mentioned throughout the discussion of egophoric copulas (§1.3) and perceptual evidential copulas (§1.5), the status of 'control' or 'volition' as a key feature of the verb structure in Lamjung Yolmo is questionable. This is partly because the semantics and use of the copula forms do not allow for their consistent use as markers of control with regard to the semantics of the verb.

For second and third person forms, the volition of the action is secondary to the speakers' choice to foreground their evidential stance towards the action. Unlike in other Tibetic languages, where verb stem, case marking and other features may vary depending on the volitionality of the verb (Zeisler 2004: 251; Huber 2005: 84), this is not the case in Lamjung Yolmo. Therefore, speakers may have an understanding of the role of volition or control in verb semantics like speakers of other Tibetic varieties, but this is not necessarily expressed in their grammatical choices.

As I discussed in section 1.5, there are examples where volitionality appears to be a motivation for the choice of the perceptual evidential in some first-person utterance contexts. Even then, it is not the only motivation, and there are examples of verbs that would be classed as 'non-volitional' where people use egophoric evidentials, such as this elicited utterance with 'need':

(66)   *ŋà   águu=la   mòdze   tér   kò   yè*
          1SG   uncle=DAT   banana   give   need   AUX.EGO
          'I need to give uncle the banana'   (RL 120126-01)

Therefore, although volitionality is something that needs to be taken into account when accessing auxiliary copula use and verbs structure in Lamjung Yolmo, it is not as central to the grammatical choices people make as in other Tibetic languages.

2.3.   Stem classes

There are traces of the Old Tibetan verb stem class alternations found in Lamjung Yolmo, but this is not a productive feature of the language. The absence of this feature is worth noting, as it is one of the major differences between Lamjung Yolmo and Melamchi Valley Yolmo. Hari (2010: 35-39) describes a process whereby verbs stems that end in a short vowel and take a suffix undergo a change in vowel quality in some contexts. These contexts are varied and include affirmative imperatives, the presence of some auxiliaries, such as the imperfective *tè* and the presence of suffixes including *-pa* and *-ti*. Verbs with front vowels /i/ and /e/ are lengthened while verbs with back vowels /a/, /o/ and /u/ are fronted and lengthened, with /u/ becoming /ii/ and both /o/ and /a/ becoming /ee/. Unlike verb stem alternation in Written and Standard Tibetan, Hari does not discuss a distinction between control and non-control verbs in stem alternations.

Huber (2005: 90-91) observes verb stem alternations for non-control and control verbs, indicating that this may also occur in Melamchi Valley Yolmo.

Hari (2010) gives no indication of how prevalent verb stem alternations are, but from Huber's (2005) discussion of verb stems in Kyirong, we can assume it is, at most, a partial system. Huber (2005: 89) observes that there are a maximum of three verb stem variants, which like in Melamchi Valley Yolmo involve changes in vowel quality or length, but also observes that only a subset of verbs in Kyirong make all three distinctions, with some only making two, and many only exhibiting one verb stem form. Therefore, it is likely that the Melamchi Valley Yolmo verb stem alternations also do not occur across all verbs.

In the examples below from Hari's (2010: 36) description of Melamchi Valley Yolmo you can see that the vowel quality in the two verbs change in different grammatical structures. The verb *'ma* 'tell' (67) becomes *'me* when it is before the emphatic *-pa/-ba* past tense suffix (but not the regular past tense) and also before the imperative. Some of these examples were taken from Hari's (2010: 35-39) description of verb stems, supplemented with examples found in other parts of the text.

(67)   *'má-gen*   '(I) say (non-past)'
        'má-*sin*   '(I) said (past)'
        *màa-***'mé**-*ba!*   '(I) didn't tell it!' (negative emphatic past)
        'mée-*doŋ*   'say it!' (imperative)
        'mée-*di*   'said' (perfective)

Below we see the verb *ŋù* 'cry' undergoes the same variation for the perfective suffix, and negative, but we also see that the addition of the dubitative copula triggers the verb stem variation as well.

(68)   **ŋù**-*w*   '(is) crying' (impf)
        ŋìi-*di*   'cried' (perf)
        ŋìi *yè-ʈo*   'is probably crying'
        màa-*ŋì*   'did not cry'

I also include the verb *sà* 'eat' (69) as neither Melamchi Valley Yolmo nor the Lamjung variety have the irregular past tense form, which is distinct from other Central Tibetan languages, including Kyirong (Huber 2005: 132).

(69)   **sà**-*gen*   'eat' (non-past)
        sà-*sin*   'eat' (past)
        sèe-*di*   'ate' (perf)
        mè-*sà*   'do not eat'
        màa-*sè*   'did not eat'

The verb stem alternations that occur in Melamchi Yolmo do not appear in Lamjung Yolmo. Unfortunately the form *má-* for 'say' does not exist in Lamjung Yolmo, instead

làp- is used, so direct comparison with Hari's Melamchi data is not possible, but below are two verbs *ŋù* 'cry' (70) and *sà* 'eat' (71) with cognates in Written Tibetan in their past, non-past and imperative forms. As you can see, in all of these contexts, where there would be verb alternations in Written Tibetan, the vowel quality is the same. The only vestige of the Written Tibetan verb stem modification system in Lamjung Yolmo is the imperative form of 'eat' *sà*, which becomes *sò,* but this is a highly restricted irregularity rather than any productive system.

(70) **ŋù**-*ge*   'cry' (non-past)   <ŋu>
      ŋù-*sin*   'cried' (past)
      ŋù-*toŋ!*   'cry!' (imperative)
                        (RL 110204-03)

(71) **sà**-*ge*   'eat' (non-past)   <(b)za>
      sà-*sin*   'eat' (past)   <bzas>
      sò!   'eat' (imperative)   <zo(s)>
                        (RL 101023-03)

Regardless of the construction in Lamjung Yolmo the vowel undergoes no modification, even in cases where there is modification in Melamchi Yolmo, such as the verb 'cry' in (68) and (70).

What is less immediately clear in Lamjung Yolmo is which stem is preserved out of the past and non-past forms. There are many examples of Lamjung Yolmo verb forms that are cognate with Written Tibetan present forms:

(72) *tá*   'see' (non-past)   <lta>
      thú   'meet' (past)   <t^hug>
      thí   'join' (perf)   <mt^hud>
      káa   'stop'   <bkag>

There are also a considerable number of examples of Lamjung Yolmo verbs which are cognate with Written Tibetan past forms:

(73) *tɕhá*   'break'   <btɕag> past of <gtɕog>
      á táp   'bite'   <btap> past of <ⁿdebs>
      tàm   'bind'   <bsdams> past of <sdom>
      pháŋ   'carry'   <ⁿphaŋs> past of <ⁿphen> meaning 'throw'

There are also some irregularities, that do not appear to be clearly from one category or the other, for example *zàa* 'leave'. This form is possibly a result of analogical leveling between present <ⁿdzog> 'leave' and past <bzags> 'left' in older forms of Tibetan.

That a contemporary Tibetic language may not uniformly select one set of verb stems is also attested in Kyirong (Huber 2005:92-97). While Kyirong does have verb

stem distinctions, there is a collapse of the present and future stems distinguished in Written Tibetan. The Kyirong perfective stem is consistently based on the Written Tibetan past form, but the imperfective is based mostly on the Written Tibetan present, but sometimes on the future form. Huber gives no explanation as to why this is the case. A systematic review verb forms in Kyirong, Melamchi Valley Yolmo and Lamjung Yolmo may explain the motivation for this process.

Finally, there is one attested verb that does not exhibit verb stem alternations, but does display suppletive forms for tense:

(74)   *ɖò-ge*   'go' (present)
        kàl-sin   'go' (past)

Huber (2005:91) also observes that *ɖò-* 'go' also has suppletive forms in Kyirong, but while *kàl* has become the irregular past tense in Lamjung and Melamchi Valley Yolmo, *pʰīn* is the form in Kyirong.

2.4. Case-marking

All lexical verbs license case marking of agents and objects. Transitive and ditransitive verbs take an ergative agent with the marker *=ki*, although the use of the ergative marker is optional in some conditions. Some intransitive verbs take a dative subject with the case marker *=la* as discussed in chapter 5, §5.2, above. Examples of all of these structures can be found in the relevant sections above.

2.5. Endopathic verbs

Lamjung Yolmo has are a subset of verbs relating to internal feelings, cognitive processes and sensations. These verbs pattern differently to other verbs in terms of the copula verbs that they take as auxiliaries (see section 1.2). (75) is a non-exhaustive list of such verbs.

(75)   *kyáa*   'feel cold'
        tóo   'feel hungry'
        ɲílo   'feel sleepy'
        nà   'be sore'
        tèmba sàl   'remember'
        tèmba tɕè   'forget'
        há kò   'know'
        ɕée   'know'
        ŋò   'recognise'
        née   'think'

Such a subset of verbs has also been observed in Amdo Tibetan (Sun 1993), where they were discussed in regard to their 'observability', Lhasa Tibetan (Garrett 2001: 77-

82; Tournadre 1996, 2008; Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 167-168) and Dokpa Tibetan (Caplow 2000: 23). It appears to be a relatively common feature of the Tibetic branch of Tibeto-Burman languages.

Endopathic verbs are used with the perceptual evidential for first person agent. Unlike the other forms of perception that I discussed in section 1.5 above, the perception that the endopathic verbs mark is personal and internal, and unobservable by others. Talking about other people as having these states and emotions cannot be done using the perceptual evidential copula, as it is not possible to have perceptual evidence of the internal states of others. In these situations the egophoric form is used instead. These parameters mean that endopathic verbs have a different split in the general distribution of egophoric and perceptual evidential use for first versus second and third person agents; with the perceptual evidential being used for first person agents and the egophoric forms being used for second and third person agents.

This is shown below with first (76) and third (77) person. This pattern is not always as straight-forward, as I discuss below.

(76)   *ŋà=ki*   *tèmba sàl-ku*   **dù**
      1SG=ERG   remember-IPFV   AUX.PE
      'I remember it.'   (AL 101013-02)

(77)   *khó=ki*   *tèmba sàl-teraŋ*   **yè**
      1SG=ERG   remember-IPFV   AUX.EGO
      'he remembers it.'   (AL 101013-02)

Examples of second person declaratives with endopathic verbs are very hard to obtain, even in elicited contexts. As Caplow (2000: 18-19) observed for Dokpa Tibetan, it appears that it is interactionally odd to make direct statements about the person you are addressing, not to mention somewhat impolite. Instead, speakers prefer to use other strategies such as a question constructions (chapter 7, §8) and the dubitative mood (§3.3.4).

Above I observed that endopathic verbs occur with perceptual evidential forms for first person agents, however the use of egophoric evidentials for endopathic verbs with first person agents appears to be at the fringes of general acceptable use. There are many examples such as those in (78) and (79) where first person constructions are given with the egophoric instead of the perceptual evidential.

(78)   *ŋà=ki*   *née-teraŋ*   **yè**
      1SG=ERG   think-IPFV   AUX.EGO
      'I remember it.'   (RL 110204-03)

(79)   *ŋà*   *nà-ti*   **yè**
      1SG   be.ill-PERF   AUX.EGO
      'I am ill.'   (AL 101013-02)

Examples like (78) and (79) indicate that the delineation between 'self' knowledge and 'other' knowledge that Hargreaves (2005) observes in Kathmandu Newar is not as straightforward in Lamjung Yolmo, which would be one of the reasons that the conjunct/disjunct system in Lamjung Yolmo is not as strong a pattern as Hale (1980) and Hargreaves (2005) have observed in Kathmandu Newar.

3.   Finite verb inflection

The finite verb phrase structure can be summarised as:

(negative)+stem+(tense/aspect) (auxiliary+tense/aspect) (copula)

Negation is discussed in section 5. below. In this section tense (§3.1), aspect (§3.2) and mood (§3.3) and their interaction with the main verb and copula are discussed as well as verb valency (§3.4).

3.1. Tense

The tense system in Lamjung Yolmo has a past/non-past distinction. Across the tense system there are no variations for person, number or honorific usage. Non-past and past tense are not present on the main verb when there is negation. This is one of the main structural differences between tense and the other two inflectional categories of finite verbs, as aspect and mood are not dropped in negated clauses. Tense is also dropped from the main verb when an aspect marker is used. As discussed in the section on aspect (§3.2) below, the accompanying auxiliary can then be used to carry the tense information.

3.1.1.   Non-past tense

The non-past tense marker is -*ke*. As discussed in chapter 3 (§6.1) the voiceless stop become voiced when preceded by a voiced phoneme. Also mentioned in chapter 3 on phonology (§2.2), the non-past tense suffix is occasionally nasalised. This is most likely a remnant of the alveolar nasal that still remains on the Melamchi Valley Yolmo form -*ken* (Hari 2010: 56). Examples of the non-past tense are given in (80)-(82).

(80)   *ŋà   tàpse   tó   sà-**ke***
         1SG   now   rice.cooked   eat-NON.PST
         'I am now eating rice.'   (AL 100930-01)

(81)   *ɲì   tàpse   tɕhám-**ke***
         1PL.EXCL   now   dance-NON.PST
         'we are now dancing.'   (AL 090915-02)

(82) *khó*   *nàŋbar*   *òŋ-ke*
    3SG.M   tomorrow   come-NON.PST
    'he comes tomorrow.'   (RL 101120-01)

The non-past tense suffix is not present on the main verb when the negator prefix is present (83). Negation prefixes distinguish between past *mà-* and non-past *mè-*, as discussed in section 5 below. Thus the negator prefix in (83) marks that the verb phrase is not past tense.

(83) *ŋà*   *tó*   *mè-sà*
    1SG   rice.cooked   NEG.NON.PST-eat
    'I am not eating rice.'   (AL 090915-04)

The use of aspect also results in the non-past tense suffix not occurring (84)-(85). The use of the auxiliary provides a past/non-past distiction. This is possible because the existential copula is the only one of the copula set to have a distinction between non-past (*yè*) and past (*yèke*).

(84) *ŋà*   *lèn-teraŋ*   *yè*
    1SG   sing-IPFV   AUX.EGO
    'I am singing.'   (AL 091028-04)

(85) *ŋà*   *tɕémendo*   *sà-ɲeraŋ* *yè*
    1SG   egg   eat-IPFV   AUX.EGO
    'I am eating egg.'   (AL 090918-01)

Although *-ke* is the non-past tense marker, one other structure that exhibits non-past tense behaviour needs to be mentioned briefly here. The nominaliser *-kandi* can be used in some instances in verbal constructions (its role as a nominaliser is discussed in more detail in chapter 7, §4). When used in verbal constructions, the *-kandi* suffix is used often for higher status second and third persons, although it can be used with first person too. Most importantly it can only be used in non-past constructions:

(86) *ŋà*   *tàpse* *tó*   *sà-kandi* *yìmba*
    1SG   now   rice.cooked   eat-NMLZ   AUX.EGO
    'I am eating rice now.'   (AL 100929-01)

(87) *ŋà*   *nàŋbar* *tó*   *sà-kandi* *yìmba*
    1SG   tomorrow rice.cooked   eat-NMLZ   AUX.EGO
    'I will eat rice tomorrow.'   (AL 100929-01)

(88) *ŋà   dàŋ   tó   sà-**kandi** yìmba
      1SG   yesterday rice.cooked   eat-NMLZ   AUX.EGO
      *'I ate rice yesterday.'   (AL 100929-01)

The nominaliser suffix behaves differently to the regular non-past tense marker, as discussed in the section on nominalisation (chapter 7, §4). It takes an equational copula, is not dropped in negated clauses and has additional functions that the non-past tense marker does not.

3.1.2.   Past tense

The past tense suffix is *-sin*. There is variation in its pronunciation across the speech community. Some speakers pronounce it as *-siŋ*, moving the alveolar nasal back to the velar. Less frequently we find the nasal consonant is only represented as nasalisation of the vowel in the pronunciation [-sĩ]. Some speakers use two or three of these pronunciation forms in free variation. Those who use *-siŋ* are also likely to articulate it as [-suŋ] in rapid speech; moving the vowel further back in the ariculatory space in response to the back position of the velar nasal. As a general observation, speakers from the villages of Toljung and Nayagaun are more likely to use the velarised *-siŋ* form. As the two forms are more or less in free variation across the community I have chosen to use *-sin* as the underlying form as this is also the form in Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari 2010: 57).

Examples of past tense marked verbs:

(89) dàŋ   khyá tó   sà-**sin**
      yesterday 2SG   rice.cooked   eat-PST
      'you ate rice yesterday.'   (AL 090916-06)

(90) tòŋla   dènmu   lè   zò-**sin**
      before   like.this work make-PST
      'before like this (he) worked.'   (AL 091108-01 39:20)

As with the non-past tense suffix, the past tense marker is does not occur when there is a negator prefix or aspect marking. The past tense negator (91) and the past tense copula (92) make the tense in most of these structures evident even without the past tense suffix.

(91) ŋà   **mà-**tɕhám
      1SG   NEG.PST-dance
      'I did not dance.'   (AL 090916-06)

(92) ŋà   lèn-tirang **yèke**
      1SG   sing-IPFV   AUX.EGO.PST
      'I was singing.'   (AL 091028-04)

This is shown again in more detail in the sections on negation (§5) and aspect marking (§3.2).

One particular type of past tense is the narrative past. This construction rarely occurs in elicitation, but is frequently used in certain genres of narrative. It does not appear in first person monologues, such as AL discussing her family (090929-01) or her village (091006-01). It is, however, used heavily in picture task activities (091108-01, 101124-03). The narrative past involves the simple past tense suffix -*sin* discussed above, and the perceptual evidential copula *dù*:

(93)   pìza   ŋù-ti   tè-**sin**   **dù**
       child   cry-PERF   AUX-PST   AUX.PE
       'the child had been crying.'   (AL 091108-01 12:20)

(94)   só   nà-ti   tè-**sin**   **dù**
       tooth   sore-PERF AUX-PST   AUX.PE
       'the tooth had been sore.'   (AL 091108-01 14:49)

(95)   ɽhàa   thén-**sin**   **dù**
       blood   go.out-PST   AUX.PE
       'the child had been crying.'   (AL 091108-01 23:44)

The -*sin* past tense suffix does not occur in any constructions with other copulas, such as *yèke*. Hari also notes that this structure occurs in Melamchi Valley Yolmo, and argues that with the combination of the copula and past it captures the sense "I wasn't there at the time when it happened, but I found out later" (2010: 62). Data from Lamjung Yolmo recordings of the Family Story picture task (chapter 1, §2) Provide evidence for this distinction. The participants were asked to tell the story in the third person and then in the first person. During the third person retelling the participants used the -*sin dù* construction 20 times in 8 minutes and 15 seconds, but in the first person retelling the participants spoke for 9 minutes and 50 seconds and did not use this construction at all. This may possibly be because the form patterns as per Hari's analysis, but more likely it is because speakers use different evidential forms when they are a participant in the story instead of just a witness of the event.

The final form that is discussed in relation to past tense is the suffix -*pa*. This suffix has a range of functions, which include question marking (chapter 7, §8) and in some contexts has an emphatic quality.

One of the functions of this suffix is as a past tense marker (96).

(96)   ŋà   dàŋ   ɲàl-**pa**
       1SG   yesterday sleep-PST
       'I slept yesterday.'   (AL 090917-01)

There are two main reasons why -*pa* is not a simple past tense suffix. The first is related to function, in that the -*pa* suffix can have a range of functions, including use in

question and a slightly emphatic sense. The second is related to the form of the suffix in that for some speakers it is possible to use the *-pa* suffix in negative constructions (98) as well as positive (97).

(97) *ŋà   tɕhám-pa*
    1SG   dance-PST
    'I danced.'   (AL 110215-01)

(98) *ŋà   mà-tɕhám-pa*
    1SG   NEG.PST-dance-PST
    'I did not dance.' (AL 110215-01)

As discussed in relation to both the simple present *-ke* and past *-sin* above, one of the main formal properties that separate them from aspect and mood markers is that they are omitted in negative constructions.

The *-pa* suffix appears to be related to that found at the end of many of the copula forms. Some of the copula forms have more of the emphatic sense, such as *dùba* (§1.5), while others are more commonly noted by speakers for their question function, such as *yèba* (discussed in chapter 7, §8). The *yìmba* form does not really have any of these properties, as it no longer has the historic *yìn* copula as a contrast. Thus, the *-pa* suffix has a number of dimensions, not just past tense marking, but not all of these are present for all verbs, and in all uses.

3.2. Aspect

Aspect is marked through verb suffixing. There are three main aspect distinctions: perfective, imperfective and habitual. These are discussed in turn below. Some aspectual distinctions, especially the imperfective, can be marked though more than one strategy. Aspect markers interact with the tense markers in that when the aspect is marked it attaches directly to the verb stem. This requires tense to be marked by the use of auxiliary verbs. When there are two aspect elements, such as in the non-past perfective, one element is carried by the main verb and the other by the auxiliary. This is explained in the relevant sections below.

3.2.1. Perfective

The perfective is marked with the *-ti* suffix. As with all suffixes that are stop initial, the perfective suffix is voiced in certain environments. The perfective most frequently occurs with the egophoric copula (99)-(100). There are some examples in the collected texts where speakers use it with the perceptual evidential *dù* (101).

(99) ŋà   lèn-**ti**   γèke
    1SG   sing-PERF   AUX.EGO.PST
    'I have sung.'   (AL 091028-04)

(100) ŋà   khím=la   lò-**ti**   γè
    1SG   house=DAT   return-PERF   AUX.EGO
    'I have returned home.' (AL 120318-02)

(101) lùndi=ki   tɕé   tèn-**ti**   dù
    jackal=GEN   tongue go.out-PERF   AUX.PE
    'the jackal's tongue went out.'   (KL 120304-02 06:50)

Perfective aspect is not present when there is a negator prefix (103).

(102) ŋà   lèn-**ti**   γèke
    1SG   sing-PERF   AUX.EGO.PST
    'I have sung.'   (AL 091028-04)

(103) ŋà   **mà-lèn**   γè
    1SG   NEG.PST-sing   AUX.EGO
    'I have not sung.'   (AL 091028-04)

As shown in the next sub-section on the imperfect aspect, there are some imperfect constructions that make use of the perfective aspect marker. Although constructions with only one perfective marker have been shown here, verbs with the perfective marker can be strung together in chains. This clause-chaining feature of the perfective marker is discussed in chapter 7, §7.

3.2.2.   Imperfective

There are three different imperfective constructions. The first is the lexical verb suffix -*teraŋ,* less commonly observed as -*ɲeraŋ*. The second is the -*ku* suffix, which can only occur with the *dù* copula. The final construction is the use of *tè* as an auxiliary verb, which like -*teraŋ* can occur with both egophoric and perceptual evidential forms. All of these are discussed in turn before a general discussion about the difference in their functions below.

The first construction is the -*teraŋ* verbal suffix. This suffix is also realised much less frequently as -*ɲeraŋ*. These two forms appear to be in free variation – no phonetic environmental features can account for the variation and there appears to be no semantic difference. Only speakers from Namgyu have exhibited this variation to date. As with other suffixes the same voicing conditions apply to the initial oral stop.

There are examples of this imperfective marker being used without a clause-final copula, and most of these, such as (104), are from elicited and not naturalistic speech.

(104) ŋà   tó   sà-**teraŋ**
       1SG   rice.cooked eat-IPFV
       'I am eating rice.'   (AL 100929-01)

The vast majority of utterances involving this imperfective suffix occur with a clause-final copula. This can either be the auxiliary use of the egophoric form *yè* or the perceptual evidential *dù* (but not the more emphatic *dùba)*. In (105) and (106) we see the two different auxiliaries used.

(105) ŋà   tàpse tè-**teraŋ**   **yè**
       1SG   now   sit-IPFV   AUX.EGO
       'I am now sitting down.'   (AL 110204-01)

(106) mò   kòlela   tè-**teraŋ**   **dù**
       3SG.F slowly   sit-IPFV   AUX.PE
       'she is slowly sitting down.'   (AL 101023-03)

The difference between the uses of these two constructions is the difference of the semantics of the copula verb, discussed in section 1.

The *-teraŋ* progressive suffix does not occur when the negative prefix is used (107).

(107) ŋà   **mè**-*lèn*
       1SG   NEG.NON.PST-sing
       'I am not singing.'   (AL 091028-04)

The *-teraŋ* strategy is the least common in naturalistic data recorded to date. There are only five uses of the *-teraŋ* suffix in RL and SBL's (101124-03) telling of the Family Story compared to 13 uses of the *-ku* suffix and 12 uses of the *tè* auxiliary verb discussed below. Also, in all of the tellings of the Jackal and Crow story, although many use progressive aspect in the narrative, the *-teraŋ* form only occurs once in the whole set, in a telling by AL (101010-01). Therefore it appears that it is not the preferred construction, at least in narratives.

The next strategy is the verbal suffix *-ku*. Like the *-teraŋ* suffix this cannot occur as the final element in a clause. Unlike *-teraŋ,* which is not so restrictive, it always occurs with the clause-final auxiliary *dù* (108).

(108) thúŋ   thúŋ   làp-**ku**   **dù**
       drink drink say-IPFV   AUX.PE
       '"drink, drink" (they) say.'   (SL 091108-01 19:37)

Throughout the corpus collected to date, *-ku* always collocates with the copula *dù* and not with any other copula, including the closely related form *dùba*. The *-ku* suffix is not used with a negative polarity verb.

The final imperfective structure to be discussed is different to the other two in that it uses the auxiliary verb *tè* instead of a verbal suffix. There are actually a range of slightly different, but closely related structures based on the *tè* auxiliary to give an imperfective aspect sense. I focus on the most commonly occurring.

The first is that the auxiliary occurs with a bare lexical noun, and the past tense marking is taken by the auxiliary with or without the presence of a clause-final copula:

(109)   *lùndi=ki*   *òŋ*   ***tè-ke***
     jackal=ERG   come   AUX-NON.PST
     'the Jackal is coming.'   (RL 101027-01 03:52)

(110)   *lùndi*   *sòz*   ***tè-sin***
     jackal   think(Nep)   AUX-PST
     'the Jackal is thinking.'   (RL 101027-01 02:02)

The other common construction is to mark the auxiliary with a perfective suffix and then use a clause-final copula as an auxiliary (111)-(112). In these constructions the lexical verb is usually bare, although it can also take aspect marking as well (111).

(111)   *ŋà*   *lèn-teraŋ*   ***tè-ti***   *yè*
     1SG   sing-IPFV   AUX-PERF   AUX.EGO
     'I have been singing.'   (AL 091028-04)

(112)   *ŋà*   *ɲàl*   ***tè-ti***   *yèke*
     1SG   sleep   AUX-PERF   AUX.EGO.PST
     'I had been sleeping.'   (AL 101008-01)

(113)   *mò*   *sà*   ***tè-ti***   *dù*
     3SG.F   eat   AUX-PERF   AUX.PE
     'she has been eating.'   (AL 101008-01)

The *tè* auxiliary is also used in conjunction with the *-ku dù* construction (114)-(115). This does not appear to have a different meaning. In (115) *tè* is allowing the imperfectivity of the utterance to be marked since the lexical verb already has the optative case-marking suffix.

(114)   *lùndi*   *lú-tile*   *kàl-timaraŋ*   *sà*   ***tè-ku***   *dù*
     jackal   song-after   go.PERF-after   eat   AUX-IPFV   AUX.PE
     'the jackal, after the song, went and was eating.'   (STL 101028-02 5:51)

(115)   *ŋà*   *ɖò-ɲi*   ***tè-ku***   *dù*
     1SG   go-OPT   AUX-IPFV   AUX.PE
     'I am wanting to go.'   (AL 100923-01)

The *tè* auxiliary can also be used with the *-teraŋ* imperfective suffix (116). Again, it is unclear what aspectual difference this makes, but the copula auxiliary provides tense and evidential information.

(116) ŋà   ɲàl   ***tè**-teraŋ*   yèke
      1SG   sleep   AUX-IPFV   AUX.EGO.PST
      'I was sleeping.'   (RL 101026-02)

Less common is the use of the *tè* auxiliary with the *dùba* copula, although it is attested in (117).

(117) làŋ   ***tè***   dùba
      stand   AUX   AUX.PE.EMPH
      '[they] were standing.'   (AL 101012-02 18:24)

Notice that, as with lexical verbs, in the presence of the emphatic *dùba* copula there is no tense/aspect marking on the auxiliary verb. This construction only occurs a handful of times in the corpus.

tè is also the lexical verb 'sit.' The auxiliary form has become grammaticalised, as evidenced by the fact there are constructions like those in (118) because it can be used in constructions that would otherwise be semantically implausible.

(118) ŋà   kòlela   làŋ   ***tè**-ti*   yè
      1SG   slowly   rise   AUX-PERF   AUX.EGO
      'I slowly stand up.'   (AL 101008-01)

(119) ŋà   lèn-diraŋ   mà-***tè***   yè
      1SG   sing-IPFV   NEG.PST-AUX   AUX.EGO
      'I was not singing.'   (AL 091028-04)

Although there is a range of constructions involving the *tè* auxiliary, the negative constructions formed with the auxiliary are relatively consistent. The negative will attach to the auxiliary *tè* (see 119 above), and the lexical verb carries tense/aspect/mood information which is not expressed when the negative prefix attaches to the lexical verb (120).

(120) pèemi=la   tá-ɲi   ***mè-tè***
      wife=DAT   look-OPT   NEG.NON.PST-AUX
      'I don't want to look at my wife.'   (SBL 101124-03 33:06)

All three imperfective constructions, *-teraŋ, -ku dù* and the auxiliary *tè*, are used frequently by all members of the speech community. To date no noticeable difference between the functions of the three constructions has been discerned. All three constructions also occur in Melamchi Valley Yolmo. *-teraŋ* is glossed as 'perfect

continuous' (Hari 2010: 58), the -*ku* suffix is glossed as the 'imperfect' (Hari 2010: 58) while the *tè* auxiliary is defined in Hari & Lama (2004: 280) as 'keep doing action of the main verb.' The -*teraŋ* suffix in Lamjung Yolmo does not appear to function with the same perfect aspect. In (106) the utterance can be said while the action is still being carried out. Tests with multiple speakers indicate that all three of these constructions can be used in both stative and process constructions, thus all three can be used for 'I am sitting in an ongoing way' or 'I am in the process of sitting down.' None seem to be constrained by tense, or temporal distance from the speaker. The only thing that can be said is that constructions with copulas as clause-final auxiliaries can only be used with an appropriate evidential meaning.

3.2.3. Habitual

The habitual is created using either a bare lexical verb stem (121) or a verb with the infinitive (122) and an existential copula verb.

(121) *ŋà   ɲìma   ʈàŋmaraŋ khúra   sà   yè*
      1SG   day   every   bread   eat   AUX.EGO
      'I eat bread every day.'   (AL 101001-01)

(122) *ŋà   sà-dze   yèke*
      1SG   eat-INF   AUX.EGO.PST
      'I used to eat.'   (AL 091009-03)

Some speakers use the infinitive suffix to mark habitual with no copula form:

(123) *ŋà   tó   sà-tɕe*
      1SG   rice.cooked   AUX-INF
      'I eat rice every day.'   (RL 101023-03)

(124) *ŋà   ɲàl-tɕe*
      1SG   sleep-INF
      'I sleep.'   (RL 101123-02)

This use of the habitual without the final copula has only been observed in speakers under the age of twenty, although it may also be a village-specific preference. Either way, it is an interesting reanalysis of the structure as it's the only instance of something other than a tense-marked verb or copula at the end of a clause known to date.

3.3. Mood

3.3.1. Imperative and prohibitive

The imperative suffix is also used as the general citation form of a verb. The same imperative form is used regardless of person or number. The use of the suffix *-toŋ* is generally a polite imperative:

(125)   *tè-toŋ*   'please sit'

(126)   *sà-toŋ*   'please eat'

For the small number of verbs that have honorific forms (chapter 4, §8) it is possible to use the honorific as a polite imperative. This is usually reserved for talking to Lamas or high-status members of the community. When the honorific form of a verb is used as an imperative, the imperative suffix is not used:

(127)   *ɕù*   'please sit'

(128)   *ɕè*   'please eat'

There is a less polite imperative, which consists of an unmarked verb stem (129). A handful of verbs have an irregular imperative forms (130).

(129)   *tè*   'sit!' (regular)

(130)   *sò*   'eat!' (irregular, regular verb is *sà*)

As discussed in section 2.3 these irregular forms can often be explained as artefacts of older verb stem alternations that no longer exist in Lamjung Yolmo.

The prohibitive is formed by placing the *mà-* negator prefix on the verb stem. As the negator results in no suffix use there is no difference between the more polite and less polite forms of the imperative with the regular verbs. Where specific honorific forms exist, the prohibitive is formed in the same manner. The first two examples in (131) and (132) are negative forms of standard prohibitive verbs and the second two (133) and (136) are of honorific prohibitive verbs.

(131)   *mà-tè*   'do not sit'

(132)   *mà-sà*   'do not eat'

(133)   *mà-tɕhé*   'do not eat' (honorific)

(134)   *mà-phép*   'do not come' (honorific)

3.3.2. Hortative

There are two strategies for forming hortative constructions in Lamjung Yolmo. I look at both of these in turn. The first is using the *-ka* suffix, which, like all stop and affricate suffixes, undergoes regular voicing in the relevant environments (see chapter 3, §6.1).

(135) *òraŋ*   *khúra*   *kyàp-**ka***
  1PL.INCL   bread   fry-HORT
  'let's fry bread!'   (AL 091104-02)

(136) *òraŋ*   *sà-**ka***
  1PL.INCL   eat-HORT
  'let's eat!'   (AL 091104-02)

The *-ka* hortative suffix remains even when there is a negative affix is attached:

(137) *ɲì*   *mà-tɕhám-**ka***
  1PL. EXCL   NEG.PST-dance-HORT
  'let us not dance'   (AL 110215-01)

This is different to tense and aspect marking, in which the suffixes are suppressed, indicating that mood behaves differently to tense and aspect.

All evidence collected to date indicates that the *-ka* suffix cannot occur with first person singular structures (139).

(138) *ŋà*   *khím=ki*   *lè*   *pè-**ke***
  1SG   house=GEN   work   do-NON.PST
  'I do/will do the house work.'   (AL 101008-01)

(139) ****ŋà***   *khím=ki*   *lè*   *pè-**ka***
  1SG   house=GEN   work   do-HORT
  *'let me do the house work!'   (AL 101008-01)

Instead, this is where the second hortative suffix *-tɕo* is used:

(140) *ŋà*   *khím=ki*   *lè*   *pè-**tɕo***
  1SG   house=GEN   work   do-HORT
  'let me do the house work!'   (AL 101008-01)

This suffix occasionally sounds like it has a final velar nasal, i.e. *-tɕoŋ*, which may be indicative of a historical form. There is no construction in Hari (2010) that matches this construction. The difference between this and *-ka* is subtle and appears to be that the *-ka* suffix is more strongly injunctive while the *-tɕo* suffix is milder and thus more frequently used. The most common use of this suffix is in the routine farewell (141).

(141) *nàŋbar* *thú-tɕo* *óo*
      tomorrow   meet-HORT   PART
      'let's meet tomorrow!'   (AL 101008-01)

Like the *-ka* hortative, the *-tɕo* hortative suffix remains in negative structures:

(142) *ŋà* *tó* *mè-sà-tɕo*
      1SG   rice.cooked   NEG.NON.PST-eat-HORT
      'let me not eat rice'   (RL 101023-03)

The *-tɕo* suffix is often collocated with the *óo* invocation suffix (141) described in chapter 4, §7, however in data collected and observations made to date the *-ka* suffix does not occur with *óo* but with *lée:*

(143) *tó* *sà-ka* *lée*
      rice.cooked   eat-HORT   PART
      'let's eat rice.'   (RL 101023-03)

3.3.3.   Optative

The only morphologically constructed optative is the verb suffix *-ɲi*:

(144) *ŋà* *ɲàl-ɲi* *tè-ku* *dù*
      1SG   sleep-OPT   AUX-IPFV   AUX.PE
      'I want to sleep.'   (AL 100923-01)

(145) *khó* *sà-ɲi* *tè-sin* *dù*
      3SG.M   eat-OPT   AUX-PST   AUX.PE
      'he wanted to eat.'   (AL 101010-01 03:41)

This *-ɲi* suffix is described in Hari & Lama (2004: 146) as a verb suffix 'expressing strong wish.' Unlike both of the hortative mood structures described above, the optative can occur in past tense structures.

3.3.4.   Dubitative

The final mood to be discussed is the dubitative. This is marked either with the suffix *-ʈo* or the copula *yèʈo* depending on the construction. It gives a sense of uncertainty to the proposition, however it can only be used in non-past constructions:

(146) *khúŋ* *ɲàl-ʈo*
      3PL   sleep-DUB
      'they might sleep.'   (AL 090928-02)

(147) *ŋà   mè-ɲàl-ʈo*
         1SG   NEG.NON.PST-sleep-DUB
         'I might not sleep.'   (AL 090928-02)

As can be seen in (147), in negative constructions the suffix remains. The negative copula form is *mèʈo* for existential and *mìnɖo* for the equational. The copula forms of the dubitative and their use are discussed in section 1.4.

3.4. Verb valency

Lexical verbs can be monovalent, bivalent or multivalent, but each individual lexical verb only conforms to one of these. One phono-syntactic process of altering verb valency is to change the tone of the verb. Given the limited phonological environments in which both low and high tone can occur (discussed in chapter 3, §3), this is not a highly productive way to modify transitivity, but the remains of an older process.

(148) *làŋ* 'rise'   <laŋ>
         láŋ 'raise'   <bslaŋs>

(149) *ròp* 'break'
         róp 'break something'

This is reminiscent of the Sherpa system of volitionality (Kelly 2004: 362-365), and is also found across other Tibetan varieties (Jacques 2012b; Hill 2014). In the Sherpa system pairs of verb stems differ in the aspiration of the initial consonant, which affects whether the action was undertaken volitionally or not. Hari (2010: 69) demonstrates examples in Melamchi Valley Yolmo that involve variation in tone, variation in the aspiration of initial voiceless consonants and change of voicing; all of which give rise to semantic distinctions that relate to a change in the transitivity status of the lexical items.

4.   Causatives

Causation is marked with the suffix *-tɕu*, with the affricate undergoing a voicing process in the relevant environments (see chapter 3, §6.1). This suffix is a separate lexical verb *tɕú* in Melamchi Valley Yolmo meaning 'push unto' and in its role as a causative acts as an auxiliary to the lexical verb (Hari 2010: 64-65). In Lamjung Yolmo this verb does not appear on its own in any example collected to date, and no speakers recognise it as a separate verb. The form is related to the Classical Tibetan <btɕug> 'put'. Simon (2011: 114-115) has observed that <btɕug> is one of a number of productive causative strategies in Lhasa Tibetan today, as a verb separate to the main verb, creating a complex predicate.

As can be seen in (150)-(152), the causative attaches closest to the lexical verb root and has become an integrated component of the main verb, instead of the separate auxiliary attested in Melamchi Valley Yolmo.

(150)　*pè-toŋ*
　　　do-IMP
　　　'do.'　　　　　　(AL 091103-03)

(151)　*pè-**tɕu**-toŋ*
　　　do-CAUS-IMP
　　　'cause to do.'　　(AL 091103-03)

(152)　*ŋà*　　*pìza=la*　　*khímbu=ki*　*sà-**tɕu**-ke*
　　　1SG　　baby=DAT　spoon=INS　eat-CAUS-NON.PST
　　　'I feed the baby with the spoon.'　(AL 100923-01)

5.　Negation

Negation in Lamjung Yolmo is formed by the use of one of two negative prefixes; *mà-* and *mè-* , both of which immediately precede the verb stem. They are the only known prefixes in Lamjung Yolmo. The distinction between the two forms is mostly one of tense, with *mè-* used for non-past tense *mà-* used with past tense and imperatives. The negative prefix has low tone, as discussed in chapter 3, §3. The prefix attaches to the main verb, but if there is a progressive auxiliary verb (*té)* then it takes the negation. As mentioned in section 2.1 in compound nouns it is the second element that takes the negator.

When negation is used the verb does not carry tense or aspect information, but the nominaliser and some mood marking suffixes remain. Mood suffixes as a class are not as consistent in their behaviour as other categories. The imperative suffix is dropped for prohibitive forms, while as shown in §3.3.4 above the dubitative marker remains in negative constructions. Some of the information does not get expressed needs to be inferred from context, while some is carried by the negative prefix itself.

The *mà-* prefix is used with past tense (154), and also forms a prohibitive (156):

(153)　*ŋà*　　*len-sin*
　　　1SG　　sing-PST
　　　'I sang.'　　　　(AL 091028-04)

(154)　*ŋà*　　***mà**-len*
　　　1SG　　NEG.PST-sing
　　　'I did not sing.'　(AL 091028-04)

(155) *lèn-toŋ*
    sing-PST
    'sing.'   (AL 091028-04)

(156) **mà-***len*
    NEG.PST-sing
    'do not sing!'   (AL 091028-04)

One strategy for maintaining aspect information is to use an auxiliary:

(157) *ŋà*   *lèn-diraŋ*   *yèke*
    1SG   sing-IPFV   AUX.EGO.PST
    'I was singing.'   (AL 091028-04)

(158) *ŋà*   *lèn-diraŋ*   **mà-***tè*   *yè*
    1SG   sing-IPFV   NEG.PST-sit AUX.EGO
    'I was not singing.'   (AL 091028-04)

The *me-* negator prefix is used for all non-past negation. It undergoes morphophonemic change in vowel quality from *mè-* to *mì-* when it precedes a lexical verb with a high vowel /i/ or /u/ or the palatal glide /y/.

(159) *ŋà*   *lèn-ke*
    1SG   sing-NON.PST
    'I sing.'   (AL 091028-04)

(160) *ŋà*   **mè-***lèn*   *yè*
    1SG   NEG.NON.PST-sing AUX.EGO
    'I do not sing.'   (AL 091028-04)

(161) *ŋà*   *lèn-kandi*   *yìɖo*
    1SG   sing-NMLZ   AUX.DUB
    'I will probably sing.'   (AL 091028-04)

(162) *ŋà*   **mè-***lèn-kandi*   *yìɖo*
    1SG   NEG.NON.PST-sing-NMLZ AUX.DUB
    'I will probably not sing.'   (AL 091028-04)

The different negative prefixes allow for a tense distinction to be made, even though the tense marker is not expressed:

(163) ŋà   **mà-**len
      1SG   NEG.PST-sing
      'I did not sing.'   (AL 091028-04)

(164) ŋà   **mè-**len
      1SG   NEG.NON.PST-sing
      'I do not sing.'   (AL 091028-04)

The small set of honorific verbs take the same negation as regular verbs (165).

(165) khyá   tɕémendo   **mè-**ɕè
      2SG   egg   NEG.NON.PST-eat.HON
      'you do not eat egg.'   (AL 091007-02)

There is only one irregular lexical negative prefix form recorded thus far, which is the verb 'go'. This may be a vestige of the prenasalisation of Written Tibetan <ⁿgro>.

(166) ɖò-toŋ   'go!'   go-IMP
      mènɖo   'do not go'/ 'will not go'   NEG.NON-PST.go
      mànɖo   'did not go'/'do not go'   NEG.PST.go

All other verbs (including 'come') have regular patterns of negation.

While negation is highly regular across lexical verbs it is irregular for the copulas. As such, the negative form for each copula is given in Table 12. There is no past/non-past distinction in negation for copulas, and as such they all only have one form. A past/non-past distinction is made for the existential egophorics in analogy with the affirmative forms.

Table 12: The Lamjung Yolmo copula system, negative forms.

	Egophoric	**Dubitative**	**Perceptual evidence**	**General fact**
Equation	mìn	mìnɖo		-
Existential present	mè	mèʈo	mìndu(ba)	mèoŋge
past	mèke/mèba			

7 *Clause structure*

1. Grammatical Relations

This section outlines the grammatical relations present in Lamjung Yolmo. These grammatical functions are largely based on semantic roles as well as other properties of the forms, however grammatical relations and semantics do not always match (Bresnan 1982). Lamjung Yolmo case marking, verb semantics and evidential forms allow us to distinguish agentive and patient-like arguments, as well as indirect object, adjunct and complement. A clear syntactic description between 'subject' and 'object' is not possible in Lamjung Yolmo, as is the case with other Tibetic languages (DeLancey 2011, Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 100), and languages of the Tibeto-Burman area more broadly (Hyslop 2011: 256).

As discussed above, the volitionality distinction is not as central to the structure of verbs in Lamjung Yolmo as it is in other Tibetic languages, and therefore is also not a primary feature of this discussion of subcategorisation. For example, unlike in Kyirong (Huber 2005: 85), there is no observable consistant use of ergative as an emphatic for 'control' verbs that are intransitive.

Subject, agent, patient and direct object are core functions, in that they are subcategorised for by the verb, but do not necessarily need to be overt in naturalistic speech, as demonstrated below. The majority of examples used to illustrate grammatical relations in this section are drawn from elicited contexts. This is an important thing to note, because there is very little that is obligatory about the nominal forms that verbs subcategorise for. It is possible to have utterances with no overtly expressed nominals, if they are sufficiently clear from context. Instead, it mean that the semantics of different verbs have the possibility to express different subcategorisations overtly, and speakers still understand there to be these roles even if they are not overtly included. For example the verb *ɕí* 'die' only subcategorises for a subject, while *sé* 'kill' subcategorises for both an agent and patient. These roles can all be identified and differentiated from each other, and other grammatical relations through case marking and word order.

Subjects and agents are the first constituents in a canonical clause. Agents can take ergative case with transitive and ditransitive verbs, although they do not always. For subjects of intransitive verbs there is no overt case marking (see chapter 5, §5), other than a small set of internal state intransitive verbs, which take a single dative patient, these are discussed in more detail in chapter 6, §2.5. There are also a small number of examples where it is possible to mark the subject of an intransitive predicate with an ergative suffix. This indicates that this is a flexible agentive marker, rather than one motivated exclusively by the transitivity of the verb. See chapter 5, §5.1 for this infrequent phenomenon.

Patients are usually the second element in a canonical clause. They occasionally take dative case. When the agent takes no overt case marker it appears that it is distinguished from the object by word order, context and semantic content.

Indirect objects are marked with the dative case. They may precede the direct object in the clause, but like direct objects they appear to the right of the agent. They are differentiated from dative complements and adjuncts in that they are subcategorised for by the verb.

Complements can be subcategorised for by the verb. They are, however, not a core function, in that the core functions are to a much greater extent obligatory, while complements are less so. This use of the term complement is based on the analysis in Bresnan (1982) and does not include patients, which have already been discussed above. Also, unlike the core functions, complements always have a consistent semantic sense in relation to the verb, and while not obligatory, are related to the lexical semantics of the verb. Unlike the core functions, which can be marked as agent or a patient depending on the verb, complements are consistent in their meaning. For example *ḍò* 'go' can take an allative complement, while the verb *túp* 'cut' can take an instrumental complement.

(1) khó   **pàṭan=la**   ḍò-ke
     3SG.M   Patan=ALL   go-NON.PST
     'he goes to Patan.'   (AL 091007-03)

(2) ŋà   **kárta=ki**   ɕá   túp-ke
     1SG   knife(Nep)=INS   meat   cut-NON.PST
     'I cut the meat with a knife.'   (AL 100923-01)

Unlike the relations discussed above, adjuncts are not subcategorised for by the verb, and unlike the core functions the meaning is not affected by the nature of the verb they occur with. Unlike complements there is no relationship between the lexical semantics of the verb and the adjunct. For example, while a verb like *túp* 'cut' can take an instrumental complement, it is possible for there to be a locative nominal as well, but it is not as closely related to the lexical semantics of the verb. This reduces the limitations on what verbs adjuncts can occur with. Typical adjuncts include locative phrases and temporal phrases. In (3)-(5) below, as with adjuncts in general, its can be moved in the sentence without any change in the meaning. Even though speakers would consider (3) to be the most typical position of the adjunct there is nothing to prevent it occurring elsewhere (4) and (5).

(3) ŋà   kyàsa   **sà pásaŋ=la** ḍò-ke
     1SG   market   Friday=LOC   go-NON.PST
     'I go to the market on Friday.'   (AL 101004-01)

(4) ŋà   **sà pásaŋ=la**   kyàsa   ḍò-ke
     1SG   Friday=LOC   market   go-NON.PST
     'I go to the market on Friday.'   (AL 101004-01)

(5) **sà pásaŋ=la** *ŋà* *kyàsa* *ḍò-ke*
    Friday=LOC 1SG market go-NON.PST
    'I go to the market on Friday.' (AL 101004-01)

As mentioned above, although core functions are subcategorised for, and have a distribution based on morphology and syntactic position, it is not obligatory that they are always overt. The versions of Jackal and Crow included in the Texts at the back of this volume (chapter 8) contain many overt references, which may be a result of using image stimulus. In contrast, the story that AL told about travelling to her village (AL 091006-01) was entirely of her own creation. In this we see many more examples of utterances without overt agents, including this chain of multiple clauses:

(6) *ɛìŋ=ki* *lè* *pè* *érka* *ḍò-na*
    farm=GEN work do season.after.monsoon go-COND

    swá *dzù-kandi* *kyàgar* *dzù-kandi*
    rice.unhusked sow-NMLZ millet sow-NMLZ

    ɛì sértaŋ=la *màgi* *tàp-kandi*
    season.dry=LOC corn plant-NMLZ

    'if you go in spring season [you] do farm work, sow rice, sow millet,[36] and in the cold season [you] plant corn.' (AL 091006-01 01:42)

Similarly, in AL's telling of the Family Story (see chapter 1, §2), she omits object referents, but also agent referents if they are clear from the narrative context. In (7) below both the police officers and the man who had been arrested had been mentioned several lines earlier, and both the person describing the events and her audience had visual access to an image that made clear from the context who was imprisoning whom:

(7) *tɕúp-timaraŋ* *tùŋ-sin* *dù*
    imprison-after hit-PST AUX.PE
    'after [the police] imprisoned [the man] [they] hit [him].' (AL 091108 23:56)

Therefore, although there are clear grammatical relations, overtness is not a criterion used by speakers to consider an utterance grammatical in interaction.

2. Word order

Lamjung Yolmo typically has a verb-final clause structure. The word order of Lamjung Yolmo is consistent, with the SOV pattern across both elicited (8) and naturalistic (9)-(10) data.

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[36] Like other agriculturalists in Nepal they cultivate finger millet (*Eleusine coracana*).

(8)   *ŋà*   *tó*   *sà*   *tè-ti*   *yè*
        1SG   rice.cooked   eat   AUX-PERF   AUX.EGO
        'I am eating rice.'   (AL 101008-01)

(9)   *òo*   *tɕàro=ki*   *ɲà*   *sà-sin*
        there   crow=ERG   fish   eat-PST
        'there the crow ate a fish.'   (RL 101027-01 00:36)

(10)   *khó=ki*   *khím=la*   *zò-ti*   *ònɖa*   *pè-sin*
        3.M=GEN   house=DAT   make-PERF   that.way   do-PST
        'he made the house, like that.'   (SBL 101124-03 15:12)

It is this consistent word ordering that appears to be one reason that the marking of the ergative case is not obligatory, as speakers can usually rely on the word order to reflect the agent and object roles.

In connected discourse and narratives the agent is regularly not expressed if the referent has been introduced at an earlier stage. The object argument is more typically realised than the agent, as shown in (6) above. It can occasionally be left unexpressed when the referent is clear from circumstances. Again using data from the Family Story task (chapter 1, §2), when the participants are referring to a key event that they have already seen and discussed, the object, as well as the agent is left unexpressed (11).

(11)   *árak*   *thúŋ-ti*   *kyàp-sin*   *dù*
        alcohol   drink-PERF   slap-PST   AUX.PE
        '(he) drank alcohol and slapped (his wife).'   (SL 091108-01 11:14)

Ditransitive verbs have both a direct and indirect object. The indirect object is marked with dative case. While both the direct and indirect object occur after the agent and before the verb the order of these two components is more flexible than other elements of the sentence discussed so far:

(12)   *ŋà=la*   *khúra*   *náŋ*   *ná*   *lée*
        1SG=DAT   bread   ask.for   PART   PART
        'please give me bread.'   (SL 091108-01 11:14)

(13)   *tèbul*   *thóla*   *kàldzuŋ*   *tɕéemi*   *tɕíi*   *zàa*   *dùba*
        table   above   packet   small   one   put   AUX.PE.EMPH
        '(she) put a small packet on the table.'   (AL 101006-01)

Adjuncts are much more flexible in regards to their position in the word order of the sentence. As discussed above in the grammatical relations section (§1), this is one of their defining features. As long as they do not split the components of an established

phrase, such as coming between the noun and adjective in a noun phrase or between the verb and auxiliary verb in a verb phrase then they are generally accepted.

(14)   **dàŋ**   *ŋà*   *ɲàl-sin*
      yesterday   1SG   sleep-PST
      'yesterday I slept.'   (AL 090917-01)

(15)   *ŋà*   **dàŋ**   *ɲàl-sin*
      1SG   yesterday   sleep-PST
      'I yesterday slept.'   (AL 090917-01)

(16)   *ŋà*   *ɲàl-sin*   **dàŋ**
      1SG   sleep-PST   yesterday
      'I slept yesterday.'   (AL 090917-01)

Although I have shown above that the word order for Lamjung Yolmo is very consistent, there are still many examples of sentences that do not follow this word ordering. The lack of an overt agent does not change the word order, but simply involves the elision of a participant, and is not discussed further here. The two most common changes to word order observed are given below.

The first word order change process is the placement of the agent at the end of the utterance, to the right of the verb (17)-(19). This structure can occur with both subjects of intransitive and agents of transitive sentences. It is the presence of the object before the verb in the transitive construction that makes it clear that this structure is one of placing the agent at the end of the word, and not one of fronting the verbal element.

(17)   *tèmba sàl-ti*   *dù*   *khó*
      remember-PERF   AUX.PE   3SG.M
      'he is remembering.'
      (lit. 'is remembering, he')   (RL 101124-03 10:36)

(18)   *yàabu*   *mìn*   *dì*
      good   COP.EGO.NEG   this
      'this is not good.'   (SBL 101124-03 20:16)

(19)   *ɕérma*   *ɲímu*   *màya*   *ɕùu-ti*   *ŋà*
      girl.young   with   love(Nep)   enter-PERF   1SG
      'I fell in love with a girl.'   (SBL 101124-03 33:25)

This structure is possibly used where the speaker would prefer to not overly refer to the agent, as is common in conversation, but then decides that the agent needs to be overtly expressed. Example (17) is interesting in that RL's interlocutor immediately repeats the same utterance with the agent at the end (SBL 101124-03 10:37), indicating that it is likely an acceptable sentence construction.

The second non-standard word order pattern is the fronting of the indirect object of a ditransitive sentence:

(20)   ***mì***   ***nàkpu=la***   *pèmpiza*   *tɕí=ki*   *tɕà*   *kyòŋ-ti*   *tér-sin*
       person   black=DAT   woman   one=ERG   tea   carry-PERF   give-PST
       'to the black man a woman carried and gave tea.'   (AL 101006-01)

(21)   ***ŋà=la***   *láure*   *kwèla*   *tér-ti*   *yè*
       1SG=DAT   soldier(Nep)   clothing   give-PERF   AUX.EGO
       'to me the soldiers gave clothes.'   (SBL 101124-03 25:23)

This gives greater prominence to the fronted element, but also assists the narrative flow. Example (21) is preceded by discussion about the agent's actions before arriving to receive clothes and thus this sentence fits more naturally into the already established topic by fronting the direct object, in this case, the speaker.

3.   Adverbial clauses

3.1.   Temporal markers of adverbial subordination

There are a number of temporal markers of adverbial subordination. I begin with *tòŋla* which can be roughly glossed as 'before,' then *tíŋla* and the verbal suffixes *-tile* and *-timaraŋ* which can all be glossed as 'after.' The final section of the discussion on adverbial subordination looks at constructions that can be glossed as 'when' or 'at that time,' these include the lexical forms *nàm bèla=la* and *gàri=la* and the suffix *-kamu*.

The word *tòŋla* can be glossed as 'before.' The complement clause is at the end (22) and (23).

(22)   *ɲàl-kandi*   ***tòŋla***   *ŋà*   *ʈò-ke*
       sleep-NMLZ   before   1SG   read-NON.PST
       'I read before going to sleep.'   (AL 091015-02)

(23)   *sà-kandi*   ***tòŋla***   *ŋà*   *làkpa*   *ʈhú-ke*
       eat-NMLZ   before   1SG   hand   wash-NON.PST
       'I wash my hands before eating.'   (AL 091015-02)

This complement-final structure fits with the head-final position analysis of Lamjung Yolmo that also includes the verb in the final position in the sentence.

In narratives, *tòŋla* is often used to mark the temporal order of an event in the narrative structure without being used as an adverbial subordinator (24).

(24)   *ŋà=ki*   *stori*   ***tóŋla***   *dènmu-raŋ*   *yìmba*
       1SG=GEN   story(Eng)   before   like.this-EMPH   COP.EGO
       'my story before was just like this.'   (AL 091108-01 39:55)

Although we have seen that there is a preference for the adverbial subordinator to come at the end of the subordinated clause, it can occasionally be moved. Example (25) is an example where it is used as an adverbial subordinator with a different word order.

(25) **tòŋla**   *mì*   *thúŋ-kandi*   *pù*   *tɕéemi*   *yèke*   *gàrila*
      before   person   drink-NMLZ   son   small   COP.EGO.PST   at.the.time
      'the son was small at the time before the people were drinking.'
                                                          (AL 091108-01 34:39)

The use of *tòŋla* before the subordinated clause may be for narrative effect, or it may be that its position relative to the rest of the clause is relatively unfixed. The *-kandi* nominalising suffix is discussed in section 4.

As something of a pair with *tòŋla* we also have the *tíŋla*, which means 'after':

(26) *tó*   *sà-ti*   **tíŋla**   *ŋà*   *khyásala*   *dògan=la*   *kàl-sin*
      rice   eat-PERF   after   1SG   market   shop=DAT   go.PERF-PST
      'after eating lunch I went to the market.'   (AL 091013-01)

(27) *ŋà=ki*   *ába*   *òŋ-ti*   **tíŋla**   *khyá=ki*   *ába*   *òŋ-ke*
      1SG=GEN   father come-PERF after   2PL=GEN   father come-NON.PST
      'your father will come after my father.'   (AL 091013-01)

There are two main ways to create an adverbial clause with the sense of 'after.' The first is by using the lexical item *tíŋla* as shown in (26) and (27) above. The other is to use a suffix on the subordinate clause verb, either *-tile* or *-timaraŋ*. Both of these appear to take the perfective marker *-ti* as their starting point. While *-ti* has a function that can convey a sense like 'after' especially in clause chaining (see section 7 below), it alone never marks the verb of a subordinate clause and is therefore itself not a temporal adverb subordinator. The two constructions that derive from it, *-tile* or *-timaraŋ,* are discussed below.

The example below shows the sense of 'after' marked using the suffix *-tile*:

(28) *khúŋ*   *tɕhé*   *khér-**tile***   *kàl-sin*
      3PL   book   take-after   go.PERF-PST
      'she took the book and left.'   (AL 091013-04)

The *-le* suffix most likely originates from the ablative marker with the same form (see chapter 5, §5.3). As Genetti (1986, 1991) notes, it is a common process for Bodic languages to take case markers and use them as verbal subordinators, with the ablative suffix commonly used to mark the temporal relation of 'after'. The *-le* suffix does not occur in a sentence with *tíŋla*. To date I have discerned no difference in meaning between the two structures, with neither appearing to encode an immediate or delayed sense. The choice is perhaps largely personal, in two different tellings of the Family Story (chapter 1, §2) we see very different distribution of the two strategies. In 101124-

03 SBL and RL use *tíŋla* only 5 times and more frequently use *-tile*, with 24 uses, while AL and SL in 091008-01 do not use the *-tile* construction at all but used *tíŋla* to mark temporal adverbial subordination 24 times.

The final temporal adverbial subordinator is *-timaraŋ*. All data collected with this form to date indicates that it behaves exactly the same as *-tile* in that it suffixes to the verb of the subordinated clause to give a sense of 'after':

(29)   *pí-**timaraŋ**   pèmpiza   tér-ku   dù*
       take.off-after   woman   give-IPFV   AUX.PE
       'after taking off (the jacket) the woman gave it (to the man).'   (AL 101012-02)

(30)   *khím=ki   yíldo   òŋ-**timaraŋ**   dàgarmu   tá-sin   dù*
       house=GEN   courtyard   come-after   moon   look-PST   AUX.PE
       'after coming to the house's yard (he) looked at the moon.'
                                                            (SBL 101124-03 22:46)

I have as yet found no meaning or function difference between *-tile* and *-timaraŋ*. Speakers use both interchangeably and both appear to occur with all verbs, although in narratives *-tile* is more common.

The remaining temporal markers all capture something that means 'at the time' or 'when.' To date, any difference in their use is not apparent.

The first is *nàm*. This is the interrogative pronoun 'when', but is used occasionally as an adverbial subordinator as well. This is different to the other processes discussed here as both the main clause and the subordinate clause are marked with the word *nàm*, which comes at the start of the clause (31).

(31)   ***nàm***   *jail=la   tè-ku   yè*
       when   jail=LOC   sit-IPFV   AUX.EGO

       nàm   *dzèʈi   pèemi=la   tèmba sàl-ke*
       when   elder   wife=DAT   remember-NON.PST
       'when (he) is sitting in jail then he remembers his first wife.'
                                                            (SBL 101124-03 05:56)

The other two lexical items that that can both be glossed as 'at that time' are *gàri=la* and *bèla=la*. Both are Nepali words meaning 'time' with the Lamjung Yolmo locative suffix to give the meaning of 'at that time'. Of the two *gàrila* is the more common (32), with only a few examples of the use of *bèlala* (33).

(32) *pèmpiza*   *tɕíi*   *òŋ-ti*   *lèn-sin*
    woman   one   come-PERF   takes-PST

    lèn-ke   **gàrila**   *tɕhú*   *púŋ-sin*
    take-NON.PST   at.the.time   water   pour-PST
    'a woman came and took (things). When (she) took them (she) poured water.'
                                     (AL 101006-01)

(33) *ŋà*   *sà-ge*   **bèla**=*la*   *mè-thúŋ*   *yè*
    1SG   eat-NON.PST   time=LOC   NEG.NON.PST-drink   AUX.EGO
    'I do not drink when I eat.'   (AL 091124-01)

As can be seen from the two examples, the subordinating adverb comes at the end of the subordinated clause like we saw for 'before' and 'after' above, and the subordinated clause uses relative tense.

There is also a suffix form that can be used to indicate concurrent actions. The suffix *-kamu* is attached to the subordinated verb:

(34) *ŋà*   *tɕéemi*   *yè-**kamu***   *yùl*=*la*   *tè-ti*   *yèke*
    1SG   small   COP.EGO-at.the.time   village=LOC   reside-PERF   AUX.PST
    'when I was young I lived in a village.' (AL 091015-02)

(35) *ŋà*   *sà-**kamu***   *tám*   *mè-làp*
    1SG   eat-at.the.time   language   NEG.NON.PST-speak
    'I do not talk when I eat.'   (AL 091015-02)

(36) *ŋà*   *yèmbu*=*la*   *tè-**kamu***   *nám*   *mà-kyàp*
    1SG   Kathmandu=LOC   reside-at.the.time   rain   NEG.PST-fall
    'when I lived in Kathmandu it didn't rain.'   (AL 101004-01)

With the tense on the subordinated verb not expressed due to the suffixing nature of the *-kamu* structure, it is usually not possible in most examples to tell what tense the subordinated verb is. However, in (37), taken from the Jackal and Crow story (chapter 1, §2), the subordinate clause verb is 'go' which has different forms for non-past *ɖò-* and past or perfect *kàl-* thus allowing us see that the subordinate clause in this construction has relative tense.

(37) *tòŋbo*   *thóla*   *tè*   **ɖò-kamu**   *khí*=*ki*   *ɲé-ti*
    tree   above   sit   go-at.the.time   dog=ERG   chase-PERF

    khér-sin   *dù*
    take.away-PST   AUX.PE
    'when (the bird) went to sit up in the tree the dog chased and took (the fish) away.'   (AL 101010-01 10:26)

From these examples of the different adverbial subordinators we can make some generalisations about their place in the sentence structure. If the temporal adverbial subordinator is a suffix then it will always be attached to the verb of the subordinated clause. If the temporal adverb is a lexical item then in elicited forms it will always come at the end of the subordinated clause. As we saw with example (25) above, the word order is more flexible in naturalistic data.

In the examples above I've shown that the subordinated clause comes before the main clause. It is possible to invert the clauses in these construction, as in (38) and (39), but speakers find this phrasing unwieldy and do not prefer it.

(38) *yùl=la*   *tè-ti*   *yèke*
      village=LOC   reside-PERF   AUX.EGO.PST

      ŋà   *tɕéemi*   *yè-kamu*
      1SG   small   COP.EGO-when
      'when I was young I lived in a village.'   (AL 091015-02)

(39) *ŋà*   *kyàsa=la*   *kàl-pa*   *tó*   *sà-ti*   *tíŋla*
      1SG   market=DAT   go.PERF-PST   rice.cooked   eat-PERF   after
      'I went to the market after I ate rice.'   (AL 091015-02)

3.2. Manner adverbs

Manner in Lamjung Yolmo can be expressed using a word such as *límu* (40) or *tìle* (41) which both translate as 'like' or *dènmu* which would translate as 'like this' (42). Examples given below indicate that the subordinated manner adverb takes a nominaliser suffix.

(41) *khúŋ*   *tábu*   **límu**   *gyùbu*   *tɕóŋ-ku*   *dù*
      3PL   horse   like   fast   run-NMLZ   COP.PE
      'he runs fast like a horse.'   (AL 091109-03)

(42) *mòdze*   **tìle**   *dù*
      banana   like   COP.PE
      'it is like a banana.'   (SL 091108-01 01:15)

(43) *khé*   **dènmu**   *sà-kandi*   *yìmba*
      2SG   like.this   eat-NMLZ   COP.EGO
      'you eat like this.'   (AL 091109-03)

To date I have not observed any examples of *tìle* or *límu* being used with anything other than a noun phrase.

3.3. Conditionals

Conditionals are formed by using the conditional suffix *-na* on the verb in the protasis clause. There appear to be two different strategies for forming conditionals. The first is to place the suffix directly onto the main verb:

(44)   *nám   mà-kyap-**na***   *ŋà   phíla   ɖò-ke*
        rain   NEG.PST-fall-COND   1SG   outside   go-NON.PST
        'if it doesn't rain I will go outside.'   (AL 091103-02)

(45)   *khé   mà-oŋ-**na***   *ŋà   tɕíiraŋ   ɖò-ke*
        2SG   NEG.PST-come-COND   1SG   alone   go-NON.PST
        'if you don't come, I will go alone.'   (AL 091103-02)

The other strategy is to use the main protasis verb in the simple past, or with no tense suffix and attach the conditional to *làp*, the verb meaning 'say':

(45)   *nám   mà-kyap   làp-**na***   *ŋà   phíla   ɖò-ke*
        rain   NEG.PST-fall   say-COND   1SG   outside   go-NON.PST
        'if it doesn't rain I will go outside.'   (AL 091103-02)

(46)   *khé   mà-oŋ   làp-**na***   *ŋà   tɕíiraŋ   ɖò-ke*
        3SG   NEG.PST-come   say-COND   1SG   alone   go-NON.PST
        'if you don't come, I will go alone.'   (AL 091103-02)

(47)   *ádzi   ŋù-sin   làp-**na***   *nòmo   ŋù   yè*
        sister.older   cry-PST   say-COND   sister-younger   cry   AUX.EGO
        'if elder sister cries, younger sister cries.'   (AL 091103-02)

According to AL, who gave the forms in both (45) and (46) during elicitation, they both mean the same thing.

The lexical item *dèze* can also be used optionally at the start of the protasis clause to indicate conditionality (48), however the verb suffix *-na* is still always present in all elicitation in which it was used.

(48)   ***dèze***   *kòkpa   mà-dzàr*   *làp-**na***   *kyàpɛar   yè   ɲò-toŋ*
        if   garlic   NEG.PST-get   say-COND   cry   ginger   buy-IMP
        'if garlic is unavailable, get ginger.'   (AL 091103-02)

So far, the examples of conditionals have non-past tense suffixes on the apodosis clause, however in (49) and (50) below the infinitive suffix is used.

(49) ŋà *ɲímu* *ʈáŋa* *yè-na*
      1SG with money COP.EGO-COND

      ŋà *sàse* *ɲò-ʨe* *yèke*
      1SG food buy-INF AUX.EGO.PST
      'If I had money with me, I'd have bought food.' (AL 031109-02)

(50) *nám* *mè-kyàp-na-ni* ŋà *òŋ-ʨe* *yèke*
      rain NEG.NON.PST-fall-COND-FOC 1SG come-INF AUX.EGO.PST
      'If it had not rained, I would have come.' (AL 031109-02)

It is possible that where there is a counterfactual sense to the apodosis clause then the infinitive is used, as opposed to the regular non-past tense.

4. Nominalisation

Most basically, nominalised complements are predications that have undergone a derivational change that results in them acting as a noun phrases. As is common in many Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 1972; Noonan 1997, 2008), the nominalisers in Lamjung Yolmo serve many more functions besides. Some Bodic languages appear to have only one suffix that constantly acts as a nominaliser, such as Sherpa (Kelly 2004: 385), or Manange, with the *-pa* nominaliser that is found across many Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancey 2002, Hildebrandt 2004: 82, Noonan 2008). Instead nominalising suffixes in Lamjung Yolmo appear to act more like Standard Tibetan nominal suffixation, where there is a range of forms dependent on tense, aspect and deontic information (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 177).

Lamjung Yolmo nominalisation markers have a wide range of uses, including as a relative clause marker and use in verbal complements.

Hari talks about the nominaliser *-ka*, which she describes as 'not very productive' (2010: 32). This suffix has the same form as the hortative (see chapter 6, §3.3.2), but a different set of functions. There have been several examples attested in Lamjung Yolmo as well:

(51) *ʈàa* 'study
      ʈàa-ka 'teacher' (AL 091012-02)

(52) *ʈò* 'read'
      ʈò-ka 'school' (AL 091013-04)

Although there are some tokens the suffix does not appear to be productive, nor used by all speakers.

The most common and productive verbal nominaliser in Lamjung Yolmo is the suffix *-kandi*. This suffix is not recorded as occurring in Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari & Lama 2004, Hari 2010) and so appears to be a recent, though widespread, innovation

in Lamjung Yolmo. It is likely cognate with the Standard Tibetan nominaliser *-khan/-ngan* which Tournadre & Dorje (2003: 249) observe is used as *-khan* in more formal registers. The suffix attaches to verbs to vary their function:

(53) *árak   thúŋ-kandi*
      alcohol   drink-NMLZ
      'alcohol drinking.'   (SL 120214-02, 17:39)

(54) *ŋà=ki   ʈìlbu   yúŋ-kandi   thé-ku   dù*
      1SG=ERG   bell.prayer   shake-NMLZ   hear-IPFV AUX.PE
      'I hear the ringing of bells.'   (AL 100922-01)

The nominaliser has other functions as well. It is often found marking lexical verbs in utterances:

(55) *ŋà   kyàmi   tám   làp-kandi   yìmba*
      1SG   foreign language speak-NMLZ   COP.EGO
      'I can speak English.'   (AL 091109-03)

(56) *ɕíɲɖo sà-kandi   yàabu   yè*
      fruit   eat-NMLZ   good   COP.EGO
      'it is good to eat fruit.'   (AL 091109-02)

As discussed in the section on copula verbs (chapter 6, §1), the *yìmba* copula is equational, taking two noun phrases. As seen in (57)-(58), unlike other tense and aspect suffixes which occur with *yè* in some tense constructions, the *-kandi* suffix only occurs with the *yìmba* copula, not the *yè* existential form. The *dù* and *dùba* forms can also occur with *-kandi* nominalised verbs (59).

(57) *ŋà   ɲàl-kandi   yìmba*
      1SG   sleep-NMLZ   good
      'I will sleep.'   (AL 090928-02)

(58) *kàndi kòtha   ɖò-kandi   yìmba*
      which   story   go-NMLZ   COP.EGO
      'in which story will it go?'   (AL 091108-01 14:18)

(59) *khyá   gyùba   gyùba   ɖò-kandi   dùba*
      2SG   fast   fast   go-NMLZ   COP.PE.EMPH
      'you walk quickly.'   (AL 091012-03)

In (59) the adjective '*gyùba*' is modifying the nominalised verb form *ɖò-kandi* 'go.' As adjectives only modify nouns, adding more evidence to the analysis of *-kandi* as a nominaliser.

Other evidence that *-kandi* is a nominalising suffix and not a tense marking suffix is that the suffix is not dropped in the negated form. As shown in section 5 of chapter 6. the negative form of a verb does not include tense marking suffixes, however in (60) and (61), the *-kandi* suffix remains on negated constructions.

(60)　*ŋà*　　*tó*　　　　**mè**-*sà*-**kandi**　　　　*yìmba*
　　　　1SG　　rice.cooked　　NEG.NON.PST-eat-NMLZ　COP.EGO
　　　　'I am not eating rice.'　　　(AL 100929-01)

(61)　*yèmbu=la*　　　**mè**-*dzòr*-**kandi**　　　*sàse*
　　　　Kathmandu=LOC　　NEG.NON.PST-get-NMLZ　　food
　　　　'food that is not available in Kathmandu.'　　(AL 091101-05)

In her work on Manange, Hildebrandt notes that the nominal can be used on main verbs, which indicates future tense (2004: 83). In Lamjung Yolmo the *-kandi* suffix is also only used in non-past constructions:

(62)　*ŋà*　　*tàpse*　　*tó*　　　　*sà*-**kandi**　*yìmba*
　　　　1SG　　now　　rice.cooked　　eat-NMLZ　COP.EGO
　　　　'I am eating rice now.'　　　(AL 100929-01)

(63)　*ŋà*　　*nàŋbar*　　*tó*　　　*sà*-**kandi**　*yìmba*
　　　　1SG　　tomorrow　　rice.cooked　　eat-NMLZ　COP.EGO
　　　　'I will eat rice tomorrow.'　　　(AL 100929-01)

(64)　**ŋà*　　*dàŋ*　　　*tó*　　　*sà*-**kandi**　*yìmba*
　　　　1SG　　yesterday　　rice.cooked　　eat-NMLZ　COP.EGO
　　　　*'I ate rice yesterday.'　(AL 100929-01)

Tournadre & Dorje (2003) also observe that the Standard Tibetan *-khan/-ngan* has a present-future sense (i.e. non-past) giving further evidence that these forms are likely cognates.

The final nominaliser to be discussed in this section is the locational nominaliser *-sa*. This nominalising suffix is also found in Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari 2010: 34) and Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 236). It is attached to a verb to make a locational noun:

(65)　*mòṭor*　　*kúu*-**sa**
　　　　bus(Eng)　　wait-NMLZ.LOC
　　　　'bus stop.'　　　(AL 120121-01)

(66)　*dzùbu*　　*ṭhú-sa*
　　　　body　　wash-NMLZ.LOC
　　　　'bathroom.'　　　(AL 091019-02)

(67)   tó   yò-**sa**   kòga
     rice.cooked   cook-NMLZ.LOC   fireplace
     'the fireplace where rice is cooked.'   (AL 120121-01)

5. Complementation

A complement clause is a clause that functions as an argument of another clause. To date, I only have examples of object complement clauses in Lamjung Yolmo, although I have not elicited any negative evidence to illustrate that agent complement clauses are not possible. The complement clause takes the infinitive -*tɕe*. The examples below show clauses with complement taking predicates such as *remember*, *forget* and *want*.

(68)   ɲì=la   yìgi   prù-**tɕe**   ʈèmba sàl-toŋ
     1PL.EXCL=DAT   letter   write-INF   remember-IMP
     'remember to write us a letter.'   (AL 091103-01)

(69)   ŋà   ɲàl-**tɕe**   ʈèmba tɕè-sin   dù
     1SG   sleep-INF   forget-PST   AUX.PE
     'remember to write us a letter.'   (AL 091101-03)

(70)   ŋà   ʈò-**tɕe**   lóp-ɲeraŋ   yè
     1SG   read-INF   learn-IPFV   AUX.EGO
     'I am learning to read.'   (AL 091109-03)

(71)   khúŋ=ki   pàama   pè-**tɕe**   pè-ti   yèke
     2PL=ERG   wedding   do-INF   do-PERF   AUX.EGO.PST
     'they decided to get married.'   (AL 091109-03)

While the examples above show the use of the infinitive in complementation, the optative mood suffix (see chapter 6, §3.3.3) can also be used as a complementiser:

(72)   ŋà=la   ŋù-**ɲi**   tè-sin
     1SG=DAT   cry-OPT   AUX-PST
     'I want to cry.'   (AL 091020-02)

(73)   khyá=la   tè-**ɲi**   tè-sin
     2PL=DAT   sit-OPT   AUX-PST
     'you want to stay.'   (AL 091020-02)

6. Relativisation

There are two main strategies for producing relative clauses in Lamjung Yolmo. Both of them involve suffixing the verb of the relative clause. The first is the

nominaliser *-kandi* discussed in the immediately preceding section. The second are the suffixes *-pa-ki* and *-ke-ki*. I look at both of these strategies in turn.

For both of these strategies there is a link to nominalisation. As I discussed in section 4 above *-kandi* is the most common nominaliser in Lamjung Yolmo and as discussed in Noonan (1997) *-pa* is frequently used as a nominaliser in Tibeto-Burman languages. Noonan notes that the nominaliser in Tibeto-Burman languages often has a wide range of functions, including relativisation (Noonan 1997, also Kelly 2004: 391). For clarity of function these relativiser uses of the *-kandi* nominaliser are being discussed in this separate section, rather than in the general section on nominalisation. The *-pa-ki* construction is also being discussed in this section because while it is likely that *-pa* is historically a nominaliser it is no longer productively used as such.

In the examples below we see *-kandi* functioning as a relativiser.

(74) khím   sáŋma pè-**kandi**   mì   nà-sin   dù
      house   clean do-NMLZ   person   ill-PST   AUX.PE
      'the man who cleans the house is ill.'   (AL 101005-01)

(75) tàzi   bìta=la   pè-**kandi**   phóto   lò-ti   khér-sin
      before   wall=LOC do-NMLZ   photo(Eng) return-PERF take.away-PST
      'the photo that was attached to the wall was returned and taken away.'
                                                    (AL 101006-01)

The second strategy to be discussed here is the use of the suffix *-pa-ki* or *-ke-ki*. This suffix is most likely a combination of elements, including what was historically a nominaliser suffix *-pa* or the non-past tense suffix *-ke* and the suffix *-ki*, which functions as a relativiser. The *-ki* is likely related to the genitive case function of the suffix with the same form (see chapter 5, §5.1). It would appear that the *-pa* suffix is also used for its past tense function (see chapter 6, §3.1.2). It is likely that speakers have reanalysed what was initially a nominaliser functioning as a relativiser as a past tense marker, and thus were able to also include the form *-ke-ki* as a nominaliser. The distinction in tense allows for a past/non-past distinction. Hari (2010: 76), in her discussion on relative clauses, notes that this structure also exists in Melamchi Valley Yolmo, however in Lamjung Yolmo there is a preference for reduplicating the verb in the relative clause. Examples of this structure are given below. Examples (76) to (78) are past tense and (79) is non-past tense. In (76) we see a relativised object, and in the other examples below we see relativised agents.

(76) khyá=ki   prù-prù-**pa-ki**   yìgi
      2PL=GEN   write-write-PST-REL   letter
      'the letter that you wrote.'   (AL 091101-05)

(77) dàŋ   òŋ-òŋ-**pa-ki**   pèmpiza
      yesterday   come-come-PST-REL   girl
      'the girl who came yesterday.'   (AL 091012-03)

(78) tàzi=ki   khyópiza=ki   tàp-tàp-**pa-ki**   tɕhé
      before=GEN   man=ERG   fall-fall-PST-REL   book

      kyòŋ-ti   zàa-sin
      carry-PERF put-PST
      'the man who fell before carried the book and put it down.'   (AL 091012-03)

(79) òodi   màrmu ɕàmu   kèn-**ke-ki**   mì
      that   red   hat   wear-NON.PST-REL   person

      ŋà=ki   rò   yìmba
      1SG=GEN   friend COP.EGO
      'the man wearing the red hat who is my friend.'   (AL 091109-01)

As can been seen from the examples above, the one speaker uses both strategies, however a difference in their function has not yet been determined.

7.   Clause chaining

Clause chaining is done using the perfective suffix *-ti*. As discussed in chapter 6 (§3.2.1) the *-ti* suffix occurs on non-finite verbs before the main verb. Verbs with this suffix can be stacked to give a clause chain structure. Th most clauses chained together is a sentence that has three non-finite verbs in a row. Note that in example (81) there is no finite marking on the last verb, which is possibly a result of the chain occurring in running speech while AL was forming a narrative.

(80) tɕádzuŋma   tɕíi òŋ-ti   ʈúu-**ti**   khér-sin
      bird   one   come-PERF   pick.up-PERF   carry-PST
      'a bird came, picked up (a fish) and took (it) away.'
                                                         (AL 101010-01 09:30)

(81) árak   tùŋ-**ti**   dzì-**ti**   òŋ-**ti**   péemi=la
      alcohol   drink-PERF   drunk-PERF   come-PERF   wife=ALL
      '(he) drank alcohol, got drunk and came to his wife.'   (AL 091108-01 09:30)

8.   Question formation

In this section I outline the basic syntactic features of question and answer structures, including word order, intonation pattern and the use of the *-pa* suffix. I then outline the structure of binary and interrogative questions, before looking briefly at copula choice in questions. For a more detailed analysis of question formation in Lamjung Yolmo, with particular attention to the distribution of evidential choice, see Gawne (2016a).

Question constructions maintain the same standard word order of SOV as declarative statements:

(81) *khó   yòlmo   yìmba*
      3SG.M   Yolmo   COP.EGO
      'he is yolmo/is he yolmo?'   (VL 101224-01)

(82) *mò=ki   tó   sà-sin*
      3SG.F=ERG   rice   eat-PST
      'she ate rice/has she eaten rice?'   (AL 100928-01)

A question can be distinguished from a non-question declarative through the use of rising intonation. The use of rising intonation and contextual cues to distinguish questions from statements are important in interaction. For example, in a task where participants were trying to guess common items by touching but not looking, both ST and her sister KL say *'pyáz yìmba,'* which look identical in a transcript (83)-(84). However, in the recordings it is readily apparent from the intonation patterns that while ST is asking a question (83), KL is making a statement (84).

(83) *pyáz   yìmba*
      onion(Nep)   COP.EGO
      'is it an onion?'   (ST 120304-01 03:20)

(84) *pyáz   yìmba*
      onion(Nep)   COP.EGO
      'it is an onion'   (KL 120304-02 03:14)

When we look at the pitch traces for both of these utterances (Figure 6 and Figure 7), we clearly see that (83) is a question and (84) is a statement. ST's interrogative shows a strong high rising intonation pattern at the end while KL's declarative utterance has falling pitch. Figure Figures 7.1. and 7.2. were generated using Praat (Boersma & Weenik 2007) to create a string of pitch values and the associated time values. The plot function in *R* (R Development Core Team 2014; version 2.14.0.) was then used to generate the pitch trace.
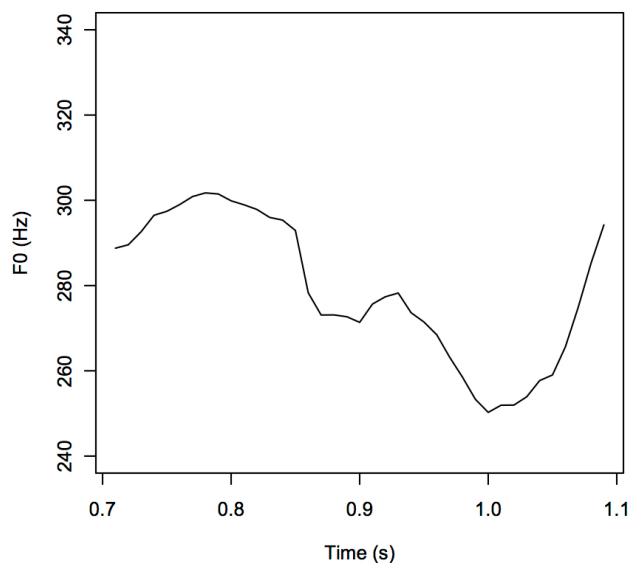
Figure 6: Spectrogram with pitch trace of ST's question utterance in (82).
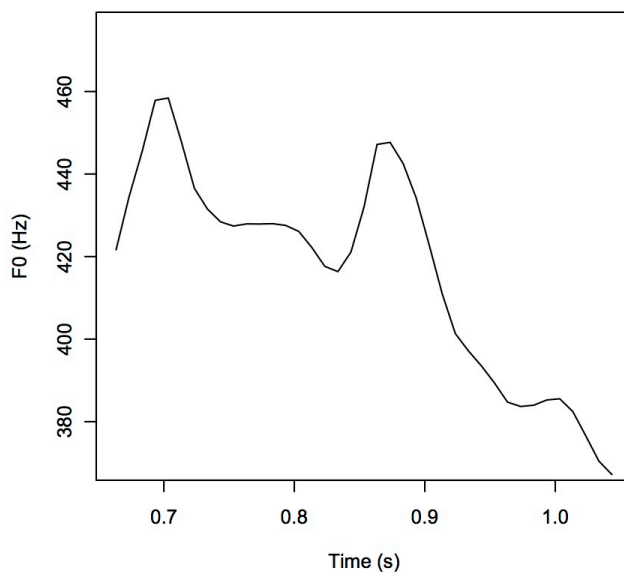

Figure 7: Spectrogram with pitch trace of KL's declarative utterance in (84).

A common question strategy is to use the *-pa* suffix (see chapter 6, §3.1.2). In all types of questions the verbal suffix *-pa* can be used with lexical verbs to indicate that the sentence is an interrogative. While it does not appear to be used for first person, it is more common for second and third person. In this question construction it is assumed

that the person answering will use the appropriate tense/aspect marking in reply. People rarely respond with the *-pa* suffix:

(85)   *khé*   *tó*   *sà-**pa***
        2SG   rice.cooked   eat-PST
        'did you eat rice?'   (RL 101124-02)

(86)   *ŋà*   *tó*   *sà-**sin***
        1SG   rice.cooked   eat-PST
        'I ate rice.'   (RL 101124-02)

There are, generally speaking, two main types of questions. The first are interrogative pronoun questions and the second are binary questions.

Interrogative pronoun questions use one of the set of interrogative pronouns (chapter 5, §3.3.). The interrogative pronoun occurs where the relevant noun would occur:

(87)   *khúŋ=ki*   *mìn*   ***tɕí***   *yìmba*
        3PL=GEN   name   what   COP.EGO
        'what is his name?'   (RL 200212-03)

        khúŋ=ki   *mìn*   ***sòm***   *yìmba*
        3PL=GEN   name   Som   COP.EGO
        'his name is Som.'   (RL 200212-03)

(88)   *ŋà=ki*   *pòŋgep*   ***kàndi***   *yìmba*
        1SG=GEN   apron.traditional   which   COP.EGO
        'which apron is mine?'   (AL 100924-01)

        khé=ki   *pòŋgep*   ***dì-raŋ***   *yìmba*
        2SG=GEN   apron.traditional   this-EMPH   COP.EGO
        'this apron is yours'   (AL 100924-01)

Binary question structures are those where the expected answer is a choice of affirmative or negative. There are a number of different strategies people use to create binary questions, but they are all similar in that they expect one of two possible answers from the respondent. Binary constructions can be formed as per examples (87) and (88) above, but other strategies include asking in the negative (89) or asking with both the affirmative and negative forms of the copula or lexical verb in question. In (89) and (90) two people were playing the Twenty Questions game (see chapter 1, §2) and trying to guess objects by only asking questions binary yes/no questions.

(89)   *mèndza*   ***mìn***
        bowl   COP.EGO.NEG
        'is it not a bowl?'   (AL 120214-02 01:57)

mìn
COP.EGO.NEG
'it is not.'   (SL 120214-02 01:59)

(90)   *sà*   *mè-sà*   *yè*
eat   NEG.NON.PST-eat   AUX.EGO
'(do you) eat (it) or not eat it?'   (RL 101020-02 06:32)

mè-sà   *yè*
NEG.NON.PST-eat   AUX.EGO
'don't eat (it).'   (SNL 101020-02 06:33)

When a person asks a question, any modal value present in the question is that which the person asking the question expects that the other person will use in their answer:

(91)   *dì*   *sú=ki*   *tɕhé*   **yìmba**
this   who=GEN   book   COP.EGO
'whose book is this?'   (AL 091001-01)

dì   *nò=ki-di*   *tɕhé*   **yìmba**
this   brother.younger=GEN-FOC   book   COP.EGO
'this is younger brother's book.'   (AL 091001-01)

(92)   *tɕàro=ki*   *tɕhódo=la*   *ɲà*   *dù*   **mìndu**
crow=GEN   lip=LOC   fish   COP.PE   COP.PE.NEG
'is there or is there not a fish in the crow's mouth?' (RL 101027-02 02:01)

dù
COP.PE
'(there) is.'   (SUL 101027-02 02:03)

In (91) the person asking the question uses the egophoric copula because they are assuming that the person that they are asking has sufficient knowledge about who owns the book to not require visual evidence, but instead reply with the egophoric. In (92) the person asked the question with the perceptual evidential because he wanted information from his interlocutor that was specific to an image (as part of a larger collection of images). This form of question structure has been discussed as 'origo-shift' (Garrett 2001: 230) or the 'rule of anticipation' in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre 2004: 94–95), and Sun (1993: 959) also refers to 'anticipated' answers in Amdo Tibetan.

This pattern of pre-emptive copula use in these structures raises an interesting problem. How do speakers choose the copula with which to ask a question? Is it based on the generally expected answer, or do speakers calculate the expected knowledge

state of their interlocutor in interactions? With either of these options, the questioner is still foreshadowing an expected knowledge state. My general observation indicates that the 'expected' copula in the question is based on a generalised tendency factoring in the semantics of the copula and an understanding of the different knowledge states people often have. There are situations where a person can answer using a different copula to the one in the question. In (93) it would not be worth asking a question if you were not expecting a definitive answer, but if the person answering the question were equally unsure then it would not be appropriate to reply using the egophoric form, and instead the dubitative form would be used:

(93) *dì*   *phón*   *yìmba*
     this   phone(Eng)   COP.EGO
     'is this a phone?'   (RL 120220-03)

     dì   *phón*   *yìnḍo*
     this   phone(Eng)   COP.DUB
     'is this a phone?'   (RL 120220-03)

This indicates that speakers are only ever relying on best-guesses and, of course, they can never really know the knowledge state of their interlocutor. This is discussed in more detail in Gawne (2013a).

9.   Reported speech

Reporting what other people have said is a communicative strategy for which there are two different structures in Lamjung Yolmo; the first is a verb of saying construction and the second is the use of a reported speech evidential particle. I discuss the syntactic structure and discourse use of both of these in more detail in Gawne (2015).

The verb of saying in Lamjung Yolmo is *làp*. Although there are examples of directly reported speech, in reported speech constructions with the verb of saying speakers rarely give both the agent of the matrix clause as well as the agent of the reported utterance as pronouns. Instead there is a preference for only giving the referent of the reported speech event. Example (94) gives an original recording that I played for a speaker and (95) is their reporting of the original speech event. We can see the pronoun shift between (94) and (95). The referent is oriented towards the person reporting the speech event, but the modal value of the copula remains oriented towards the speaker of the original utterance.[37]

(94) *ŋà*   *sà*   *tè-ti*   *yè*
     1SG   eat   AUX-PERF   AUX.EGO
     'I have eaten.'   (AL 100930-01)

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[37]   In this example, although it's AL in the original utterance, when I played it back she did not recognise it as her own voice and assumed that it was another female talking.

(95) *mò   sà   tè-ti   yè   làp-ku   dù*
      1SG   eat   AUX-PERF   COP.EGO   say-IPFV   AUX.PE
      'she is eating (she said).'   (AL 120208-01)

This type of reported construction has been called 'hybrid' reported speech (Tournadre 2008), as it is neither prototypically direct or indirect.

In naturalistic speech the verb of saying is sometimes moved from the clause-final position to before the reported speech content (96). Note that here we also see two clearly distinct noun agents for the two different clauses. This is more likely to happen when at least one is expressed as a lexical noun rather than a pronoun.

(96) *lìndi   **làp-sin**   khé   lú   nèn   ɕée   yè*
      jackal   say-PST   2SG   song   sing   know   AUX.EGO
      'the jackal said "you know how to sing a song."'   (RL 101027-01 02:14)

The second reported speech strategy is to use the reported speech marker *lò*. There are several structural differences that are apparent between the VoS discussed above and the reported speech particle. First, the particle does not take verb inflection such as tense or aspect. Second, the original speaker is not overtly referenced but is instead inferred from context. With these differences, the RS particle functions as an evidential particle rather than a verb of saying, although it does not sit grammatically within the epistemic system of copula verbs (see chapter 6, §1). Instead, it occurs on the matrix level of the reported speech clause, separate to the modal value of the copula in the original utterance. This means it can co-occur with all of the copula verbs, because the copula verb is part of the reported speech but the particle is not a part of the original utterance, it just marks it as belonging to another person.

Example (97) includes both the original speech event and the reporting of this using the reported speech marker. Here we can see that the deictic elements like pronouns reorient to the person reporting the speech event and the copula form does not change.

(97) *ŋà   sà   tè-ti   yè*
      1SG   eat   AUX-PERF   AUX.EGO
      'I am eating.'   (AL 100930-01)

      *mò   sà   tè-ti   yè   **ló***
      3SG.F   eat   AUX-PERF   AUX.EGO   RS
      'she is eating (she said).'   (RL 120218-01)

The RS particle is not intended as a verbatim quote marker, but to give the salient content of the original utterance, and to indicate that the speaker of the information is not the originator. The fact that the RS particle is not used to report your own speech back to someone further indicates that the information is being flagged as reported, and not the speaker's own. Constructions with RS particles are not further embedded within RS clauses (98), but simply reported again with the RS particle still present (99).

(98) *áma   òŋ-ke   ló   *ló*
      3SG.F   eat   RS   RS
      *'mother is coming (she said she said).'   (RL 101123-02)

(99) áma   òŋ-ke   ló
      3SG.F eat   RS
      'mother is coming (she said).'   (RL 101123-02)

Although I have called it a reported speech marker, the range of communicative phenomena that can be reported using the marker is broader than just speech. For example in a general conversation, a woman asked the group if any of us had change for a thousand rupee note. When KL looked at me I shook my head to indicate that I did not. She then reported this as (100) to the other woman.

(100) mè   *ló*
       COP.EGO.NEG   RS
       'does not (she said).'   (KL 07/03/2012 Book 4: 26)

The RS particle can also be used as a question-asking strategy, in which RS particle is used with an interrogative pronoun. The most common construction of this type is (101).

(101) tɕí   *ló*
       what   RS
       'what (did you say?)'   (RL 101120-01)

This is very similar to the interrogative pronoun question structures discussed in section 8, however they specifically relate to information that has already been given, and that the person asking the question desires to be repeated. Unlike declarative constructions, directing the RS particle back at the original speaker, as in (101), is uncommon.

8 *Texts*

This chapter contains a small number of interlinearised and translated texts. As all of the recordings for this project have been archived with Paradisec, along with accompanying ELAN transcripts, this small collection of texts is intended to give a feel for the language as used in narratives, and is not intended to serve as the primary corpus for the project.

The majority of texts are from the Jackal and Crow story (see chapter 1, §2). This includes recordings from a number of speakers, as well as the version that was written to make a children's picture book. There is also a narrative that provides a description of AL's villages (§5.).

For all lines of the text there is a time code (minutes and seconds) that corresponds to the original recording. Where the speech is inaudible it is marked with <xx>.

1. Jackal and Crow: AL (101010-01)

This is the second telling of the story AL did, after an initial description of the images. AL is not literate in storybook conventions and as such the story she tells is quite different to the others.

ʈókari súm nàŋla ɲà dùba
basket three inside fish COP.PE-EMPH
'there was fish in three baskets' (10:32)

ʈókari súm nàŋla=ki ɲà tɕádzuŋma tɕíí òŋ-timaraŋ
basket three inside=GEN fish bird one come-after

ɲà tɕíí tén-ti khá nàŋla lú-sin dù
fish one pull.out-PERF mouth inside put.into-PST AUX.PE
'fish in the three baskets. A bird came, pulled out a fish
and put it inside its mouth' (10:36)

òo=le ùr-timaraŋ tòŋbo thóla tè kàl-sin dù
there=ABL fly-after tree above sit go.PERF-PST AUX.PE
'from there, it flew and went to sit in a tree' (10:44)

tòŋbo thóla tè ɖò-kamu khí=ki ɲé-ti khér-sin dù
tree above sit go-at.the.time dog=ERG chase-PERF take.away-PST AUX.PE
'when (the bird was) going to sit above, a dog chased it' (10:49)

khí ɲé ɲé-ti khúr-sin dù khó
dog chase chase-PERF carry-PST AUX.PE 3SG.M

tòŋbo thóla tè-ti tá tè-ku dù
tree above sit-PERF look AUX-IPFV AUX.PE
'The dog chased and he sat looking up at the tree' (10:53)

áni pìtɕa ràŋsa rò òŋ-timaraŋ ràŋsa
and again other friend come-after different

rò áŋ khá tàɲ-ti tè-sin dù
friend also mouth open-PERF AUX-PST AUX.PE
'and again, another friend came, a different friend also opened their mouth' (10:58)

áni pìtɕa khá tàɲ-ti tè-sin dù khí pìtɕa ràŋsa
and again mouth open-PERF AUX-PST AUX.PE dog again other

tòŋbo thóla tɕóɲ-ti tè-sin dù
tree above run-PERF AUX-PST AUX.PE
'and again, he was opening his mouth. The dog again ran to another tree.' (11:07)

tè-ke gàrila khí=ki thóla=le màr
sit-NON.PST at.the.time dog=ERG above=ABL down
'while sitting, the dog came down, from above' (11:15)

ɲí káraŋ tɕádzuŋma ɲí káraŋ=ki kàl
two CLF.EMPH bird two CLF.EMPH=ERG go.PERF

màr ɲé ɕór-sin dù
down chase get.out-PST AUX.PE
'the two birds both went down, were chased out' (11:20)

áni khí khá sé-timaraŋ tè-sin dù
and dog mouth kill-after sit-PST AUX.PE
'and the dog killed them with his mouth and sat down' (11:24)

tíŋla ɖàŋa <xx>-di tè-sin dù
after manner <xx>-FOC sit-PST AUX.PE
'after, in the manner of <xx>, sat around' (11:28)

ɲí káraŋ ɖàŋa pòr-ti tè-ke gàrila
two CLF.EMPH manner leave-PERF sit-NON.PST at.the.time
'at the time the two (birds) left sitting like that' (11:29)

tíŋla pìtɕa ràŋsa tòŋbo=la ɲé-ti kàl-sin khí=ki
after again other tree=LOC chase-PERF go.PERF-PST dog=ERG
'after again, to the other tree the dog went and chased' (11:32)

ɲé-ti ɖò-ke gàrila tɕádzuŋma tɕíi
chase-PERF go-NON.PST at.the.time bird one
'at the time he went chasing a bird' (11:37)

khí=ki khá=la khí dzùm-sin dù
dog=ERG mouth=DAT dog take-PST AUX.PE
'the dog took (it) in his mouth' (11:44)

khí sà-tɕe pè tè-sin dù
dog eat-INF do sit-PST AUX.PE
'and wanted to eat the bird' (11:46)

áni tíŋla tɕíi-ni sà-sin
and after one-FOC eat-PST
'and after ate that one' (11:50)

tɕíi-ni ŋà=ki rò-ni sà-sin làp-sin ná tìŋal pè-ti tè-sin dù
one-FOC 1SG=GEN friend-FOC eat-PST say-PST PART sad do-PERF AUX-PST AUX.PE
'that one friend eaten said "I am feeling sad"' (10:54)

2.   Jackal and Crow: KL (101026-06)

Unlike the version AL tells in section 1 above, this is the first time KL viewed the images so her version involves a lot more description of the images.

tɕàro=ki ɲà dzùm-sin dù
crow=ERG fish seize-PST AUX.PE
'the crow seized a fish' (00:22)

tɕàro=ki khá=ki ɲà dzùm-sin dù
crow=GEN mouth=INS fish seize-PST AUX.PE
'the crow seized a fish with its mouth' (00:27)

dì
this
'this' (00:39)

lùndi
jackal
'jackal' (00:42)

lùndi
jackal
'jackal' (00:45)

tɕàro=la tá-ku dù
crow=DAT look-IPFV AUX.PE
'looking at the crow' (00:47)

lùndi tɕàro tá-ku dù
jackal crow look-IPFV AUX.PE
'the jackal looking at the crow' (00:51)

dì tɕí yìmba mè-ɕée lée
this what COP.EGO NEG-know PART
'what is this? I don't know' (00:58)

tɕé tèn-ku dù
tongue go.out-IPFV AUX.PE
'tongue going out' (01:11)

dì
this
'this' (01:15)

dì lùndi yìmba
this jackal COP.EGO
'this is a jackal' (01:20)

lùndi yìmba
jackal COP.EGO
'is a jackal' (01:22)

ɲà dù
fish COP.PE
'it is a fish' (01:40)

ɲà
fish
'fish' (01:41)

tɕàro=ki   tòŋbo=la zàa-ti   ɲà ɲà dzùm-sin dù
crow=ERG tree=LOC leave-PERF fish fish seize-PST AUX.PE
'the crow in the tree after leaving seized the fish' (01:49)

dì
this
'this' (02:06)

lùndi tɕàro=la tá-ku   dù
jackal crow=DAT look-IPFV AUX.PE
'the jackal looked at the crow' (02:14)

lùndi tɕàro tá-ku   dù
jackal crow look-IPFV AUX.PE
'the jackal looked at the crow' (02:24)

tɕàro tòŋbo thóla ɲà dzùm-di   dù
crow tree   above fish seize-FOC AUX.PE
'the crow over the tree seized the fish.' (02:28)

lùndi khá   sé-ku   dù
jackal mouth kill-IPFV AUX.PE
'the jackal's mouth is killing it' (02:36)

ɲà lùndi=ki khá   nàŋla ɕùu-tɕe pè-ku dù
fish jackal=GEN mouth inside enter-INF do-IPFV AUX.PE
'the fish is entering the jackal's mouth' (02:39)

lùndi   yìmba
jackal COP.EGO
'is it a jackal?' (02:52)

ŋà mè-ɕée   yè
1SG NEG-know AUX.EGO
'I do not know' (02:54)

lùndi ɲà sà-ku dù
jackal fish eat-IPFV AUX.PE
'the jackal is eating the fish' (03:13)

lùndi
jackal
'jackal' (03:20)

tɕé tèn-ti ɲàl tè-sin dù
tongue go.out-PERF sleep AUX-PST AUX.PE
'(its) tongue goes our and he slept' (03:22)

ɲàl tè-sin dù
sleep AUX-PST AUX.PE
'it slept' (03:25)

tɕàro tòŋbo=la dzàa-ti ɲàl tè-sin dù
crow tree=LOC put-PERF lay AUX-PST AUX.PE
'the crow in the tree sat and lay' (03:30)

dì tɕàro=ki ɲà tɕàro=ki khá=ki ɲà dzùm-sin dù
this crow=GEN fish crow=ERG mouth=INS fish seize-PST AUX.PE
'this crow's fish, the crow seizes the fish with its mouth' (03:34)

dì tɕàro tòŋbo=la dù
this crow tree=LOC COP.PE
'the crow is in the tree' (04:21)

dì lùndi wála dù
this jackal under COP.PE
'the jackal is underneath' (04:26)

lùndi tɕé tèn-ti dù
jackal tongue go.out-PERF AUX.PE
'the jackal's tongue comes out' (04:34)

tɕé tèn-ti
tongue go.out-PERF
'tongue comes out' (04:36)

dì thóla ɲà dù
this above fish COP.PE
'above this is the fish' (04:40)

tɕàro=ki   ɲà dzùm-sin dù
crow=GEN fish seize-PST AUX.PE
'the crow seized the fish'   (04:44)

tɕàro=ki   khá=ki
crow=GEN mouth=INS
'the crow with (its) mouth'   (04:46)

lùndi tá tè-ku   dù
jackal look AUX-IPFV AUX.PE
'the jackal is looking'   (04:48)

tɕàro tòŋbo thóla ɲà dzùm-ti   dù
crow tree   above fish seize-PERF AUX.PE
'the crow above the tree seizes the fish'   (04:55)

lùndi sá=la   tá tè-ku   dù
jackal ground=LOC look AUX-IPFV AUX.PE
'the jackal on the ground looking'   (05:00)

lùndi tsáala khá sèe   tè-ku   dù
jackal below mouth receive AUX-IPFV AUX.PE
'the jackal below receives in its mouth'   (05:05)

ɲà yàrla=le màr òŋ-ku   dù tɕàro=ki   táŋ   tér-sin
fish up=ABL   down come-IPFV AUX.PE crow=ERG throw give-PST
'the fish comes down from above, the crow throws (it)'   (05:07)

dàla lùndi ɲà sà tè-ku   dù
here jackal fish eat AUX-IPFV AUX.PE
'here the jackal is eating the fish'   (05:13)

lùndi ɲàl tè-sin dù   tɕé tèn   dù   lée
jackal sleep AUX-PST AUX.PE tongue go.out AUX.PE PART
'the jackal was sleeping, his tongue went out'   (05:20)

tɕàro tòŋbo thóla ɲàl tè-sin dù
crow tree   above sleep sit-PST AUX.PE
'the crow above in the tree was sleeping'   (05:26)

3.   Jackal and Crow: RL (101027-01)

This version of the task was the first time RL had seen the images, and so like for KL (section 2 above) involves quite a bit of description.

tɕàro
crow
'crow' (00:31)

tɕàro tɕíi yèke
crow   one   COP.EGO.PST
'there was a crow' (00:33)

òo   tɕàro=ki
there crow=ERG
'there, the crow' (00:36)

ɲà   sà-sin
fish eat-PST
'ate a fish' (00:38)

sà-sin
eat-PST
'ate' (00:48)

dàla
here
'here' (00:51)

tupre-raŋ   ɲà=ya yèke
many(Nep)-EMPH fish=PL COP.EGO.PST
'many fish were there' (00:54)

tɕàro=ki   ɲà   khér-sin
crow=ERG fish take.away-PST
'the crow took the fish away' (01:01)

òolegi   tɕàro tòŋbo=la tè-sin
and.then crow   tree=LOC sit-PST
'and then the crow sat in the tree' (01:05)

òolegi
and.then
'and then' (01:08)

lùndi   òŋ-sin
jackal come-PST
'the jackal came'   (01:09)

tɕàro tòŋbo=la tè tè-ti   lùndi òŋ-sin
crow   tree=LOC   sit AUX-PERF jackal come-PST
'the crow sat in the tree and the jackal came'   (01:14)

lùndi   tá-sin
jackal look-PST
'the jackal looked'   (01:17)

lùndi   sòʑ   tè-sin
jackal think(Nep)   AUX-PST
'the jackal thought'   (01:22)

ɲà sà òŋ-na-ni   òŋ-tɕe
fish eat come-COND-FOC come-INF
'if the fish comes'   (01:27)

lùndi   làp-sin tɕàro=la
jackal say-PST crow=DAT
'the jackal said to the crow'   (01:38)

lùndi   tɕàro=la tá-sin   òodi làp-sin tɕàro=la
jackal crow=DAT look-PST that   say-PST crow=DAT
'the jackal looked at the crow, it said to the crow'   (01:42)

tɕàro khé lú   nèn ɕée   yè
crow   2SG song sing know AUX.EGO
'"crow, you know how it sing songs"'   (01:46)

lùndi   tá-sin
jackal look-PST
'the jackal looked'   (01:56)

òolegi   ɲà sà-kandi bítsa   pè-sin
and.then fish eat-NMLZ   though(Nep) do-PST
'and then thought about eating the fish'   (01:59)

lùndi sòz   tè-sin
jackal think(Nep) AUX-PST
'the jackal thought' (02:08)

dì   tɕàro=ki   lú   nèn   yè
this crow=ERG song sing AUX.EGO
'this crow sings' (02:10)

ɲà   tàp-ke
fish fall-NON.PST
'the fish falls' (02:14)

òolegi   lùndi làp-sin
and.then jackal say-PST
'and then the jackal said.' (02:17)

khé lú   nèn   ɕée   yè
2SG song sing know AUX.EGO
'"you know how to sing songs"' (02:21)

tɕàro=la
crow=DAT
'to the crow' (02:23)

kwestun   pè-sin
question(Eng) do-PST
'(he) asked' (02:23)

práɕna   ʈìi-sin
question(Nep) ask-PST
'he asked a question' (02:24)

tɕàro=ki   rò=la   tɕàro=la práɕna ʈìi-sin
crow=GEN friend=DAT crow=DAT question ask-PST
'to the crow's friend, to the crow asked a question' (02:27)

tɕàro=ki   làp-sin
crow=ERG say-PST
'the crow said' (02:31)

ŋà=ki   lú   nèn   ɕée-ke
1SG=ERG song sing know-NON.PST
'"I know how to sing a song"' (02:32)

tɕàro=ki   làp-sin   lú   nèn-toŋ
crow=ERG say-PST song sing-IMP
'the crow said "sing a song"'   (02:36)

lùndi   làp-sin   lú   nèn-toŋ
jackal say-PST song sing-IMP
'the jackal said "sing a song"   (02:38)

ŋà   lú   mè-nèn   ŋà=ki   ɲà   tàp-ke
1SG song NEG-sing 1SG=GEN fish fall-NON.PST
'"I won't sing a song, my fish will fall"'   (02:41)

yè-na-ni   khé   lú   nèn mè-ɕée   dùba
COP.EGO-COND-FOC 2SG song sing NEG-know AUX.PE.EMPH
'"you don't know how to sing a song"'   (02:46)

tɕàro=ki   lú   lèn-tɕe   tɕòl-sin
crow=ERG song sing-INF do-PST
'the crow did sing a song'   (02:50)

òolegi   ɲà   tàp-sin
and.then fish fall-PST
'and then the fish fell'   (02:53)

ɲà   lùndi   sà-sin
fish jackal eat-PST
'the jackal ate the fish'   (02:56)

tóoba   yèke   khó=ki   sà-sin
hungry COP.EGO.PST 3SG.M=ERG eat-PST
'(he) was hungry and he ate'   (02:58)

ɲà   khó=ki   sà-sin   lùndi sà-sin
fish 3SG.M=ERG eat-PST jackal eat-PST
'he ate the fish, the jackal ate'   (03:02)

òolegi   khó   tóoba sé khó=ki   tóoba sé-sin
and.then 3SG.M hungry kill 3SG.M=ERG hungry kill-PST
'and then he killed the hunger, he killed the hunger'   (03:06)

ɲà sà-ti
fish eat-PERF
'ate the fish' (03:10)

lùndi phó kàŋ-ti=le   aram-ti   ɲàl-sin
jackal belly fill-PERF=ABL rest(Nep)-PERF sleep-PST
'after the jackal's belly was full (he) slept' (03:13)

<xx> ɲàl-sin
<xx> sleep-PST
'<xx> slept' (03:17)

tɕàro=ki   sòz   tè-sin
crow=ERG think(Nep) AUX-PST
'the crow thought' (03:20)

ŋà=ki   lú   nèn-ti=le   ŋà=ki   ɲà tàp-sin
1SG=ERG song sing-PERF=ABL 1SG=GEN fish fall-PST
'after I sang the song I dropped the fish' (03:22)

ŋà   tóoba-raŋ   tè-sin
1SG hungry-EMPH AUX-PST
'I feel very hungry' (03:26)

4.   Jackal and Crow: Picture Book

This version of the Jackal and Crow story is a written text RL created to be included with the images in a small story book for Yolmo speaking children. As there are few examples of written texts in Lamjung Yolmo I have included it here. There are no time codes because it is not a recorded text.

tɕàro ʈókari=la   tè-sin
crow basket=LOC sit-PST
'the crow sat in the basket'

tɕàro=ki   ɲà kúmen   kyàp-sin
crow=ERG fish thief(Nep) fall-PST
'the crow stole a fish'

òolegi   tɕàro ùr-sin
and.then crow fly-PST
'and then the crow flew'

tɕàro ùr-tile tòŋbo=la tè-sin
crow fly-after tree=LOC sit-PST
'after flying the crow sat in a tree'

lùndi tɕàro thóŋ-sin
jackal crow see-PST
'the jackal saw the crow'

tɕàro=ki tɕhódo=la ɲà thóŋ-sin
crow=GEN lip=LOC fish see-PST
'in the crow's lips (it) saw this fish'

lùndi=ki née-sin ɲà sà thóŋ-sin làpna-ni ŋà=ki phò kàŋ-ke
jackal=ERG think-PST fish eat see-PST if-FOC 1SG=GEN belly fill-NON.PST
'the jackal thought "if I eat the fish then my belly will be full."'

òolegi lùndi=ki tɕàro=la òm-sin tɕàro khé yàabu yè
and.then jackal=ERG crow=DAT convince-PST crow 2SG good COP.EGO
'then the jackal wooed the crow "you are good"'

khé ùr khú yè
2SG fly can AUX.EGO
'"you can fly"'

ɕókpa yàabu yè
feather good COP.EGO
'"(your) feathers are good"'

khé=ki kàla-raŋ làp áŋ ùr khú yè
2SG=GEN where-EMPH say also fly can AUX.EGO
'"you can fly better than anyone"'

lùndi=ki née-sin lú nèn-sin yìmba-na khé=ki tɕhódo=ki
jackal=ERG think-PST song sing-PST COP.EGO-COND 2SG=GEN lip=INS
ɲà sá=la tàp-ke
fish ground=DAT fall-NON.PST
'the jackal thought "if (the crow) sang a song the fish in your
mouth will fall to the ground"'

khé=ki dzàmma sè yàabu yè
2SG=GEN all thing good COP.EGO
'"everything of yours is good"'

khé=ki   lú   nèn mè-ɕée-ke
2SG=GEN song sing NEG-know-NON.PST
'"(but) you don't know how to sing a song"'

tɕàro=ki   làp-sin   ŋà=ki   lú   nèn-tɕe   tɕòl-sin
crow=ERG say-PST 1SG=GEN song sing-NMLZ do-PST
'the crow said "I can sing a song"'

khó=ki   tɕhódo=ki ɲà sá=la   tàp-sin
3SG.M=GEN lip=INS   fish ground=DAT fall-PST
'the fish in his mouth fell to the ground'

lùndi=ki   ɲà khér-tile   sà-sin
jackal=ERG fish take.away-after eat-PST
'the jackal took the fish away and then ate it'

lùndi=ki   phò kàŋ-sin
jackal=GEN belly full-PST
'the jackal's belly was full'

òolegi   ɲàl-sin
and.then lay-PST
'and then (he) lay down'

tɕàro paatɕuto lag   tè-sin
crow   feel.sad(Nep) AUX-PST
'the crow felt sad'

5.   My Village: AL (091006-01)

This is a short description from AL about her home village of Namgyu, and the journey there.

ŋà=ki   rò   ɲímu ŋà tám   làp-ke
1SG=GEN friend with 1SG language speak-NON.PST
'I talk with my friend'   (00:14)

yèmbu=le   yàrki bèsisahar-samma ɖò-na   gàɖi=la
Kathmandu=ABL above bèsisahar-LOC(Nep) go-COND bus(Nep)=LOC
'If you go up form Kathmandu to Besisahar on a bus'   (00:25)

màna   ɲí ráŋgi kàldzi tɕú kilomeʈer
hundred two and   thirty   kilometer(Eng)
'(it is) two-hundred and thirty kilometers'   (00:29)

gàɖi=la   bèsisahar=le   lép-ke
bus(Nep)=LOC besisahar=ABL arrive-NON.PST
'on the bus from Besisahar arrive'   (00:35)

bèsisahar=le   yàrki gàɖi=la   tɕhúdze ɲí
Besisahar=ABL above bus(Nep)=LOC hour   two
'up from Besisahar, two hours in a bus'   (00:38)

káŋba ɖò-na   tɕhúdze súm
leg   go-COND hour   three
'if you walk, three'   (00:43)

òole   yàrki bèsisahar=le   yàrki ɖò-na   ɕérkyugoŋ=le lép-ke
and.then up   Besisahar=ABL above go-COND ɕérkyugoŋ=ABL arrive-NON.PST
'and, if you go up from Besisahar'   (00:45)

ɕérkyugoŋ=le   tá-na   kháwa kàŋ   dzàmmaraŋ thóɲ-ke
ɕérkyugoŋ=ABL look-COND mountain.peak all   see-NON.PST
'If you look from Baglung Pani you can see all the mountain peaks'   (00:49)

áni   ɕérkyugoŋ=le   pàrki ɖò-na   mádzugoŋ=la   lép-ke
and(Nep) ɕérkyugoŋ=ABL up   go-COND mádzugoŋ=LOC arrive-NON.PST
'and if from Baglung Pani you walk you arrive in Kapurgaun'   (00:52)

mádzugoŋ=le   pàrki ŋà=ki   yùl   nàmgyu lép-ke
mádzugoŋ=ABL up   1SG=GEN village namgyu arrive-NON.PST
'up from Kapurgaun, you arrive in my village Namgyu'   (00:58)

tɕhúdze phéga=la nàmgyu=la   lép-ke
hour   half=LOC nàmgyu=LOC arrive-NON.PST
'in an hour and a half you arrive in Namgyu'   (01:02)

ani   nàmgyu=legi kháwa kàŋ   dzàmmaraŋ thóɲ-ge   kháwa kàŋ
and(Nep) nàmgyu=ABL mountain.peak all   look-NON.PST mountain.peak
'and from Namgyu, the mountain peaks, you can look at all the mountain peaks'
(01:07)

kàŋ lùŋ thóɲ-ke
hill river look-NON.PST
'look at the mountain rivers'   (01:11)

ani   rì   nàkpu   yè
and(Nep) forest black   COP.EGO
'and there is a dark forest'   (01:14)

ɕìŋ   màŋbu   yè
farm   many   COP.EGO
'there are many farms'   (01:20)

érka   pépé   màŋbu   òŋ-ge
season.wet leech   many   come-NON.PST
'in wet season there are many leeches'   (01:22)

ŋà=ki   águu   ŋà=ki   tɕétɕe
1SG=GEN father's.brother 1SG=GEN mother's.sister
'my father's brother and mother's sister'   (01:25)

ŋà=ki   águu=ki   pù   pòmo=ya   yè
1SG=GEN father's.brother=GEN son daughter=PL COP.EGO
'my uncle's son and daughters are there'   (01:29)

ràŋsa-ni   ádzi   nòmo=ya   yè
other-FOC   older.sister younger.sister=PL COP.EGO
'there are other older and younger sisters'   (01:32)

ɕìŋ=ki   lè   pè   érka   ɖò-na
farm=GEN work do   season.after.monsoon go-COND
'if you go in spring season you do farm work'   (01:42)

swá   dzù-kandi
rice.unhusked sow-NMLZ
'sow rice'   (01:46)

kyàgar dzù-kandi
millet   sow-NMLZ
'sow millet'   (01:50)

sértaŋ=la   màgi tàp-kandi
season.dry=LOC   corn plant-NMLZ
'in the cold season plant corn'   (01:55)

gahun   tàp-kandi
wheat(Nep)   plant-NMLZ
'plant wheat'   (01:57)

hée   dzù-kandi
potato sow-NMLZ
'sow potatoes'   (01:58)

phalphul   dzù-gandi
fruit(Nep) sow-NMLZ
'plant fruit'   (02:00)

rì   màŋbu yè   ŋà=ki   yùl=la
forest many   COP.EGO 1SG=GEN village=LOC
'there is much forest in my village'   (02:04)

yàrki   mà-ɖo   kò   yè
above   NEG.PST-go need COP.EGO
'you do not need to go up (higher)' (02:06)

kàŋ lùŋ   kháwa kàŋ   màŋbu yè
hill river mountain.peak many   COP.EGO
'there are many mountain rivers and mountain peaks'   (02:10)

Appendix: List of speakers

Below is a list of speakers with whom the above recordings were made. They are listed alphabetically by their name codes. Gender, village of birth and place of current residence are also listed. Age is given as the age when I first started recordings with the person, and for older speakers it is an approximation. Not all speakers have clan information listed, as clans were only discussed on later field trips. All speakers are bilingual in Yolmo and Nepali, which is the language of wider communication and trade. Younger speakers are also taught English at school. Individuals also have specific competencies in other languages that I have not made note of, for example SL was learning basic Hebrew while I was working with her in Nepal, to help her chances of gaining overseas employment. For many speakers the information collected about them is kept in a field book. Not all speakers listed here are attested in this grammar.

Name	Gender	Age	Village (birth)	Village (current)	Clan	Relation
AL	F	49	Namgyu	Kathmandu	Dòŋba	
ALL	M	13	Namgyu	Kapurgaun		Son of AL's younger sister.
AML	F	38	Toljung	Toljung	Tɕàba	Mother of RL, DL, STL. Wife of NBL.
ASL	F	7	Nayagaun	Kapurgaun	Dòŋba	Daughter of SBL.
BBL	M	92	Namgyu	Terai	Dòŋba	Father of BML.
BML	F	65	(India)	Terai	Dòŋba	Daughter of BML.
CL	M	25	Nayagaun	Kapurgaun	Tɕàba	Husband of KL.
DBL	F	~60	Namgyu	Terai	Dòŋba	Aunt of AL.
DML	F	70	Toljung	Kapurgaun	Tɕàba	Mother of NBL, ST and KL.
KL	F	26	Toljung	Kapurgaun	Dòŋba	DML's daughter. Mother of RKL and NKL. Wife of CL.
NBL	M	41	Toljung	Toljung	Dòŋba	Son of DML. Father of RL, DL and STL. Husband of AML.
NFT	F	8	Kapurgaun	Kapurgaun	Yuŋdzen (Tamang)	Daughter of ST.
NIL	M	5	Nayagaun	Kapurgaun	Dòŋba	

NKL	F	9	Toljung	Kapurgaun	Tɕàba	Daughter of CL and KL.
NMT	M	12	Kapurgaun	Kapurgaun	Yuŋdʑen (Tamang)	Son of ST.
RKL	M	5	Toljung	Kapurgaun	Tɕàba	Son of CL and KL.
RL	M	16	Toljung	Kapurgaun	Dòŋba	Son of NBL and AML.
SAL	M	4	Nayagaun	Kapurgaun		.
SBL	M	36	Nayagaun	Nayagaun	Dòŋba	Father of ASL, SUL and NIL.
SKL	F	~40	Toljung	Toljung		
SL	F	34	Namgyu	Terai	Gole (Tamang)	AL's mother's sister's daughter.
SML	M	20	Toljung	Toljung		
SNL	F	11	Nayagaun	Nayagaun	Dòŋba	CL's elder sister's daughter.
ST	F	~33	Toljung	Besisahar	Dòŋba	Daughter of DML. Mother of NML and NFL.
STL	F	11	Toljung	Kapurgaun	Dòŋba	Daughter of NBL and AML.
SUL	M	5	Nayagaun	Kapurgaun	Dòŋba	Son of SBL.
UL	M	37	Besisahar	Besisahar		Grandson of DML's husband's sister.
VL	F	33	Khudi	Khudi		
VNL	F	27	Namgyu	Besisahar	Dòŋba	AL's father's brother's daughter.

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