Tamang

Martine Mazaudon

1. Introduction

Tamang is spoken by about a million speakers in central Nepal. The particular dialect described here is spoken in the village of Risiangku, Sindhu Palchok District, Bagmati Zone. It can be considered typical of Eastern Tamang.

Tamang is a close relative of Gurung, Thakali (including the dialects of Marpha, Thini and Syang), Manangpa, the Nar-Phu dialects, Chantyal and the dialect of Tangbe, in Mustang zone. Together they form what Robert Shafer (1955) has identified as the Gurung Branch of the Bodish Section of the Bodic Division of Tibeto-Burman.¹

Tamang was included under the name of Murmi in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*. A few studies have appeared on its phonology, but very little on its grammar. On Western Tamang see Taylor 1973 and Everitt 1973. Some texts in Western Tamang have been published in Hale and Pike 1970 and Hoefer 1981-97. On Eastern Tamang see Mazaudon 1978b and 1988, and Yoncan 1997.

On other languages of the TGTM group the reader can consult Glover 1974 for Gurung, Georg 1996 for Marphali, and Noonan in this volume for Chantyal and Nar-Phu. The next closest language on which grammatical information is available is Tibetan.

Transcription and abbreviations

Words in *italics* are loans from Nepali. Abbreviations specific to this section are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Excl</td>
<td>exclamation</td>
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<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
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<tr>
<td>lit.</td>
<td>literally</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ner</td>
<td>nominalizer (infinitive or participle)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NonPst</td>
<td>non past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>reported speech</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>zero marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>ungrammatical structure</td>
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<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>word added in translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>word deleted from translation</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

¹ M. Noonan uses the term "Tamangic" for this group, an improvement over Shafer in as much as the endonym used by most members of the group is "Tamang" rather than "Gurung", but problematic if we want to respect Shafer's sensible proposition to reserve the ending "-ic" for large families (Indic, Sinitic). I refer to this group by the initials of its main ethnic groups, TGTM (Tamang-Gurung-Thakali-Manang).
2. Phonology

Initial consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>sibilant</th>
<th>affricate</th>
<th>trilled</th>
<th>velar/ retroflex</th>
<th>glottal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aspirated</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>cʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
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<td>unaspirated</td>
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<td>continuant</td>
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<tr>
<td>semi-vowel</td>
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Initial consonant clusters

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<th>n</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>cʰ</th>
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<td>j</td>
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<td>w</td>
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<td>( + )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ means that the cluster is permitted, − that it is not, ( + ) that there are restrictions on the following vowel.

Final consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>η</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Vowels

| i | iː | e | eː | a | aː | o | oː | u | uː |

Vocalic length is distinctive in open initial syllables. Nasality is very marginally distinctive. It is transcribed by the tilde [ ~ ].

Vowel clusters or diphthongs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ui</th>
<th>oi</th>
<th>ai</th>
<th>au</th>
<th>iau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iu</td>
<td>io</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>ua</td>
<td>uai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iuː</td>
<td>ioː</td>
<td>iaː</td>
<td>uaː</td>
<td>iuaː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iui</td>
<td>ioi</td>
<td>iai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An i or u vowel followed by another vowel is pronounced as a semi-vowel. Thus, in the chart of initial consonants and consonant clusters “j” and “w” are not different from i and u as first elements of a vocalic cluster.

Tones

There are four tones, which apply to phonological words. They are transcribed by a raised number preceding the word. A word can contain several morphemes which
are separated by a hyphen in the transcription. The first morpheme determines the
tone of the whole word.

Particles which carry their own tone are considered separate words, and are not
hyphenated with the preceding word.

The phonetic pitch of the tones is approximately as follows: \( 1^a \), high falling; \( 2^a \), mid-
high level; \( 3^a \), mid-low level; \( 4^a \), very low — falling if the word is monosyllabic, falling-
rising-falling if the word has two syllables or more.

Words carrying the two higher tones, 1 and 2, have clear voice quality, words in the
low tones have a breathy voice quality.

*The main point of interest* in the phonology is the correlation between the tones
cum voice quality and the initial consonants. The opposition between aspirated and
non-aspirated consonants is not found under the two lower tones, and the
archiphonemic series in that position is pronounced unaspirated with a slight
optional voicing. This correlation derives from the origin of the tonal system. The
devoicing of an old voiced series in Proto-Tamang, which merged with an old
voiceless unaspirated series, gave rise to the two low tones through a process of
merger and compensatory split of the old two-tone system. (Mazaudon 1977, 1978a).

**Canonical forms**

The canonical form of the syllable in Risiangku Tamang is the richest in the
TGTM group:

(Tone) (Initial Consonant) (Liquid) (Semi-Vowel) Vowel (Final Consonant)

All verb roots are monosyllabic. About half of the nominal roots are
monosyllabic. Morphemes of more than two syllables are exceptional. All bound
morphemes are monosyllabic.

3. **Typological summary**

Basic word order: S O V.

Tamang conforms in most respects to the patterns established by Greenberg
(1966) for an SOV language (except for the place of the negation before the
verb and of numbers after the noun) although there is great freedom to move
the arguments about, for rhetorical purposes.

In complex verb phrases modals follow the verb root. Subordinate clauses
precede the main clause.

Case marking: ergative.

Morphology: limited, exclusively suffixing. Bound morphemes include case markers
on the NPs and aspects on the verb. There is no agreement pattern.

Clause subordination pattern: mostly through participial and gerundive
constructions.

Topic-comment structure is frequent.

Information structure markers play a major role in the expression of logical relations.
4. Basic sentences

4.1. Intransitives

4.1.1. Verbal predicate

• S-ABS (± PERIPHERAL ARGUMENTS) V

Active

(1) ²ai-Ø ³naŋkar ¹ni-pa ᵁ
you-ABS tomorrow go-IMPFV
Are you going tomorrow?

Stative

Stative verbs carry verbal suffixes. They can be used in the perfective with an
inchoative meaning.

(2) o, ³ce-ci ⁴tamo
oh beautiful-PFV now
Oh, it’s really pretty this time.

But they are mostly used in the participial form in -pa in the same construction as
adjectival predicates (with or without a copula).

4.1.2. Non-verbal predicate

• S-ABS PREDICATE (± COPULA)

Adjective Predicate

(3) ²cu ³mento ³caca
this flower small
This flower is small.

The absence of a copula is very frequent. But there exist two main copulas and
some others. ¹mu-la is mostly used for existence and attribution, and ³hin-pa for
identification².

Several other verbs can be used as copulas:

(4) ¹p³jukpa-la ³caca ³kola-m ²os-pa ³a ¹k³ha-pa-³ka
rich-GEN small child-TOP thus-Ner not come-IMPFV-FOC
The children of the rich are not (lit. do not come) like that.

Modifications of the adjective occur only when the adjective is used as predicate. A
change of copula can be used for this purpose, for instance ¹ta-ci expresses excess.

(5) ³caca ¹ta-ci
small reach completion-PFV
It is too small.

² In Risiangku Tamang the copulas ¹mu-la and ³hin-pa are only found with non-
perfective suffixes. In this context the suffix -la does not have its usual future/irrealis
value, but is a plain non-past or imperfective. ¹mu-la cannot be negated; a substitutive
root ³are is used instead.
Intensification is usually expressed by repetition of the adjective (29). Another frequent form of intensification is an intonation pattern. One of the syllables of the emphasized word is pronounced on a very high pitch with a falsetto voice. This procedure is an areal feature in Nepal.

Adjectives are rarely modified by adverbs.

Noun Predicate

The meaning difference of the basic copulas with an adjectival predicate is clear, but it does not seem to hold when the predicate is a noun.

(6) ıña-la ıapa ıchonpa {Ø /hin-na /mu-la}
    I-GEN father merchant {Ø /be-NonPst /exist-NonPst}
    My father is a merchant.

Locative Predicate

(7) ıkle ıt ınan-ri ımu-la
    king this inside-LOC be-NonPst
    The king is inside this [bag].

Predicate of possession

The predicate of possession, either of existence ('I have X') or of identification ('X is mine') is generally expressed by an NP in the genitive case.

(8) ıña-la ıcåme ınì: ımu-la
    I-GEN daughter two be-NonPst
    I have two daughters

(9) ıña-la ık
    I-GEN FOC
    It is mine.

The genitive is the most commonly used case for possession, but the dative is also used:

(10) ıtap ımu-la ıani-ta ?
    needle be-NonPst aunt-DAT
    Do you have a needle, Auntie? (lit.: Does Auntie have a needle?)

    The dative is the usual case when there is a transfer or attribution of possession (11) although even in that situation, the genitive can be used (12).

(11) ıña-ta ıpå-u
    I-DAT give-IMP
    Give it to me!

(12) ıcåme ıca ıthe-la ıam-la-n ıpinc-ci
    daughter TOP she-GEN mother-GEN-INT give-PFV
    The daughter, they gave to her mother. (lit. of her mother)

4.1.3. Weather expressions

Natural events are usually expressed by a noun + a weak verb:
Similar constructions are used to express the way in which we experience external events. (see § 6.5)

4.2. Transitives

Transitive verbs construct their subject in the ergative and their object either in the absolutive or the dative. Some verbs allow only one or the other construction and can thus be sub-categorized as direct (14, 15) or indirect transitives (16).

- S-ERG  O-ABS  V

(14) ʰnaka-se ʰtap-Ô ʰca-ci
     chicken-ERG vegetable-ABS eat-PFV
     The chicken is eating the vegetable.

Perception predicates follow the direct transitive pattern.

(15) ʰna-i ʰjo-Ô ʰmra-ç-ci
     I-ERG thief-ABS see-PFV
     I saw the thief.

- S-ERG  O-DAT  V

(16) ʰmam-se ʰkol'-kat'-ta ʰpa-ç-pa
     Grandma-ERG children-DAT scold-IMPFV
     Grandma is scolding the children.

Many verbs allow variation in the case marking of the patient for semantic or rhetorical purposes. With those verbs, it is statistically more frequent that animate objects be put in the dative, and inanimate objects in the absolutive. Definite/indefinite, the degree to which the object is affected, and the information structure of the sentence also play a part.

Ditransitives

- S-ERG  IO-DAT  O-ABS  V

(17) ʰam'-se ʰkol'-ta ʰkan-Ô ʰkwa-çi
     mother-ERG child-DAT rice-ABS feed-PFV
     The mother fed the child rice.

4.3 Experiencer constructions

- N-DAT  N-ABS  V

A number of verbs, especially of feeling or experience, put the experiencer in the dative:

(18) ʰana-ta ʰpet-pa?
     sister-DAT shy-IMPFV
     Do you feel shy? [said to a young girl addressed as 'sister']
With some other verbs, the experiencer is in the absolutive and the source, or object of the feeling, is in the dative, yielding a construction similar to the indirect transitive construction except for the reversed word order.

(19) ³ḥa-ta ³ḥe ³nai-pa  
I-DAT he disgust-IMPFV  
I disgust him.

Inanimate objects of feelings require a subordinate clause:

(20) ³kli ³mrañ-si ³ḥa ³nai-ci  
feces see-having I disgust-PFV  
Excrements disgust me (lit. Seeing feces I feel disgust).

a construction which can also be used with animate objects as in:

(21) ³ḥa ³mrañ-si ³ai ³pet-pa ³?  
I see-having you shy-IMPFV  
Are you shy with me?

Note the case variation on the experiencer subject of 'shy' as compared to (18).

4.4. Peripheral arguments

Beneficiary

Aside from IO, some DO, and experiencer subjects, the dative is used for many arguments loosely bound to the verb:

(22) ³ḥe-ta ³ro ³kik ³por-pa ³ce-n  
he-DAT friend one take-IMPFV only-INT  
He took only one travelling companion for himself.

Instrument

Ergative, instrumental and ablative, three cases which share the general semantic notion of source, are homophonous.

4.5. Variation in subject case marking

There is ample variation in the case marking of the subject as well as the object (see 4.2). This sometimes reflects the fact that the same verb can be used as a transitive or an intransitive or that an expression is in the process of lexicalization.

Information structure is also an important factor. In (24) topicalization of 'you' is accompanied by a shift to the dative case³, as opposed to the expected ergative (23), although topicalization does not necessarily imply such a shift in case marking: compare (89).

³ These variations are the closest Tamang gets to voice: (24) could be analyzed as a sort of ‘impersonal passive’: ‘There is no reward finding, as far as you are concerned’, whence the dative.
He got a big reward, our soldier so-and-so.

In that case you don’t get a reward.

5. The Noun Phrase

5.1. Word Order

The general word order is Modifier-Modified. Genitive phrases and relative clauses precede their heads, and the structure of the simple NP is as follows:

Demonstrative, Adjective1, Adjective2, Noun, Numeral, {Case + Particle / Particle + Case}4

5.2. Form classes

Noun modifiers: demonstrative, adjective (4), numeral (27), genitive NP (25) or headless relative clause (32), can function as nouns.

Noun modifiers are not morphologically distinguishable from nouns. The main difference between them and nouns is that they modify a noun without an intervening genitive marker.

5.3. Pronouns and pronominalization

The most common form of pronominalization is by deletion. Any definite argument of the verb, the head of a relative clause (32), or the head of a complex NP (25) can be pronominalized by deletion. On the other hand, an indefinite element cannot. Deleted elements are referential.

The set of personal pronouns consists of: 1'na ‘I’, 2'ai ‘you’, 1'the ‘he’, 2'jaŋ ‘us (inclusive)’, 1'in ‘us (exclusive)’, 2'ai-oi ‘you (plural)’, 1'the-n ‘they’. The two plural pronouns of the first person are often used instead of the singular. ‘You’ is often replaced, for politeness, by a kinship term (10, 18), or by the intensifier 2'raŋ ‘oneself’.

The demonstratives 2'cu ‘this’ and 1'oca ‘that’, and the nouns 3'mi ‘man’, and 2'ro ‘companion’ are also often used as pronouns.

(25) 3'mi-la 0 4'tamom 3'rap-si 3'cin-ci

Her [tape-recorder] has now stopped playing.

Personal or demonstrative pronouns take the same case markers as nouns, except for 1'na ‘I’ with which a variant of the ergative is found 1'na-i ‘by me’.

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4 The order of these elements depends on the tonal or non-tonal status of the particle.
5.4. Reflexives, reciprocals and intensifiers

There are no special reflexive pronouns. Usually one of the pronouns, or both, are deleted. See (22).

The pronoun 3raŋ ‘in person’, ‘one's own’ can be used for the reflexive.

(26) 3ponpo-se 3raŋ-ta-n 3kjaŋ-si 1cja:-pa
shaman-ERG self-DAT-INT hit-PART see-IMPFV

The shaman checks by hitting himself [with the hot broom that it is not too hot for the patient].

Reciprocity is expressed either by a verb with a conjoined subject:

(27) 2o-te-ma 4ni:-nun 2chat-cim, 3rempa-t=en 1mrıŋ
that-much-when both fight-PFV husband-and wife

And thereupon they (both) fought, husband and wife.

or by repetition of the arguments with reversed case marking:

(28) 3rempa-ta 1mrıŋ 1mrıŋ-ta 3rempa 1nai-sam...
husband-DAT wife wife- DAT husband disgust-if

If husband and wife are disgusted with each other…

5.5 Adjectives

Adjectives are few and rarely used as nominal modifiers. They comprise 'big', 'small', 'elder', the colors and a few others. Most notions commonly expressed by adjectives in other languages are expressed by participial forms of stative verbs. Adjectives differ from stative verbs in that they do not carry verbal suffixes (‘tar 'white', 3caca 'small') although some of them end in a non alternating final syllable -pa (‘kheppa 'big') which is probably etymologically related to the nominalizer -pa.

Adjectives used as modifiers usually precede the noun. They follow it in kinship expressions, and sometimes for emphasis.

5.6 Definite / indefinite

The numeral ‘one’ and the demonstratives can be used as definite/indefinite markers:

(29) 4kle 4kik 4ra:nı 4kik 1mu-pa 2cim
king one queen one be-Past EVID

1oca 4kle-t=en 4ra:nı-mi 1phjukpo-1phjukpo 1mu-pa 2cim
that king-and queen-TOP rich-rich be-Past EVID

[Once upon a time] there was a king and a queen. That king and queen were extremely rich.

Their use is optional:

(30) 3mi 1kha-ci
man come-PFV

Someone came. / There is someone at the door. / The man [whom we expected] came. / People (plural) came.
5.7. Plural, numbers and quantifiers

Plural, or collective, and numbers occupy the same slot, after the head noun. Quantifiers have a different status.

There is no compulsory marking of plurality on nouns. An indefinite plurality marker, -kate, or a numeral can follow the noun. They are mutually exclusive. -kate is adjoined to the plural form of pronouns: ²ai-ni-kate 'you all'. -kate is a collective rather than a plural; it extends the meaning of the NP to related, not necessarily identical objects, like English 'etc.'

The number system is vigesimal. Numbers are built according to the general syntax of the NP: name of the base followed by multiplicator: 'pokal ²ni: [twenty.two] 'forty'. Addition is indicated by the ablative -se: ³pokal ³ni:-se ³ni: [twenty.two-from two] 'forty-two'.

The suffix -te, added to a number or measure (91) gives it an imprecise meaning.

Quantifiers like 'all', 'many', etc. are either used as full nouns (31) or as adverbs (see § 6.3). They are not adjectives.

(31) ³mokko-se-n ²se:-pa
all-ERG-INT know-IMPFV
Everybody knows.

5.8. Case markers and particles

Case markers are all toneless suffixes. They include: -se 'ergative, instrumental, ablative', -la 'genitive', -ta 'accusative, dative', -ri ‘locative' (used for time, space, purpose), -tæen 'sociative'. Temporal -ma is bound to some words (33).

Information structure particles end the NP. They can also apply to VPs or whole clauses. (see § 10).

5.9 Possessor NP

The possessive construction marks the dependent NP, or possessor, with the genitive; the head noun is unmarked (4, 6, 38).

This construction is often used to link postpositions to the noun they govern (54, 95).

The genitive is also used to indicate price but expressions of amounts using a measure word do not use an overt genitive marker.

5.10. Relative clauses

The verb of the relative clause (RC) is in the participial form in -pa, and the RC precedes its head without any intervening connecting marker. This is a difference with Western Tamang and Tibetan, which use a genitive marker on the RC. There is no relative pronoun, and the relativized argument is simply deleted inside the relative clause: ³tot ³pwi-pa ³mi [load carry man] 'a porter'.

Like any other NP, the head of a RC can be pronominalized by zero. Case markers are suffixed directly to the nominalized verb of a headless RC (32).
Typological Sketch of Tamang

We must give [food] to the [people who] come, to [those who] don't come, we don't have to give.

Tamang can relativize on very peripheral elements: locative, genitive expressing the material, and even, especially when the head of the relative clause is accompanied by a demonstrative, on elements which have no clear function in the RC (33).

That old woman [whose house] you guys went to, last year, down [i.e. in the city].

Corelatives and free relatives

Corelatives, where the relativized element is represented both in the RC and in the main clause, are not usual. A structure of this type is found only when relativizing on an adverbial, represented inside the RC by an interrogative adverb, and taken up again in the main clause by a deictic adverb. It conveys an indefinite meaning 'wherever, however much'. Compare (81).

Polish as much rice as will be required!

This can also be expressed without a resumptive word in the main clause, and such structures might better be analysed as free relatives:

We must pound the amount of rice that will get used up.

6. The Verb Phrase

6.1 Agreement pattern

Whether the verb be main or subordinated there is no agreement with any argument of the verb, except marginally in the optative/hortative -ke 'first person' -kai 'third person'. The conditional-sai also functions as a sort of 'first person plural inclusive' or 'indefinite third' of the optative: 'ni-ke 'let's go!' 'pin-sai 'let us give (alms)' 'tik 'la-sai 'what can we do?''

6.2. Word order

The verb phrase comprises the following elements, in order: adverb, negation, verb, directional, modal, {tense-aspect or subordinating suffix}.
6.3 Adverbs

Like adjectives, adverbs are rare. Time and place adverbs or prepositional phrases are not part of the VP and are placed freely in the sentence, with a preference for time to precede place (33).

Manner and quantity adverbs are the only ones which modify the verb (as opposed to the sentence) and which are potentially part of the VP or the predicate phrase.

Manner adverbs

Simple words are restricted to 'fast' and 'slow'. They precede the verb or predicate phrase as closely as possible, allowing only the negation or a suffixless subordinated verb to come between them and the main verb. In closely knit expressions like 'get wood', 'eat rice', 'speak words' the object can sometimes come between the adverb and the verb.

Manner is most often expressed by a subordinate clause in -si (69) or in -na (64).

Quantity adverbs

Quantity words, if they are not NPs (see 5.7), always modify the predicate and occur in the same position as adverbs: between NP arguments and the verb (23, 36) or before a complex predicate (37).

6.4 Negation

Negation precedes the verb. It has two forms, 4ta for imperatives and optatives, and 3a for all other verb forms.

6.5 Verb

The verb is usually a simple monosyllabic root.

A limited number of verbs can be followed by the directional suffix -ka which derives from the verb 'to come' ('kba-pa): 'pit-ka-pa 'to send hither'.

Compounds are exceptional ('pit-hur-pa 'to throw to someone' from 'pit-pa 'to send' and 'hur-pa 'to throw').

A verbal expression consisting of a noun and weak verb sequence ('sem 'ta-pa [feelings happen] 'to like', 'prot 'kba-pa [taste come] 'to be tasty') can replace the verb and be constructed like a simple verb (38, 41).

(36) 1sun 4ca 4la:mo 3a 1kba 1mu-la
rice TOP much not come be-NonPst
Rice does not grow well (lit. much) [here].

(37) apai, 4la:man 1sun 1kbeppa
Excl much mouth big
Oh! He is very much a big-mouther (= he is very greedy)

I like pork meat.
6.6 Modals

Modals are fully toned words, which also exist as full verbs with nominal complements.

Whether a succession of two fully toned verb roots is to be interpreted as a serial construction, as a sequence main verb + modal, or as a sequence subordinated verb + main verb is open to debate. In such constructions, the first verb appears as a bare root and the second, which carries the tense-aspect markers, expresses some kind of modality. The details of modal construction are treated below under “complex sentences” (see 7.3).

6.7 Tense-aspect and sentence final particles

Basic tense-aspects are expressed by a small set of suffixes which follow the last verb, directional, or modal of the clause: -pa, present/imperfective, -ci, past/perfective, -la (-na after dentals), future/irrealis, -u/-ko imperative, -ke/-kai optative, -sai conditional. Only main clause or completive clause verbs (complements of verbs of thinking and saying) carry tense-aspect markers.

Negation is incompatible, in Risiangku Tamang, with the perfective suffix. A negated past is expressed with the irrealis marker -la, followed by the intensifier -i: ʰkʰa-ci |come-PFV| 'he came'; ʰa-ʰkʰa-la-i |NEG-come-IRR-INT| 'he did not come'

The perfective suffix -ci is used with an inchoative sense, as in Nepali (2, 13, 14).

Other aspects of the verb are expressed through complex constructions consisting of a subordinate clause followed by a copula or by a small set of verbs like 'finish', 'stay' used as auxiliaries: V-pa-n 'mula, progressive; V-si 'cipa, durative; etc.

The reported speech particle -ro is added to the tensed form of the verb (55, 91).

6.8 Subordination suffixes

The logical relationship of the subordinate clause to the main clause is indicated by a set of suffixes added to the last verb root of the subordinate verb phrase: -sam / -sai / -saka, conditional; -si, temporal succession; -ma, temporal simultaneity; -na, manner; -pa-ri, purpose; -si / -pa-se / -pa-se ʰla-ma, cause.

7. Complex sentences

7.1 Formal types of subordination

Subordinated verbs or clauses precede the main verb or clause. There are four ways a verb can be subordinated to another:

The bare root

The bare root of the subordinated verb immediately precedes the main verb (except for the negation which comes in between). This construction is used with the
modals ‘need to’, ‘want to’, ‘know how to’, ‘can’, half the ‘be about to’ sentences, and half of the causatives.

\[(39) \quad \text{\text{'ni}} \quad \text{\text{\text{\text{'ta}}} \quad \text{\text{\text{\text{'pun-o}}} \quad \text{\text{'go}}} \quad \text{\text{\text{'don't}}} \quad \text{\text{\text{'let-\text{\text{\text{\text{'imp}}}}} \quad \text{\text{'Don't}}} \quad \text{\text{\text{'let}}} \quad \text{\text{\text{'him}}} \quad \text{\text{'go}}.\]

**Participial form**

The subordinated verb can be in a participial form, or it can be in a finite form followed by a weak verb (‘do’, ‘say’), itself in the required participial form.

\[(40) \quad \text{\text{'nam}} \quad \{\text{\text{'k'h-a-sam} / \text{\text{'k'h-a-ci} / \text{\text{'pi-sam}}\} \quad \text{\text{'eta}} \quad \text{\text{'a}} \quad \text{\text{'k'h-a}} \quad \text{\text{'rain}} \quad \{\text{\text{'come-if} / \text{\text{'come-PFV} / \text{\text{'say-if}}\} \quad \text{\text{'I}} \quad \text{\text{'not}} \quad \text{\text{'come}} \quad \text{\text{'If}}} \quad \text{\text{'it}}} \quad \text{\text{'rains}} \quad \text{\text{'I}} \quad \text{\text{'won't}} \quad \text{\text{'come}}.\]

**Nominalized form**

The subordinated verb can be in the nominalized form followed by a suffix. Most of these suffixes are homophones with nominal case markers.

\[(41) \quad \text{\text{'ai-\text{\text{'ni-kate}} / \text{\text{'pu} / \text{\text{'mra} / \text{\text{'sjot-pa-ri} / \text{\text{'ni-ci}} \quad \text{\text{'you-\text{\text{'Pl-COLL}}} \quad \text{\text{'field}}} \quad \text{\text{'weeds}}} \quad \text{\text{'pull-\text{\text{'out-\text{\text{'Ner-\text{\text{'LOC}}} \quad \text{\text{'go-\text{\text{'PFV}}} \quad \text{\text{'You}}} \quad \text{\text{'guys}}} \quad \text{\text{'had}}} \quad \text{\text{'gone}}} \quad \text{\text{'to}}} \quad \text{\text{'weed}}} \quad \text{\text{'the}}} \quad \text{\text{'fields}}.\]

**Juxtaposition**

Two clauses can be simply juxtaposed, and be clearly subordinated in meaning.

\[(42) \quad \text{\text{'ni-la} / \text{\text{'ta-la}} \quad \text{\text{'go-FUT} / \text{\text{'happen-FUT}}} \quad \text{\text{'He}}} \quad \text{\text{'might}}} \quad \text{\text{'go}}.\]

### 7.2 Sentential subjects and complements

#### 7.2.1 Sentential subjects

The sentential ‘subject’ appears as a topic (or an anti-topic) for the main clause and can carry the topic marker.

\[(43) \quad \text{\text{'ti-la} / \text{\text{'ni-r-a} / \text{\text{'sot-\text{\text{'ra}}} / \text{\text{'ta-ci} / \text{\text{'eta} / \text{\text{'z\text{\text{'h-a}}} / \text{\text{'hajai-pa-m}}} \quad \text{\text{'yesterday}}} \quad \text{\text{'two-days}}} \quad \text{\text{'three-days}}} \quad \text{\text{'happen-PFV}}} \quad \text{\text{'I}}} \quad \text{\text{'ready-\text{\text{'IMPFV-TOP}}} \quad \text{\text{'Yesterday}}} \quad \text{\text{'[already]}}, \quad \text{\text{'I}} \quad \text{\text{'had}}} \quad \text{\text{'been}}} \quad \text{\text{'for}}} \quad \text{\text{'two}}} \quad \text{\text{'or}}} \quad \text{\text{'three}}} \quad \text{\text{'days}}.\]

Formally, a modal notion like epistemic possibility is expressed in the same way as a sentential subject. Example (42) can be paraphrased ‘It may happen [that] he will go’

#### 7.2.2 Complements: Verbs of thinking, saying, feeling, and wanting

The most usual way of introducing the complement of a verb of opinion is as a quotation, using a dummy verb ‘to say’ in the participial form before the main verb ‘to say’ ‘to think’ etc. The construction ‘having said, he said’ is not specific to
Tamang but is an areal feature, found also in Nepali among other languages of the area.

(44) \[\text{paisa} \quad ^{3}\text{naʃkar} \quad ^{3}\text{pa-u} \quad ^{3}\text{pi-si} \quad ^{3}\text{pi-m}\]

money tomorrow bring-IMP say-ing say-EMPH

He said that you should bring the money tomorrow. (lit.: 'Bring the money tomorrow' having said he said.)

Verbs of saying, intention or desire are often constructed without any overt mark of subordination by two juxtaposed finite clauses.

(45) \[\quad ^{1}\text{ni-la} \quad ^{4}\text{man-pa}\]

go-FUT like-IMPFV

I want to go.

7.3. Modality

The most frequent expression of modality is a V-V construction, which could be analysed as a complex verb phrase belonging to a single clause. Since this construction alternates with clearly subordinated structures we treat it as a complex sentence.

Case marking on the participant shared by the two clauses is normally the same as in the corresponding simplex sentence (47, 79). With the modal of necessity, if the embedded verb is transitive, the case can shift from ergative to dative (46).

(46) \[^{1}\text{ŋa-ta-m} \quad ^{1}\text{tamo} \quad ^{2}\text{aru-la} \quad ^{3}\text{ph\-a} \quad ^{1}\text{to-ci}\]

I-DAT-TOP now aunt-GEN repay need-PFV

Now I have to repay my aunt's [loan].

The three main modals of ability are: \(^{3}\text{b\-am-pa} \text{ 'be (physically) able to'} \), \(^{2}\text{se-\-pa}, \text{ 'know how to'} \), \(^{2}\text{mja}\ge\text{-pa} \text{ 'have time to'} \).

With these modals the more analytic 'purpose' clause construction can be used with the same meaning as the V-V construction:

(47) \[^{2}\text{ai-se} \quad \{^{4}\text{pwi} / ^{4}\text{pwi-pa-ri}\} \quad ^{4}\text{b\-am-la}\]

you-ERG \{carry / carry-Ner- LOC\} can-FUT

Will you be able to carry it?

Immediate future is expressed either by a V-V construction with the modal \(^{4}\text{tam-pa}\) or, more commonly, by a purpose clause with the verb \(^{1}\text{b\-jai-pa} \text{ 'be ready to'} \) (61).

(48) \[^{1}\text{ŋa-ta} \quad \text{sarpa-se} \quad ^{1}\text{sat} \quad ^{4}\text{tam-pa}\]

I-DAT snake-ERG kill be about to- IMPFV

A snake was about to kill me.

In a modal construction, it is not possible to negate the first (or embedded) verb independently. A subordinated construction has to be used instead.

(49) \[^{*^{3}}\text{a} \quad ^{1}\text{ca} \quad ^{2}\text{b\-am-la}\]

not eat can-FUT

*Can you refrain from eating?

(50) \[^{3}\text{a} \quad ^{1}\text{ca-na} \quad ^{2}\text{ci} \quad ^{2}\text{b\-am-la}\]

not eat-ing stay able-FUT

Will you be able to stay without eating?
7.4 Causatives

7.4.1 V ıpun-па

One of two ways of expressing causation is a V-V construction with the verb ıpun-па ‘to let, allow, order, cause’ as the second verb. The causee appears in the dative if the embedded verb is transitive (51), in the absolutive if it is intransitive (52). In this particular construction the embedded verb has to be voluntary or at least active.

(51) 1their-kat'-ta-n 2klu 2pun 1to:-nam
they-PI-DAT-INT buy make must-INFR

We have to get them to buy [it] [for us].

(52) sikar-se 1nakhi 4jar 2pun-па
hunter-ERG dog-ABS run let-IMPFV

The hunter lets his dog run / makes his dog run.

With negation, the meaning is ‘prevent, not let’ and not simple negation of the causation. The lower verb cannot be negated independently of the higher verb.

7.4.2 V-na 1la-па

Causation is often expressed by a ‘result’ alias ‘manner’ clause followed by the verb ‘to do’. Hence ‘to act in such a way that V’. The case marking in the subordinate clause remains what it would be in an independent clause:

(53) 2ani-kat'-se-nun 1tba-na 1la-u
nun-PI-ERG-INT hear-that do-IMP

Tell the nuns themselves. (lit. do so that they hear).

This construction can always replace the V-ıpun construction, except for the meaning 'let, allow'.

Denial of causation (as opposed to denial of permission) uses the V-na 1la-па construction:

(54) 2ca-ta-mi 1mi-la 1non-ti icat 1ni-na 2ta 1la-u
son-DAT-TOP man GEN front-LOC face go-so that don't do-IMP

Don’t make your son lose face in front of people.

7.5 Purpose Clauses

The most usual way to express purpose is by adding the suffix -ri to the nominal form of the subordinated verb (41). The subject of the embedded clause has to be subject (41) or object (55) of the main clause verb.

(55) 2ca: 1janpa 4ca-O 3krun-O 2bru-pa-ri 2pit-cim-ko
son youngest TOP-ABS guts-ABS wash-Ner-LOC send-PFV-RS

The story says that they sent the youngest son to wash the guts.

‘The youngest son’ is the object (ABS) of ‘sent’ and the (deleted) subject (which would be ERG) of ‘wash’.

The embedded verb must be active. Failing this condition an optative construction connected by ıpisi ‘having said’ used as a conjunction is employed.
(56) ³ken ⁴me-ri ³po-kai ³pi-si ⁴cañ-pa
  bread fire-LOC rise-OPT say-ing insert-IMPFV
  I put the bread in the fire so that it may rise.

(57) ³¹me-ri ³¹po-pa-ri ³¹cañ-pa

  A negative aim has to be expressed by something like ‘for fear of’ or a negative
  optative followed by the quotation formula 'saying'.

(58) ³cjan-se ³¹na-ta {³¹ca-la/a-¹ca-kai} ³¹pi-si ³¹jar-pa
  tiger-ERG I-DAT {eat-FUT/not-eat-OPT} say-ing escape-PFV
  I ran away for fear the tiger would eat me / so the tiger would not eat me.

  The participle ³¹pi-si used as a conjunction can also be added to the usual V-pa-ri
  construction. It indicates that the aim is not going to be reached:

(59) ³¹pu ³¹su-pa-ri ³¹pi-si ³¹apa ³¹kja-ma...
    field plant-Ner-LOC say-ing father come-when
    When the father came thinking that he would plant the field...

    Using a conditional form ³¹pu ³¹su-sai ³¹pi-si [field plant-COND say-ing] makes the
    outcome even more doubtful.

    The purpose construction is also used for ‘try to V’ and ‘start to V’, and
    optionally with the modals of ability (47).

(60) ³¹nam ³¹ka ³¹kja-pa-ri ³¹mai-ci
    rain FOC come-Ner-LOC search-PFV
    It's going to rain (lit. it's rain that is trying to come).

(61) ³¹ni-pa-ri ³¹chjai-ci
    go-Ner-LOC be ready-PFV
    He is about to go / he has started.

7.6 Synchronic relationship: time and manner

Temporal simultaneity is expressed by the suffix -ma 'while'

(62) ³¹sjo ³¹ku-ri ³¹to-ka-ma ³¹sjo-se ³¹lap ³¹por-ci
    river middle-LOC reach-DIR-when river-ERG ADV carry-PFV
    As he was reaching the middle of the river, the river carried him off.

    The addition of a topic marker facilitates a causal reading:

(63) ³¹a-¹kja-ma-m, ³¹mai ³¹ni-ci
    neg-come-when-TOP search go-PFV
    As he did not arrive, they went to look for him.

    Manner or result clauses are formed with the suffix -na 'in such a way that, with
    the result that'. This construction is rare in the affirmative, except as a way to express
    causation with the head verb 'to do' (see 7.4.2)

(64) ³¹rit-si ³¹pra-pa ³¹pa-ci ³¹mren-na ³¹ca-ci
    beg-ing walk-Ner beggar satiated-so that eat-PFV
    He, a beggar, ate to his full.
Terminus ad quem

The notion of ‘until’ or ‘before’ is expressed via a grammaticalized use of the verb ‘to reach’, in the manner-participial form $^{4}$to-na, or the Nepali loan equivalent samma, following a negative form of the verb bearing the suffix -te, which indicates extent.

(65) $^{1}$jañ $^{3}$maima-m $^{3}$a $^{1}$si-te samma-m
    us women-TOP NEG die-as long as until-TOP
    $^{3}$rit-sai $^{1}$ca-sai
    beg-COND eat-COND
    As for us, women, until we die, let us beg for our food.

Logical implicature

A logical implicature (without causal or temporal connection) is expressed by the simultaneity participial form of the verb V-ma followed by the postposition $^{4}$njanchem ‘from’.

(66) $^{1}$oca $^{1}$kan $^{3}$a $^{2}$min-ma $^{4}$njanchem ...
    that rice NEG cook-during since ...
    Since that rice did not cook... (reporting on an experiment where the fire was 3 yards away from the pot)

7.7 Logical or temporal succession

Temporal anteriority is expressed by a participial clause in V-si.

(67) $^{1}$nana $^{1}$kañ $^{3}$a $^{1}$capasai $^{3}$njo-si $^{1}$ca-ci
    sister come-having food cook-having eat-PFV
    Nana came, we cooked food, and we ate.

This is also the most common way of expressing a cause.

(68) $^{2}$nam $^{1}$kañ-si $^{4}$pu-ri $^{1}$ni $^{3}$a $^{2}$mjan-lai
    rain come-ing field-LOC go not can-IRR
    Because it rained, we could not go to the field.

If the action of the verb of the main clause can be construed as expressing a terminal point for the whole process, the action of the subordinate clause in -si need not be anterior, it can express a manner.

(69) $^{1}$sja-si $^{1}$sja-si $^{1}$kañ-ceti
    dance-ing dance-ing come-PFV
    She came dancing all the way.

Like the finite suffix -ci ‘perfective aspect’, -si indicates that the action has or will definitely happen. It cannot be negated. A negated manner clause is used instead (50).

(70) $^{2}$nam $^{3}$a $^{1}$kañ-na $^{4}$pu $^{3}$su $^{3}$a $^{2}$mjan-lai
    rain not come-ing field plant not can-IRR
    Because it did not rain, we are not able to plant the fields.
Auxiliary constructions

With the head verbs 'give', 'finish' and 'stay' used as auxiliaries, the V-si construction expresses the notions of 'doing something for someone' (71), completion (72) and duration or protracted action (73). Comparable constructions are found in Nepali.

(71) \( ^1 \)am'-se \( ^1 \)kwăn-si \( ^1 \)pîn-pa
mother-ERG dress-having give-IMPFV
His mother dresses [him].

(72) \( ^1 \)th-e-jen \( ^1 \)thâi-si \( ^3 \)cîn-ci
they-too hear-having finish-PFV
They too have already heard [the news].

(73) \( ^2 \)mî \( ^4 \)pra-si-n \( ^2 \)cî-pa
people walk-ing-INT stay-IMPFV
There are always passers-by. / People keep walking by.

7.8. Conditionals

Hypothetical verb forms are built on the verb root augmented with the suffix -sa, always followed by a second suffix which differentiates several kinds of conditionals.

Simple conditionals

Simple conditionals are formed with the addition of the topic marker -m(i).

(74) \( ^2 \)nâm \( ^1 \)kâ-sa-m \( ^1 \)nâ \( ^3 \)a \( ^1 \)kâ
rain come-if-TOP I NEG come
If it rains, I won't come.

The verb of the main clause can be in the indicative mood as in (74). It can also be in the conditional, expressing greater doubt as to the certainty of the event.

(75) \( ^1 \)iampu-ri \( ^1 \)mar \( ^1 \)nî-pa \( ^2 \)mî \( ^1 \)mu-sam,
Kathm.-LOC down go-Ner man be-if
\( ^1 \)nâ-m \( ^3 \)câkîr \( ^1 \)câ-pa-r' \( ^1 \)nî-saî
I-TOP salary eat-Ner-LOC go-COND
If there was someone going down to Kathmandu, I would go [with him] to earn a salary.

A necessary condition 'only if' is expressed by a disjunction of the opposite conditions.

(76) \( ^2 \)bûn-ta \( ^2 \)pit-ka-sam \( ^1 \)nâ \( ^2 \)so-la,
food send-DIR-if I live-FUT
\( ^2 \)bûn-ta \( ^3 \)a-\( ^2 \)pit-ka-sam \( ^1 \)nâ \( ^1 \)sî-la
food NEG-send-DIR-if I die-FUT
If you send me supplies I will survive, otherwise I will die.

Counterfactuals

If the verb of the main clause is in the conditional past tense, the meaning becomes counterfactual.
With counterfactuals, the subordinate clause usually replaces the topic marker -m by the focus marker -ka, which corresponds well to the pragmatic use of counterfactuals: the new, important, information is usually in the subordinate clause.

Emphatic conditionals and concessive conditionals

If we add to the verb carrying the hypothetical suffix -sa an intensifying suffix -i 'also', yielding a conditional form similar to that used in main clauses, the meaning is more hypothetical, whence 'if ever' (79).

In this meaning it is often strengthened by a second intensifier -nun.

A 'universal concessive conditional' (see Haspelmath and König, in press) is expressed by an interrogative/exclamative word with the emphatic conditional -sai.

However much work I may do, it is n[ever] finished.

8. Comparison

Word order: standard + marker + predicate.

She is one year younger than me. (she is not necessarily my sister).

The morpheme _bhanda_ is a Nepali loan meaning ‘saying’. A Tamang calque _pi-ma_ is also used.

Whole clauses can appear as the compared terms.
9. Questions

9.1. Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions are most usually marked by intonation only (1). A particle \textit{wa}, or the loan word \textit{ki} can occur in sentence final position:

(83) \begin{tabular}{l}
$^{\ast}$me \textit{l}mama-i \textit{l}ni-ci \textit{wa} ?\tabularnewline \end{tabular}
cow female-also go-PFV Q
\begin{tabular}{l}
Did the mother-cows also go ?
\end{tabular}

The particle \textit{wa} can follow a focalized word, phrase, or clause in a yes-no question.

The question marker \textit{ki} at the end of the sentence can co-occur with \textit{wa} after the term questioned. The question is made even more emphatic by adding \textit{l}tik ‘what’ after \textit{ki}.

(84) \begin{tabular}{l}
$^{\ast}$plö:-si-wa \textit{l}ban-pa \textit{ki} \textit{l}tik ?\tabularnewline boil-having-Q put-IMPFV or what
\end{tabular}
Is [that egg] boiled or what [that you handle it so roughly] ?

The verb can be the term emphatically questioned. In that case it is repeated:

(85) \begin{tabular}{l}
$^{\ast}$chat-wa $^{\ast}$chat-pa-ki, $^{\ast}$to-ca-kate-m ?\tabularnewline fight-Q fight-IMPFV-Q up-those-COLL-TOP
\end{tabular}
Are they fighting for good, the people upstairs ?

Alternative questions are frequently used.

(86) \begin{tabular}{l}
$^{\ast}$na $^{\ast}$pæa $^{\ast}$to:-ci $^{\ast}$na $^{\ast}$lic$^{\ast}a$ $^{\ast}$ci-ci\tabularnewline Q ahead reach-PFV Q behind stay-PFV
\end{tabular}
Were they in front or had they stayed behind?

9.2. Interrogative word questions

The interrogative word remains in the position of the questioned NP.

(87) \begin{tabular}{l}
$^{\ast}$osem $^{\ast}$kæa$^{\ast}$jupa \textit{guru} $^{\ast}$sjap-ci ?\tabularnewline thus which guru meet-PFV
\end{tabular}
Then, which guru did you get to see ?

9.3. Interrogatives as exclamatives and indefinites

Exclamations are made with ‘wh–’ question words, indefinites with reduplicated ‘wh–’ words.

(88) \begin{tabular}{l}
$^{\ast}$k$^{\ast}$aima $^{\ast}$k$^{\ast}$aima \textit{l}kla$^{\ast}$pa\tabularnewline when when play-IMPFV
\end{tabular}
He gambles occasionally.

\textit{Negative polarity indefinites}

In all the languages of the area, including Nepali, the most common way to say 'no one', ‘nothing’, ‘never’, etc., is to use an interrogative word suffixed with the intensifier ‘also / even’ and a negated verb (96).

Negative polarity indefinites can also be used in questions.
10. Information structure

Tamang possesses two topic markers, -mi/-m for simple topic and 'ca for contrastive topic, one focus marker -ka/-ka; and a set of intensifiers -i/-e/-ja ‘even, also’ and -n/-nun 'own, self (intensifier, not reflexive). These markers code the information structure of a sentence without interfering with its grammatical structure; case marking and word order can remain unchanged when information structure markers are added.

10.1 Topic and topicalization

If we define 'topic' (following Lambrecht 1994) as 'the matter of current concern' about which new information is being added in an utterance, the most common surface expression of topic in Tamang, whether in conversation or in running text, is zero. Previously known elements are absent from the sentence.

The next most common form a topic can take is as an anti-topic — several of them if need be — placed at the end of the sentence, after the verb, accompanied by lowered intonation (23).

If an active topic has to be mentioned in its proper grammatical place in the sentence, it is marked with the topic marker -m(i). This structure occurs in story telling where the cohesion of discourse is ensured by the formal repetition of the topic from one sentence to the next (29).

A topic which is accessible but not active (present in the slightly more distant context) is reactivated by being mentioned with the topic marker -m(i). This is the case for a demonstrative summing up a situation, or for a pronoun referring to the speaker (89).

(89) 
oca-m ȵa-i-mi ʰa: ʰare, mai
That-TOP I-ERG-TOP knowledge is not Mai
That, as far as I am concerned, I don't know, Mai.

A contrastive topic is marked by the tonal particle 'ca, possibly a loan word from Nep. cahi. (12, 55).

Clauses also can be topicalized with either topic marker. See (43).

(90) 
si-pa 'ca ʰa-i patta ʰare
die-Ner TOP I-ERG knowledge not be
That she had died, I did not know.

Topic marker on subordinate clauses

On subordinate clauses, -m(i) explicitly sets the clause as background (63, 65). In (91) it prepares thus a dramatic effect expressed in the main clause. Compare with the unemotional reporting in (62).

(91) 
ku-te-ri ʰoc-ka-ma-m apa ʰoŋ-se ʰap ʰor-ci-ro
middle-about-LOC reach-DIR-when-TOP father river-ERG ADV carry-PFV-RS
But as he was reaching the middle of the river, the father was carried off by the river.

On plain conditionals, it has become grammaticalized, corresponding to the now well accepted idea that 'conditionals are topics' (Haiman 1978) (see § 7.8).
10.2 Focus

Plain predicate focus and sentence focus structures contain no focus marking morpheme. Strong narrow focus (or contrastive focus) is marked with the suffix -ka. It can occur on all elements of the sentence including the predicate, nominal or verbal.

Argument focus

(92) ³³ai-la ⁴³mar-ka ⁴³ni:-nun ⁵³cuŋ-o ⁶³pi-pa ⁷³na-i-mi
you-GEN gold-FOC two-INT sell-IMP say-IMPFV I-ERG-TOP
It is your gold [earrings] that I said to sell both of (I did).

Predicate and sentence focus

(93) ⁷³na-ka
I-FOC
It's me! (typical answer at the door)

The marker -ka on a verbal predicate does not necessarily indicate a contrastive narrow focus on the verb. It can simply make the assertion strongly affirmative (or negative as the case may be), indicating that the assertion is contrary to expectation (contrary to the presupposition the hearer is thought to hold, or contrary to his wish). Its domain in that case is the sentence or the predicate.

(94) ⁷³na-i-ia ⁷³nipa-ka, ⁷³apa
I-ERG-also go-FOC father
I want to go too, Daddy

The focus marker which semantically applies to the whole predicate can be affixed to the object of the verb (95) or to its subject in case of sentence focus (60).

(95) ²³ai-se-mi ⁷³na-la ¹³o-ri ¹³cha:mo-ka ³³pa-ci
you-ERG-TOP I-GEN top-LOC cowife-FOC bring-PFV
You brought a CO-WIFE on me.

Focus marker on subordinate clauses

When used on a subordinate clause, the narrow focus marker -ka has a contrastive value comparable to clefting in English

(96) ¹³tì:la ¹³na ¹³oraŋ ³³njot-la ³³pi-si-ka
yesterday I that way drunk-FUT say-ING-FOC

³³paŋ ³³are-pa-ri ³³ka:na-i ³³a-²waŋ-pa
strength not be-Ner-LOC where-also NEG-enter-IMPFV
Yesterday it was for fear of getting drunk, like that, in my weak condition, that I did not enter anywhere.

As we have seen, it is almost systematically used on counterfactual conditionals (78).
11. References


Haspelmath, Martin and Ekkehard König, in press, Concessive conditionals in the languages of Europe, in J. Van der Auwera et al., eds, Adverbial constructions in the languages of Europe, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter.


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