

Verbal morphology of Syangja Gurung

Fuminobu NISHIDA

摘要：古隆 (Gurung) 語是古隆族的語言，屬於藏緬語族達芒語支 (Tamangic: 和藏語方言同屬藏喜馬拉雅語群，主要分佈在尼泊爾北部、主要包括以下語言：達芒 (Tamang) 語，古隆 (Gurung) 語，塔卡利 (Thakali) 語，瑪囊巴 (Manang) 語，長特雅勒 (Chantyal) 語等)，有 43 萬人使用，主要分佈在尼泊爾中部，喜馬拉雅山支脈安納普爾納山脈南坡的甘達基專區，即拉姆琮、卡斯基、塔納胡、廓爾喀、桑加和錫安賈等縣，以及道拉吉里專區的帕爾巴特縣、也有少數分布于錫金、不丹以及印度的西孟加拉邦。作者在 2000 年至 2012 年期間向講古隆語的人搜集有關資料。在本文，作者檢查古隆語中動詞的型態。首先，古隆語中的動詞類型和繫詞將在第一節和第二節分別說明。然後，言據性在第三章處理。最後，動貌詞和情態詞將在第四章和第五章中分別討論。

0. Introduction

0.1 Overview

Gurung (गुरुङ)¹, a.k.a. Tamu Kyi (तमु क्यी) is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the higher mountain area in the kingdom of Nepal. It is also spoken by Gurungs living in the eastern part of this country in which Tibetan speakers are dominant. Not merely Gurungs but also other tribes adjacent to the Gurung speaking area use the term Gurung as their surnames, and at times for their nationality. In spite of the fact that Gurung shows diversity in regional variations, it has been used as a lingua franca of the area. Nowadays, most of the younger generation are not active speakers, but passive listeners of this language. The number of those who speak the language with fluency is decreasing year by year. Most teenagers never speak the language, and instead they use Nepali, the official language of the country. Gurung can be divided into three major dialects: eastern, western, and southern. The Syangja dialect belongs to southern Gurung.

According to the 2011 census of Nepal, Gurung is spoken by 326,000 people in the middle of the country². Their population is distributed mainly in the Kaski, Lamjung, Syangja, Tanahu, Gorkha, Parbat, and Manang districts of the Gandaki zone of Nepal. However, migration to other parts of the country, particularly eastern Nepal, dates back to the Gorkha conquest and the related events of the 18th and the early 19th centuries. Several thousand of speakers live in India,

¹ All of those who speak Gurung are regarded as members of the Gurung nationality, but not all of them speak Gurung. All ages and sexes use Nepali, and most people can talk about common topic in Nepali, which is regarded as economically advantageous. In addition, we have to bear in mind the accuracy of the censuses, and they should be used with skepticism and caution. There may be certain politically motivated manipulation of the language data.

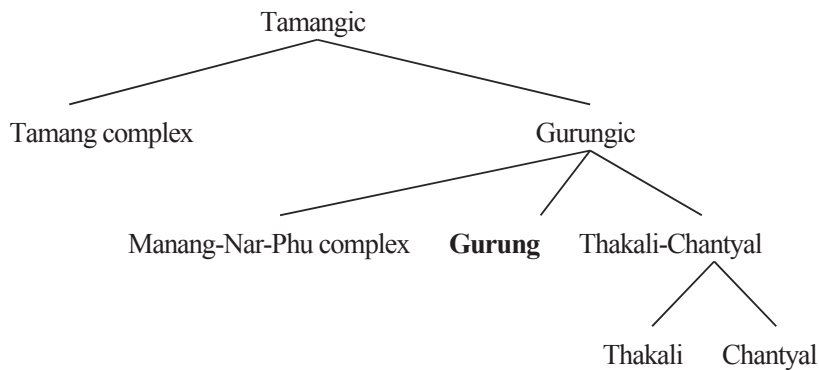
² Central Bureau of Statistics. 2012. *National Population and Housing Census 2011 (National Report)*. Kathmandu: National Planning Commission Secretariat, Government of Nepal.

Hong Kong, Malaysia, Korea, and Japan.

0.2 Linguistic position

Tibeto-Burman is the branch in Sino-Tibetan with the most numerous and highly differentiated individual languages. The genetic classification of Tamang languages including Gurung within the Tibeto-Burman family is still unclear, but it is usually classified in the Tamang branch.

The Gurung language is a member of the Tamangic group along with Gurung, Thakali, Nar-Phu and Tamang. I assume it is lexically and grammatically closest to Manang within this group. These languages share many features, but it is still unknown whether these innovations are due to internal factors, language contact or genetic relationship. At this moment, the most likely classification is as follows, after Noonan (2003:315):



On the basis of historical development of certain phonological and grammatical features, Nishi proposed the following items as the criteria of sub-grouping of Tamangic languages (Nishi 1991: 84):

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. *kl- → ky-/k-(/__i) | e.g. Manang, Thakali |
| 2. *kl- → ly-/l-(/__i) | e.g. Gurung, Syang, Marpha |
| 3. *g- → kh- | e.g. Manang |
| 4. *khr- → hr-/gr- → *khr- → hr | e.g. Manang |
| 5. *kr- → ky-/K-(/__i), *kr- → k-(/__u<o) | e.g. Syang |
| 6. *kr- → t- | e.g. Thakali |
| 7. Two low vowels, originated in PTAM *-aa and *-a | e.g. Manang, Thakali (possibly Syang and Marpha) |
| 8. DAT suffix has separate shape from LOC | e.g. Tamang, Gurung |
| 9. ERG suffix separate shape from ABL | e.g. Gurung |
| 10. Special suffix for colour terms | e.g. Gurung, Tamang |
| 11. No particular NEG particle in IMPR | e.g. Gurung, Manang |

Applying these criteria, the investigation on subgrouping of Tamangic languages deserve further study.

0.3 Language consultant

The language consultant directly involved with this work is Mr. Lacchim Gugung. After two months of his birth in Hong Kong, he moved to Syangja district, and grew up there. He received primary and secondary educations in Gurung and Nepali. Now he lives in Hong Kong and speaks Gurung everyday at home. His deep understanding towards this kind of linguistic study and his good speaking and writing ability of Gurung enabled me to grasp the whole picture of aspects of the Gurung language. The grammatical analysis is based on elicited sentences and texts told by the informant. The fieldwork has been carried out in English and Nepali³.

1. Verbal Morphology

In this section, the morphology of the verbal elements in Gurung is examined. First of all, verbs types in Gurung and the copulas will be argued in 2.1 and 2.2 respectively. In 2.3 evidentials will be dealt with. Aspect will be discussed in 2.4, followed by a section for modality in 2.5.

1.1 Verbs in Gurung

The verb in Gurung can be defined as an element that can co-occur with suffixes of tense (past and non-past), aspect (ongoing, perfective), mood, subordinator and gerund, and the negative marker /a-/. Phonologically, verbs form the same tone type as nouns, depending on the tone class of the first syllable of the verbs with suffixes. It commonly state, activity, accomplishment and achievement, and is used as predication. Verbal forms can be simple or compound. Simple verbal stems are monosyllabic, and the second morpheme in the examples in (1) functions as a nominalizer and relativizer that occurs in the citation forms.

(1)

1 ja-	(to) go	2 kro:-	(to) weep	3 tju	(to) spit
1 k ^h a-	(to) come	2 se-	(to) dance	4 b ^h i-	(to) say
2 ri-	(to) vomit	2 tua-	(to) beat	1 tʃa-	(to) eat

Compound verbs are formed by combining a noun or adjective with a verb. Complex verbal stems are composed of two elements. The first element can be a noun, adjective, verb or verbal noun and the second one is a simple verbal root:

(2)

1 so ki-	(breath + do)	to breathe
2 koe prin-	(song +sing)	to sing a song

³ Prior to this fieldwork, preliminary fieldwork on Gurung was conducted with other native speakers of Gurung in Hong Kong in summer 2001. The main objective was to find appropriate native speakers and to gather materials on Gurung tribes. Several other Gurung people in Hong Kong have also been generous enough to help me. The information I obtained from them has been directly utilized in this work, and it is extremely significant for my understanding of Gurung in general. I am pleased to record my warmest thanks to them. Along with elicitation data taken from the language consultant, I have also collected a large amount of text and data on socio-cultural aspects of this tribe.

2 tã la- (talk + do) to talk

In the following sections, we discuss the different types of verbs that can appear in the verb complex.

1.1.1 Intransitive and Transitive

On the basis of the syntactic behavior, the verbs in Gurung can be divided into intransitive verbs and transitive verbs in terms of the number of verbal arguments. Many verbs in Gurung are ambitransitive, i.e., they can be used either intransitively or transitively. Transitive verbs can be formed from intransitive verbs by using the causative construction. e.g. /2 t^hün/ ‘drink’ is either an intransitive or a transitive, and its causative form is /2 t^hün-mi-ba/ ‘cause to drink’; /4 nu/ ‘sleep’ is an intransitive, and its causative form is /4 nu-mi-ba/. The difference between their uses are whether an undergoer appears in the sentence or context or not. In Gurung there is no applicative construction that has the function of adding an undergoer or benefactive argument. Ambitransitive verbs are also used in so-called middle construction (Keyser and Roeper 1984), as is illustrated in (3):

(3)a. 2 tʃu 1 kambata 1 tʃ^halle 1 tʃ^hũ-mo
 this ice cream well sell-NPST
 ‘This ice cream sells well.’

(3)b. 2 tʃu 2 kamedʒa 1 tʃiso 2 kju-r 2 matrei 4 kru-mo
 this shirt cold water only wash-NPST
 ‘This shirt washes in cold water only.’

(3)c. 2 tʃu 4 mra 2 sadʒilole 1 koli-mo
 this door easily open-NPST
 ‘This door opens easily.’

(3)d. 2 tʃu 1 tʃuri-ja 1 tʃ^halle 4 t^ho-mo
 this knife-ERG well cut-NPST
 ‘This knife cuts well.’

1.1.2 Intransitive State Predicate Verbs (Adjectives)

In this section the nature of intransitive state predicate verbs, that is, stative verbs that has one argument will be discussed. Adjectives are like verbs in that they can take the same aspect marking as verbs, and they can be nominalized by using the nominalizer /-ba/.

2. Copulas

There are three copulas: /-mo/, /-ta/ and /-a, tʃa/⁴. The first one /-mo/ is the main copula, and the first two exhibit the essential properties of verbs in Gurung in that they vary for tense and it occurs in clause-final position. They tend to be very irregular. In other words, they frequently exhibit unusual conjugational patterns as compared with other verbs in Gurung. Paradigms of copular verbs in Gurung are suppletive. They belong to the same semantic class as stative verbs. The three copulas have the following usages, shown in (4):

- (4) /-mo/: existential and locational function
 /-a/: equational copula
 /-ta/: a function which it share with /-a/, and can be translated into English as ‘be’, ‘happen’ and ‘become’ (inchoative)

(5) summarizes usages of the copulas. The blanks do not necessarily indicate that the form does not exist in the language, but that it has not been observed by the author so far.

(5)

Mood	Tense/Aspect	/-mo/	/-ta/	/-a,-tʃa/⁴
Indicative				
Affirmative	Present	3 mo		3 a, 3 tʃa
	Past (near)	3 mo-la		
	Past (remote)	3 mo-lo		
	Inchoative		3 ta-mo 3 ta-la 3 ta-lo	
Negative Non-finite	Present	1 a-re	3 a-ta	1 anji
	Infinitive		3 ta-l	
	Gerund	3 mo-ba	3 ta-ba	

2.1 The Copula /3 mo/

The copula /mo/ is used to denote existence and location, including possession which would be glossed as ‘have’. Examples of /3 mo/ with existential, locational and possessive functions follow:

⁴ /a/ occurs when the preceding morpheme ends with a consonant while /tʃa/ appears when it ends with a vowel.

- (6)a. 1 ŋa-i 4 tʃa 1 iʃkura-r 3 mo
 1sg-GEN son school-LOC COP
 'My son is at school.'
- (6)b. 2 ŋi-be 1 ʃukrubara 1 ŋa 1 Ram-ŋa-r 3 mo-lo
 last-GEN Friday 1sg Ram-place-LOC COP-PAT
 'Last Friday I was at Ram's place.'
- (6)c. 1 ŋa-l 1naka-ʃa 1 a-re
 1sg-GEN chicken-curry NEG-COP
 'I don't have chicken curry.'
- (6)d. 1tʃa-be 2ʃe 1 a-re
 1sg-GER+GEN thing NEG-COP
 'There are foodstuffs.'
- (6)e. 1 tʃa-r 1 kolme 1 ŋji 3 mo
 that-LOC child-pl two COP
 'There are two children there'

The locational use of this verb is generally restricted to things or animate which are familiar to the speaker and listener. Location of unfamiliar things or animals is predicted with the verb /2 ti-/ 'stay', as illustrated in the following pair:

- (7)a. 1 sadama 2 irak-ar 2 a-ti-mo
 Saddam Iraq NEG-stay-NPST
 'Sadam is not in Iraq.'
- (7)b. *1 sadama 2 irak-ar 1 a-re
 Saddam Iraq NEG-COP
 'Sadam is not in Iraq.'

If the human referent is generic, then /3 mo/ can be used, as given in (4.8):

- (8) 2 sjangdza-r 1 ja 2 latsim 4 bi-u 4 mi 3 mo
 Syangja-LOC EMPH Lachhim say-NOM man COP
 'In Syangja village, there is a man named Lachhim.'

This usage is frequently found in the formulaic beginning of a narrative, when characters are first introduced into a text. This example directly follows as the second sentences in a narrative:

- (9) 1 tamũ-me 4 dʒata 1 lē 2 sama-i-naso
 Gurung-pl tribe many time-GEN-before
 2 mongolia 2 bju 4 dzata-i-poto 1 kha-be-le 3 mo
 Mongolia say tribe-GEN-from come-GER-INF COP
 ‘It is said that long time ago most Gurung tribe came from Mongolia.’

The possessive copula construction is typically predicated as a subtype of existence. The possessive NP is put in the genitive cases, and the copula /3 mo/ is used:

- (10) 1 Nisida-i 1 ama 3 mo tara
 Nishida-GEN mather COP but
 ‘Nishida has a mother, but.....’

The example (10) could be literally translated as ‘Nishida’s mother exists.’ This construction can also be formed with comitative case marker /-ni/ as in the following elicited example:

- (11) 1 ŋa-ni 2 mui 3mo
 1sg-COM money COP
 ‘I have money.’

The same sentence is equally acceptable with the genitive /-i/, as in (12):

- (12) 1 ŋa-i 2 mui 3mo
 1sg-GEN money COP
 ‘I have money.’

The following as it were idiomatic expression including /3 mo/ is frequently used in daily conversation, with a Nepali loanword /4 t^ha/ ‘knowledge’ and an animate noun with dative suffix:

- (13) 1tʃa (-lai) 1 ŋa 4 t^ha 3 mo
 3sg-DAT 1sg knowledge COP
 ‘S/he does not know me.’

- (14) 1 tʃa 2 plobele 1 a-re
 3sg rich NEG-COP
 'S/he is not rich.'
- (15) 1 tʃa 1 imandari 3 mo
 3sg honest COP
 'S/he is honest.'
- (16) 2 tamu 2 kwi 1 po-ba 4 dukha 3 mo
 Gurung language speak-GER difficult COP
 'The Gurung language is hard to speak.'

2.2 The Copula /3 ta/

The copula /3 ta/ can be translated into English as 'be', 'happen' and 'become'. It is mainly used in inchoative copular constructions, and is used both in past and non-past inchoative stative predicates, as provided in (17):

- (17) 1 India-mi 4 mlo-kja 3 ta-mo
 India –man black color COP-COP
 'Indians are (generally) dark. Indians generally have dark skins.'

The copula /ta/ may occur in an attributive statement restricted to a specific case.

- (18) 1 ŋa-lai 1 tʃa 2 ʃami 1 tʃone 3 ta-mo
 1sg-DAT that shirt small COP-NPST
 'This shirt is small for me.'

The copula /ta/ is used to express sensation with an animate dative subject and an abstract noun or adjective.

- (19) 1 ŋa-lai 4 garam 3 a-ta
 1sg-DAT hot NEG-COP
 'I am not hot./ I do not feel hot.'

The copula /ta/ is also used to express change of state of the subject. The predicate states the new state:

- (20) 2 arko 1 barʃa 1 ŋa-i 4 tʃa 1 nure 3 ta-mo
 another year 1sg-GEN son tall COP-NPST
 'My son become tall next year.'

The /ta/ is used to express age, as in the following example:

- (21) 2 arko 1 barʃa 1 tis 3 ta-mo
 another year thirty COP-NPST
 '(I will be) thirty years old next year.'

In the past tense, the copula /ta/ may have the sense of 'happen'.

- (22) 2 to 3 ta-je ?
 what COP-PST
 'What happened?'

The verb /ta/ is often used to express sufficiency.

- (23) 3ta 3 mo
 COP COP
 'That is OK. That will do'

- (24) 2 arko 1 barʃa 3 ta-m 1 a ?
 another year COP-COP Q
 'Will it be OK to have next year?.'

Aside from what described above, the verb /ta/ can predicate the physical properties of a concrete NP subject.

- (25) 1 tʃa-r 2 hĩũ 1 gali ra 1k^hola-me 2 udpati 3 ta-mo
 there-LOC snow melt and river-pl source happen-COP
 'In the summer, when the snow there melts, rivers are formed.'

2.3 The Copula /ʒ a/

There is a copula, /ʒ a/, which serves as an equational copula. The copula does not take aspect marking, and used in the present tense. Its interrogative form of this copula is /ʒ tʃa/ and negative form for /a/ is /a-ŋi/, as in the following examples:

- (26) 1 ŋa 4 lama 3 a
 1sg lama COP
 'I am a Lama.'
- (27) 1 ŋa 4 lama 1 a-ŋi
 1sg lama NEG-COP
 'I am not a Lama.'
- (28) 1 ki 4 lama 1 a
 2sg lama Q
 'Are you a Lama?'
- (29) 1 ki 4 lama 1 a-ŋi 1 a
 2sg lama NEG-COP Q
 'Aren't you a Lama?'
- (30) 1 to 3 tʃa?
 what COP.Q
 'What is it?'
- (31) 1 ki 1 to 4 lo 3 dʒa?
 2sg what year COP
 'Which year do you belong to? /In the year of what were you born?'
- (32) 1 tʃu 1 1 nepal-ar be 1 tʃ^habe 2 kljo 3 a
 this Nepal-LOC good place COP
 'This is a nice place in Nepal'

The copula /3 a/ is frequently used for statements regarding the truth value of a proposition, thus it can be translated as 'yes', and the negative as 'no'.

3. Evidentials

Semantic parameters with which evidentiality is concerned are (Chafe 1986):

- (i) source of knowledge: evidence, language, hypothesis, etc. (-> quotative) (ii) mode of knowing: belief, hearsay, induction, deduction, etc. (-> inferential) (iii) knowledge matched

against: verbal resources, expectations (-> mirative)

The evidential system in Gurung basically has four terms, visual, mirative, inferred and reported marking, but it does not necessarily involve marking of the evidential category on all clauses. Basically, if the speaker is not entirely sure of the information presented in the utterance, which generally means s/he did not witness it, then the non-visual markers (zero marking) is used. In reporting second-hand or third-hand information of some situation or event the speaker is not sure of, the hearsay marking suffix /-ro/ is used after the verb.

The unmarked verb form can be used for visual evidence, and for common sense or well-known facts and for observations that lead to an obvious belief. The visual and inferential evidential markers can be used for past, present, and ongoing events, but not future events.

The visual markers /-a/ for affirmative and /-tʃa/ for interrogative are only used for visual information, and for other types of sensory information, mirative marking is used. They are not obligatory. See the following examples.

(33) 2 k^hani 1 ja-u- tʃa?
 where go-NOM-VISQ
 Where are you going?(The speaker is seeing him/her going somewhere.)

(34) 1 pok^hara-r 1 ja-u-a
 Pokhara-LOC go-NOM-VIS
 I am going to Pokhara.(To speaker who is in the middle of going to Pokhara is talking to the person who uttered the question face to face.)

(35) 1 ki 1 bja 1 la-u-di
 2sg marriage do-NOM-PROG
 Are you going to marry? (I am observing the person is going to marry.)

3.1 Mirativity

Statements that represent 'just discovered' information is called mirative. Gurung mirative marking is /-name/. The typical example of mirativity is seen in Tibetan. Information based on inference derived from some non-visual evidence take the suffix /-name/.

(36) 1 tʃa 1 pok^hara(-r) 1 ja-je.
 3sg Pokhara(-LOC) go-PST
 'He has gone to Pokhara.'

(37) 1 tʃa 1 pok^hara(-r) 1 ja-name.

3sg Pokhara(-LOC) go-MIR
 'He has gone to Pokhara.' (The speaker saw the person leave and that person has not yet returned. Just now the speaker realized that the person has gone there.)

(38) 1tʰa-i 3 bʰi-je 1 ŋa 2 tʰo 1 ja-name.
 3sg-ERG say-PST 1sg fat go-MIR
 'He said I have gained weight.'

(39) 1 ŋa 2 tʰo 1 ja-name 3bʰ-je.
 1sg fat go-MIR say-PST
 '(Someone) said I have gained weight.'

(40) 4 mra 1 kʰula-mo-name
 door open-NPST-MIR
 The door is open. (Just discovered; see that the door is open.)

3.2 Inferred

If the speaker has to express an inferential sense in talking about a certain situation, the speaker would use the adverbial phrase /dü/'seems' or the sentence final particles /-hola/ 'maybe' for affirmative and /hora/ 'maybe'. These are used for marking possibility.

/hola/: presumptive or tentative mood. It reflects the speaker's present state of mind, in particular, his assumption of what expressed by the sentence. (Nepali loan)

/hora/: the particle is used when talking to oneself with others invited to listen.

(41) 1 tʃa 1 pokʰara(-r) 1 ja-di-man
 3sg Pokhara(-LOC) go-PST-PART
 'Maybe he is going to Pokhara.' (The speaker knew the person was supposed to go to Pokhara, but is not sure.)

(42) 1 tʃa 1 pokʰara(-r) 1 ja-i-hola
 3sg Pokhara(-LOC) go-PST-PART
 'Maybe he has gone to Pokhara.' (inference from the situation.)

3.3 Hearsay

The hearsay marker is used for merely for hearsay. The hearsay marking /-ro/ is used for quoted speech as well. The hearsay marking is not used together with 2nd person marking. So it is the perfect marking.

(43) 1 tʃa 1 pok^hara(-r) 1 ja-u-ro
 3sg Pokhara(-LOC) go-NOM-HS
 ‘He will go to Pokhara.’ (I hear)

(44) *1 ki 1 bja 1 la-m-ro
 2sg marriage do-NPST-HS
 ‘You get married.’

(45) *1 ki bja la-je
 2sg marriage do-PST
 ‘You have got married.’

4. Aspect

4.1 Overview

The aspectual characteristics are systematically expressed in the verb form. Tense is not so much explicitly indicated morphologically in Gurung. It is true that past tense markers /-lo/ and /-la/, which indicate remote past and recent past respectively, are used in some cases, but the frequency is not so high. In stead, Gurung shows morphology for perfective aspect. The Gurung past marker /-je/, which is seen in quite frequently in conversational data.

(46) 4 mi 4 b^houdi-je
 man run-PST
 ‘A man ran/ a man has run.’

As (45) shows, there is no distinction between perfect and perfective. I asked my informants of this over and over again, and they accepted both interpretations. It should be noted that the perfective suffix /-je/ is in complementary distribution with the evidential /-name/. These morphemes are incompatible. Following are more examples of /-je/.

(47) 1 tikim (be) ŋa 1 Nepala 1 ja-je
 Lat year EMP 1sg Nepal go-PST
 ‘Last year I went to Nepal.’

(48) 2 ki-i 2 tʃa k^hem k^ha-je? 2 ŋi 1 k^ha-je
 2sg-GEN son when come-PST the other day come-PST

‘When did your son come? He came the other day.’

In Gurung, constructions comprising ‘a verb stem + /mo/’ can be interpreted imperfective.

- (49) 1 fukrubara 2ŋa 2 Ram-ŋa-r 3 mo
 Friday 1sg Ram-place-LOC COP
 ‘On Friday I am at Ram’s place.’

4.2 Tense

Tense suffixes are attached to the verb stem. Following are examples of past tense.

- (50) 2 dokana 1 ban 3 mo-lo
 shop closed COP-PST
 ‘The shop had closed.’ (past perfect)
- (51) 2 dokana 1 ban 3 ta-je
 shop closed COP-PST
 ‘The shop has closed/the shop is closed.’
- (52) 2 tʃa 2 mantrei 3 ta-je
 3sg minister COP-PST
 ‘He became minister.’
- (53) 2 tʃa 2 mantrei 3 mo-lo
 3s minister COP-PST
 ‘He was a minister.’
- (54) 2 ŋa 1 p^hilima 2 njo-u-ri 1 ja-mo-la, tara 1 ŋa 1 a-ja
 1sg film look-NOM-PURP go-NPST-PST, but 1sg NEG-go
 ‘I used to go to the cinema, but nowadays I don’t go.’
- (55) 2 paila 1 nepala-r 1 samana 4 de 2 sasto 3ta-mo-lo
 before Nepal-LOC item little cheap COP-COP-PST
 ‘At that time in Nepal things used to be quite cheap.’
- (56) 2 ŋa 1 ja-mo-lo
 1sg go- -PST

‘I would have gone’

Summary of tense system in Syangja Gurung is as follows:

	past		non-past	
	state	non-state	state/non-state	
perfective	-je		-mo	
imperfective	-lo/-la	di-lo	-mo	-dimo

4.3 Other marking of aspect

Apart from the most commonly used aspect marker /-je/, there are several tense markers. In irrealis or counterfactual sentences, a verb + mo + past marker construction is used.

- (57) 2 ŋa 1 kha-ja, 1 ki 1 ja-ma-lo
 1sg come-COND, 2sg go- -PST
 ‘If I come, you would have gone’
- (58) 1tʃa 2kero 1 malpua 1 a-tʃʰa-ja-m 2 pʰo 4 a-na-ma-lo
 that many sweet NEG-eat-COND-TOP, stomach NEG-ill-EXIST-PST
 ‘If you had not eaten so many sweets, you would not have stomachache.’
- (59) 4 badʒa-lai 1ja-mai 1ŋa-lai 1 tʃu 2tʃʰithi 2 dʒon 2me 1 la-mi-mo
 town-DAT go-when 1sg-DAT this letter post reminder do-BENE-EXIST
 ‘When we’re on our way to town, remind me to post this letter.’
- (60) 1tʃa 1 landana-r 3 mo-mai 2harek-haptar 1pʰilima 2njouri 1ja-ma-lo
 3sg London-LOC COP-when every-week film look-NOM-PURP go--PST
 ‘When he was in London, he used to go to the cinema every week.’
- (61) 2 na-i 2 lamadar 1 ŋa 1 k a-l-a-kʰa
 rain-GEN because 1sg come-NOM-NEG-can
 ‘I couldn’t come because of the rain.’
- (62) tʃa-ta-i-ra ŋa-ja ki-i tʃʰitʰi pare-l a~jo~

that-happen-PST-and 1sg-ERG 2sg-GEN letter read-NOM NEG-get
 ‘For that reason, I could not read your letter.’

(63) p^hilima njoma njomai, a-m boʃukai nalo k^haja-name
 film see-when seen-when 1sg-TOP deep sleep -EVIDENTIAL
 ‘I fell asleep right in the middle of the film’

(64) tʃa le memamemai b^hanubatta-ja pat bani-je
 this much ponder-when Bhanubhakta-ERG verse write-PST
 ‘With these very thoughts in mind, Bhanubhakta wrote this verse.’

(65)

Present Frequentative

Past Frequentative

1 ɲa 1 la-di-mo

1 ɲa 1 la-di-i-mo

1sg do-PROG-NPST

1sg do-PROG-NPST

‘I (will) keep on doing.’

‘I kept on doing.’

Continuous sentences are indicated by a progressive marker. Sometimes the marker is not marked consistently in Gurung. The marker indicating imperfectivity and markers which typically occur in perfective situations are found.

(66)

Present Continuous

Past Continuous

ɲa(-i) la-di-mo

ɲa-i la-di-lo

1sg(-ERG) do-PROG-NPST

1sg-ERG do-PROG-PST

‘I am/will be doing.’

‘I was doing.’

Habitual sentences are indicated by a progressive marker. It seems to me that the expression of habitual aspect to be subject of more dialectal variation in Gurung than other areas of Grammar.

(67)

Present Habitual

Past Habitual

1 ɲa(-i) 1 la-di-mo

1 ɲa-i 1 la-di-ma-lo

1sg(-ERG) do-PROG-EXIST

1sg-ERG do-PROG-EXIST-lo

‘I am/will be doing.’

‘I used to keep on doing.’

4.4 Negation

The negatives in Gurung are formed with the negative prefix /a-/ followed by the verb. The prefix /a-/ occasionally undergoes nasality spreading according to the initial vowel of the verb which follows the negative morpheme. Negation occurs immediately preceding the verbs which is being negated. When the main verb is a copula which were discussed earlier, it is this which is negated, as in (4.XX), which shows the suppletive negative of the copula. When the main verb is a lexical verb, it is the lexical verb it which carries the negation. In negatives, the verb takes the usual aspect suffixes. Following provides examples:

(68) 1 tʃa-i 1 a-la-u anma 1 ŋa 1 a-k^ha-u sanma
 3sg-ERG NEG-do-NOM until 1sg NEG-come-NOM until
 ‘until he does/did’ ‘until I come/came’

(69) 1 ŋa-i 1 tʃur 2 ke 1la-u anma 1tʃ^habe 2tanaka 4 jō-mo
 1sg-ERG here work do-NOM until good salary get-EXIST
 ‘As long as I am working here, I’ll earn a good salary.’

(70) 1 kitaba 2 pri-l 2 a-k^hũ sanma 2santos 3 a-ta
 book write-INF NEG-finish until content NEG-COP
 ‘The writer was not content until he had finished writing his book.’

5. Modality

5.1 Optatives

Optatives, also known as desiderative, are formed from any simplex by suffixation of the optative morpheme /-4ŋa/. In the following example, the optative forms differ from the imperative in that the optative is used to express a desired state, whereas the imperative expresses a command in the hope that the person addressed will do his best to bring about the desired state. Negative optatives are formed through the prefixation of the negative morpheme /a-/. The desire to do an action, hope or wish for something are expressed by the addition to the auxiliary verbs /-4ŋa/. The preceding verb is always reduplicated.

(71) 1 p^hilima 4 njo-u-ri 1 ja-ja 4 ŋa-di-mo
 film see-NOM-DAT go-go want-PROG-NPST
 ‘I want to go to se film now.’

(72) 1 tʃa 1 t^hu^{*}t^hũ 4 ŋa-i ki 1 aŋa-i-mo
 tea drink-drink want-PROG or NEG-want-PROG-NPST
 ‘Do you want to drink tea or not?’

- (73) 2 tiel 1 po-po 1 kri 4 ŋa-lo
 yesterday swim-swim one want-PST
 ‘Yesterday I wanted to go to swimming.’
- (74) 1 ki-lai 3 bi-u 4 ŋa-la tara 3 bi-l 4 ǎǎ
 2sg-DAT say-GER want-PST but say-INF NEG-get
 ‘I wanted to tell you, but I did not manage it.’

From time to time, the verb

- (75) 2 pana 2 na 2 a-ju-dere 3 bi-ra 1 t^ha-i 3 bi-je
 tomorrow rain NEG-fall-let say-and hope-PRF say-PST
 ‘He has said that he hoped it would not rain the next day.’

/2baru/ expresses a preference between two possibilities. It is used to express the speaker’s priorities:

- (76) 1 ja-u 4b^handa 2 baru 1 tʃu-r 2 ti-u 2 t^hik-mo
 go-GER than rather this-LOC stay-GER better-EXIST
 ‘I would rather stay here than go.’

5.2 Conditional

The conditional expressed by the suffix indicates hypothetical possibility. Usually, conditional statements are expressed by using a conjunction /bja/ ‘if’. There do not exist any systematic distinction between hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals. Usually, only the context makes this clear.

- (77) 2 kě 1 a-tena 2 bja 1 a-tʃa lai.
 food NEG-fully cooked COND NEG-eat PART
 ‘If the food is not cooked, I do not think I will eat.’
- (78) 1 tʃuti-ra 1 patsatta sanma 4 hotela-r 1 ke-la-i 2 bja
 vacation-LOC five-week up to hotel-LOC job-do-PEF COND
 ‘If I work in a hotel for five weeks in the vacation,’

- (79) 2sako sanma 2 tʃito pra-i 2 bja
 able up to fast walk-PRF COND
 ‘If we walk as quickly as possible.’

In daily conversation, the following type of implicit conditionals is used. In these sentences, two juxtaposed clauses can be interpreted as a conditional sentence, although they do not have any overt indication of the connection:

- (80) 1k i 2 addar 1ja-i ra 4 neʃa 3 a-ta-u sanma 2 ke 1 la-mo
 2sg pass go-PST and difficulty NEG-COP-NOM until job do-NPST
 ‘If you pass the exam, you will easily find a job.’

5.3 Intentional

Usually, intentional actions are expressed by using nonpast marker /-mo/.

- (81) 2ke-ke 1 ŋa-i na 1 la-mi-mo
 job-job 1sg-ERG EMP do-BENE-NPST
 ‘I will do the work (for you).’

- (82) 1 ŋa 2 adʒai 1 daʃ 4 pandra 2 minet 2 tʃu-r 1 prě-mo.
 1sg more ten fifteen minutes this-LOC wait-NPST
 ‘I will wait here for ten or fifteen minutes.’

5.4 Debitive (Obligation)

Debitive has the meaning ‘need’, ‘must’ or ‘have to’. The structure consists of /verb + infinitive + 2 pari/.

- (83) 1 ŋa-m 1 ja-l 2 pari-mo, 4 natra 4 preʃo 2 riʃa 1k^ha-mo
 1sg-TOP go-INF need-NPST otherwise wife angry come-NPST
 ‘I must go, otherwise my wife will get angry.’

- (84) 4 jo 2kru-i ra 1tʃa-l 2 pari-mo
 hand clean-PEF and eat-INF need-NPST
 ‘(We) must clean our hands.’

- (85) 2 prjai 1 ja-l 4 pari-mo

downstairs go-NOM need-NPST
 ‘You have to go downstairs.’

5.5 Ability

/k^ha/ is used for indicating ability.

(86) 1 ŋa 1 k^ha-l 1 a-k^ha
 1sg come-INF NEG-CAN
 ‘I can/could not come.’

(87) 1 tʃa 3ta-i ra 1 ŋa-ja 1ki-i 2 tʃ^hi^hi 2 pare-l 4 ã-jõ
 that COP-PEF and 1sg-ERG 2sg-GEN letter read-INF NEG-get
 ‘For that reason, I could not read the letter.’

5.6 Causatives

The causative morpheme in Gurung is /mi/. The causative morpheme is positioned after the verb. The morpheme /-mi/ is the major means of making an intransitive verb causative. The above forms can be derived. However, some of these derived forms have become lexicalized, and so no longer function as straightforward causatives. Causative verb are formed from other verbs, in many cases, by the addition of the stem suffix. (88) provides examples of morphological causatives:

(88)a.

1 t^he-ba 1 t^he-mi-ba
 ‘listen’ ‘cause to listen’

(88)b.

1 la-ba 1 la-mi-ba
 ‘do’ ‘cause to do’

(88)c.

1 lo-ba 1 lo-mi-ba
 ‘learn’ ‘cause to learn’

In addition, in order to form a causative, /1 la/ ‘do’ is added as the second element in the verbal complex, as examples (4.89) shows:

- (89) 1 ŋa-I 1 kophi 2 taro 1 la-je
 1sg-ERG coffee warm do-PST
 'I made warmed the coffee./ I made the coffee warm.'
- (90) 1 ŋa-i 1 tʃa-lai 2ŋI-l 1 la-je
 1sg-ERG 3sg-DATG surprise-INF do-PST
 'I made him surprised.'
- (91) 2 kamedʒa 2 tʃiʃo 1 la-je cf. 2 kamedʒa 2 tʃiʃo 1ʃia-je
 shirt wet do-PST shirt wet get-PST
 'I made the shirt wet.' (purposefully) 'I got the shirt wet.' (accidentally)
 Causative suffix /-dere/ has the meaning of 'let someone do'
- (92) 1 tʃa 1 ŋa-i 2 fi-r 2 t^hi-dere
 3sg 1sg-GEN home-LOC stay-let
 'Let him stay at my home.'
- (93) 1 ʃi-dere
 die-let
 'Let him die'

Here we mean in a non-imperative sense. If it has an imperative sense, then it is more a type of directive.

Following are examples of lexical causatives.

- (94) 1 ŋa-i 2 nakju-lai 1 sia-je
 1sg-ERG dog-DAT kill-PST
 'I killed a dog.'

5.7 Imperatives

Imperatives are formed by the addition of wither the /-do/ or /-no/ suffix to the verb stem. My informant says /-do/ is used to the speaker's inferiors and juniors, and /-no/ to superiors and seniors. Furthermore, these suffixes are copied to the following syllable of sentence-final particles and emphasizes or strengthens the command without adding a brusque or commanding tone to it.

- (95) 3 bi-d do
 say-IMP PART
 ‘Explain it! (strong order)’

On the contrary, the particle /se/ has the function of softening imperative sense.

- (96) 2 tʃa 2 toko 1 la-mi-n se (< no: IMP)
 that now do-BENE-IMP PART
 ‘Do it (for me) now.’

Aside from /se/, there is another particle used for imperative sentences. The particle /di/ has meanings of imperative and requesting.

- (97)a. 3 bi-d di cf. 3 bi-d do
 say-IMP PART say-IMP PART
 ‘Please explain it.’ ‘Explain it!’

- (97)b. 2 tʃin 1 kri 2 pre-mi-n di (n < no: IMP)
 moment one wait-BENE-IMP PART
 ‘Wait a moment please.’

Sometimes ‘do’ can function to show the speaker’s commitment to a proposed future action, as the next examples shows:

- (98) 2 ti-r 1 ja do
 home-LOC go PART
 ‘Let’s go home.’

Note the adding of ‘do’ is crucial in order for the imperative sentence ‘go home’ to change its practical meaning. Without ‘do’ it would have been a directive (requesting the hearer to do something). In this case, with the addition of ‘do’ the request becomes a suggestion, showing the speaker’s commitment to the action being proposed.

5.8 Reflexives and reciprocals

Syangja Gurung has the following structure concerning reflexives:

- (99) Reflexive
 1 ŋa-lai 1 ŋa-i na 4 t^ho-je

1sg-DAT 1sg-ERG slef cut-PST
 ‘I cut myself.’

Reciprocal contains the expression /lek apasar/ ‘each other’.

(100) 1 ngi 1 ekapasar 1 mro-je
 1pl each other see-PST
 ‘We saw each other.’

So-called reflexive middle sentences include /2khi/ ‘self’

(101) 2 tju 2 mra 2khi 2 phõ-ja-je
 this door by itself open-go-PST
 ‘The door opened itself.’ (reflexive middle)

Abbreviation used in the glosses

1	first person	dl	dual
2	second person	DTV	directive particle
3	third person	EMPH	emphatic sentence-final particle
BENE	benefactive marker	EVID	evidential marker
COM	comitative marker	EXC	exclusion particle
COMP	comparative marker	EXP	experiential particle
COP	copula	PRS	prospective aspect form
CSM	change of state marker	GEN	genitive marker
DAT	dative marker	GER	gerund
DEF	definite marker	HABIT	habitual action marker
DEM	demonstrative pronoun	HORT	hortative marker
DIR	directional prefix	INDEF	indefinite marker

INDTV	indirect directive marker	RCA	relevant condition achieved
INF	inferential evidential marker	RECIP	reciprocal form
INT	interjection ⁵	REFL	reflexive form
INST	instrumental marker	REP	repetition ('again') marker
LOC	locative marker (includes the use of the locative markers to mark temporal or other relations)	REQU	request marker
		sg	singular
		TOP	topic marker
LNK	clause linker	*	reconstructed or unattested form
		[]	phonetic transcription,
MIR	mirative (just discovered) marker		etymological note
		//	phonemic transcription
NAR	narrative (hearsay) particle (often two syllables)		
NEG	negative marker		
NEG.IMP	negative imperative (prohibitive) prefix		
NOM	nominalizer		
NPST	nonpast		
NUM	numeral		
PERF	perfective marker		
pl	plural		
POST	postposition		
Q	question marker		

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