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# **Yohlmo Grammar Sketch**

**Anna Maria Hari**

**SIL International**  
and  
**Central Department of Linguistics**  
Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu  
2010

## **Yohlmo Grammar Sketch**

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## **Preface**

There are many different languages spoken in Nepal. Some of the minority languages of Nepal have been documented quite well, and others not yet too well. One of those not yet too well documented minority languages is Yohlmo, spoken by a Buddhist people group in the mountains north and somewhat north-east of Kathmandu. It has been my privilege to learn and analyse this language over a period of roughly twenty-seven years, and it is my desire to make some of the results of these studies available in the form of this Grammar Sketch, so that Yohlmo will also become one of the better documented minority languages of Nepal.

In presenting some grammatical aspects of Yohlmo I have attempted to follow the Functional/Typological approach to grammar, though I must confess that I am not thoroughly versed in this linguistic theory. Often I just have used common grammatical knowledge and common sense to present the grammatical features of this language.

Also notice that this is only a Grammar Sketch. It presents only the most salient features of Yohlmo grammar. There is a lot more which could be said about it, if time and space permitted it.

I should also mention that some parts of this Grammar Sketch also appear in the Yohlmo-Nepali-English Dictionary (Hari, Anna Maria and Chhegu Lama: 2004). This is especially the case for the first two sections: (1) Introduction and (2) Phonology

For more information about the name of the language, its relatedness to other Tibeto-Burman languages, places spoken, number of speakers, and dialect studied, the reader is referred to introduction of this sketch.

## Acknowledgements

### Language Assistants

In the course of the years the following persons have greatly contributed to my knowledge of the Yohlmo language: Miss Dawa-Kyahlmua Lama from Nee-*Ngemba*<sup>1</sup>, Mr. Peema Lama and Mr. Chyahmba Lama from Chhimi, Mr. *tahndul Syarpa* from Syuhnggan-Che, Mr. Kyahlsang Tamang from Syabru (whose mother is from Yohlmo), Misses Karmu Lama, Peema Lama, and Urken-*tohlma* Lama from Chhimi, Mr. Chhegu Lama from Syuhnggan-Che, Misses Karma-Yangjyen and Dam-Kyahlmua Syarpa from Naahkote, and Mrs Dawa-Rhikchyung Syarpa from Maahngu. Mr. Chhegu Lama has been especially helpful with the pitch contour classification.

Further, I also want to express my gratitude to the many other Yohlmo friends whom I met informally, and who graciously talked with me in their own language and patiently explained the meaning of their words and phrases to me whenever it was necessary. Most often they did this by giving me several good examples of how they use the word or phrase in their daily lives.

Here I want to express my heartfelt appreciation for the able assistance of all these Yohlmo friends in learning the language, collecting the data, and bringing this Grammar Sketch to completion.

### Technical assistance

Several SIL colleagues have given me feed-back and advice about the features of Yohlmo Grammar over the years I studied it, and here I want to express my appreciation for this.

For very valuable technical assistance on this Grammar Sketch I would also want to acknowledge the linguistic advice of Dr. David Watters, a linguist from SIL International. Unfortunately he passed away prematurely in May 2009. He actually encouraged me to write this Sketch, and originally it was meant as a contribution to an "Encyclopedia of the Languages of Nepal". But since the development of that project is now uncertain, it was decided to publish this sketch as a monograph.

---

<sup>1</sup> For the key to the orthographic Roman transcription used for the Yohlmo names in this section see section 1.8, Table 1.

## Auspices

The material presented in this grammar sketch has been collected between 1980-91, and 1995-2007. From 1999-2004 I was under the auspices of the Central Department of Linguistics of the Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal.

During that time Prof. Dr. Churamani Bandhu, and Prof. Dr. Yogendra Yadava of the Central Department of Linguistics of Tribhuvan University were my supervisors, and Prof. Dr. Karmacharya and Dr. Chandra Lal Shrestha of the Department of Foreign Relations of Tribhuvan University helped with the official formalities.

Thank you for the privilege of letting me do this research in one of the lesser known languages of Nepal.

Switzerland, November 2009

Anna Maria Hari

## Appreciation

I very much appreciate the completion of the *Yohlmo Grammar Sketch* by Dr. Anna Maria Hari, who has been seriously involved in the study of Nepal's languages for decades. Dr. Hari and Mr. Lama have just published their *Yohlmo-Nepali-English Dictionary* (Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, 2004). Seeing the detailed description of the language in this dictionary I was immediately prompted to suggest to Dr. Hari to produce a Yohlmo Grammar, which she took to heart, and now I am more than delighted to see its completion.

Nepal is characterized by extreme cultural and linguistic diversity, with more than 100 officially-recognized caste and ethnic groups which have been estimated to speak around 140 languages. However, most of these languages with their several dialects are preliterate, undocumented and threatened with extinction. The *Yohlmo Grammar Sketch* can be immensely helpful not only in promoting and preserving Yohlmo in particular, but also in serving as a model for studying Nepal's other minority languages in general, which has been a major thrust of the recently started Linguistic Survey of Nepal at the Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. In addition, this *Sketch* can be useful in introducing Yohlmo as a medium of local administration and of primary education in the Yohlmo-speaking community, in consonance with the provisions made in the *Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007)*.

Finally, I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Anna Mari Hari for her significant contribution to the Yohlmo community members and also to linguistics in general.

Yogendra P. Yadava, PhD  
Professor (Linguistics)  
Tribhuvan University

## Yohlmo Grammar Sketch

Anna Maria Hari

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### A note on the grammatical abbreviations used in the text examples of this Grammar Sketch

For the grammatical abbreviations in the text examples of this Grammar Sketch the "ABBREVIATIONS FOR INTERLINEAR MORPHEME TRANSLATION (IMT) are used. (They were suggested by the "Framework for Descriptive Grammars" project in 1991, and consequently adopted (with some modifications) by the European Typology project.)

For the Yohlmo examples of this sketch I had to invent the following additional abbreviations:

A.VS.....	alternative verb stem, cf. VS.ALT
ATTR.....	attribution/ attributive
AUX.F.LV.....	auxiliary for loan verb
C.E.FOC.....	contrary to expectation focus
EMPH.PST.....	emphatic past
INCL.....	inclusive
INT.PRS.....	intentional present
M.P.PST.....	main point past
MIR.....	mirative
N.PST.....	neutral past
OPTL.....	optional
REPET.PST.....	repetitive past
UG.....	undergoer
VS.ALT/ A.VS.....	verb stem alternative = alternative verb stem
EXP.....	experiencer
PERM.....	permissive
(E).....	Eastern dialect (word from -- area)
(N).....	Nepali loan word
(W).....	Western dialect (word from -- area)

### A note on the numbering of the Yohlmo text examples

The Yohlmo text examples appear in parentheses, e.g. (22). They are numbered consecutively, but in two blocks:

Block 1 = Major sections (1) – (3)

Block 2 = Major sections (4) – (6).

(That is, major section (4) restarts with number (01)).

Therefore, to refer to a text example unambiguously, **the major section number and the example number has to be cited.**

## (1) Introduction

### 1.1 Name of the language

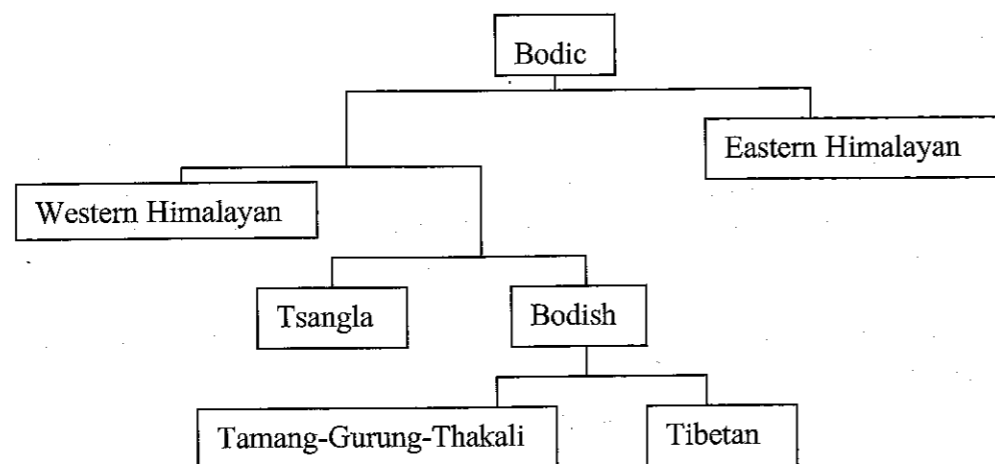
More traditionally the language described in this grammar sketch is called Helambu Sherpa. Helambu is said to be derived from "Yohlmo", which is the name of the central area where the Helambu Sherpas traditionally live. In some government records this area is referred to as "Hyolmo". Nowadays the people of this area also want their language to be called **Yohlmo** or **Yohlm**. So this is the name we will use in this study. For the Roman spelling some people prefer "Hyolmo" and others just "Yolmo".

### 1.2 Relatedness to other Tibeto-Burman languages

Here we face the problem that so far Yohlmo (or Helambu Sherpa) is not mentioned in the linguistic literature. It is rather **Kagate** which has found its place in the linguistic literature already quite early. Since I<sup>1</sup> am personally acquainted with both these languages, I know that they are very closely related. In fact, to quite a large extent they are mutually intelligible dialects. The Kagate people, whose dialect is under study in Hoehlig and Hari (1976) live in the mountain area between Likhu Khola and Khimti Khola in Ramechhap District, Janakpur Anchal, and thus they are geographically somewhat distant from the Yohlmo, whose traditional area lies north-east of Kathmandu, between Kathmandu and Langtang. However, according to their own tradition, the Kagate came originally from the Yohlmo area, from a place called "Pawa Kohmba". They say they migrated about four generations ago to the present location.

Considering all the above, we can safely assume that Yohlmo and Kagate will be in the same Tibeto-Burman language group. Since Kagate is mentioned already quite early in the linguistic literature, it is useful to see where these earlier linguists have placed it.

<sup>1</sup> In this Grammar Sketch I (Anna Maria Hari) have mainly used 'we' when referring to the author, because without my various assistants I could not have gained the knowledge expounded in this description. But for some more personal discoveries 'I' seems to be more appropriate.



After DeLancey in Thurgood and LaPolla, eds. (2003), which is based on Nishi (1986).

According to Grierson (1909/1967) Kagate belongs to the **Central Dialects of the Tibetan Group**. Among others the following languages are listed under these **Central Dialects**:

Lhasa (=Ü), Nyamkat, Jad, **Kagate**, Garhwal.

According to Shafer (1966-1973) Kagate is a member of the **Central Bodish Unit**, which belongs to the **Bodish Branch** of the **Bodish Section**, which in turn is a member of the **Bodic Division** in the **Sino-Tibetan** language phylum. (See Shafer, p. VII). Among others, the following languages are listed in this **Central Bodish Unit**:

Hloka, Śarpa, **Kagate**, Garhwal, Spiti, Nyamkat, Džad, Gtsang, Dubs (=Ü) with 15 sub-dialects, the first one being Lhasa.

According to Voegelin and Voegelin (1977) Kagate belongs to the **Central Tibetan Languages** of the **Tibetan Group**. Among others the following languages are listed in his **Central Tibetan** list:

Lhasa (=Ü=Dubs), Nyamkat, Jad, **Kagate**, Garhwal, Sherpa, Spiti, Lhoke, Sikkimese, Amdo, Chone.

These three major classifications agree in placing **Kagate** into the **Central Tibetan Group**, and thus we can safely assume that **Yohlmo** is also in this group. And further we see that it is fairly close to Lhasa Tibetan. This is also confirmed by the relative ease with which the Yohlmo people pick up some Central Tibetan from the refugees living in Nepal.

It is somewhat surprising that these earlier linguists should have come across Kagate, but not across Yohlmo. The Yohlmo people are a much larger and more prestigious group, and they also, like the Kagate, traditionally seek employment in northern India. In fact, I was suspecting that these earlier linguists came across Yohlmo speakers, who might have identified themselves as Kagate (which is the Nepali word for 'paper maker'); paper was also made in Yohlmo in the past decades. However, when I checked Grierson's data (1909/1967, p.106ff) I realized that he definitely was dealing with Kagate and not with Yohlmo. So we have to face the fact that Yohlmo just shines by its absence from the linguistic literature, and I am glad that now I can make up a bit for this.

### 1.2.1 Lexical similarity calculations with Solo-Khumbu Sherpa and Central Tibetan

In June 2001 lexical similarity calculations were carried out between Yohlmo, Solo-Khumbu Sherpa and Central Tibetan on a 240 word list, using a computer program especially designed for calculating lexical similarities. The table below indicates what percentage of lexical items of the corpus examined are clearly lexically related.

Yohlmo	compared with	Central Tibetan	66%
Yohlmo	compared with	Solo-Khumbu Sherpa	61%
Solo-Khumbu Sherpa	compared with	Central Tibetan	53%

Looking at **Yohlmo**, the percentages show that Yohlmo is slightly closer to Central Tibetan than to Solo-Khumbu Sherpa. And looking at **Yohlmo and Solo-Khumbu Sherpa**, we can see that Yohlmo is considerably closer to Central Tibetan than Solo-Khumbu Sherpa is.

### 1.3 Places spoken

The Yohlmo area lies mainly north of Kathmandu, between Kathmandu and the Lāngdāng (Langtang) peak and spreads somewhat eastwards. Politically it falls



into the western part of Sindhupālchok District and spills over into the eastern part of Nuwākot District. Both these districts fall into the Bāgmati Zone. There is a concentration of Yohlmo settlements on the eastern slope of the Melamchi river valley. This is the area where the prestige dialect is spoken. The inhabitants of the Lāngdāng valley also speak a dialect of Yohlmo. The two dialects are mutually intelligible.

#### 1.4 Mobility of the Yohlmo people

In the recent decades many Yohlmo people have gone to the regions of Northern India to seek employment. Some come back to their homeland after a while, and some don't. More recently a good number of young people have gone to Malaysia, Korea, or some Arab country, and most recently also to Israel for employment. A good number of young people have also managed to go to America in search of employment, and it is still to see, whether any of them will come back to settle again in Nepal... Furthermore, a good number of Yohlmo families have settled and built houses in Kathmandu, mainly in the Bauddha and Jorpati area.

In addition there are several pockets of "Sherpa" speakers all along from Yohlmo to Solu-Khumbu at the higher altitudes. According to what people themselves report, the dialect gradually changes from one pocket to another.

#### 1.5 Number of speakers

In 1999 the Yholmo Foundation conducted a population survey covering the main area of Yohlmo, roughly the settlements which are given on the map in section 6 below. The survey was conducted by Yohlmo speakers themselves. According to their report, there are 9,842 Yohlmos living in the main area of Yohlmo. The report (see Bibliography, section 3, the first item, 2056) explicitly states, that they counted only the people actually living in the area, not the ones living in other places in Nepal, South Asia, or even further abroad. There are many who have emigrated to other places, and this is probably the reason why some Yohlmo people give much higher estimates – anywhere from 10,000 to 50,000.

The National Report on the Population Census made in 2001 (CBS 2002) states that 3,986 people recorded "Yholmo" as their mother tongue. It is, however, not likely that the number of Yohlmo speakers would have decreased to this extent

in just four years. I think the survey conducted by the Yholmo Foundation is a more reliable source of information.

#### 1.6 Dialect studied

During my time of research, I have concentrated on the study of Yohlmo as it is spoken in the area around Sermāthāng (<sup>4</sup>sermu-<sup>4</sup>thaj) and Chhimi (<sup>4</sup>tchimi). I have also had contacts with speakers from the western area which falls into the Nuwākot District. There are some vocabulary differences, but otherwise the two dialect areas are not significantly different.

The dialect spoken by the inhabitants of Tārkeghyāng (<sup>3</sup>Langyapsa) stands out as being quite different from either the Western or Eastern dialect; but I have not had much contact with this dialect, and therefore no information is given about it.

#### 1.7 Notes on language history

##### 1.7.1 Availability of written literature

As far as writing down stories, poems or songs in Yohlmo is concerned, at the time when I started investigating Yohlmo in 1980 there existed no such texts, at least not in print. Some people may have tried and found too difficult to produce anything they would have deemed worth to circulate among their people.

There are, however, a few written records about the establishment of the oldest Buddhist temples in the Yohlmo region. A British anthropologist, Graham E. Clarke (1980b) has researched these records and found eight documents which were especially relevant and insightful. Of these eight documents no 1 – 3 (the numbers refer to Clarke's numbers) are religious histories and lama lineages, written in Tibetan, no 4 consists of two Nepalese land titles for Churyeghyang (= presumably /tʃiiri kohmba/) from the early nineteenth century. They are in Nepali (and Devanāgri) script; but they contain quite a few place and person names, which show interesting attempts to write Yohlmo in Devanāgari.

No 5 is a folk biography of Na-chang Shakya Zangpo, from Nyagi-ghyang, composed 1960 C. E. It is in Tibetan script, and I assume the language is also Tibetan.

No 6 and 7 are two Newar copper-plate land titles for the land of Tarkeghyang, dating from the first part of the eighteenth century. These two titles are in Newar, in a kind of Devanāgarī script. And no 8 is Nepalese copper-plate land title for Lhakang-ghyang, dating from the first part of the nineteenth century, in Nepali language and Devanāgarī script.

The literature which has been produced after 1980 as a fruit of the linguistic investigation of Yohlmo from which this grammar sketch draws, is listed in the bibliography of this study. All the titles are in Devanāgarī script and the orthography used is based on the phonological analysis of the language as presented in this study.

The bibliography also lists two items on the Yohlmo people written in Nepali. They were composed by educated Yohlmos, and since their education will not have included any Yohlmo component, they, of course, found it easier to write in Nepali. Furthermore, I assume that these manuscripts are not addressed to Yohlmo speakers exclusively. Rather, I think, they were published with the aim to help finding and establishing a niche for the Yohlmo community in the wider scene of the national Nepali culture, and for this Nepali is obviously more useful.

### 1.7.2 Language use

In the homes of Yohlmo people in the villages of the Yohlmo area Yohlmo is still the dominant language. Outside the home, however, some people, especially the men, prefer to use Nepali. Also, already back in the 1980s, I noticed that some of the younger families in the villages used Nepali as much as possible with their young children, so that they would not be at a disadvantage in school. But in the religious and cultural context Yohlmo is preferred.

Using Nepali exclusively with the children was also very fashionable for a long time among the families who had managed to settle in Kathmandu or temporarily in India. So at present there are quite a few young educated Yohlmos who are not able to speak their mother tongue. But in the last ten years or so this trend has been reversed a bit. More and more Yohlmos have become aware how closely their personal and group identity is linked with their

own language; therefore children are now encouraged to learn and use Yohlmo. But in town, of course, the pressure from the surrounding Nepali culture and from peers is intense.

Adults who grew up mostly in the Yohlmo area usually keep speaking Yohlmo with the members of their own generation.

Since for quite a few decades many Yohlmo people have gone to other countries in search of employment, (4. Mobility) the need for long distance communication has also arisen. The people in Yohlmo often showed me letters from some relatives in India, usually parents, having received a letter from one of their children. These were always written in Nepali.

But in the course of the last 10 – 15 years many people also have gone to Malaysia, Korea, or some Arab country in search of employment. From those countries they mostly seem to use the telephone to keep in contact with their family members back in Nepal, and this is also the case for those who have made it to the USA or Canada. From the latter two countries they usually do not return, but they settle there and gradually bring their closest family members there, too.

### 1.8 Map of the Yohlmo area with key to an orthographic Roman transcription

The map of Yohlmo in this section shows the main settlements of the Yohlmowa which are predominantly inhabited by Yohlmo speaking people. The approximate situation of each settlement is indicated with a small circle. In reality, only very few settlements are compact villages. The homesteads of most villages are spread out quite widely on the mountain slopes. Thus the map is a highly stylized representation of Yohlmo.

Some of the village names on the fringe of Yohlmo appear in parentheses, e.g. (Prahwal). This indicates that the inhabitants of those settlements are not predominantly Yohlmowa. But they are places the Yohlmowa frequently refer to, and some of them have different names in Yohlmo, e.g. (Sihma = Kiul).

Two village names on the western slope of the Yangri River valley appear in square brackets: [Kahng-Kharka] and [Pahngdang]. The inhabitants of these two

places are not really Yohlmowa. The Yohlmo people say that they can hardly understand their dialect, and their estimation is that it is closer to Solo-Khumbu Sherpa than to Yohlmo.

The place names in this map are given in an orthographic Roman transcription that can easily be typed. The following chart gives the key to this orthographic transcription for the letters which differ from the symbols used in the phonemic transcription, and also for the ones which might be ambiguous if unexplained.

Table 1: Key to orthographic Roman transcription used in the map on page 10

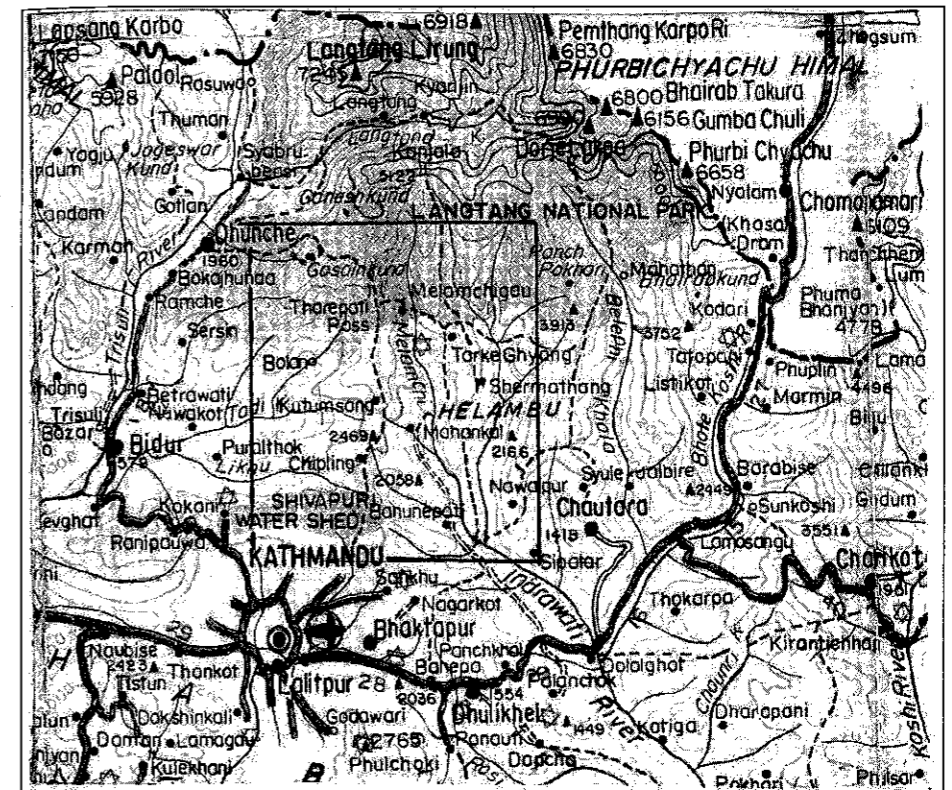
phonemic	orthographic		phonemic	orthographic	
	non-capitals	capitals		non-capitals	capitals
s	s	S	ɕ	sy	Sy
ts	ts	Ts	tɕ	chy	Chy <sup>1</sup>
tsh	tsh	Tsh	tɕh	chhy	Chhy <sup>1</sup>
dz	dz	Dz	dʒ	jy	Jy <sup>1</sup>
z	z	Z	ʒ	zy	Zy
t	t	T	t̪	t̪	T̪
d	d	D	d̪	d̪	D̪
			ŋ	ng	Ng

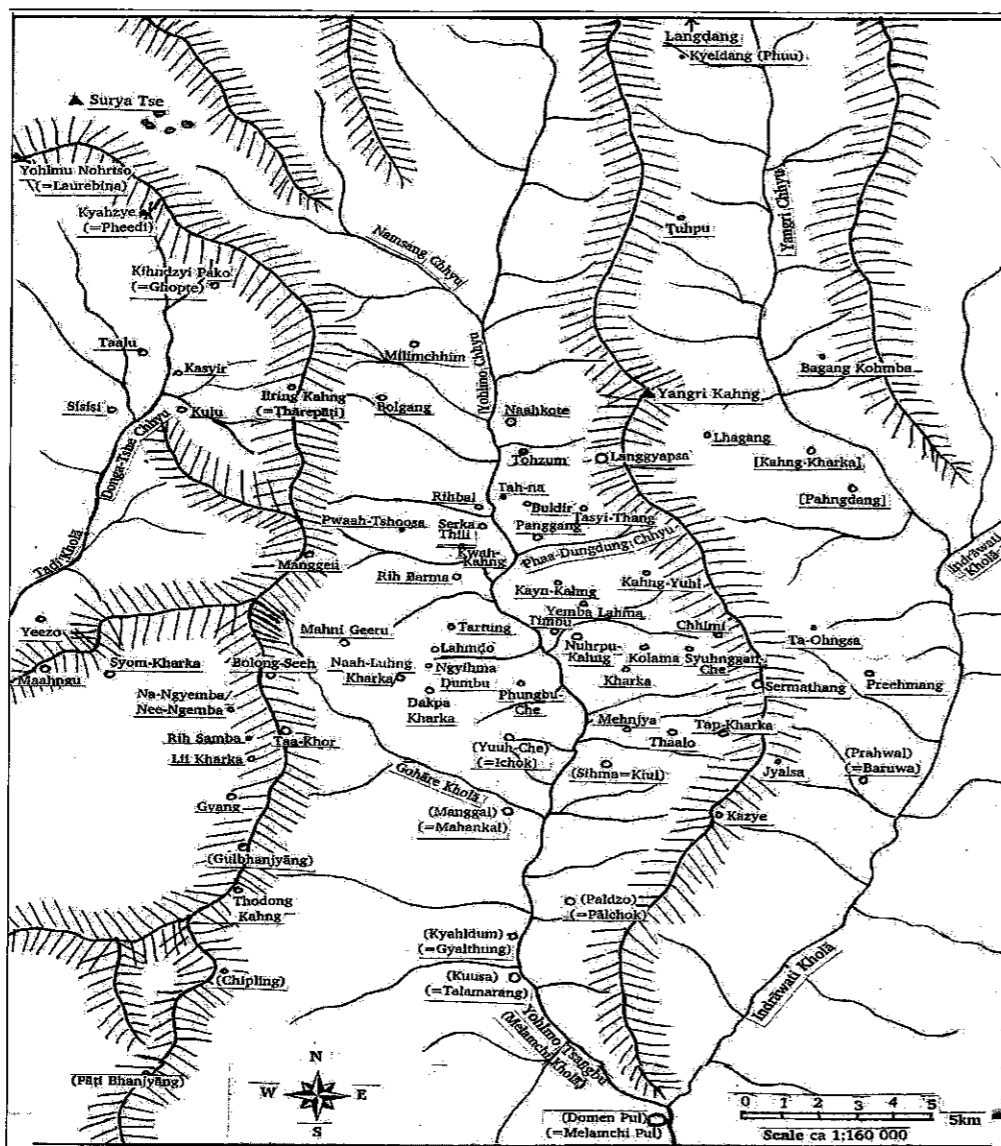
In the Roman transcription of Nepali words the low vowels are represented as follows:

back	a	A	central-front	ā	Ā

<sup>1</sup> Before the vowels /i/ and /e/ "Ch/ch", "Chh/chh", and "J/j" respectively are also acceptable, and usually preferred. Note however, that this omission of "y" cannot be applied to the lamino-alveopalatal sibilants "Sy/sy" and "Zy/zy" respectively.

Yohlmo (= Helambu). The window on the map below indicates the approximate area covered by the map on page 10.





## (2) Phonology

### Abbreviations and notational conventions used in this section:

- V vowel (note that this symbol stands for breathy vowels as well, even though phonemically we represent breathy vowel with /Vh/)
- C consonant
- ... dots stand for any segment
- becomes/ changes to
- ~ alternates phonologically with
- [ ] examples in phonetic transcription
- / / examples in phonemic transcription
- < > examples in a more abstract representation than phonemic
- L liquid consonant
- N nasal consonant

For the phonetic transcription, and basically also for the Roman Phonemic transcription, the symbols of the I.P.A. (International Phonetic Alphabet) are used.

Below is a list of some transcription symbols, which we have used in the present phonological sketch, and which need some explanation:

The symbols listed below are used in the Phonemic Roman transcription of Yohimo words, but they are not strictly I.P.A. symbols. The corresponding I.P.A. symbol is given in phonetic parentheses. Any other symbols used in the Roman transcription have the value of I.P.A. symbols.

/ky/ = [c]	/khy/ = [c <sup>h</sup> ]	/gy/ = [j]
/lh/ = [l̥]	/rh/ = [r̥]	
/Vh/ = [v̥]	breathy, low-tone vowel	

The following are the special I.P.A. symbols, which are needed for indicating subphonemic details. They occur in the phonetic transcriptions only:

[ñ]	laminal	[ʊ]	close central rounded vowel
[ɲ]	palatal	[e]	mid central rounded vowel
[ɳ]	retroflex	[æ]	near open spread front vowel



2.3 Vowels

Short vowels contrast with long vowels for all the five vowel qualities:

	front	central	back	
	i ii		u uu	high
	e ee		o oo	mid
		a aa		low

2.4 Tonal contrasts

In Yohlmo the domain for contrastive tones is the morpheme, and it is the first syllable of the morpheme which is most significant for the realization of tone contours. The primary supra-segmental contrast is the **Register Contrast**: high and low register. High register correlates with modal voice (clear-sounding voice); low register correlates with breathy voice.

In the phonological transcriptions, low register is signaled by an /h/ after the first vowel of the morpheme, while high register is left unmarked.

The secondary supra-segmental contrast is realized by different **Pitch Contours**: In the high register, we find that a basically level contour contrasts with a high, falling contour; and in the low register a basically level contour contrasts with a mid, falling contour.

In the phonological transcription the two basically level contours are left unmarked, while for the two falling contours an apostrophe is placed before the morpheme. This is the tone marking we have chosen to use for the Yohlmo examples in this sketch.

Alternatively, we have also given a number to each pitch combination. as shown in table 2 and 3. For the two low register tones, however, the /h/ also appears when the numbers are used. I mention these numbers here briefly because this is notation used for the Roman transcription of an entry in the Hyolmo-Nepali-English Dictionary (Hari and Lama, 2004).









Low register	mid-falling	<sup>1</sup> rahŋ	'rahŋ ..... 
	low-basically-level	<sup>2</sup> nahŋ	nahŋ ..... 
High register	high-falling	<sup>3</sup> naŋ	'naŋ ..... 
	high-basically-level	<sup>4</sup> naŋ	naŋ ..... 

Table 2: Tonal contrasts and their phonological representation

Number 2 and 4 are called "basically" level, because when these items are pronounced in isolation they normally end in an intonation fall.

While the register contrast is quite prominent and numerous minimal contrasts can be found for it, the contour contrasts are very subtle and minimal contrasts are few. Below is a summary table of the register and contour tone contrasts, stating also the distributional restrictions for the morpheme initial sounds:

	basically level contour	falling contour	distributional restrictions
<b>high register</b>	4 paŋ .....  'fallow ground'	3 'kaŋ .....  'marrow'	asp. sounds occur with high reg. only: kh, khy, tsh, tch, ʈh, th, ph, rh, lh, h
<b>low register</b>	2 pahŋ .....  'defiled place'	1 'kahŋ .....  'hill'	voiced stops and affricates occur with low reg. only: g, gy, dz, dz, z, z, d, d, b

Thus either register may only occur with morphemes starting with the following:

k	ky	ts	tɕ	t̪	t̪	p,
ŋ,	ŋy,	n,	m,			
y,	r,	l,	s,	ɕ	all vowels	

Table 3: Summary of the tonal contrasts and distributional restrictions for the registers

Furthermore, I want to stress that mainly the first syllable of a morpheme carries diagnostic register and contour features, and that this four-fold contrast occurs on all syllable types.

We also want to note that the voiced stops, affricates and sibilants phonemically contrast with their non-voiced counterparts, but the distribution of this contrast is restricted to the low register. Some examples

puh	'son'	bu	'insect, worm'
tahkpa	'true, innocent'	dakpa	'mud'
'jaah-	'read, study'	'd̥aa-	'get scorched'
tsahj	'storage container for grains'	dzaŋ peh-k	'be shy, reluctant'
't̥ah	'bird, fowl'	dza	'tongue,' HON
kuhr	'effigy representing a dead person'	gur	'throat, neck,' HON
sah-	'eat'	za	'rainbow'
'ɕuuh-	'enter'	'zuu-	'sit, live, stay,' HON

In this, Yohlmo is different from the Tamangic languages or Lhasa Tibetan. In those languages these segments are always more or less voiced with low register, but no contrasts can be found. (See for example Hari 1979: 5 and 25). As to the TB languages in Nepal I am aware of the following languages which also exhibit contrast between voiceless unaspirated stops and voiced stops in low register: Kagate, Jirel, Sherpa, Gurung, Dolpali, and Kham, but Western and Eastern Tamang, Thakali and Lhomi are like Lhasa Tibetan in this respect.

Following are just a few examples of the contour tone contrasts in Yohlmo. Mostly they are not Minimal Pairs, but contrasts in almost identical environment. As already stated above, Minimal contrasts for this feature are rather rare. **In the phonological transcription the falling contours are symbolized with an apostrophe before the first syllable of the morpheme.** (The lines after the lexical items given in table 2 and 3 show the course of the contours approximately as we perceive them, and they are also to be applied for the examples below.)

t̥ii	'one'	niŋ	'heart'
't̥ii	'substance (food)'	'liŋ	'mass of s.th.'
'koh	'door'	'zep	'basket with lid'
toh	'stone'	lehp	'side'
peeh	'Tibet'	nahm	'when/ darkness'
'preeh	'taste'	'lahm	'path'
t̥alda	'chain'	khamba	'a plant'
'kyalba	'leather purse'	'khan̥ba	'house'
ɕowa	'sore'	t̥ibe	'why'
'sowa	'paddy'	't̥ibe	'4 years ahead'
thowa	'club'	kohmba	'temple'
'thowa	'hightened'	'tohmba	'special vow'

Table 4: Minimally contrastive tone contours in pairs

So far we have not found a minimal set which would illustrate the fourfold tone contrast, many near minimal sets can be found, i.e. sets where any phonological conditioning can be excluded; below four such sets:

't̥ii	'substance' (food)	'tap-	'sow'
t̥ii	'one'	pap-	'take down'
kyiih	'knowledge'	pahp-	'go into trance'
'kyiih	'line of ancestry'	'tahp-	'fall down'
'sen	'seed'	'ɕimbu	'dead person'
sem	'heart-mind'	simbu	'monster'
lehn	'answer'	ɕihmbu	'tasty'
'sehn	'grain mash'	'ɕihwa	'gentle'

Table 5: Minimally contrastive sets for the four contour tones

For the role of register shifts in the derivational morphology and for tone contrasts in compounds see section (4.1.2. and 4.2.1)



### 2.5 A note on tonogenesis

The vocabulary and the phonological features of Yohlmo are close enough to Lhasa Tibetan that we can safely assume that the register and tone contrasts came about the same way. Hari (1979:160) states, "The historical origin of the register contrast in Central Tibetan can easily be recovered from the orthography, which reveals that it derives from the original voicing status and cluster compositions of the morpheme initial consonant margins." To summarize it very roughly: Morpheme initial original voiced stops, voiced fricatives and unprefixated sonorants gave rise to low register; after other sounds and sound combinations in the initial margin the register stayed high. For more details see Hari (1979:161-162)

As to the existence of the contour contrasts, which I claim to occur in Lhasa Tibetan in a similar way as in Yohlmo, I have come to the conclusion that they already existed before the register split took place. This was also proposed by Benedict (1927). He refers to them as proto-tones \*A and \*B.

Here I just want to elaborate on this a little bit because it shows that you can come to the same conclusion just by observing some synchronic features of the TB languages today

It is mainly the **pairing of pitch contours in derivation** intuitively supports my claim above. In many cases a high register transitive verb has an intransitive counterpart in low register. That is, the segments are the same; the derivation is made with a change of register. In those pairs it turns out that the low register counterpart of a verb stem with high register and basically level contour will also have basically level contour in the low register. In the same way, the high falling contour pairs with the low falling contour. (For examples and some more details on this feature see section 4.1.3.)

Further support for this conclusion also comes from some Rai and Kiranti languages from Eastern Nepal. These languages would be part of the Eastern Himalayan cluster (see the figure in the Introduction p.2) Historically these languages split off earlier from the Bodic group than the Western Bodish languages. (Van Driem). Now we also know that the Eastern Himalayan languages do not show the classical register contrast as described above for Yohlmo. But in more recent years some investigators attest that in several of the Eastern Himalayan languages a two-way tone contour contrast is found. (Khaling, Sunwar, Sotoring, Sampang – ref.: personal communication). In those

languages it is also a matter of contrasting tone contours (rather than level tones), and the phonetic subtlety of those contrasts is similar to the subtlety of the contour contrasts in Yohlmo or Lhasa Tibetan. To sum up the argument: The existence of these pitch contour contrasts in some of the Eastern Himalayan languages suggests to me that in the (Western) Bodish languages the pitch contour contrasts already existed before the register split took place. Further support for this conclusion comes from Mauzadon (1976:47) where she states:

"We have seen a large number of cases where a reduction in the number of oppositions in the system of initial consonants has triggered a split in a previously existing tonal system. Cases where a transphonologization of features from the initials onto the rhyme creates a tonal system in a *previously non-tonal language are much less frequent.*" (Italics mine).

Interestingly, this pairing also applies to a great extent to the non-verbal minimal pairs for the register contrast. In some cases the semantic relation between the pair is obvious, in other cases this is less so; they are cases of derivation by association. Some examples:

/majba/	'person of a non-lama clan' <sup>1</sup>	/nam/	'sky'
/mahjbu/	'many, much'	/nahm/	'atmospheric darkness'
/torma/	'rice statue'	/ɕamu/	'mushroom'
/tohrma/	'women's skirt'	/ɕahmu/	'hat'
Association for the last two pairs = shape			

Table 6: Pairing of pitch contours in derivations by association

For support for the claim that there is some association between the pairs above see section 4.1.4.

### 2.6 Phonological alternations

The most striking phonological alternations are described below in sections 2.6.1-3.

<sup>1</sup> They are more numerous:



### 2.6.1 Voicing assimilation of suffixes with initial stops or affricates

A good number of suffixes (verbal and other) start with a stop or affricate. The initial stop or affricate of these suffixes shows assimilation of voicing to the stem final segment after which it occurs. The assimilation is phonologically predictable in all environments except after verb stems ending in one of the short front vowels /i/ or /e/.

#### 2.6.1.1 Exception verbs to the voicing assimilation rule

After the verb stems ending in one of the short front vowels /i/ or /e/ the voicing status of the suffix initials is not predictable; after some stems the suffix initials are voiced, and after others they are voiceless. Thus, in this subgroup of verb stems (which comprises a relatively small number of stems) we have morphologically conditioned alternation between voiceless and voiced suffix initials, and therefore we need to mark these stems as exceptions in the lexicon. In other words, for each verb stem ending in a short front vowel, we indicate in the lexicon whether it calls for the voiceless suffix series or for the voiced one.

(In the lexicon the abbreviated symbol for "voiceless suffix" is /-k/ after the verb stem, and for "voiced suffix" the symbol is /-g/. Further we notice that the vowel changes we observe in the alternate verb stem base also only apply to the verb stems marked with /-g/, while those marked with /-k/ resist these changes.)

(Examples: The first column in the tables below gives the lexicon entry form of the given verb stem)

pi-k 'pull out'	'moh-gi 'rahŋ-gi ʃa pi-ken! She-ERG OWN-GEN hair pull.out-I.PRS 'She pulls out her own hair!'
çi-g 'die'	'mih thamdʒi'raŋ çi-gen 'yihn. People all-EMPH die-I.PRS AUX.TRUTH.EMPH 'Certainly all people will die.'

çe-k 'tell'	'kho-gi tehndam-gi tam çe-ken 'yihn. he-ERG truth-GEN word tell-I.PRS AUX.TRUTH.EMPH 'He is certainly telling the truth'
'kye-g	di piihmi-gi pehza 'kye-gen 'yihn. this woman-ERG child give.birth-I.PRS AUX.TRUTH.EMPH

'give birth'	'This woman is certainly going to have a child.'
-----------------	--



### (3) Inflectional and derivational morphology

#### 3.1 Nouns

Nouns in Yohlmo are not only used to name people and things, but also states and qualities; that is, Yohlmo has a good number of abstract nouns.

The distinction **animate vs. inanimate noun** is relevant for the marking of the two core arguments undergoer and goal in the clause. (See section 3.5.2.1) below.

The distinction between **human and non-human nouns** is relevant for the pronominal substitution. (See section 3.2).

The **plural formation** for nouns is very simple; it just involves adding the plural suffix /-'ya/ to the stem. However, it is used very sparingly. Whenever it is clear from the context that plural is involved it is omitted. In particular, this is the rule if the noun occurs with a numeral or any other quantifier:

- (01) khun-di 'khaŋba sum 'yeh-ba.  
they-ATTR house three is-EMPH  
'They have three houses.'
- (02) 'Barma-la kaah-la 'ma-na 'mih 'sihk 'sihk 'sihk ohŋ-gu 'du.  
India-LOC where-LOC say-COND people dense dense dense come-IMPF AUX.MIR  
'Wherever you go in India there are bustling crowds of people.'

The plural suffix /-'ya/ is also used with locatives to make the location somewhat indefinite:

- (03) pehza nyii 'poh-'ya-la ohŋ-na-ni ŋah 'so 'suh 'kyahp-ku 'du./  
child two near-PL-LOC come-COND-FOC my tooth pain hit-IMPF AUX.MIR  
'Whenever these two children come somewhere near me, I get a tooth ache.'

#### 3.1.1 Nominal Classifier

Yohlmo uses only one rudimentary classifier: /'thal/. It is only used when the noun is followed by a numeral, and then only if the number of things is to be emphasized.

- (04) di 'paalo 'tcahmu-'ya-gi 'kohŋa tɕu 'thal 'kyee 'du.  
this time hen-PL-ERG egg ten CLF lay.A.VS AUX.MIR  
'This time the hens laid ten eggs.' (Implication: that's a lot.)

#### 3.1.2 Primarily nominal clitics and suffixes

The following is a list of the suffixes and clitics which are primarily nominal. I call them 'primarily nominal', because most of them may also be attached to verb phrases. Nevertheless, they are not so directly related to the tense/ aspect systems as the suffixes and the auxiliaries listed in sections 3.7.1 and 2.

Each suffix or clitic has various usages. This listing also includes the case markings. We will give only the most basic senses for each item. (For examples illustrating the usage of each suffix see the corresponding dictionary entry: Hari, Lama, 2004. Examples for the case marking clitics are also found in the illustrations given in section 3.5.2: Verb classes based on different transitivity.)

- /-'aŋ / -'ãã / -'aa/ 'also; even'  
/-kar ~ -gar/ 'numeral group' (suffixed to numerals)

Numerals ending in a long vowel have the vowel shortened and take the voiceless suffix. Examples:

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| /sum-gar/              | 'the three of them'   |
| /'zi-gar/              | 'the four of them'  |
| /ŋyi-kar/              | 'both of them'  |
| /'kyeh-kar/            | 'the eight of them'   |
| /-ki ~ -gi ~ -y/       | 1. 'ergative; instrumental; reason (causer)'<br>2. 'possessive; genitive; optional adjectivizer'  |
| /-tse~dze~ze/          | 'about; approximately' (This suffix is very versatile. It is used with quantities, qualities, verb stems and noun stems. Numerals with long vowels get shortened and require the voiceless suffix.) |
| /-tse-ba~dze-ba~ze-ba/ | 'as much as, referring to quality more than quantity'   |
| /-ta ~ -da/            | 'along a location'  |
| /-ti ~ -di/            | 'specific identification, singling out parts/participants; attribution and elliptical possession; also nominalizer for complement clauses'. (See section 5.2.2.).                                   |

/-ni/	'topical highlighting; moderate focus'
/-ya/	'plural' (used on noun, pronoun, locative, temporal and verb phrases)
/-raa/	'etcetera; and the like' (used with adjective and noun stems)
/-ree/	'etcetera; and the like' (used only with noun stems)
/-raŋ ~ -'taŋ ~ -'daŋ / -'ra/	'emphatic' (used with nominal and verbal phrases).
/-ro ~ -do ~ -to/	'gradual increase in the stated quality or quantity' (suffixed to adj. and qt. stems; the whole phrase is most often reduplicated). - Phonological conditioning of the variants: /-do/ occurs after the vd. stem final consonants /m, n, l/; after /ŋ/, and after the vl. stem final consonants /p, k, r/ we find /-to/ in free fluctuation with /-ro/; after stem final vowels we always have /-ro/. (Note that the conditioning for the variants of the probability suffix is slightly different.)
/-la/	on non-verbal phrases: 'locative; goal; undergoer'; on verbal phrases: various usages
/-le(-gi)/	on non-verbal phrases: 'from' (directional); on verbal phrases: various usages
/-le(e)/	an interesting question suffix; it is attached to adj. stems and means 'how much of that quality or quantity?'
/-se(e)/	'somewhat more or less of the stated quality or quantity' (This suffix is attached to adj. stems, and to some verb stems; whether more or less is meant depends on the lexical content of the preceding stem.)

### 3.2 Pronouns

Pronouns in Yohlmo are basically human. Third person pronouns are normally not used as substitutes for non-human noun phrases (including animals). For

things and animals occasionally the demonstratives /<sup>2</sup>ooh/ 'that' and /<sup>2</sup>di/ 'this' are used like pronouns; but very often the repetition of the noun (phrase) is preferred. For the lack of a honorific pronoun see section 4.3.2.

**Personification** of animals in stories, of course, is possible, and occasionally a third person pronoun might be used for a domestic animal.

The following table summarizes the most important distinctions made in the pronominal system:

	singular	plural	dual
1 <sup>st</sup> person	<sup>2</sup> ŋah	incl. <sup>2</sup> ohraŋ (E) incl. <sup>1</sup> uuh (W) excl. <sup>1</sup> ŋyih	<sup>1</sup> ohraŋ <sup>4</sup> ŋyii — <sup>1</sup> ŋyih <sup>4</sup> ŋyii
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	<sup>4</sup> khye	<sup>3</sup> khya	<sup>3</sup> khyaa <sup>4</sup> ŋyii
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	m. <sup>3</sup> kho f. <sup>1</sup> moh	<sup>4</sup> khun	<sup>4</sup> khun <sup>4</sup> ŋyii
reflexive	<sup>1</sup> raŋ		

Table 7: The pronouns

The use of the dual is optional. But it is used frequently; using it sounds good. Plural pronouns are occasionally suffixed with the plural suffix /-ya/, even though plurality is adequately marked by the unaffixed stem.

All the pronouns have an emphatic form, for which the suffix /-raŋ/ is added (from /<sup>1</sup>raŋ/ 'self'), and the meaning is something like 'I myself', 'he himself', etc. Note that this /-raŋ/ is homophonous with the very frequently used emphatic suffix /-raŋ/. In fact, this is probably the origin of the emphatic suffix, and with the emphatic forms of the pronouns its semantic content is still easily recognized, but less so with the emphatic suffix on other lexical items. This is confirmed by the observation that the emphatic pronoun forms with /-raŋ/ may be followed by the emphatic suffix /-raŋ/:

(05) khye-ni do meh-'koh-en, khun-'raŋ-'raŋ do-zu!  
you-FOC go NEG-need-PRS they-self-EMPH go-OPT

'You don't need to go, they can jolly well go by themselves!'

We also notice that /'rahŋ/ 'self' can stand for a pronoun by itself:

- (06) 'rahŋ dɔ miih-khu-na puh-la taŋ 'koh-en./  
 self go NEG-able-COND son-GOAL send must-PRS  
*'If you can't go yourself, you have to send your son.'*

### 3.3 Adjectives

As to the placing of the adjectives, the traditional placing for adjectives is after the head of the noun phrase. Style conscious people insist on this. But some people, probably influenced by the Nepali word order, may place them occasionally also before the noun head.

- (07) 'khaŋba tɕhimbu tɕhimbu-'ya-la-'ga 'teh-ku 'du.  
 house big big-PL-LOC-C.E.FOC live-IMPF AUX.MIR  
*'I realize that they are living in big houses.'*

- (08) tabu piihru-di 'tɕhoŋ 'du./  
 horse little-SPEC run AUX.MIR  
*'Oh, the foal has run away!'*

It is also interesting to note that a good number of adjectives are derived from verb stems:

yaah-bu, adj.	'good, nice, beautiful'	yaah-, v.t.	'bear fruit'
'kah-wa, adj.	'fortunate, happy'	'kah-g, v.dr.	'like s.th.'
'teh-mu adj.	'comfortable'	'teh-k v.i.	'sit, stay, live'

So many adjectives are derived from verbs that one might get the impression that this is exclusively so. But actually there are also quite a good number which cannot be related to any verb stem:

olba	'industrious, diligent'	'ahŋe	'open'
uldumba	'foolish, stubborn'	'khakti	'bitter'

Stringing up of different adjectives in one noun phrase is not common. I have not observed it. But repetition of the same adjective for emphasis is very common (see ex. (07) above). In addition, there are a good number of adj. phrases made up of doublets, and these frequently occur when in an English noun phrase we

might have more than one adj., or some other device to expand the description of the quality of the noun:

'koh 'ahŋa ohŋe du.	'The door is <b>wide open</b> .'
sa 'kahraŋ 'kohroŋ 'du.	'The ground is <b>very uneven</b> .'
'lahm kaktəŋ kuktiŋ 'du.	The path is <b>very windy</b> .'
'lahm 'kahrak 'kohrok 'du.	'The path is <b>full of rocks and holes</b> .'
'balu am tɕak tɕak 'du.	'The beer is <b>insipid and tasteless</b> .'
tuhŋbu paga 'pige-'ya	'the <b>freshly sprouted trees</b> '

#### 3.3.1 Exclamatory form of adjectives

The majority of adjectives ends in /-u/, and most of these have an exclamatory form ending in /-a/. The exclamatory form is used in exclamatory contexts:

- (09) yahpsa-la 'tɕihbi niŋ 'tɕehmu-zi 'teh-ku 'du.  
 porch-LOC bird endearing-one sit-IMPF AUX.MIR  
*'Oh, there is a cute little bird on the porch.'*

- (10) 'tɕepa yaahbu 'du, pehza niŋ 'tɕehwa-zi!  
 disposition good COP.MIR child endearing.EX-one  
*'She/he is so well behaved, what a lovely child!'*

- (11) 'kho-gi tɕhu 'tsaŋbu dzubu 'thoŋ-sin 'du lo.  
 he-ERG water river huge see-N.PST AUX.MIR REP  
*'He saw a huge river.'*

- (12) 'ahna muuh-la-'raŋ 'teh-ke. 'raar dzuba/ dziba!  
 in.that.case below-LOC-EMPH sit-I.PRS desire huge.EX  
*'In that case I will sit down here. How interesting'*

The derivation of exclamatory adjectives is fairly regular; that is, the forms are predictable from the CV-pattern of the neutral adjective. The neutral patterns fall into eight groups, and the rules for the derivation are as follows: (With each group a small number of representative examples are given.)

ordinary form	exclamatory form	English
1. CVV/ CV -bu → <sup>3</sup> khyaa-bu <sup>2</sup> dzee-bu	CVV / CV -ba <sup>3</sup> khyaa-ba <sup>2</sup> dzee-ba	cold smart looking
2. CV -pu → <sup>3</sup> sa-pu <sup>2</sup> rah-pu	CV -ba <sup>3</sup> sa-ba <sup>2</sup> rah-ba	thin strong
3. CV -mu → <sup>4</sup> phra-mu <sup>3</sup> khye-mu	CV -wa <sup>4</sup> phra-wa <sup>3</sup> khye-wa	fine, thin cheap
4. CVC -bu/-pu/-mu → CVC -a <sup>2</sup> zaŋ-bu <sup>2</sup> tihm-bu <sup>3</sup> kha <sup>4</sup> sal-bu	CVC -a <sup>2</sup> zaŋ-a <sup>2</sup> tihm-a <sup>3</sup> kha <sup>4</sup> sal-a	generous clever, cunning friendly
5. CVk -pu → <sup>3</sup> khyuk-pu <sup>4</sup> tchuk-pu	CVg -a / CVk-pa <sup>3</sup> khyug-a / <sup>3</sup> khyuk-pa <sup>4</sup> tchug-a	industrious rich
(In the group above some adjectives have 2 alternative exclamatory forms, and some do not.)		
6. CV -ndi → <sup>3</sup> tshandi <sup>3</sup> kandi	CV -wa <sup>3</sup> tsha-wa <sup>3</sup> ka-wa	hot thick (of a sauce)

### 3.3.2 Other adjective suffixes

In addition to the features above adjectives in Yohlmo also may take some other interesting suffixes to modify them. Here we just give a list of them; some of them are used exclusively for adjectives, but others may be suffixed to other lexical categories as well. More details of usage and meaning for each suffix and illustrative examples are found in the corresponding dictionary entry. (Hari, Anna Maria and Chhegu Lama. 2004.)

/-le ~ -lee/	suffixed to adjective stems: 'how much of a given quality or quantity?'
/-se ~ -see/	suffixed to adjective stems: 'somewhat more or less of the stated quality or quantity' (For these two morphemes see also the last two items in the list of this section 3.4.. Semantically they are the same morphemes.)
/-tse ~ -dze ~ -ze/	suffixed to adjective stems: 'about, approximately that quality'
/-co/	suffixed to adjective, verb, temporal, and locative stems: 'superlative'
/-dzi ~ -zi ~ -dzi ~ -tci/	suffixed to adjectives: 'something of that quality'. Phonological conditioning:
<-tci> → /-tci/	after voiceless finals
→ /-dzi/	after /n/
→ /-dzi/	after other voiced consonants
→ /-zi/	after vowels (that is after surface vowels; this means also after nasalized vowels, which always derive from an underlying syllable-final nasal consonant).

### 3.4 Verb stem nominalizers

Yohlmo has an interesting variety of verb stem nominalizers:

/-ka ~ -ga/ 'verb stem nominalizer' (This suffix is not very productive.)

(13) di saudzi 'kar-ka yaahbu ter-ku 'du.  
this shop.keeper weigh-NR good give-IMPFX AUX.MIR

*This shop keeper gives good weight.*

**/-ku ~ -gu/** 'verb stem nominalizer' (also not very productive, except in the auxiliary verb phrase **/-ku ~ -gu 'tche-k/**, see below.)

**/-ku ~ -gu tche-ko 'wa /** 'verb stem nominalizer phrase'

- (14) di pehza 'lahm-la dɔ-gu 'tche-ko 'wa?  
 this child path-LOC walk-IMP break-IMP attitude particle:perceptive  
*Will this child be able to keep up with us with walking?*
- (15) 'kho-gi ter 'koh-ē 'pela-ya ter-ku 'tche-ko 'wa!  
 he-ERG give must-IPRS material-PL give-IMP break-IMP att.part.:mind!  
*He will be able to give the materials he has to give.*

(16) **/-naŋ/** 'verb stem nominalizer with a fairly neutral meaning; referring to the appearance of state or action; display verbing'

tɕi zaanaŋ tsokpaɕi 'du, di pasalla!  
 tɕi zaa-naŋ tsokpa-tɕii 'du di pasal-la  
 what put-display.v bad -one AUX.MIR this shop-LOC  
*What an awful mess in this shop!*

kho dɔnaŋ'raŋ ooh leehmu!  
 kho dɔ-naŋ-'raŋ ooh leehmu  
 his go-display.v-EMPH that alike  
*That's just the way he walks!*

(17) **/-taŋ ~ -daŋ/** 'verb stem nominalizer: 'displaying a forceful show'

tɕahmuni toh kyahptaŋ tɕiila'raŋ 'çisin!  
 tɕahmu-ni toh kyahp-taŋ tɕii-la-'raŋ 'çi-sin  
 chicken-FOC stone hit-NR one-GOAL-EMPH die-N.PST  
*He killed the chicken with a single throw of a stone.*

oohlegi kindzogi 'uu 'çaŋdaŋ tɕiila'raŋ  
 ooh-le-ki kindzo-ki 'uu 'çaŋ-taŋ tɕii-la-'raŋ  
 that-from-source.op God-GEN breath churn-NR one-GOAL-EMPH

'kho rihldze 'yeh  
 'kho rihl-tɕe 'yeh  
 he fall.over-INF be  
*And then at one breath taking of the God he will fall.*

(18) **/-'luhŋ/** 'have time for the activity'. (See also sec. 4.2.2 Compounding with verb stems)

ŋahla to sah-'luhŋzi'aŋ mahyohŋ 'tihin!  
 ŋah-la to sah-'luhŋ-tɕii-'aŋ mah-ohŋ 'tihin  
 I-GOAL grain.meal eat-leisure-one-also NEG.PST-come today  
*Today I didn't even have time to eat!*

khuŋ 'meehme'yala 'thuu dɔzela 'khum-'luhŋ'raŋ  
 khuŋ 'meehme-'ya-la 'thuu...dɔ-tɕe-la 'khum-'luhŋ-'raŋ  
 they family-PL-GOAL meet go-INF-GOAL have.leisure-leisure-EMPH

mahyohŋ!  
 mah-ohŋ  
 NEG.PST-come  
*I just didn't have time to go and meet them.*

(19) /-lu/ verb stem nominalizer: 'way of doing something'

'khoni 'tchamlu tsokpazi pehku 'du.  
 'kho-ni 'tcham-lu tsokpa-tçii peh-ku 'du  
 he-FOC dance -way.of.acting bad-one do-IMPF AUX.MIR  
*He is dancing in an indecent way.*

'khogi to sahluzi teedi 'mih 'keehmu  
 'kho-ki to sah-lu-tçii ta-0 -ti 'mih 'keehmu  
 he-GEN grain.meal eat -way.of.acting-only look-VS.ALT-NFL people laughter

kyahpluzi!  
 kyahp-lu-tçii  
 hit-way.of.acting-one  
*Just looking at his way of eating one has to laugh!*

(20) /-sa/ suffixed to verb stems to make locative nouns: 'the place where such and such is done' (e.g. resting place); or to make the verb stems adjectives

ŋah 'dzara sahsala qoen.  
 I 'dzara sah-sa -la qo-en.  
 I snack eat-NR-GOAL go-INT.PRS  
*I want to go to the place where they eat the snack.*

khuj tshoo phulsa 'gyaala'raŋ 'yehba!  
 khuj tshoo phul-sa 'gyaa-la-'raŋ'yeh-ba!  
 They offering offer-ADJECTIV place-LOC-EMPH be-EMPH  
*They are at the place where the offering is performed.*

For some interesting compounding features with verb stems see section 4.2.2.

### 3.5 Verbs

The verb conjugation of Yohlmo is amazingly regular and simple; It has only one real exception verb: /<sup>h</sup>qo-g/, a handful of irregular imperatives, and one

dozen or so exception verbs for voicing assimilation of suffixes (the verb stems with vowel /i/ or /e/ marked with -k, see section 2.6.1.1).

Otherwise the conjugation of verbs is straight forward; there is no person agreement (with Actor), no pronominalization (i.e. agreement with Undergoer or Goal), and no direction marking in the verb phrase.

An elegant feature of Yohlmo is the vowel quality and length alternations occurring between verb stem (vs) and alternate verb stem (a.vs) as described below in section 3.5.1.

#### 3.5.1 Alternate verb stem base

Verb stems, which end in a short vowel and take the voiced suffix series undergo regular morphophonemic changes before certain suffixes, while before others they remain unchanged. We have called the changed base 'alternate verb stem'. It occurs before the non-final suffix <-ti> and in various other definable contexts. (See the bullet list below table 8 below.)

The rules to derive alternate verb stem from verb stem (the form listed in the dictionary) are as follows:

Non-front vowels undergo the following change in vowel quality and length:

/u/ → /ii/  
 /o/ → /ee/  
 /a/ → /ee/

Front vowels undergo only lengthening:

/e/ → /ee/  
 /i/ → /ii/

The following tense-aspect forms call for alternate verb stem: (Each verb phrase is given in both its affirmative and negative form and illustrated with /'ma-/ 'to say, tell'. The translations given can only be approximations to the meanings expressed in Yohlmo.)



tense/aspect form	affirmative verb phrase	negative verb phrase
present perfect	/mee-di 'yeh(-ba)/ 'has said'	'maah-'me 'yeh(-ba)' 'has not said'
past perfect	/mee-di 'yehke(n)/ 'had said'	/mee-di meehba 'yehke(n)/ 'had not said'
probable present perfect	/mee 'yeh-to/ 'has probably said'	/maah-'me 'yeh-to/ 'has probably not said'
present perfect, mirative	/mee(-di) 'du(-ba)/ 'I realize (he) said'	/maah-'me 'du/ 'I realize he didn't say'
emphatic-expressive past	/mee-di!/ 'said'	(no corresponding negative form)
dramatic past	/mee!/ 'say it!'	(no corresponding negative form)
imperative	/mee!/'mee-donj!/ 'say it!'	/mah-'ma!/ 'don't say it!'
In the two following only the negative forms require alternate verb stem bases:		
neutral past	/ma-sin/ 'said'	/maah-'me/ 'didn't say'
main-point/telling past	/ma-'kyo!/ '(I) told you!'	/maah-'me-ba!/ '(I) didn't tell it!'

Table 8: Examples for the alternate verb stem base

(When <-sin> and <-kyo> are followed by auxiliaries, they follow the same pattern in the negative forms.)

Some auxiliary verbs also require the preceding main verb to take the alternate verb stem base. If a given auxiliary verb requires the alternate verb stem base, this information is given in the dictionary with the entry of the auxiliary verb. We find it in the grammar note at the end of the entry: [Gram:....]

In summary, we need to remember that the alternate verb stem occurs in the following environments:

- Before the suffixes /-di/ and /-ba/ in independent and dependent verb phrases; in some forms /-di/ is an optional element; if it is dropped, the alternate verb stem base is retained.
- In the negative form of the /-sin/ past.
- In the affirmative form of the imperative.
- In the dramatic past.
- In the probable present perfect.
- Before the verbal post-position /phandzo/ 'since, after'; in this environment there is fluctuation; some speakers use the alternate verb stem, while others don't.
- Before the following four auxiliary verbs:

'teh-k aux. 'keep doing s.th.' [Gram: vs perf.<sup>1</sup> + <-ti> + aux.]

ta- aux. 'try doing s.th.' [Gram: vs perf. + aux.]

ter- aux. 'do s.th. for somebody' [Gram: vs perf. + aux.]

'zaa- aux. 'do s.th. definitely/ forcefully;  
do s.th. negative to s.b.' [Gram: vs perf. + aux.]

(This last display also illustrates the form of the grammar note which appears with the dictionary entries of these auxiliary verbs.)

The table below gives some examples of the alternate verb stem base for each vowel:

<sup>1</sup> vs perf. = A.VS. At the time of writing the dictionary we called this alternate verb stem base verb stem perfect, but find now that alternate verb stem base is a better designation

/sa 'ko-/	'to dig up ground'
/sa 'kee-don!/ (with a high tone on the /n/)	'Dig up the ground!'
/sa 'kee-di 'yeh-ken./	'The ground had been dug up.'
/sa 'kee 'teh-ku 'du./	'(He) keeps digging up the ground.'
/ɲuh-/	'to cry'
/ɲiih-di kahl-sin./	'(He) went crying.'
/ɲiih 'yeh-to./	'(He) is probably crying.'
/maah-ɲih 'du!/ (with a high tone on the /h/)	'I realize he didn't cry.'
/'kye-g/	'to sprout; to give birth'
/'tσα 'kyee-di 'yeh./	'The grass has sprouted.'
/'tσα 'kye-sin 'du./	'I see, the grass has sprouted.'
/'tσα maah-'kye 'du./	'I see, no grass has sprouted.'
/'ci-g/	'to die'
/'kho 'cii-di!/ (with a high tone on the /i/)	'He died.' (expressive)
/'kho 'ci-sin./	'He died.' (neutral)
/'kho maah-'ci./	'He didn't die.'
/sah-/	'to eat'
/to seeh-di!/ (with a high tone on the /i/)	'I have already eaten!'
/to sah-sin./	'I have eaten.'
/to maah-seh 'yeh./	'I haven't eaten yet.'

Table 9: Some examples of the form of the alternate verb stem base for each vowel

(For the behavior of vowel length in the negative prefixes see section 5.6.2.2).  
 A good number of additional phonological alternations are described in the Yohlmo-Nepali-English Dictionary, Hari and Lama (2004: Appendix 7).  
 These vowel quality and length alternations are not observed in the dialect of Tarke-Ghyang (Langyapsa), nor in Kagate.

### 3.5.2 Verb classes based on different transitivity

Yohlmo is an ergative language. We observe that the actors of some verbs take the ergative suffix <-ki>, while others don't. It seems important to indicate in the lexicon which verbs ask for the ergative suffix, and which ones don't. This entails a sub-classification of the verbs, and we found that sub-classifying them according to the number of nuclear noun phrase arguments a given verb can take is a good start, though we must admit, it does not account entirely for the observed use of the ergative marker. Some observations concerning marker omission and suppression are given below in 3.5.2.4-5.

The traditional terms Subject, Object, and Indirect Object for the clause arguments did not seem too helpful for Yohlmo. We find that the more semantic terms **actor**, **undergoer**, and **goal** are more insightful. (A detailed presentation of this theoretical approach can be found in "Clause, Sentence, and Discourse Patterns, Part I and II", eds. Hale and Watters, SIL, 1973)

Looking at the various verbs, we find that some verbs are basically **active**, that is, they take an actor, while others are basically **receptive**, that is, they do not take an actor. This results in the first basic division: **active** vs **receptive verbs**. In each of these sets we observe the following distribution of the nuclear noun phrase arguments:

#### 3.5.2.1 Active set

actor	goal	undergoer	event	verb type
+ <-ki>	+ <-la>	+ <-0>	+	ditransitive (v.dt.)
+ <-ki>	-	+ <-0>	+	transitive (v.t.)
+ <-0>	-	-	+	intransitive (v.i.)

That is, ditransitive verbs potentially take an actor, goal and undergoer argument; transitive verbs potentially take an actor and a goal argument; and intransitive verbs potentially only take an actor.

The marking of the arguments is given in the table; but the following observations show that some refinements need to be made.

The **undergoer of transitive verbs** is unmarked, except for animate undergoers. These may take the suffix <-la>, but this is an optional feature.

The **undergoer of ditransitive verbs** is always unmarked. Animate undergoers are not marked with <-la>, because this would result in a sequence of two nuclear arguments marked with <-la>, and this is not tolerated. (See also section 3.5.2.4 below).

The **goal argument of ditransitive verbs** takes the goal suffix <-la>. The same suffix is used for locative arguments; for this reason the term goal was chosen, since it covers both uses. (In the above mentioned studies this third argument is often called "site".) Examples for each type follow:

**v.i.**

- (21) pehza **ɲuh-w** 'du.  
child cry-IMPFX AUX.MIR  
'Oh, the child is crying!'

- (22) di 'kyibu-ni mahɲbu-'raŋ **'suuh-w** 'du.  
this dog-FOC much-EMPH bark-IMPFX AUX.MIR  
'Oh, this dog is barking such a lot!'

**v.t.**

- (23) ɲah-**gi** 'çoh **'up-sin.**  
I-ERG yoghurt cover-N.PST  
'I covered up the yoghurt.'

- (24) 'kyibu-**gi** pehza-la **'kahp-sin./**  
dog-ERG child-GOAL bite-N.PST  
'The dog bit the child.'

**v.dt.**

- (25) 'nooh-**gi** aba-'ama-la 'yihgi **taŋ** 'du.  
y.brother-ERG father-mother-GOAL letter send AUX.MIR  
'My younger brother sent a letter to my parents.'

- (26) 'ama-**gi** ɲah-la tam thamdzi-'raŋ **çe-sin.**  
mother-ERG I-GOAL matter all-EMPH tell-N.PST  
'Mother told me everything.'

Occasionally a verb requires or allows an additional marker for a certain argument. Such unpredictable behavior is given in the grammar note of the lexical entry:

/'ma-/**v.dt.** 'say; talk; tell' [Gram: goal takes <-la> or <-ki 'poh-la>].

- (27) "'tçohzo 'kehpu-ni nahm simu-'raŋ rih-la ço-w 'du-ba"  
e.brother old.man-FOC early-EMPH forest-LOC go-IMPFX AUX.MIR-EMPH  
'mee-di Samden-gi aba-'ama ɲyii-**gi** 'poh-la 'ma-sin./  
say.A.VS-NFNL Samden-ERG father-mother two-GEN near-GOAL say-N.PST  
'Samden told his parents, "I saw big, old lama brother going to the forest very early in the morning!"'

**3.5.2.2 Observations on the omission of the ergative marker**

As typical for ergative languages, the actors of ditransitive and transitive verbs take the ergative suffix <-ki>. However, under certain syntactic conditions (mainly related to the aspect and tense of utterances and some other constraints) the ergative suffix may be omitted. Below we give various examples with omitted ergative marker, accompanied by some explanations:

- The ergative marker occurs more regularly with the neutral past than with the present mirative form:
- (28) 'kho-**gi** 'meh 'tuuh-sin.  
he-ERG fire expose-N.PST  
'He warmed himself by the fire.'

- (29) 'kho(-gi) 'meh 'tuuh-w 'du.  
 he(-ERG) fire expose-IMPF AUX.MIR  
*'Oh, he is warming himself by the fire.'*

- Also in the intentional present the ergative marker is often not necessary:

- (30) ŋah nahŋbar dela meh-sah.  
 I tomorrow here NEG-eat  
*'I won't eat here tomorrow.'*

- (31) ŋah 'nahre tɕhaŋ mih-thuŋ.  
 I now whisky NEG-drink  
*'I won't drink whisky now.'*

- The genitive or possessive suffix also happens to be <-ki>. This often would result in two or more consecutive arguments ending in <-ki>. But this is not good style. The speaker (or writer) carefully monitors from case to case which <-ki> can be dropped best without losing clarity. (Two <-ki>'s in a row are sometimes tolerated, but rarely more than two.)

- (32) 'kho-gi 'guru-la 'tehpa looh-sin.  
 he-ERG teacher-GOAL commitment return-N.PST  
*'He forsook the teacher.'*

- (33) 'kho 'raŋ-gi 'guru-la 'tehpa looh-sin./  
 he own-GEN teacher-GOAL commitment return-N.PST  
*'He forsook his teacher.'*

- For the suppression of <-ki> by <-ni> see section 3.6.2.4 below.
- Co-actors (or groups acting together) usually don't take erg. <-ki>; see section 3.6.2.5. below.

The rules governing the omissions are subtle and would need a detailed description of several discourse features. This is beyond the scope of this short sketch.

### 3.5.2.3 Receptive set

actor	goal	undergoer	event	verb type
-	+ <-la>	+ <-0>	+	direceptive (v.dr.)
-	-	+ <-0>	+	receptive (v.r.)
/ -	+ <-la>	-	+	semi-receptive (v.semi-r.)
-	-	-	+	eventive (v.e.)

Direceptive verbs potentially take an unmarked undergoer and a goal marked with <-la>, receptive verbs potentially take an unmarked undergoer, semi-receptive verbs potentially take a goal marked with <-la> (but no unmarked undergoer!), and eventive verbs take neither.

While there are quite a lot of direceptive verbs, the number of receptive, semi-receptive and eventive verbs is very small. Following are some examples illustrating each of the above verb types in context:

v.dr.

- (34) ŋah-la 'he 'kah-en.  
 I-GOAL potatoes like-CUST.PRS  
*'I like potatoes.'*

- (35) 'moh-la 'tuhkpu bap 'du.  
 she-GOAL hardship fall.upon AUX.MIR

*'Oh, so much hardship has caught up with her.'*

*v.r.*

- (36) 'tihriŋ 'khawa-'lah 'thoŋ-gu 'du.  
today snow-mountain be.seen-IMPf AUX.MIR  
'Oh, the snow mountains are out today.'

*v.semi-r.*

- (37) ŋah-la ya-w 'du.  
I-GOAL itch-IMPf AUX.MIR  
'Oh, I am so itchy!'

- (38) ŋah-la 'ŋyahlsa-la kar-ti!  
I-GOAL sleeping.arrangement-LOC weigh-EMPH.PST  
'I lay on a hard spot!'

*v.e.*

- (39) 'tihriŋ 'khyaa-w 'du.  
today be.cold-IMPf AUX.MIR  
'Oh, it's cold today!'

- (40) nee-sin.  
dwell-N.PST  
'(The cow) has conceived.' (Note: undergoer is not stated with this verb.  
The context will make clear who is meant)

**3.5.2.4 Suppression of argument markers by <-ni>**

We observe that erg. <-ki> or the goal marker <-la> often get suppressed by the focus marker <-ni>.

- Though the sequence <-ki-ni> is possible, the <-ki> is often not necessary, e.g.:

- (41) 'tihriŋ kuhŋmu ŋah-gi 'milam 'thoŋ-'gyo.  
today night I-ERG dream see-M.P.PST  
'Last night I had a dream.'

(34) *v.r.*

- (42) ŋah-ni 'milam-la to sah-en 'thoŋ-na ŋah-la tsokpo ohŋ-go 'yeh-ba!  
I-FOC dream-LOC food eat-PRS see-COND I-GOAL bad come-IMPf AUX-EMPF  
'It's a bad omen for me if I see somebody eating in my dream.'

- Similarly, the sequence <-la-ni> is also possible, but the <-la> is often suppressed, e.g.:

- (43) ŋah-la phaŋ-sin.  
I-GOAL regret-N.PST

We 'I felt sorry!' (e.g.: that I lost it.)

- (44) ŋah-ni dzibu-'raŋ phaŋ-sin!  
I-FOC big-EMPH regret-N.PST

We 'I felt so sorry!' (e.g.: that I lost it.)

- A string of two consecutive nuclear arguments ending in <-la> is not tolerated; the first <-la> is replaced by <-ni>, e.g.:

- (45) 'kho-la niŋdzi meeh-ba!  
he-GOAL compassion NEG-be-EMPH

We 'He is merciless.'

- (46) 'kho-ni 'mih-la niŋdzi meeh-ba!  
he-FOC people-GOAL compassion NEG-be-EMPH

We 'He is merciless to people.'

- (47) di pehza-la tee-di ŋah-la niŋdzi 'kye-w 'du.  
this child-GOAL see.A.VS-NFNL I-GOAL love sprout-IMPf AUX.MIR  
'Oh, I like this child!'

- (48) *ŋah-ni 'moh-la dzibu-'raŋ niŋdzi 'kye-en!*  
 I-FOC she-GOAL big-EMPH love sprout-CUST.PRS  
*'I like her very much!'*

### 3.5.2.5 Marker suppression with co-actors and co-experiencers

- Co-actors (or groups acting together) usually don't take erg. <-ki>; compare especially (49 with (50):

- (49) *'kho-gi 'moh-la sem peh-ku 'du.*  
 he-ERG she-GOAL heart-mind do-IMPf AUX.MIR  
*'He is in love with her.'*

- (50) *khunŋ nyii sem peh-ku 'du.*  
 they two heart-mind do-IMPf AUX.MIR  
*'They are in love with each other.'*

- (51) *daŋ ŋah 'moh 'ŋyimbu 'laahri peh-'kyo.*  
 yesterday I she with exchange.labor do-M.P.PST  
*'Yesterday she worked in exchange labour with me.' (She was paying back labour to me.)*

- (52) *dzamma-'raŋ 'mih sem tɕii 'thoo-'kyo meh-yohŋ.*  
 all-EMPH people heart-mind one carry-M.P.PST NEG -come  
*'Not every one agrees with every one else.'*

- Co-experiencers don't take gen. <-ki>; compare especially (53) with (54-55).

- (53) *ŋah-la sem kyipu ohŋ-sin.*  
 I-GOAL heart-mind prosperous come-N.PST  
*'I have peace of mind.'*

- (54) *khunŋ 'pheebe-'ya sem tɕii ohŋ maah-khu.*  
 they males-PL heart-mind one come NEG.PST-can  
*'They could not agree with each other.'*

- (55) *ohraŋ sem tɕii-la dji-w 'du.*  
 we.INCL heart-mind one-GOAL match-IMPf AUX.MIR  
*'Oh, we are all agreeing with each other!'*

### 3.5.2.6 v.i. or v.r. ?

We observe that the **actor of an intransitive verb** is unmarked, and the **undergoer of a receptive verb** as well. Since both these arguments are unmarked, we get the same surface forms in intransitive and receptive clauses; we might be able to decide on semantic grounds whether the argument with a given verb is an actor or an undergoer. But this does not seem to be important for the syntax of the language. So, at this point of the investigation we have gone for the more conservative interpretation, and labeled most of these verbs as intransitive. Further study might change this view.

### 3.5.2.7 Varying transitivity

Some of the verbs in Yohlmo have more than one transitivity status; the transitivity status of the verb changes according to the context it is used in.

If the difference in meaning between the two transitivity statuses is not substantial (that is, if it is easily understood from the English gloss or definition), the different transitivity designations are just separated by a slash in the part-of-speech label:

\* *'gyur- v.i./t. change.*

- (56) *tchu-'kula tshur 'gyur-sin 'du.*  
 water-channel this.side change-N.PST AUX.MIR

*'I see, the water channel has changed its course to this side.'*

- (57) *'moh-gi ŋah-gi 'ma-'kyo tam 'gyur-sin.*  
 she-ERG I-GEN say-NR talk change-N.PST

*'She changed what I said.'*

tɕaŋ- v.t./i. hang up s.th.; be hanging.

- (58) ŋah-gi 'kaptɕa 'kawa-la tɕaŋ-sin.  
I-ERG clothes pole-LOC hang.up-N.PST

*'I hung up the clothes on the pole.'*

- (59) ŋah 'gaari nahŋ-la tɕaŋ-di kahl-'gyo.  
I car-inside-LOC hang-NFNL go.A.VS-M.P.PST

*'I was hanging there in the car as we drove along.'*

(While there are many such verbs in English, they are quite rare in Yohlmo.)

But if the different transitivity status makes quite a substantial difference in meaning, a separate main entry is made (in the dictionary) for each transitivity status. But this does not mean that they are considered to be different lexical items.

yohl- v.i. pass (of time span); go past a certain point (used in time- and space-related contexts in the realm of nature).

- (60) loh sum yohl-di 'kho looh ohŋ-gen.  
year three pass-NFNL he return come-INT.PRS

*'He will come back after three years.'*

- (61) 'ŋyihma 'kahŋ-le 'mahtsi yohl-sin 'du.  
sun hill-from little.down pass-N.PST AUX.MIR

*'The sun set a little bit past the hill.'*

<sup>2</sup>yohl- v.t. shake s.th. back and forth (e.g. rice in a tray in order to clean it).

- (62) 'azi-gi 'neeh yohl-gu 'du.  
e.sister-ERG wheat shake-IMPFX AUX.MIR

*'Oh, sister is cleaning the wheat.'*

### 3.5.2.8 Irregular imperatives

A small number of verbs have irregular imperative forms. In the lexicon these are listed as main lexical entries because they are so irregular that you cannot

deduce from their form which verb they would go with. A grammar note in the lexicon indicates which verb they belong to.

### 3.6 Stative verb phrases

Only the copulas are inherently stative. They are a closed class of verb substitutes in copular constructions. These copulas are also used as auxiliaries at the end of active and receptive verb phrases to make them stative. In addition to that, the different forms of the copulas also express different semantic notions (see first and second column) and different illocutionary force (see top row) of table 10. There are the following three sets of stative copulas:

		old or general knowledge	mirative/ inferential
Identification	present and past:	'yihn/ 'yihn-gen/ 'yihm-ba	'du/ 'du-ba
existence/ location	present:	'yeh/ 'yeh-ba	
	past:	'yehke(n)	

Table 10: A precursory overview of the copular forms

- First there are **two different sets** (columns 3 and 4) **for evidentiality**. (See also section 3.8). The copulas in the third column are used if the speaker states something which is old or general knowledge for him, and the copulas in the fourth column, if he states something he has just discovered or somehow inferred.
- The forms ending in /-ba/ are somewhat emphatic.
- The different forms in the first row of the third column (non-mirative identificational box) represent a difference in illocutionary force:

'yihn/	sure
'yihm-ba/	sure, emphatic
'yihn-gen/	less sure (but still quite sure)

- The copula for identification has no formal past tense, the above forms are also used in past tense contexts, but there, /'yihn-ge(n)/ is most likely to occur because of its more neutral illocutionary force.
- As can be inferred from table 10 above, /'du(-ba)/ also has no formal past tense; the same forms are used in present and past tense contexts.
- For a complete listing of the copular forms see table 12.

### 3.6.1 The different copular constructions

- So far we have established the following different types of copular constructions: existence, location, attribution, semi-attribution, di-attribution, receptive possession, attributive possession, and identification. This part of the sketch follows the model of Van Valin (1984; 1997). In the following we try to sketch briefly the salient features of each of these constructions:

#### Existence:

- (63) daŋ-'tɪhriŋ yaŋ tɕhakpa ʃa-'ɕihba 'yeh.  
nowadays luck big prosperity exist  
'Nowadays there is peace and prosperity.'
- (64) taŋbu taŋbu 'azi 'nuhmu khuŋ pin sum 'du lo.  
formerly formerly e.sister y.sister they sibling three exist.MIR REP  
'Once upon a time there were three sisters.'

#### Location: needs a locative phrase:

- (65) 'nahre 'ada 'yuhl-la 'yeh-ba.  
now e.brother village-LOC be-EMPH  
'Now my elder brother is in the village.'

#### Attribution: a quality (expressed with an adjective) is attributed to something or somebody:

- (66) di 'pahlaŋ piihru yaahbu 'yeh-ba.  
this cow little nice be-EMPH  
'This calf is nice.'

#### Semi-attribution: experiencer takes <-la>:

- (67) khuŋ-la 'dzoo-'tehmu meeh-ba!  
they-GOAL comfortable NEG.be-EMPH  
'They are not comfortable.'

#### Di-attribution: experiencer takes attributive <-ti>, recipient (or GOAL) <-la>:

(This construction is rare.)

- (68) 'moh-ti 'khyowa-la semba 'yeh-ba.  
she-ATTRLEMPH husband-GOAL heart-mind be-EMPH  
'She likes her husband.' (somewhat elevated speech)

#### Attributive possession: possessor takes <-ti>:

- (69) 'kho-ti tabu sum 'yeh-ba.  
he-ATTRLEMPH horse three exist-EMPH  
'He has three horses!'
- (70) di pehza-di 'la-tshe-'raŋ mihn-du!  
this child-ATTR spirit-life-EMPH NEG.be.MIR  
'This child is completely listless!'

#### Receptive possession: possessor takes <-la>:

- (71) ŋah-la 'nohr 'yeh.  
I-GOAL wealth have  
'I have wealth.'
- (72) ŋah-la 'tehmba 'yeh./  
I-GOAL remembrance have  
'I remember it.'



**Identification:**

(73) ooh kehmu-di simbu 'yihm-ba.  
that old.woman-SPEC monster be-EMPH  
'That old woman is a monster!'

(74) 'kho-ni 'maçtar 'yihn-gen.  
he-FOC teacher be-EMPH  
'I am quite sure that he is/ was a teacher.'

- Further, Yohlmo makes a distinction between specific predications and general predications. The copulas above are used for specific predications; the copula for general predications is the verb /ohŋ-/ 'to come', used with copular function; e.g.

**Specific location:**

(75) di 'kahm-la 'he 'yeh-ba./  
this chest-LOC potatoes be-EMPH  
'There are potatoes in this chest.'

**General location:**

(76) 'nyih-i 'yuhl-la 'he ohŋ-gen.  
our.EX-POSS village-LOC potatoes come-CUST.PRS  
'Potatoes are available in our village./ Potatoes grow in our area.'

**Specific attribution, mirative:**

(77) di 'he çihmbu 'du.  
this potatoes tasty be-MIR  
'Oh, these potatoes are tasty.'

**General attribution:**

(78) 'nyih 'yuhl-gi 'he çihmbu ohŋ-gen.  
our village-GEN potatoes tasty come- CUST.PRS  
'The potatoes of our village are tasty.'

In the proper context and with the right word order the copula for general predications can be used in all the copular constructions mentioned above.

- In five of the copular constructions mentioned above the stative copula can be replaced by the "eventive copula", the verb /ço-/. This gives the predication an eventive flavour; the following examples illustrate how specific, general and eventive contrast.

**Specific attribution:**

(79) ŋah khamsaŋbu-'raŋ 'yeh.  
I joyful-EMPH be  
'I am fine.'

**General attribution:**

(80) 'tçhepa 'sihŋda-'ya khamsaŋbu ohŋ-gen.  
worship gathering-PL joyful come- CUST.PRS  
'The religious festivals are joyful.'

**"Eventive" attribution:**

(81) di 'paalo 'tshiizu khamsaŋbu kahl-di!  
this time name.of.festival joyful go.A.VS-EMPH.PST  
'This time I enjoyed the "tshiizu" festival very much!'

**Specific attributive possession:**

(82) 'nyih-ti pehza sum 'yeh-ba.  
We.EX-SPEC.EMPH child three have-EMPH  
'We have three children!'

**General attributive possession:**

- (83) di 'yuhl-la 'mih-ti pehza mahjbu ohq-gen.  
 this region-LOC people-SPEC.EMPH child many come-CUST.PRS  
*'In this place people have a lot of children.'*

**"Eventive" attributive possession:**

- (84) di 'kyee-di 'nyih-ti pehza 'zi do-en.  
 this be.born.A.VS we-EX-SPEC.EMPH child four go-INT.PRS  
*'After this one is born we will have four children.'*

The three copular constructions which cannot take the "eventive" copula are the following: existence, location, receptive possession.

**3.6.2 Copulas used for expressing evidentiality in derived stative clauses**

Stative clauses in Yohlmo are derived from the active and receptive patterns, using the various copulas as auxiliary verbs. These auxiliary verbs are always placed at the end of the verb phrase. It is interesting to note that the evidential force of the copula is retained in these derived clauses. Basically it is the same system, yet we observe a subtle shift when the copulas are used as auxiliaries; compare the following table with table 10 given at the beginning of section 3.6.1, and with table 12 in section 3.7.2, which gives a full listing of the forms of the three sets below.

auxiliary	evidentiality
'yihn set	truth emphasized
'du set	mirative/ inferential
'yeh set	neutral

Table 11: Precursory overview of copular forms used as auxiliary verbs

Further it is interesting to note that in those derived stative clauses /ohq-/ 'to come' can be used as an auxiliary for general statements, and /do-/ 'to go' is used to make derived stative clauses eventive again. (See section 3.6.1?, ex. (82-84). In such constructions these two verbs function as "general statement

auxiliary" and as "eventive auxiliary" respectively. Some of these derived clauses then fall into a receptive pattern.

Together with the other copular auxiliaries this results in quite an elaborate system of different tense, aspect, and evidentiality combinations. And yet, everything seems to fall into place quite naturally; the resulting constructions are not difficult to understand. But to go into all the details of these derivations is beyond the scope of this sketch. (See also remark in the last paragraph of section 3.7.2).

**3.6.3 Conjunct/disjunct notion missing**

I also want to point out that all the copulas can be used with 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person. Yohlmo does not follow the so called conjunct/disjunct pattern. The copula /'du/ is not reserved for 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person. If a speaker does something involuntarily and wants to express this, he will use /'du/, e.g.:

- (85) ee, nah-i 'khuma-la 'dji bu 'luuze 'tehmba 'tceh 'du.  
 O, I-BRG purse-LOC money put.in-INF remembrance exchange AUX.MIR  
*'O, I forgot to put money into my purse!'*

**3.7 Tense-aspect system**

In Yohlmo, most tenses and aspects are expressed with a combination of a verb suffix (sf, see section 3.7.1), an auxiliary verb (i.e., a main verb used as auxiliary), and a copula used as auxiliary (for copulas see 3.7.2).

A precursory formula for the VP in Yohlmo looks like this:

VP of main verb +/-sf +/- aux vs/aux.vph +/-sf +/- cop +/-sf  
 (a main verb used as aux.) (a cop. used as aux.)

While the main verbs used as auxiliaries require a specific suffix (or zero) on the preceding stem of the main verb, the suffix on the verb stem which precedes the copulas used as auxiliaries varies according to the tense and aspect which is intended to be expressed by a given VP.

The corresponding dictionary entry (Hari and Lama, 2004) specifies which suffix is needed on the main verb for a given auxiliary. For example, the dictionary entry for main verb <<sup>2</sup>peh-k> 'to do' when used as auxiliary adds the information needed in a grammar note as follows:

<sup>2</sup>peh-k aux. be about to [Gram: vs + <-tçe> + aux.]

(86) di pehza nahm-'ma-na sasa sah-ze peh-ken 'du-ba!  
 this child when-say-COND earth eat-INF do-REPET.PRS AUX.MIR-EMPH

*Oh, this child is always about to eat earth! (small child crawling on the ground.)*

### 3.7.1 List of the verbal suffixes

The number of strictly verbal suffixes (i.e. the suffixes used in the tense/ aspect system) is relatively small. They are as follows: (Some illustrations of the usage of these suffixes are given in the corresponding dictionary entry; Hari and Lama 2004)

/-ken ~ -gen ~ -en ~ -vvn <sup>1</sup> / or /-ke ~ -ge <sup>2</sup> /	'intentional present'
/-kemba ~ -gemba ~ -emba/	'decided future'
/-ku ~ -gu ~ -w ~ -wa <sup>3</sup> ~ -ko ~ -go/	'imperfect aspect'
/-kya ~ -gya <sup>4</sup>	'concomitant action participle 2' Rarely used in the E dialect area, but quite frequently in the W area.

<sup>1</sup> v stands for any verb stem vowel. If /-en/ or /-vvn/ are used they are phonetically [-ē] and [-v̄ (n)] respectively, and the stem vowels are all phonetically long, i.e. the contrast between long and short stem vowels is neutralized before these surface forms of the suffix.

<sup>2</sup> The variation between /-ken/ and /-ke/ is conditioned by style of speech or dialect.

<sup>3</sup> /-wa/ occurs in free variation with /-go/ or /-gu/ between verb stems ending in a vowel and following emphatic suffix /'raŋ/.

<sup>4</sup> Note the special behaviour of these two suffixes as to voicing assimilation:

<-kya>	→ /-gya/	after voiced consonants
	→ /-kya/	after vowels
<-'kyo>	→ /-'gyo/	after voiced consonants
	→ /-'kyo/	after vowels

/-'kjo ~ -'gyo/<sup>2</sup>

/-o/ (verb stem only)

/-na/

/-pa ~ -ba ~ -a<sup>1</sup>/

/-di/

/-sin/

/-ti/ ~ -te/ ~ /-di/ ~ -de/<sup>2</sup>

/-sim-ba-'raŋ/ ~ -sim-ma-'raŋ

/-toŋ ~ -doŋ/

/-ro/

/-to ~ -do ~ -ro/

/-tee ~ -dze ~ -ze/

/-teu ~ -dzu ~ -zu/

#### Suffix combinations:

/-ken ~ -gen ~ -en/ can be followed by /-mu/ or /'raŋ/. Before both of these suffixes, the final /n/ of the preceding suffix is deleted if nasalization does not

<sup>1</sup> /-a/ occurs after stems ending in /p/.

<sup>2</sup> /-te/ and /-de/ occur before the suffix /-'aŋ/ in the Eastern dialect. In the Western dialect area these two variants occur always instead of /-ti/ and /-di/.

'main-point past/ telling past'

'dramatic past and present'

'conditional'

question suffix for past tenses; success-in-adverse-circumstances-past; on auxiliaries: 'slightly emphatic present'; 'perfect aspect' in certain contexts.

'neutral past'

'perfect aspect; nonfinal position marker 1; expressive-emphatic past'

'nonfinal position marker 2'

'polite affirmative imperative'/ with interrogative intonation: 'shall I?'

'familiar imperative' (verb stem only, but some vowels undergo quality and length changes. For the details see section 3.5.1 above.)

'probable future' (Phonological condition: /-do/ occurs in free fluctuation with /-ro/.)

'desiderative; infinitive'

'optative'

take place; if nasalization does take place, the /n/ is realized as nasalization. The forms are as follows:

/-ke-mu ~ -ge-mu ~ -ẽ-mu/	'concomitant action participle 1'
/-ke-'raŋ ~ -ge-'raŋ ~ -ẽ-'raŋ/	'imperfect continuous aspect'
/-te-'raŋ ~ -de-'raŋ/	'perfect continuous aspect'
/-ti-ma-'raŋ ~ -di-ma-'raŋ/	'nonfinal position marker 4'
/-temba-'raŋ ~ -demba-'raŋ/	'nonfinal position marker 3'

### 3.7.2 List of the copulas

Table 10 and table 11 do not give a complete listing of all the possible copular forms. These two tables concentrate on the most relevant semantics and on the illocutionary force of each copular set in the clause constructions given in the context of those tables.

In the list below we give a complete list of the affirmative and negative forms. Column 3 gives a brief description of the semantics and of the illocutionary force of each form; and the remarks on tense also contribute to the semantics. All forms may be used in the copular constructions, as well as, as auxiliaries in the VP of the other clause constructions. There they always occur at the end of the VP. In either of these positions they have basically the same semantics and illocutionary force.

affirmative	negative	semantic remarks	tense
/du/	/mih̃n-du/	'existential, locational, attributive and identificational' - evidentiality: realizing, mirative/ inferential	present and past
/du-ba/	/mih̃n-du-ba/	'ditto, somewhat emphatic'	as above
/yih̃n/	/mih̃n/	'identificational - evid.: attesting truth - sure'	present
/yih̃n-ba/	/mih̃n-ba/	'ditto - evid.: attesting truth - sure, emphatic'	present
/yih̃n-ɔ/	/mih̃n-ɔ/	'ditto - evid.: attesting truth - probable'	probable future
/yih̃n-gen/	/mih̃n-gen/	'ditto - evid.: attesting truth - quite sure'	present
/yeh/	/meeh/	'existential, locational, and attributive'	present
/yeh-ba/	/meeh-ba/	'ditto, somewhat emphatic'	present
/yehken/	/meeh-ba 'yehken/	'ditto' - (for emphatic past the present tense form may be used: /meeh-ba!)	past
/yeh-to/	/meeh-to/	'existential, locational, and attributive' - probable	probable future

Table 12: Complete list of the copular forms

As already mentioned above, all these forms may be also used as auxiliaries in the predicate phrase with active verbs for various tense-aspect combinations, and in those tense-aspect combinations the copulas used as auxiliaries basically have the same semantic notion and illocutionary force as in the copular constructions.

Thus, to express the tense-aspect semantics of the VP in Yohlmo we have the suffixes listed in section 3.8.1, roughly 24 main verbs used as auxiliaries, 13

main verb phrases used as auxiliary phrases (i.e. the auxiliary verb is preceded by some particle which which modifies the meaning of the main verb), and all the copular forms listed in 3.8.2. Furthermore, sections 5.4, 5.4.1 and 5.5.2 describe some additional interesting features of the Yohlmo VP.

The tense-aspect system in Yohlmo is indeed very rich, and to give a detailed description of all the possible combinations of the features mentioned and listed above and to illustrate them adequately goes truly beyond the scope of this grammar sketch. Here I just want to add the following observation: It is quite amazing how regular the forms of the verb system are (only very few exceptions), and how everything falls into place quite naturally. In spite of it's richness, it is not too difficult to grasp it in understanding, nor to use it in speaking.

**3.8 Mirativity and Evidentials**

Evidentiality in Yohlmo is best understood when we start with looking at mirativity which naturally occurs in a present tense context. Mirativity is expressed by using the copula /du/.

Yohlmo basically has the following three copulas:

/yeh/	for existence and location	these express general knowledge
/yihn/	for identification	
/du/	for mirativity	used for new information, (oh I see...../ I just discovered.....)

Table 13: The three basic forms of the copulas

(For a full list of the copular forms see table 12).

- (87) dela 'thaa 'yeh.  
here blood COP FOR LOC/EXISTENCE  
*'There is some blood here.'*
- (88) di 'thaa 'yihn./  
this blood COP.FOR IDENTIFICATION  
*'This is blood.'*

- (89) dela 'thaa 'du!  
here blood COP.FOR MIRATIVITY  
*'Oh I see, there is some blood here.'*

In the tense-aspect system these copulas occur as auxiliaries, and there they basically have the same meaning as above; i.e. they contribute some of their basic sense to the verb phrase they are used in, as can we see from the examples below:

- (90) 'kho de-la ohŋ-go 'yeh./  
he this-LOC come-IMPF AUX.STAT  
above: *'He habitually comes here.'*
- (91) 'kho de-la ohŋ-gen 'yihm-ba./  
he here come-I.PRES AUX.TRUTHLEMPH-EMPH  
*'(I) know that he is coming here.'*
- (92) kauh-don, 'kho ohŋ-gu 'du!  
wait-IMP he come-IMPF AUX.,MIR  
above: *'Wait, I see him coming (now).'*

The meaning of /du/ can quite easily be grasped in those present tense contexts above (see ex 89 and 92). But we also find /du/ in the back bone line of narrative texts. Here I especially want to discuss what happens in telling personal experiences or giving reports about some events.<sup>1</sup> For these texts the back bone tense is naturally the past, and yet in such past tense contexts we frequently find VPs ending with /du/. And there it becomes a signal for evidentiality. (See table 14 below.) Yohlmo speakers signal in the VP itself their degree of personal involvement in the events reported. To describe the variations possible I have found it most convenient to speak of the degree of speaker involvement.

Thus, all the verb phrase endings listed below, when occurring in a past tense context, signal some kind of evidentiality. The following variations have been observed:

- om/da / ...
- ... / ...

<sup>1</sup> For story telling Yohlmo uses somewhat special styles.

<b>1. Speaker as experiencer:</b>	<b>is signaled with</b>
speaker was personally fully involved, but reports emotionally quite neutral; this is just the simple, neutral past tense "	<b>-sin</b>
<b>2. Speaker as inferer:</b>	<b>is signaled with</b>
speaker expresses: "I wasn't there at the time when it happened, but I found out later."	<b>-sin du</b>
<b>3. Speaker passing on information:</b>	<b>is signaled with</b>
speaker expresses: I heard somebody else say this; he will quote the other speaker directly	adding the "hearsay particle" /lo/ at the end of the VP

Table 14: Use of the copulas in expressing evidentiality

The particle /lo/ may be added to any tense/aspect forms. With this particle the speaker just signals that he is passing on what somebody else told him. Usually he also mentions who the original speaker was. He will use the same tense/aspect form as the original speaker used, and simply add /lo/ at the end of the verb phrase.

**3.9 Expressive-emphatic features**

The table above gives a quite a simple system for evidentiality. However, various expressive-emphatic features are also expressed in the VP. They are important features to produce interesting Yohlmo talk; and it happens that a number of these expressive-emphatic features also use /du/ at the end of the VP. This greatly complicates the proper understanding of the whole picture for the VP.

A full description of these expressive-emphatic features goes beyond the scope of this short sketch. The two tables below just list the possible combinations and briefly explain their meaning. This way we may get just a little idea of the richness of possible tense-aspect combinations occurring in the VP of Yohlmo.

In present tense contexts we observe the following verb strings ending in /du/ (of which only the first two have slightly expressive-emphatic meanings):

< aivs 'du >	signals close observation, i.e. immediate mirativity
< vs-sin 'du >	signals somewhat remote observation, i.e. somewhat remote mirativity
< vs-ku 'du >	signals present continuous mirative

Table 15: High-lighting devices in present tense contexts

But all these three VP combinations also occur in past tense contexts; <vs-sin 'du> is part of the evidential system as already shown in table 14 above; and the other two VPs are used for the following expressive-emphatic features:

< a vs 'du >	is used for spotlighting, usually for just on one action or event
< vs-ku 'du >	is used for lively high-lighting, usually for a chain of actions

Table 16: High-lighting devices in past tense contexts

**3.10 Further tense/aspect combinations**

Yohlmo further has the following tense/aspect combinations for past tenses:

< vs-kyo >	main point past/ telling past
< a vs-ti! >	expressive-emphatic past
< a vs-ti > (maë) mihndu!	expressive-explanatory past
< vs only >	dramatic past
< a vs-pa >	success-in-adverse-circumstances past
< vs-ken >	Repetitive past (formally this is the intentional present; when used in past tense contexts, it signals repetitive actions and events.)

Table 17: Some other interesting tense/aspect combinations



Below is an excerpt of a personal experience a young lama had on his trip to Ladakh which illustrates some of the features mentioned in tables 14 and 16. Context: he was on a bus trip approaching Ladakh when one night there was such a heavy snowfall that it became very difficult for the bus to continue the journey.

- (93) *ŋah-'raŋ-ni 'bas-le then-di 'lahm-gi 'thoo ŋoo-le*  
 I-myself-FOC bus-from come.out-NFNL road-GEN above side-from  
*ɔo-'raŋ ɔo-w 'yehken; 'khawa-la deɕa 'kyahp-ti 'bas-ki*  
 go-EMPH go-IMPF was, snow-LOC slip hit-NFNL bus-GEN  
*'suh-r-la rihl ohŋ-sin; 'bas 'iɕaɽɕ kahl-di 'tshakka*  
 near-LOC fall.over come-N.PST bus start go.A.VS-NFNL wheel  
*'cihk-tse-zi yihr-'kyo; ohze-la-ni ŋah 'yoma*  
 little-about turn-M.P.PST that.much-LOC-FOC I left  
*'kaŋba-la 'tok-tse-zi 'dee-gen ɕhi nee-'kyo;*  
 foot-GOAL little.touch-about-one touch-REL likeness think-M.P.PST  
*ohze-la-ni 'kaŋba-gi 'rehko-'aa tɕhaa-sin 'du-ba.*  
 that.much-GOAL-FOC foot-GEN bone-also brake-N.PST AUX.EVID-EMPH

*I myself, having come out of the bus was walking above the road (beside the bus); then I slipped in the snow and fell down beside the bus; when the bus tried to start again the wheel moved a little bit; at that time it seemed to me that it touched my left leg just a little bit; and later it became evident that the bone of my leg indeed had broken at that moment.*

The use of /-sin du-ba/ in the last clause signals that the speaker only found out later that the bone was really broken. At the time it happened, he just felt the stubbing touch.

### 3.11 Causatives and permissives

The active transitive verb /tɕuu-/ 'push unto' is used as an auxiliary verb to construct causative or permissive clauses: /tɕuu-/ aux. 'to cause/ to allow'. In isolation such clauses are ambiguous: they can be either causative or permissive. It is the context in which such clauses occur that will make clear which meaning is intended. In actual fact this potential ambiguity is rarely a problem. For most utterances in context the hearer will know easily which meaning is intended.

The grammatical configuration is the same for both meanings. The auxiliary is preceded by the verb stem of the main verb. All the tense and aspect suffixes or other auxiliaries which the non-causative or non-permissive clause would have, are attached to the causative/permissive auxiliary /tɕuu-/. If there is a negative morpheme involved, it is also attached to the auxiliary, that is, it precedes the auxiliary verb stem which is the normal position for the negative morpheme. Thus we can give the following formula for the causative/permissive verb phrase:

Caus/Perm. VP =

VS of main verb (+/- NEG) + /tɕuu-/ + tense/aspect suffixes and auxiliaries of the original clause.

In this way any clause from the active set (3.5.2.1) may be transformed into a causative or permissive clause: a causer or an allower is preposed; it becomes the actor and takes the ergative suffix <-ki>, the original actor becomes the undergoer, and takes the GOAL suffix <-la>. (We could call it DATIVE here, but we use consistently (GOAL) for the suffix <-la>, if it occurs in the nucleus of the clause. <-la> is also used for LOCATIVE; though I think semantically it is the same suffix, in locative positions I just prefer to gloss it LOC.)

Examples:

CL *ti* → CL causative/permissive:

- (94) *'kho 'barma-la ohŋ-di 'yeh.*  
 he India-LOC come- NFNL AUX..STAT

*He has come to India.*

- (95) *aba-gi 'kho-la 'barma-la ohŋ tɕuu-di 'yeh.*  
 father-BRG he-GOAL India-LOC come cause/allow- NFNL AUX.STAT

*Father has caused/allowed him to come to India.*

CL *t* → CL causative/permissive:

- (96) *ŋah-gi 'coh 'up-sin.*  
 I-BRG curds cover.up-N.PST

*I covered up the curds.*

- (97) 'ama-gi ŋah-la 'çoh 'up tçuu-sin.  
 mother-ERG I-GOAL curds cover.up cause/allow-N.PST  
*Mother caused/allowed me to cover up the curds.*

CL dt. —> CL causative/missive:

- (98) 'nooh-gi aba-'ama-la 'yihgi taŋ 'du.  
 y.brother-ERG father-mother-GOAL letter send AUX.MIR  
*The younger brother sent a letter to his parents.*

- (99) ŋah-gi 'nooh-la aba-'ama-la 'yihgi taŋ tçuu-sin.  
 I-ERG y.brother- GOAL father-mother- GOAL letter send cause/allow-N.PST  
*I caused/allowed my younger brother to send a letter to our parents.*

### 3.12 Observations on passive voice

Yohlmo has no special morpheme or special word arrangements for passive voice. Yet the notion seems to be in the language anyway. In natural text there are just some clauses occur which we need to translate with a passive in English because no actor phrase occurs.

However, leaving away the actor phrase is the norm in Yohlmo discourse, if this core argument can be understood from the previous context. This happens very often; it is good style not to restate it. So if we can supply the actor from the previous context, these clauses are certainly not passive.

But very occasionally it happens that we cannot retrieve an actor from the previous context; such clauses we need to consider to be passive. Examples (101) and (102) below are such cases. They come from a teaching passage about the book called “Pungyen”. In paragraph 6 the teacher states:

- (100) ohle ooh 'lop-tam-di tahnda di 'dzambuliŋ-la 'teh-ken-gi  
 and.then that exhortation-SPEC now this world-LOC stay-NR-REL.OPTL  
 'mih-'ya-la tam kharpe 'lih 'du.  
 People-PL-GOAL word example be.left.behind AUX.MIR  
*And this teaching has been left behind as an example for the people of this generation.*

- (101) tam kharpe-ti-'raŋ 'lih-'kyo mihm-ba, di dzambuliŋ-gi  
 word example-SPEC-EMPH be.left.behind-M.P.PST not.be-EMPH this world-GEN

'mih-'ya-la 'lop-tam 'kyahp-tçe-gi tçhir-la 'tçhee-'raŋ  
 people-PL-GOAL exhortation hit-INF-GEN purpose-GOAL rel.book-EMPH

- tahnda ohraŋ 'din-la 'priih 'zaa naŋ 'du.<sup>1</sup>  
 now we.INCL front-LOC write.VS.ALT put give.HON AUX.MIR

*And it was not only left as an example, for the purpose of teaching the people of this world, this book, having been written, is now in front of us.*

- (102) ooh 'tçhee-gi 'mihn 'gyaldzen 'tsemu puŋgyen 'ma-ë  
 that book-GEN name 'gyaldzen 'tsemu puŋgyen say-CUS.PRS

'yihm-ba.  
 AUX.TRUTH.EMPH-EMPH

*And this book is called 'Gyaldzen Tsemu Punggyen.*

We may mention that in paragraph 1 of the text the teacher stated that God wrote this book. But in the intervening 4 paragraphs several other actors come on stage. So the fact that paragraph 6 states no new actor, sentences (101) and (102) of the example are truly passive Yohlmo sentences.

Although sentence (100) is also translated as passive above, in Yohlmo grammatical terms, it could also just be considered an impersonal clause construction because the verb is intransitive. Such impersonal constructions occur frequently in Yohlmo.

<sup>1</sup> The omission of the IMPF sf. /-gu/ on the verb /naŋ-/ and the use of the mirative auxiliary /du/ at the end of the verb phrase shows that the book is not just written in front of the hearers, but that it has been written beforehand.



**(4) Word formation**

**4.1 Derivational morphology**

**4.1.1 Derivation by suffixes**

Yohlmo has a relatively small number of derivational suffixes. We have observed the following

**/-pa ~ -ba ~ -wa/** 'people from that place' ( attached to place names)

**/-pa ~ -ba/** Ordinal numbers are derived with the same suffix from the cardinal. Only we have no **/-wa/** variation here. With numbers ending in a long vowel the long vowel gets shortened, and the suffix called for is **/-pa/**.

**/-pu ~ -bu/** Alternative suffix to derive ordinal numbers. But there is a tendency to use the ones ending in **<-pu>** when they refer to persons. Also with this suffix the shortening of a long stem vowel takes place.

Examples:

(01) Yohlmo Yohlmo-wa 'kahŋ 'kahŋ-ba  
'Helambu' 'a person from Helambu.' 'hill' 'a person living on a hill'

(02) nyii nyi-pa tɕuptin tɕuptim-ba  
'two' 'second' 'seventeen' 'seventeenth'

(03) tɕipu-di 'yahr toŋ, nyipu-di 'mahr toŋ, sumbu-di  
first-SPEC upward send second- SPEC downward send third-SPEC

phar toŋ!/  
over.there send

'Send the first (person) upwards, the second downwards, and the third one over there!'

(For some interesting derivations for adjectives see section 3.3.1).

**4.1.2 Derivations with register, aspiration, and voicing**

That high vs. low register, aspiration vs non-aspiration, and voicelessness vs voicing are features which are used widely in derivation in languages of the Central Bodic Unit is a well known fact to anyone who has worked in a Bodic

language (e.g. 1999. Strahm, Esther and Anita Maibaum). The following are some examples from Yohlmo: (For the details of the symbolization of high vs low register, on the one hand, and basically level vs falling pitch contour in each register see section 2.4.)

1. High register vs low register: (this is the most productive feature)			
/kɑŋ-/	to fill up, t.	/ <sup>1</sup> kɑŋ-/	to fill up, i.
/noŋ-/	to spoil, t.	/ <sup>2</sup> noŋ-/	to spoil, i.
/taŋ-/	to send, perform	/ <sup>2</sup> taŋ-/	to be ajar, opened
/maŋba/	person from a non-lama clan	/ <sup>2</sup> maŋbu/	many, much
2. Aspiration vs non-aspiration:			
/tʰaa-/	to break, i.	/ <sup>1</sup> tʰaa-/	to break, t.
/tʰul/	to wind up (e.g. thread)	/ <sup>2</sup> tʰul-/	to tame
/kʰee/	voice, noise	/ <sup>2</sup> kʰee/	vow, responsibility
3. Voicelessness vs voicing: (this necessarily also involves a register shift)			
/gaa-/	to obstruct	/ <sup>1</sup> gaa-/	to get stuck
/bʰul/	to offer, give, h.	/ <sup>2</sup> bʰulga/	gift, offering
/caŋ-/	to churn	/ <sup>1</sup> zaŋ-/	build, h.; get up, h.
/kʰohm-/	to meditate	/ <sup>2</sup> gom-/	to jump over

Table 18: Three different derivation modes

**4.1.3 The stableness of the pitch contours in derived pairs or sets**

Set 1 of table 18 illustrates the **pairing of the pitch contours**. If the high register item has a basically level contour (i.e. contour 2), the low register counterpart will also have a basically level contour (i.e. contour 4); and in the same way, if

the high register item has a falling contour (i.e. contour 3), the low register counterpart will also have a falling contour (i.e. contour 1).

We could give numerous examples of this. In fact this principle holds for all the pairs we have investigated.

In set 2, where **no register shift** is involved, the **pitch number remains the same**. The derivations of set 3 combine register shift and some other feature, and we see the same pairing of pitch contours as in set 1.

We observe that as to the features of the tone system of Yohlmo, for derivation a change in register is used; but changes in pitch contour are not used to effect derivation; in the course of the classification of the vocabulary for pitch contour I was again and again impressed by **the stability of the contours in derivation**. (Admittedly, the identification of the pitch contours is not an easy matter because the phonetic difference is very subtle indeed; but as this principle of pairing emerged, and was confirmed again and again, it became a helpful tool for the identification of the contour of an item.)

**4.1.4 The notion of derivation by association**

As the principle of stability of the pitch contours emerged and was more and more confirmed to hold, I started realizing that derivation in Yohlmo involves playing around with the three parameters mentioned in table 18, and that the derivation process is effected by associated concepts, rather than on the basis of exact semantic correspondences. This kind of derivation may be combined with the mode of derivation by adding suffixes. But whatever is changed or added, **the pitch contours remain stable**. Table 18 illustrates this with a few examples.

1	<sup>3</sup> tceeh- <sup>1</sup> tchee	arrange, take care of	<sup>1</sup> tceeh-	exchange, barter
		religious book	<sup>3</sup> tchee-	dress up (with a costume)
association / common concept: <b>arranging things neatly</b>				
2	<sup>4</sup> taa-	fasten, bind	<sup>2</sup> taah-	take up space/ be clean
	<sup>4</sup> thaa <sup>4</sup> thaa-	weave cloth	<sup>2</sup> daa-	lick (eg. plate)
			<sup>2</sup> daabil	china bowl
common concept: fasten: <sup>2</sup> taah = the space is fastened/bound; <sup>4</sup> thaa: involves a lot of fastening; <sup>2</sup> daa-: association - taking up space...				
3	<sup>3</sup> thul-	to tame, break in	<sup>1</sup> dul-	to defeat
	<sup>3</sup> thul-	wind up (eg. thread)		
1 and 2 - association obvious; <sup>3</sup> thul- - a lot of <b>taming</b> has to be done there, too!				
4	<sup>4</sup> tam <sup>3</sup> praa <sup>1</sup> gyur-	change subject, twist the truth	<sup>1</sup> praah-	cut off
	<sup>3</sup> phraa <sup>1</sup> kyahp-	kick (of animals)	<sup>1</sup> praah, n.	precipice
Common concept: <b>cut off</b> – “kick” involves a similar action...				
5	<sup>4</sup> taŋ-	send/ perform	<sup>2</sup> tahŋ-	be ajar, open
	<sup>3</sup> thaŋ <sup>3</sup> tche-k	be tired	<sup>2</sup> daŋ-	be sufficient
	<sup>3</sup> thanga	flat meadow	<sup>4</sup> phretaŋ <sup>4</sup> taŋ-e	all level
	<sup>3</sup> thangu., n	tanka painting		
	<sup>4</sup> thambu, adj.	healthy		

common concept = **performing** <sup>4</sup>taŋ <sup>3</sup>tche-k = result of performing (lit.: performing breaks; <sup>2</sup>daŋ- = result of a lot of performing; <sup>4</sup>phretaŋ <sup>4</sup>taŋe: obviously related, here the concept of level comes in; it gives a link to the next two items in row 4; <sup>4</sup>taŋbu = **performing well**

Table 19: Some examples for derivation by association

The examples of table 19 show that the conceptual basis for association is very wide.

4.2 Compounding

4.2.1 Noun compounds

Yohlmo uses a good number of compound nouns. We have signaled compound items by separating the components with a hyphen. As a general rule, each component of the compound retains its original pitch contour, but on the second component the dimensions of the tone contrasts are greatly reduced. (Therefore, we have not tried to symbolize this with pitch lines in the table below.) The number of the pitch contours is placed before each morpheme. If one of the components is disyllabic, the second syllable falls away. This can be done so easily, because the diagnostic tone features of disyllabic morphemes primarily fall onto the first syllable of the morpheme. (See section 2.4) Examples:

<sup>4</sup> tip/	'bee'	<sup>1</sup> prahŋ/	'sweets'
<sup>4</sup> tip- <sup>1</sup> prahŋ/	'honey'		
<sup>1</sup> tcah/	'tea'	<sup>2</sup> lohma/	'leaf'
<sup>1</sup> tcah- <sup>2</sup> loh/	'tea leaves (of salt tea)'		
<sup>1</sup> din/	'front'	<sup>β</sup> so/	'tooth'
<sup>1</sup> din- <sup>3</sup> so/	'front teeth'		
<sup>1</sup> kyahgar/	'lowlands'	<sup>1</sup> lahm/	'path'
<sup>1</sup> kyah- <sup>1</sup> lahm/	'main road'		
<sup>1</sup> tihŋ/	'deep, bottom'	<sup>1</sup> zun/	'hollow landscape'
<sup>1</sup> tihŋ- <sup>1</sup> zun/	'remote region'		

<sup>4</sup> ciŋ/	'wood'	<sup>4</sup> par/	'printing'
<sup>4</sup> ciŋ- <sup>β</sup> tar/	'wooden printing block'	<sup>β</sup> tar/	'stack'
<sup>4</sup> ciŋ- <sup>3</sup> tar/		<sup>4</sup> ciŋ- <sup>3</sup> tar/	'stack of wood'

Table 20: Compound nouns

There are a number of nouns which could be analyzed as compounds, but in which the initial consonants of the second component show heavy assimilation to the preceding segment so that it seems more appropriate not to mark them as compounds. In these nouns the second component also loses its original pitch contour and falls under the influence of the first stem. Examples:

<sup>4</sup> tchuda/	< <sup>4</sup> tchu + <sup>4</sup> thaa>	'water mill'
<sup>4</sup> soldza/	< <sup>4</sup> sol + <sup>1</sup> tcah>	'tea, hon.'
<sup>3</sup> tcheŋi/	< <sup>3</sup> tche + <sup>3</sup> hi>	'house altar'

Table 21: Tonally non-compound nouns

4.2.2 Compounding in verb phrases

The following four items show that compounding also occurs with verb stems. They derive from a corresponding stem morpheme and this morpheme keeps its original register and tone contour. Thus they also belong into the domain of compounding. The fourth item is a somewhat special case as we can see from the explanations given with it. It seems to vacillate between compound item and suffix.

occurs after the first syllable of clan names to make them abusive expressions. (From /<sup>2</sup>ruhl-/ 'to rot').  
 may occur after many verb stems and after some noun stems as well; meaning: 'help with the activity';  
 /-rooh/ occurs after stems with /u/, /-ruuh/ elsewhere.  
 occurs after verb stems; meaning: 'have time for the activity'. (From /lohŋ/ 'chance; opportunity').  
 attached to verb stems; meaning: 'pretend to perform the activity'. (Probably from /tsen/ 'fright; kind of evil spirit'). This compound item undergoes the

normal voicing assimilation for suffixes (see section 2.6.1). But for most speakers the affricate does not undergo fricativization (see section 2.6.2). This is probably because of its falling pitch, which after the vl. initial is pitch 3, and after the vd. initial naturally falls into pitch 1. So we could say that it behaves like a "hybrid" between compound item and suffix.

Illustrative examples for these items can be found in the dictionary (Hari and Chhegu Lama, 2004) under the corresponding dictionary entries.

4.3 Honorific speech

4.3.1 Honorific lexical items

Like many Tibetan related languages, Yohlmo has a different set of lexical items for the most common verbs, nouns, and adjectives for honorific speech. Some examples:

ordinary lexical item	honorific lexical item	English meaning
<sup>4</sup> ter-	<sup>4</sup> naŋ-	'give'
<sup>3</sup> ŋyi <sup>2</sup> looh-	<sup>1</sup> zim-	'sleep; lie down'
<sup>3</sup> kaŋba	<sup>1</sup> cahp	'foot; leg'
<sup>2</sup> goo	<sup>3</sup> u	'head'
<sup>2</sup> cihmbu	<sup>3</sup> ŋyeebu	'tasty'
<sup>2</sup> do- / <sup>2</sup> ohŋ-	<sup>3</sup> phep-	'go; come'

Table 22: Some honorific lexical items

But, as already mentioned, this concerns only the most common vocabulary, such as food related expressions, body parts, and housing related expressions.

In addition to the relatively small number of honorific vocabulary, any ordinary verb can be made honorific by inserting the honorific verb stem of give (**naŋ-**) as an auxiliary after the verb stem of the ordinary verb:

'Cook a meal (imp.)' in ordinary language is: /yopta 'kyahp-toŋ!/,  
and in honorific language it is: /yopta 'kyahp naŋ-doŋ!/

As is borne out by the example, the auxiliary verb 'naŋ-' is inserted immediately after the ordinary verb stem, and any finite or non-finite suffixes of the verb phrase are attached to the auxiliary. The negative prefixes 'meh-' (in non-perfect context) or 'mah-' (in perfect context) are also prefixed to the honorific auxiliary;

e.g.:  
(04) mehŋie-gi yopta 'kyahp meh-naŋ-gen.  
grandfather-ERG meal hit NEG-give.HON-CUST.PRS  
'Grandfather does not cook meals.'

Further, it is also quite common to use an honorific verb stem plus the honorific auxiliary:

(05) mehme 'phep naŋ-sin./  
grandfather go/come.HON give.HON-N.PST  
'Grandfather went.' or 'Grandfather came.'

Honorific forms should be used for elders and lamas. Members of lama families are likely to use honorific forms more often than non-lamas.

4.3.2 Anaphoric reference in honorific speech

Yohlmo has no honorific pronoun; for anaphoric reference it is necessary to repeat the full NP. For venerated persons the NP is usually quite long, containing not just the name, but also one or more titles, and it sounds good in honorific speech to repeat the full NP; but occasionally it does get shortened somewhat for anaphoric references.

## (5) Syntax

### 5.1 Structure of the NP

The unmarked order for the constituents of the simple NP is the following:

Simple NP → (Dem) (Intens) ((Mod<sub>1</sub>) N (Mod<sub>2</sub>) (Quant)

Demonstrative and intensifier exclude each other. The same is true for Modifier 1 and Modifier 2; they will not co-occur. Only a small number of adjectives will occur before the noun, the great majority traditionally occur after the noun. Nowadays, however, some speakers put them also before the noun. Presumably this is due to the pressure from the national language, Nepali, where they have to occur before the noun.

The quantifier slot is usually filled by numerals, but interestingly, the plural morpheme also occurs in that slot, even though I consider it to be a suffix. At least in the orthography we represent is as a bound morpheme.

So far I have observed only one lexical item which can fill the intensifier slot; it is the *adv.ph.* /tçi teenjen/ 'very, much (expressive-emphatic)

(06) tçi teenjen tçu 'tsaŋbu dzuba  
what INTS water river huge

'a very large river'

### 5.2 Structure of the clause

Neutral order of the clause constituents is as follows:

(S-Introducers) (Temporals) (Locatives) Actor/Agent Goal/Site Undergoer  
Predicate (Attitude peri)

The core arguments of the clause are the ones without parenthesis.

#### 5.2.1 Relative clauses

Relative clauses occur before the Head Noun of the main clause. Any clause type may occur as relative clause. The relative clause ends with VS + REL(+ optional REL). For the first relator position there are the following two options:

REL → <-ken> (/gi/) if modifying CL has no notion of past tense.

REL → <-kyo> (/gi/) if modifying CL has a notion of past tense.

The (/gi/) is in parentheses because it is optional. Example (09) shows that more than one clause may be embedded before the Head Noun. Examples:

(07) ohle-mi 'khuŋ 'khaŋba-la lep-tçe-la 'nesa tçi 'bāāki  
and-roc they house-LOC arrive-INF-GOAL resting.place one left.over  
'yeh-ken gyaa-la lep 'du lo.  
be-REL place-LOC arrive AUX.MIR REP

And then they arrived at the place which was only one resting place away from their home.

(08) 'ohize,bele 'azi-gi goo 'thoo-la tçaŋ-'gyo-gi 'laahwor  
that.time e.sister-GEN head above-LOC hang-REL-REL.OPTL mill.stone  
'phök 'tarj-sin 'du lo.  
intensifier send-N.PST AUX.MIR REP

At that moment (the monster) swiftly loosened the mill stone which was hanging just above the head of the elder sister.

(09) ŋah 'kyepa 'phee kam-gen, goo nam-la then 'teh-ken-gi 'namin  
my waist half dry-REL head sky-LOC come.out sit-REL-REL.OPTL stigma  
'tçi lo?  
what REP

What did (he) say? What is the meaning of the stigma that I am dried out downwards from my waist, and that my head keeps sticking out into the air? (The speaker is a sick fish.)

#### 5.2.2 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are embedded clauses filling the object slot on the higher level of the main clause. In Yohlmo such embedded clauses end with the nominalizer <-ti> (= /-ti ~ -di/). Examples:

(10) 'khuŋ-gi pehza-gi kehpu 'yahr ço-gen-di 'thoŋ-sin.  
they-POSS child-ERG old.man upwards go-PRS-NR see-N.PST

Their child saw the old man going upwards.'

(11) di pehza-gi 'preken rih nahŋ-la tohŋbo-'ya-le-gi  
 this child-ERG langur forest inside-LOC tree-PL-DIR-GEN

phar 'tchonŋ-gen-di tee 'teh-ku 'du.  
 over there jump-PRS-NR look.VS.ALT stay-IMPF AUX.MIR

*'This child is watching the langur monkeys jumping across the trees in the forest.'*

For verbs of perception like see ('thoŋ-) and watch (ta-) the use of the nominalizer <-ti> is sufficient. For other verbs of cognition like believe ('yih 'tchee-) or know (cee-) the verb say ('ma-) has to precede the nominalizer <-ti>. Examples:

(12) 'kho 'mih yaahbu 'yihn 'ma-ē-di ŋah-gi 'yih 'tchee-gen.  
 he person good be say-PRS-NR I-ERG belief go.ahead-INT..PRS

*'I believe that he is a good person.'*

(13) 'nooh 'tihinŋ dela 'lep miih-khu-gen 'ma-ē-di  
 y. brother today here arrive NEG-can-INT..PRS say-PRS-NR

ŋah-gi cee-sin.  
 I-ERG know-N.PST

*'I knew that (my) younger brother would not be able to arrive here today.'*

As to the relative clauses, we may say that they are embedded in the modifier slot of the main clause. I consider them to be on the same clause level. (See section 5.2.1)

Complement clauses, however, filling the object slot on a higher level of the main clause, marks this shift clearly with a different morpheme. With relative clauses the nominalizer <-ti> will not occur. Another significant difference between these two sentence types is that relative clauses need to be followed immediately by the Head Noun of the main clause, while complement clauses do not have such a restriction.

### 5.3 Order of the clause constituents

#### 5.3.1 Post-posing of clause constituents

Potentially any clause constituent can be post-posed; but post-posing of the Actor/Agent is especially frequent. As to its function we can make the following distinction:

- Post-posed constituents are often simply after-thoughts; they serve for clarification. This kind of post-posing is very frequent in oral style. When oral texts are edited with mother tongue speakers, most of these post-posed constituents are eliminated.
- Nevertheless, I feel that in some places the post-posing is intentional to achieve a dramatic/emphatic focus. (Dramatic seems to be the appropriate term for post-posing in narrative texts, and emphatic in expository texts.) It can be used cleverly to achieve a lively, expressive style. When editing we have to be careful not to over-edit.

Here just one example of post-posed Actor with a dramatic effect:

(14) mihmba, 'yehnda 'meedi mehyohŋge,  
 mih- yihn-pa 'yehnda 'ma -0-ti meh- ohŋ -ken  
 NEG- be -EMPH this.way say-A.VS-PFCT NEG-come-L.PRS

ŋah ŋyimbur do 'kohē, (A) khyeni!  
 ŋah ŋyimbura-ŋ do 'koh-ken khye-ni  
 I with -EMPH go must-L.PRS you.SG-FOC

*No, this won't do, you have to come with me!*

#### 5.3.2 Order of clause constituents and topical focusing

Topical focusing seems to be rather more complex. Basically, we can say that the constituent with the topical focus comes first in the clause; but there are a number of particles which have to do with focus as well, and these seem to impose some restrictions onto fronting; in any case, the fronting and the particles have to harmonize.

Definition for topical focus: this is the thing we are mainly concerned with now (i.e. it is the constituent which is most important for the development of the



argument/event or action.) In the following a few typical constituent sequences are discussed separately; basically the fronting strategy is the same for all of them: the constituent with the topical focus is fronted as far as possible.

This applies to various constituents, and the principle is basically the same in each case. The Undergoer (Ug) is an especially good candidate for topical fronting; example (15) has a fronted inanimate Ug:

- (15) ohle (Ug) **thangu pruh'kyogi** kuyen (A) khunji  
 ohle thangu pruh -'kyo -ki kuyen khunji-ki  
 and.then tanka write -REL-REL.OPTL reward they-ERG

(G) nahla (P)phulsin.  
 nah-la phul-sin  
 I-GOAL offer-N.PST

*And then they presented the reward for the thanka paintings to me.*

Often topical fronting supported by the clitic <-ti>. This has a singling-out function; that is, it singles out and puts into focus a constituent which is semantically similar, or semantically comparable to other constituents in the context. If <-ti> is combined with topical fronting it seems to occur mostly with Ug constituents. Example:

- (16) 'tchah-rhil ranga 'maida tanj 'tsohŋ. (Ug) 'dibudi  
 'tchah-rhil ranga 'maida tanj 'tsahŋ-0 'dibu-ti  
 ball.of.tea.leaves and white.flour send send-IMP money-SPEC

(Act)nah (Loc)'yahmbula (P) lee ohŋdi terken.  
 nah 'yahmbu-la lep ohŋ-ti ter-ken  
 I Kathmandu-LOC arrive come-NFNL give-INT.PRS

*Please send me a ball of tea leaves and some white flour. I will give you the money for it when I arrive in Kathmandu.*

#### 5.4 Concise ways of speaking

Yohlmo uses a great variety of clauses with serial verbs where we find some little particle added between the two verb stems, or sometimes also finally after the second verb stem. These kinds of clauses result in very concise ways of

expressing complex ideas. I find these the most interesting and typically Yohlmo ways of stating some complex ideas.

The following paragraphs briefly explain and illustrate these kinds of concise constructions. In the examples we first sketch the morphological make up of the verb phrases involved, and this is followed by an approximate English translation. The examples then illustrate the usage of these concise verb phrases:

- (17) vs + -ci peh-k - 'do something for good'

taahni wadi 'khaŋba 'kyur 'zaaçi pehke.  
 taah-ni wadi 'khaŋba 'kyur 'zaa-çi peh-ken  
 now-FOC this house leave.behind put-for.good do-INT.PRS  
*Now (I am) leaving this house for good.*

di tchuba nahgi 'mohla terçi peh'kyo.  
 di tchuba nah-ki 'moh-la ter-çi peh-'kyo  
 this tibetan.dress I-ERG she-GOAL give-for.good do-M.P.PST  
*I gave her this tibetan dress for good.*

- (18) vs + -ci vs + identical v - 'something happens for good'

'janganı 'torçi 'torsin.  
 'janga-ni 'tor-çi 'tor-sin  
 money-FOC get.lost-for.good get.lost-N.PST  
*The money is lost for good.*

(The suffix /-çi/ is most probably related to the verb /'çi/ 'to die')

- (19) vs + <-tee> + identical vs + '-nyı - 'vs will certainly happen'

khogi 'tee 'sesin 'du, taahni 'dzella 'tchitçe  
 'kho-ki 'tçe 'se-sin 'du taah-ni 'dzel-la 'tchi-tçe  
 he-ERG cut kill-N.PST AUX.MIR now-FOC prison-LOC fall.into-INF

'tchi-nyı 'nah!  
 'tchi-nyı 'nah  
 fall into-definitely FACT.EMPH

*He committed murder (or cow slaughter!), so he will surely be put into jail!*

taahni di toptça sahze sah-'nyyi kahl 'du!  
 taah-ni di toptça sah-tçe sah-'nyyi kahl 'du  
 now-FOC this food eat-INF eat-definitely go.A.VS AUX.MIR  
*Now this food is truly ready to eat.*

**(20) vs + '-nyyi 'teh-k - 'like to do vs'**

Yohlmu 'mih'ya 'barmala ço-'nyyi 'tehke.  
 Yohlmu 'mih'ya 'barma-la ço-'nyyi 'teh-ken  
 Helambu people-PL India-LOC go-definitely stay-CUST.PRS  
*The people from Helambu like to go to India.*

'khoni 'ça sah-'nyyi 'tehku 'du!  
 'kho-ni 'ça sah-'nyyi 'teh-ku 'du  
 he-FOC meat eat-definitely stay-IMPF AUX.MIR  
*He surely likes to eat meat!*

**(21) vs + <-ken + -tçii> peh-k - 'undertake vs, but be not fully successful'**

ṅah 'tçhongendzi pehke, khun 'meehme'yagi ṭala  
 ṅah 'tçhoṅ-ken-tçii peh-ken khun 'meehme-'ya-ki ṭa-la  
 I run-NR-one do-CUST.PRS they family-PL-ERG hair-LOC

zunḍi 'tjhti looh khyonge 'nahle.  
 zunḍ-ti 'jih-ti looh khyoṅ-ken 'nahle  
 catch(E)-NFNL pull-NFNL return bring-CUST.PRS obviously  
*I kept trying to run away and they would grab my hair and pull me back  
 (towards their house).*

'khogi 'pasal 'tsuuendzi peh 'duba.  
 'kho-gi 'pasal 'tsuu-en-dzi peh 'du-ba.  
 He-ERG shop establish-NR-one do AUX.MIR  
*He wants to open a shop, (but will probably not be too successful).*

**(22) vs + -raa (= aux.v.) - 'overdo an activity'**

'giti tuhṅraadi 'lahkpala dela 'mahr 'tḥaa  
 'giti tuhṅ-raa -ti 'lahkpa-la di-la 'mahr 'tḥaa  
 gravel(H) beat.up-excessive -NFNL hand-LOC this-LOC down blood

'tḥiiba thenge.

'tḥiiba then-ken

drop come.out-CUST.PRS

*When we were making gravel we had to smash up so many stones that the  
 blood would drip down our hands.*

**(23) adj.stem -raa + 'khyer-ti - this string is used to intensify a quality**

di khurpu 'tçheraa 'khyerti 'kohle 'yahr'taṅ  
 di<sub>BL</sub> khurpu 'tçhe-raa 'khyer-ti 'koh -le 'yahr-'raṅ  
 this load big-excessive take.along-NFNL door-from up-EMPH

mahçoṅ.

mah-çoṅ

NEG.PRCT-fit.in

*This load was so huge that it wouldn't even go through the door.*

di 'kauli 'tçunraa 'khyerti paa 'tshak tçii'aṅ  
 di 'kauli 'tçun-raa 'khyer-ti paa 'tshak tçii-'aṅ  
 this cauliflower young-excessive take.along -NFNL curry meal one-also

mahyohṅ!

mah-y-ohṅ

NEG.PFCT-come

*The cauliflower is so tiny that there isn't even enough for one meal.*



pehza'ya 'tɕepa tsokraa 'khyerti 'tɕur'taŋ  
 pehza-'ya 'tɕepa tsokpa-raa 'khyer -ti 'tɕuhr-'raŋ  
 child-PL behaviour bad-excessive take.along-NFNL subdue-EMPH

miihkhuë 'samma kahl 'du!  
 meh-khuu-ken 'samma kahl 'du  
 NEG.NON.PFCF-be.able-CUST.PRS up.to go.VS.PFCF AUX.MIR  
*The children have become so naughty, they can't keep them disciplined anymore!*

**(24) vs/n. -rooh/ -ruuh peh-k - 'help with an activity'**

Etymology: rooh peh-k 'to help' leeh peh-k 'to work'.

Note that this auxiliary VP may also be attached to nouns!

Phonological conditioning: /-rooh/ occurs after main stems with vowel quality /u/, /-ruuh/ elsewhere.

sah-ruuh pehken tɕii'raŋ mihmba,  
 sah-ruuh peh-ken tɕii-'raŋ meh- 'yihn -pa  
 eat-help do-INT.PRS only-EMPH NEG.NON.PFCT- be.truth.emph -EMPH

'leeh-ruuh'aŋ peh 'kohë.  
 'leeh-ruuh-'aŋ peh 'koh-ken  
 work-help-too do must-INT.PRS  
*You cannot just come for eating, you must also help with the work!*

'tihriŋ 'ŋyihla 'ay-'phal 'ruu-rooh peh ɕo leh.  
 'tihriŋ 'ŋyih-la 'ay-'phal 'ruu-ruuh peh ɕo leh  
 today we.EX-GOAL apple(W) gather.in-help do come.IMP pleadingly  
*Please come and help us picking apples today.*

**(25.1) vs + -'rim/'-rihm/ -'rimba/'-rihmba - 'each time when verbing'**

nekyi 'tʃu-'rihm 'tʃahŋma'raŋ di 'leehmu 'maë?  
 nekyi 'tʃu-'rihm 'tʃahŋma-'raŋ di 'leehmu 'ma -ken  
 pot wash-time each-EMPH this alike say-CUST.PRS  
*Did she say this every time when you washed the dishes?*

aba 'mahni 'pombo 'yehke soŋgo'raŋ 'mih 'ɕi-'rihmba  
 aba 'mahni 'pombo 'yehken soŋgo-'raŋ 'mih 'ɕi-'rihmba  
 father ritual.prayer.leader be because-EMPH person die-each.time

'gyaala lep 'kohë.  
 'gyaa-la lep 'koh-ken  
 place-LOC arrive must-CUST.PRS  
*Because my father is a mantra leader he has to partake in all the funeral rites (of the region).*

khunŋi ooh 'taŋga kuŋla 'zaadi 'koh-'rihmbagi  
 khunŋ-ki ooh 'taŋga kuŋ-la 'zaa-ti 'koh-'rihmba-ki  
 they-ERG that money common.fund-LOC put-NFNL need-each.time-CAUS

'tsaal'tiiw 'yehke.  
 'tsaal-'tii-ku 'yehken  
 use(N)-AUX.F.L.V.-IMPF AUX.PST  
*They would put that money into a common fund and use it as the needs arose.*

**(25.2) /-'rim 'tɕe-ti/ - is used as an ADV phrase in the following example:**

'tɕhepala toptɕa 'mii-'rim 'tɕeti 'kyee 'kohë.  
 'tɕhepa-la toptɕa 'mii-'rim 'tɕe-ti 'kyee 'koh-ken  
 religious.festival-LOC food eye-time cut-NFNL distribute must-CUST.PRS  
*At festivals you must watch carefully that you don't leave anybody out when you serve the food.*

**5.4.1 Reduplication of verb stems**

This is a typical feature of Yohlmo clauses and also results in expressing quite complex ideas very concisely. Examples:

**(26) vs + vs - 'wherever/whatever/whoever'**

'ŋyih kaahla ɕo ɕo pehza'ya 'tiŋ 'ŋyaadi ohŋgu 'du.  
 'ŋyih kaah-la ɕo ɕo pehza-'ya 'tiŋ 'ŋyaa-ti ohŋ-ku 'du  
 we.EX where-LOC go go child-PL after follow-NFNL come-IMPF AUX.MIR  
*Wherever we go the children come after us.*

'mihgi tɕi tɕi peh peh'raŋ 'khogi pehke.  
 'mih-ki tɕi tɕi peh peh-'raŋ 'kho-ki peh-ken  
 person-ERG what what do do-EMPH he-ERG do-CUST.PRS  
*He always does what the other people do.*

## (27) vs + vs + 'tse-g - 'take turns with verbing'

khuŋ nyii 'ɕiken 'tʉuh-'tʉu 'tsew 'du!  
 khuŋ nyii 'ɕiken 'tʉuh 'tʉuh 'tse-ku 'du  
 they two louse pick pick play(E)-IMPF AUX.MIR  
*They are picking each others lice.*

'niu'-ziilyandgi 'pahl ohŋsi'mana 'nyohē 'mih'yagi  
 'niu'-ziilyand-ki 'pahl ohŋ-sin-'ma-na 'nyoh-ken 'mih-'ya-ki  
 New.Zealand-GEN wool come-N.PS-say-COND buy-REL people-PL-ERG

'kahp-'kap 'tseē.  
 'kahp 'kahp 'tse-ken  
 snatch snatch play(E)-CUST.PRS  
*When the wool from New Zealand arrives people snatch it away from each other.*

## (28) vs +-'raŋ + identical vs

'ŋihma tɕii ŋah Yohlmo kor'raŋ kortɕe 'yeh.  
 'ŋihma tɕii ŋah Yohlmo kor-'raŋ kor-tɕe 'yeh  
 day one I Helambu walk.around-EMPH walk.around-INF AUX  
*One day I certainly will trek around in Helambu.*

## (29) vs +-'aŋ + identical vs

ŋahgi Yohlmo kor'aŋ kor sihnsin.  
 ŋah-gi Yohlmo kor-'aŋ kor sihn-sin  
 I-ERG Helambu walk.around-also walk.around finish-N.PST  
*I have already trekked all around Helambu.*

## (30) vs &lt;-kendi&gt; + identical vs &lt;-kyo&gt; - 'the action that happened'

'kyahlbu 'kyahlmu 'yahmbula looh 'phepti oohgi  
 'kyahlbu 'kyahlmu 'yahmbu -la looh 'pheap-ti ooh-ki  
 king queen Kathmandu-LOC return go.HON-NFNL that-GEN

'tiŋla'ga di 'mih rihlgendi rihl'gyo  
 'tiŋ-la-'ka di 'mih rihl-ken-ti rihl-'kyo  
 after-GOAL-CONTR.FOC this people fall.OVER-NR-SPEC fall.OVER-M.P.PST

'yihmba, 'mih 'tɕhongendi 'tɕhoŋ'kyo  
 'yihn-pa 'mih 'tɕhoŋ-ken-ti 'tɕhoŋ-'kyo  
 be.truth.EMPH-EMPH people run-NR-SPEC run-M.P.PST

'yihmba.  
 yihn-pa  
 be.truth.EMPH-EMPH  
*This falling over and running away of the people happened only after the king and queen had left for Kathmandu.*

## 5.5 Clause chaining

## 5.5.1 Consecutive actions

Clause chaining is very common in Yohlmo. There are the following three suffix or suffix combinations which are used for non-final (NFNL) clauses to signal consecutive actions:

1. The non-final marking suffix /-ti~-di/ (= <-ti>) is attached to the A.VS.
2. /-sim-ba-'raŋ/ is attached to the vs.
3. /-tem-ba-'raŋ ~ -dem-ba-'raŋ/ is attached to the A.VS.

The actor of the non-final clauses is by definition the same as the one of the final clause. The suffix combinations given under 2 and 3 seldom occur more than once in the same sentence. They are used to give the consecutive nature of the two events more prominence.

<-ti> however, can be used to chain together several clauses. In narrative texts such long clause chains may be used to signal a climax in the event line (see ex. (32) below), or the final denouement after a climax (see ex. 33) below.

- (32) then kahl-di 'laŋ-gen 'bele-ni, "ŋah 'azi-gi 'kee 'leehmu 'tɕi  
 go.out go.A.VS-NFNL beg-REL time-FOC my sister-GEN voice alike what  
 'yihm-ba?" mee-di karkuŋ-le 'mahr phir 'tɕhoŋ-di  
 is-INT say.A.VS-NFNL window-through down INTS ruŋ-NFNL  
 'prahŋdza rhil 'tap-ti kyaŋ 'ɕii-di lo,  
 hugging INTS SOW-NFNL INTS die-A.VS-EMPH.PST REP  
 'pin ŋyika-'raŋ!  
 sibling both-EMPH

*When she went out to beg (he heard her from the window and said,  
 "What's that, it sounds like the voice of my sister!" And he jumped out of  
 the window, fell right onto her, they hugged each other and just died this  
 way. (This is not the end of the story, it has a happy end.)*

- (33) "ahnda 'ma-na-ni ohraŋ 'dzamma-'raŋ ruhp-ti 'nama-la  
 this.way say-COND -FOC we.INCL all-EMPH unite-NFNL sister-in-law-GOAL  
 ten ɖo-ẽ 'tuŋal peh meh-'koh-ẽ" 'mee-di  
 pull.out go-INT.PRS worry do NEG-must-INT.PRS say.A.VS-NFNL  
 'ama-'ya 'khyer-ti 'dzamma-'raŋ 'khyer-ti  
 mother-PL take.along-NFNL all-EMPH take.along-NFNL  
 'praah-la 'tɕa 'tsuu-di 'mahr phap-ti 'tɕhuŋma  
 abyss-LOC rope.ladder put-NFNL down descend-NFNL wife  
 phroo-di khyoŋ-di lo!  
 snatch-NFNL bring-NFNL REP

*"In that case let's go and take her out (of the cave)" he said and he took  
 along the family members and all who came along, and unitedly they let  
 down the abyss a rope ladder, descended it, snatched the wife and brought  
 her home.*

In both of those examples above we can observe how direct quotes can be built  
 in neatly in to such clause chaining sentences.

Such long clause chains with <-ti> are mostly a feature of story telling. In  
 telling personal experiences, giving reports, or in expository texts more than one  
 or two clauses chained with <-ti> occur rarely. Also, in these latter texts there  
 is a greater tendency to use the more prominent /-simba'raŋ/, /-temba'raŋ/

-dembaraj/ or /phandzo/ 'after' for sequential nonfinal clauses. Nevertheless, in  
 combination with the 'concomitant action participle clauses 1 or 2' the text genre  
 mentioned above also may have quite long sentences.

### 5.5.2 Concomitant action and vs reduplications

The simple concomitant action participle is <-kemu>:

#### (34) while this happened something else happened - <-kemu>

ŋah lepkemu 'khogi to sahwa 'yehken.  
 ŋah lep-kemu 'kho-ki to sah-ku 'yehken.  
 I arrive-while he-ERG meal eat IMPF AUX.PST  
*When I arrived he was eating his meal.*

But there are also ways to express the extent of the concomitant action more  
 precisely by using vs reduplication in one of the clauses plus adding some other  
 supportive particle. This again results in very concise way of expressing quite  
 complex ideas. Examples:

#### (35) while in the process of verbing - vs reduplication + <-raŋ>

'kho ohŋgemu ŋahgi to yo'raŋ yow 'yehke.  
 'kho ohŋ-ken-mu ŋah-ki to yo'raŋ yo-ku 'yehken  
 he come-PRS-while I-ERG grain.meal cook-EPMPH cook-IMPF AUX.PST  
*When he came I was in the process of cooking the meal.*

#### (36) while at one point in the course of verbing – vs reduplication

+ <-ken> + <-tse> + <-la>

to sahẽdze sahẽdzela lahŋsimana,  
 to sah-ken-tse sah-ken-tse-la lahŋ-sin-ma-na  
 grain.meal eat-PRS-about eat-PRS-about-GOAL rise-N.PST-say-COND

ohle 'yehpa'raŋ sala 'tehti sah mihŋyuhŋge.  
 ohle 'yehpa-'raŋ sa-la 'teh-ti sah meh- 'ŋyuhŋ-ken  
 and,then again-EMPH ground-LOC sit-NFNL eat NEG.NON.PFCT-get-CUST.PRS  
*Once you get up while you are eating, you are not allowed to sit down and eat  
 again.*

(37) while in the span of verbing when the two spans approximately overlap:  
vs reduplication + <la-ni>

khuŋ 'meehme'yagi to yo yolani  
khuŋ 'meehme-'ya-ki to yo yo-la-ni  
they family-PL-ERG grain.meal cook cook-GOAL-FOC

Sonamgi 'yih 'tcheeēgi seehzi 'thoŋsin.  
Sonam-ki 'yih 'tchee-ken-ki seeh t̄ii 'thoŋ-sin  
p.name-ERG astonishment go.ahead-REL-REL.OPTL thing one see-N.PST  
*While they were preparing the meal Sonam saw an astonishing thing.*

### 5.5.3 Clause chaining and quote margin patterns

Yohlmo has very interesting and dynamic quote margin patterns, and this feature is closely linked with clause chaining. Most direct speech quotes of various length are embedded within a clause. The easiest way to expound this feature is probably to give some examples which we then can comment about:

The examples (38 - 48) are taken from the beginning of a narrative text. The story is about a widower with two young children who remarried again.

(38) ohle 'asa-di-gi, "pehza nyii 'poh-'ya-la lee  
and.then stepmother-SPEC-ERG child two near-PL-LOC arrive

ohŋ-na-ni ŋah 'so 'suh 'kyahp-ku 'du!" 'ma-ē lo.  
come-COND-FOC my tooth hurt hit-IMPV AUX.MIR say-REPET.PST REP

*And then the stepmother would say, "If the two children come somewhere near me I get a tooth ache!"*

(39) ohle 'khyubu-di-gi 'tjih 'du lo,  
and then husband-SPEC-ERG ask AUX.MIR REP

"'khye 'so 'suh 'kyahp-ke-la t̄i sah-na 'taah-ge le?  
your tooth ache hit-NR-GOAL what eat-COND get.well-INT.PRS softening

*And then the husband asked, "What could you eat so that your tooth ache would get well?"*

(40) "'khye pehza nyii 'se-ti ŋah-la 'ça ter-na  
your child two kill-NFNL I-GOAL meat give-COND

'taah-ge 'nahle!" 'ma-ē lo.  
get.well-INT.PRS obviously say-REPET.PST REP

*"If you kill you two children and give me their flesh to eat I will get well!" she would say.*

(41) ohle-ni 'lahm-la 'thuu-gen 'mih-'ya-gi, "'khye kaah-la  
and then way-LOC meet-REL people-PL-ERG you where-GOAL

ɕo-ē?" 'mee-di 'tjih-sin 'du lo.  
go-INT.PRS say.A.VS-NFNL ask-N.PST AUX.MIR REP

*And then the people he met on the way asked, "Where are you going?"*

(42) "ŋah piihmi 'çi-ze peh-ti, 'ŋah pehza'ya 'se-ti 'ça ter-na  
my wife dye-INF do-NFNL my child-PL kill-NFNL flesh give-COND

'taah-ge 'ma-wa-'raŋ 'se ɕo-ē 'nah" 'ma-ē lo.  
get.well-INT.PRS say-IMPV-EMPH kill go-INT.PRS fact.emph say-REPET.PST REP

*"My wife is about to die, and because she says if I give her their flesh to eat she will get well, so I am going to kill them, what to do?" he would reply.*

(43) "'khye pehza nyii mah-'se!" 'mee-di 'khyi-gi 'lawa 'leehmu-zi  
your child two NEG-kill say.A.VS-NFNL dog-GEN lung alike-one

ter 'tsahŋ-ge lo.  
give send-REPET.PST REP

*"Don't kill your children!" the people would say; and they would give him the lung of a dog or something like that to take it to her.*

- (44) ohle 'yehpa-'raŋ pehza nyii 'khyim nahŋ-la 'çuuh ohŋ-go-'raŋ-ni  
and again-EMPH child two house inside-LOC enter come-IMPF-EMPH-FOC  
'yehpa-'raŋ, "'so 'suh 'kyahp-ke!" 'mee-di 'bol 'teh-ke  
again-EMPH tooth ache hit-INT.PRS say.A.VS-NFNL writhe sit- REPET.PST  
le!  
expressive particle

*And then, since the two children would again come into the house (she said) again, "I have a terrible tooth ache!" And she would writhe in pain.*

- (45) "'khye-gi 'so 'suh tçi ter-na 'taah-ge le?"  
you-ERG tooth pain what give-COND get.well-INT.PRS pleading particle  
'ma-ē lo.  
say-REPET.PST REP  
*"What do we do for your tooth ache to get well, I wonder?" he would say.*

- (46) "'khye pehza nyii 'se-ti 'ça ter-na 'taah-ge!"  
your child two kill-NFNL meat give- COND get.well-INT.PRS  
'ma-ē lo.  
say-REPET.PST REP  
*"If you kill your two children and give me their flesh I will get well!"*

- (47) "'i, nah pehza nyii 'kahŋdumu peh-ti 'se-tçe?" 'mee-di  
oh my child two how do-NFNL kill-INF say.A.VS-NFNL  
'se tço-ē lo.  
kill go-INT.PRS REP  
*"Oh, how can I kill my two children?" he thought and went with the intention to kill them.*

- (48) ohle 'mih tçii 'thuu-di ooh 'mih-gi, "'khye kaahla tço-ē  
and then person one meet-NFNL that person-ERG you where go-INT.PRS  
leh?" 'mee-di 'tjih-sin 'du lo.  
softening particle say.A.VS-NFNL ask-N.PST AUX.MIR REP  
*And then meeting someone on the way, that person asked, "Where are you going?"*

Example (38), (41), and (48) show the most typical way of quoting direct speech: First comes a stretch of narrative action (which can vary very much in length), then the speaker is stated and suffixed with the ergative <-ki> which is followed directly by the quote, and the "said" string follows the quote. (In these examples we always have the reportive evidential particle "lo" at the end of the sentence because it is a made up story. In personal reports the quote margins will follow a similar pattern, but "lo" will only be used in places where it contributes its full meaning.

Example (39) shows that it is possible to have a full-fledged quote margin containing the verb of speaking in front of the quote. But such instances are really rare; and several of them would never occur in a row. Various ways of embedding patterns of the quote are much more elegant in Yohlmo. (Note: the two children never got killed; the story has a happy ending!)

From example (38) we also see that such embedded quotes may be quite long. In fact they can be much longer than the one in example (38). For example, in another story the "good fortune" of a younger brother is explaining to the older brother who he is. He starts the explanation without an initial quote margin; he uses 10 clauses for his explanation and only then at the end the story teller adds the following final quote margin:

- (49) ..... 'mee-di 'kho-gi 'sodi-gi 'ma-sin 'du lo.  
.....say.A.VS-NFNL he- GEN good.fortune-ERG say-N.PST AUX.MIR REP  
.....", *saying, his good fortune told him.*

To only state who the speaker is in the final quote margin is not uncommon after such long quotes. In this case it occurs in a dramatic exchange without an initial quote margin. But it is also not uncommon after a longish quote to restate who the speaker is, even if it has already been stated in an initial quote margin.

**Partially dramatic exchanges** without initial but only final quote margins are also a very common feature of Yohlmo discourse. This is exemplified by examples (40), (42), (43), and (45) above. Examples (46-47) illustrate a **purely dramatic exchange**.

If there are long quotes in dramatic exchanges, it is not uncommon that the final quote margin clarifies who the speaker was, in the fashion shown in ex. (49) above.

The final part of the quote margin is often also used to carry on stating the happenings of the event line; see ex (43, 44, and (47) above. Another example is given in (50) below:

- (50) then kahl-di 'laŋ-gen 'bela-le-ni, "ŋah 'azi-gi 'kee  
 go.out went-NFNL beg-REL time-at-/FOC my elder.sister-GEN voice  
 'leehmu-zi 'yihm-ba-ni?" 'mee-di karkuŋ-le 'mahr  
 alike-one is-INT-FOC say.A.VS-NFNL window-from down  
 phir 'tchoŋ-di 'prahŋdza rhil 'tap-ti 'ka 'kyahl-di  
 INTS run-NFNL hug INTS SOW-NFNL shock win.over-NFNL  
 'tehm̄ba tend-ze-'aŋ mihn-du lo, 'pin ŋyikka-'raŋ.  
 remembrance pull.out-INF-also NEG-AUX.MIR REP sibling both-EMPH

*When (she) went out to beg he suddenly thought, "Doesn't that sound like the voice of my sister, surely?" And (he) jumped out of the window, (fell upon her), hugged her strongly, and they both got such a shock that they lost their consciousness, both siblings lost it.*

This kind of sentences occurs at points of suspension or resolution of the suspension. The various quote forms have significance on the discourse level.

Another very effective feature of quoting is the use of the concomitant verb phrase /('mee-di) 'ma-ē bela-le/ in the middle of an exchange. The exchange below in ex. (51) takes place between a villager who is visiting the village lama at his place; the villager starts out with the question:

- (51) ohle ŋah-gi, "ohraŋ dela taŋmnaŋ-la saza namdza  
 and I-ERG you.POL here place.name-LOC earth sky  
 tchaa-ge-gi 'ketca-'ya ohraŋ lama 'tchee-la  
 become.existant-REL-REL.OPTL matter-PL your.POL lama book-LOC  
 meeh-ba 'yihm-ba?" 'mee-di 'ma-ē 'bela-le,  
 not.have-INT be-INT say.A.VS-NFNL say-REL time-at  
 "kere, tahnda 'samma ŋah-la meeh-ba 'yeh-ba,  
 well now up.to I-GOAL not.have-EMPH have-EMPH  
 'lehmen gyaa-la 'yeh-na mihm-ba-ni?" 'mee-di  
 other place-LOC have-COND be.NEG-INT-FOC say.A.VS-NFNL  
 suŋ naŋ-gu 'du-ba.  
 say.HON give-HON-IMPF AUX.MIR-EMPH

*And then, when I said, "Do you have anything here in Tahmnang about how the earth and the sky came into existence?" The lama replied, "Well, up to now I haven't seen anything; there might be something somewhere else."*

The use of the concomitant verb phrase between quotes signals a change of speaker by default.

#### 'While expecting one thing something else happens' - /mee-di mee-ba-ni/

This construction is included here because it is related to quotes. The first clause always contains either a real quote or a thought quote. The whole construction has a somewhat exclamatory connotation:

- (52) gyooba-'raŋ 'khaŋba-la looh ɕo  
 quickly-EMPH house-LOC return come.IMP  
 'mee-di 'mee-ba-ni, pruhi 'tsemu 'tse-ē  
 say.A.VS-NFNL say.A.VS-PFCT-FOC snake game play-REL  
 gyaa-la-'ga tee 'teh-ku 'du!  
 place-LOC-C.E.FOC look.A.VS sit-IMPF AUX.MIR

*I told him to come home quickly, but here, he keeps watching the snake charmer at the road side!*

- (53) 'pehza-'ya 'tche-ro 'tche-ro do-wa-'raŋ  
 child-PL big-increase.gradually big-increase.gradually go-IMPF-EMPH  
 yaah-ro yaah-ro ohŋ-do  
 good-increase.gradually good-increase.gradually become-PROBABLE.FUT  
 'mee-di 'mee-ba-ni, dzen tsokpa kahl-sin!  
 say.A.VS-NFNL say.A.VS-PFCT-FOC more bad go.A.VS-N.PST  
*I thought the children would become increasingly better as they grow, and here, they have become worse!*

**'Instead of doing the expected do the unexpected' - /vs < -tce > + meeh-ba/**

This construction, though not using a quote verb, seems to be patterned on the same usage of the suffix /-ba/ as in the examples given in the paragraph above; in this case /-ba/ is attached to the negative form of the auxiliary verb of the verb phrase.

- (54) to-'ya sah-ze meeh-ba, 'uhreŋ 'kyahp-ti!  
 grain.meal-PL eat-INF AUX.V.NEG-PFCT hurling hit-EMPH.PST  
*Instead of eating the food he threw it all out! (the rascal!)*
- (55) ohle 'nuhmu-di 'dzii-ze meeh-ba,  
 and.then younger.sister-SPEC fear-INF AUX.V.NEG-PFCT  
 'açaŋ-gi mahy 'se-ken-di-'ga tee 'teh-ku 'du!  
 uncle-ERG buffalo kill-NR-SPEC-C.E.FOC look.A.VS stay-IMPF AUX.MIR  
*(To my surprise) the little girl is watching her maternal uncle kill a buffalo without even showing a sign of fear!*

**5.6 Major sentence types**

A very characteristic feature of all sentence types the use of attitude particles occurring at the end of the sentence. They occur very frequently and add a lot of over or under tones to Yohlmo talk. The table below gives a list of them and explains the flavour they give to the sentence. The table below list the ones we have observed and gives the meaning (or we could also say "the over or under tone") it adds to the utterance.

particle	meaning/over or under tone
<sup>3</sup> aa	a friendly emphasis
<sup>1</sup> aah	astonishment / foreboding
<sup>3</sup> ii	rueful exclamation
<sup>3</sup> uy	asking for a positive response (=a.f.p.r.)
<sup>3</sup> eey	asking for agreement
<sup>3</sup> kyi ~ <sup>1</sup> gyi	explanatory flavour
<sup>3</sup> kyile ~ <sup>1</sup> gyile	explanatory flavour: "as you know yourself"
<sup>2</sup> ŋeeh	intimidating
<sup>4</sup> tçi	accommodating
<sup>1</sup> nah	factual emphasis / mild insistence
<sup>1</sup> nahle	emphatic confirmation / obviously it is so
<sup>2</sup> yahŋ	prominence / emphatic focus.
<sup>1</sup> laah	polite attitude
<sup>4</sup> le / <sup>2</sup> leh	mitigating / pleading
<sup>1</sup> loh	friendly spurring on / o.k.?
<sup>3</sup> wa ~ <sup>1</sup> wah	be perceptive! / mind!

Table 23: Attitude particles

Some examples:

- (56) 'azi tee 'aa, 'ŋyih 'mih-'ya 'nehpa do-en uy!  
 e.sister look.IMP friendly.emph. we.EXCL people-PL sick go-PRS a.f.p.r.  
*'Now look elder sister, we people become sick, don't we?'*



- (57) di palip-ni 'lihk 'lihk peh-ku 'du, rohm-do yahŋ!  
 this platform-FOC tremble tremble do-IMPF AUX.MIR collapse-FUT EMPH.FOC  
*'This covered platform is shaking terribly, mind, it's probably going to collapse!'*
- (58) e 'nuhmu, rih-la kahl-di ɕiŋ 'sipi-zi khyoŋ-di  
 hey y.sister forest-LOC go.VS.ALT-NFNL wood little-one bring-NFNL  
 gyoohba-'raŋ looh ɕo loh!  
 quickly-EMPH return come.IMP friendly spurring on  
*'Hey, little sister, go to the forest to get some firewood and please come back quickly!'*

### 5.6.1 Direct affirmative declarative

The direct affirmative declarative statement is the basic sentence type. The other sentence types are derived from it. It consists at least of a clause, or an elliptic clause.

### 5.6.2 Negation

Negation is expressed with a prefix on the verb stem. It is the only prefix of Yohlmo. In serial verb strings the negation is prefixed to the auxiliary verb.

The negative prefix shows an interesting mixture between regular phonological vowel and length alternations and a morphologically conditioned vowel change. The following sections explain and illustrate this.

The negative morpheme is prefixed to the verb stem or to the alternate base of the verb stem (a.vs), and has basically two forms:

<sup>h</sup>meh-/ occurs with non-past tenses,

<sup>h</sup>mah-/ occurs with past tenses and the imperative.

These prefixes show morphophonemic changes in vowel quality and vowel length, depending to what kind of verb stem they are prefixed to.

#### 5.6.2.1 Change in vowel quality

<sup>h</sup>meh-/ → <sup>h</sup>mih/ before bases with the high vowels /i/ and /u/.

<sup>h</sup>mah-/ shows no change in vowel quality.

In the following examples we give first the basic form of the verb stem, and then the present tense, where we can observe the change in vowel quality (in the last four examples), and below the present tense we give the past tense, where the vowel of the negative prefix remains constant:

/ɕe-k/	/ŋah-gi meh-ɕe./	'I won't tell it.'
	/ŋah-gi mah-ɕe./	'I didn't tell it.'
/'loŋ-/	/ŋah-gi meh-'loŋ./	'I won't search through it.'
	/ŋah-gi mah-'loŋ./	'I didn't search through it.'
/'taŋ-/	/ŋah-gi meh-taŋ./	'I won't send it.'
	/ŋah-gi mah-taŋ./	'I didn't send it.'
/'tiŋ-/	/ŋah-gi mih-'tiŋ./	'I won't spread it out.'
	/ŋah-gi mah-'tiŋ./	'I didn't spread it out.'
/'ɕi-k'	/ŋah-gi mih-'ɕi./	'I won't drive him out.'
	/ŋah-gi mah-'ɕi./	'I didn't drive him out.'
/'puŋ-/	/ŋah-gi mih-'puŋ./	'I won't spill it.'
	/ŋah-gi mah-'puŋ./	'I didn't spill it.'

#### 5.6.2.2 Transfer of stem vowel length

In all forms and environments, the negative prefix becomes long when it is prefixed to a verb stem base with a long vowel, and the base itself becomes short.

That is, the base vowel length is transferred to the negative prefix. This applies also to those verb-stem-perfect bases in which a long vowel has been introduced through morphophonemic change. That is, we first have to choose the appropriate verb stem base, and then prefix the negative.

In the following examples, we give only the translation of the basic form of the verb stems. The meanings of the other forms can be derived from the headings



of the columns. (Verb stems with a final consonant do not occur with long vowels, and therefore we have not included any examples of these here.)

With verb stems which have a short vowel and are followed by voiceless suffixes no lengthening of the verb base takes place; therefore here the negative prefix occurs in its unlengthened form everywhere. (This can only be observed for verb stems with /i/ and /e/ quality.)

verb stem	expressive past	neg. past	neg. present & neg. imperative
/thi-k/	/thi-ti!/ 'join together'	/mah-thi./	/mih-thi./ 'mah-thi!/'
/phre-k/	/phre-ti!/ 'scratch'	/mah-phre./	/meh-phre./ 'mah-phre!/'
/'tjh-k/	/'tjh-ti!/ 'pull'	/mah-'tjh/	/mih-'tjh./ 'mah-'tjh!/'
/'teh-k/	/'teh-ti!/ 'sit, stay'	/mah-'teh./	/meh-'teh./ 'mah-'teh!/'

With verb stems which have long vowels we can observe the transfer of the vowel length to the negative prefix.

#### Verb stems with long vowels and high register:

verb stem	expressive past	neg. past	neg. present & neg. imperative
/taa-/	/taa-di!/ 'fasten'	/maah-ta./	/meeh-ta./ 'maah-ta!/'
/'sii-/	/'sii-di!/ 'save up'	/maah-'si./	/miih-'si./ 'maah-'si!/'

verb stem	expressive past	neg. past	neg. present & neg. imperative
/ruu-/	/ruu-di!/ 'gather in'	/maah-'ru./	/miih-'ru./ 'maah-'ru!/'
/nee-/	/nee-di!/ 'think, seem'	/maah-ne./	/meeh-ne./ 'maah-ne!/'
/ŋoo-/	/ŋoo-di!/ 'disturb, irritate'	/maah-ŋo./	/meeh-ŋo./ 'maah-ŋo!/'

#### Verb stems with long vowels and low register:

/yaah-/	/yaah-di!/ 'bring forth fruit'	/maah-yah./	/meeh-yah./ 'maah-yah!/'
/tjih-/	/tjih-di!/ 'arrange'	/maah-tjih./	/miih-tjih./ 'maah-tjih!/'
/yuuh-/	/yuuh-di!/ 'wander around'	/maah-yuh./	/miih-yuh./ 'maah-yuh!/'
/'dee-/	/'dee-di!/ 'touch'	/maah-n-'de./	/meeh-n-'de./ 'maah-n-'de!/'
/looh-/	/looh-di!/ 'return'	/maah-loh./	/meeh-loh./ 'maah-loh!/'

With verb stems which have short vowels followed by voiced suffixes the lengthening of the vowel can be observed in the expressive past, (i.e. before the suffix /-di/), and consequently the vowel length of the stem is transferred to the

negative prefix in the negative form of the past. Note, however, that in the imperative negative of these verbs no vowel lengthening occurs.

**Verb stems with short vowels and high register:**

verb stem	expressive past	neg. past	neg. present & neg. imperative
/lha-/ 'knot'	/lhee-di/	/maah-'lhe./	/meh-'lha./ /mah-'lha!/'
/'phi-g/ 'be late'	/'phii-di/	/maah-'phi./	/mih-'phi./ /mah-'phi!/'
/phu-/ 'blow'	/phii-di/	/maah-'phi./	/mih-'phu./ /mah-'phu!/'
/'tse-g/ 'play'	/'tsee-di/	/maah-'tse./	/meh-'tse./ /mah-'tse!/'
/'po-/ 'pour'	/'pee-di/	/maah-'pe./	/meh-'po./ /mah-'po!/'

**Verb stems with short vowels and low register:**

verb stem	expressive past	neg. past	neg. present & neg. imperative
/sah-/ 'eat'	/seeh-di/	/maah-'seh./	/meh-'sah./ /mah-'sah!/'
/'jih-g/ 'ask'	/'jih-di/	/maah-'jih./	/mih-'jih./ /mah-'jih!/'
/'pruh-/ 'write'	/'priih-di/	/maah-'prijh./	/mih-'pruh./ /mah-'pruh!/'

/'tceh-g/ 'care'	/'tceeh-di/	/maah-'tceh./	/meh-'tceh./ /mah-'tceh!/'
/'nyoh-/ 'buy'	/'nyeeh-di/	/maah-'nyeh./	/meh-'nyoh./ /mah-'nyoh!/'

**5.6.2.3 Tonal behavior of the negative prefix and the following verb stems**

So far we have seen that the negative prefix alternates phonologically between /<sup>2</sup>meh-/ and /<sup>2</sup>mih-/, and that in certain morphological environments it changes to /<sup>2</sup>mah-/. Further we have seen that these forms become long when they are prefixed to a verb stem base with long vowel; and that consequently, the prefixed verb stem base becomes short.

As to the tonal behavior of these composites, we observe that the general rules for compounding apply. That is, each component retains its original register and contour tone, but in the second component the dimensions of the contrast are reduced.

To my<sup>1</sup> astonishment this is also true for stems which have become short because of the vowel length transfer. Such stems also retain their original register and contour. This shows that the tone contrasts and vowel length contrasts are independent of each other.

Following are just two sets of four verbs; each set illustrates the fourfold contrast for voice quality and contour in different phonological environments.

verb stem	meaning	expressive past	negative past	negative present
/'kaŋ-/	'fill, v.t.'	/'kaŋ-di/	/mah-'kaŋ./	/meh-'kaŋ./
/tʌm-/	'spread, v.t.'	/tʌm-di/	/mah-tʌm./	/meh-tʌm./

<sup>1</sup> In this grammar sketch I (Anna Maria Hari) have mainly used 'we' when referring to the author, because without my various assistants I could not have gained the knowledge expounded in this description. But for some more personal discoveries 'I' seems to be more appropriate.

verb stem	meaning	expressive past	negative past	negative present
/təhm-/	'spread, v.i.'	/təhm-di!//	/mah-təhm./	/meh-təhm./
/'kahŋ-/	'fill, v.i.'	/'kahŋ-di!//	/mah-'kahŋ./	/meh-'kahŋ./
/'tap-/	'sow'	/'tap-ti!//	/mah-'tap./	/meh-'tap./
/pap-/	'take down'	/pap-ti!//	/mah-pap./	/meh-pap./
/pahp-/	'shake, v.i.'	/pahp-ti!//	/mah-pahp./	/meh-pahp./
/'təhp-/	'fall'	/'təhp-ti!//	/mah-'təhp./	/meh-'təhp./
/'kaŋ-/	'fill, v.t.'	/'kaŋ-di!//	/mah-'kaŋ./	/meh-'kaŋ./
/təm-/	'spread, v.t.'	/təm-di!//	/mah-təm./	/meh-təm./
/təhm-/	'spread, v.i.'	/təhm-di!//	/mah-təhm./	/meh-təhm./
/'kahŋ-/	'fill, v.i.'	/'kahŋ-di!//	/mah-'kahŋ./	/meh-'kahŋ./

### 5.6.3 Questions

In this domain the intonation is important. Affirmative declarative statements have a slight down-drift in the second half (after the phonological nucleus) of the statement, and the last syllable ends in a fall.

As to the questions, we need to distinguish between yes/no questions and content questions. Content questions contain a question word. The phonological nucleus falls onto the question word and the rest of the string also shows down-drift and a fall on the last syllable.

For yes/no questions the main feature which distinguishes questions from affirmative declarative sentences is the intonation; they show a slight up-drift after the phonological nucleus of the question, and the last syllable ends in an intonation rise.

In addition to that there is the suffix /-pa ~ -ba/. It is only used for past tense questions, and is added to the VS, or the A.VS base for the verbs which have

one. (See section 3.5.1). But even when this suffix is used the intonation needs to rise on it; because this suffix is also used with declarative statements with falling intonation, and then the meaning of the suffix is 'success in adverse circumstances'.

Furthermore /-ba/ is also frequently used with the copulas when they are used as auxiliary verbs ('yeh-ba, meeh-ba, 'yihm-ba, mihm-ba, 'du-ba, mihndu-ba) Here again /-ba/ does signal a question, if it is accompanied by a final rise. But it may also be used with a final fall, and in that case the /-ba/ (combined with the falling intonation) makes the utterance a slightly emphatic statement.

**(6) Basic vocabulary****6.1 Swadesh list**

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological
001	I	<sup>2</sup> ŋah/
002	thou	<sup>1</sup> khye/
003	we (inclusive)	<sup>2</sup> ohraŋ/ (E) <sup>1</sup> uuh/ (W)
	(exclusive)	<sup>1</sup> nyih/
004	this	<sup>2</sup> di/
005	that	<sup>2</sup> ooh/
006	who	<sup>3</sup> su/
007	what	<sup>1</sup> tçi/
008	not	<sup>2</sup> meh-/ → <sup>2</sup> mih-/ in non-past tense forms before base vowels /i/ and /u/, <sup>2</sup> meh-/ occurs elsewhere; <sup>2</sup> mah-/ prefixed for verb stem bases with past tense. All three suffix forms take on the length of long base vowel, and the base vowel becomes short.
009	all	<sup>4</sup> thamdzi/, <sup>1</sup> kahŋye-'raŋ/, <sup>3</sup> rebe/
010	many	<sup>2</sup> mahŋbu/
011	one	<sup>1</sup> tçii/
012	two	<sup>1</sup> nyii/
013	big	<sup>1</sup> tçhimbu, <sup>4</sup> tçhombu/
014	long	<sup>1</sup> rihŋbu/
015	small	<sup>3</sup> phema, <sup>3</sup> tçheemu, <sup>2</sup> piihru/
016	man	<sup>3</sup> kyep- <sup>3</sup> khyowa/

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological
017	woman	<sup>2</sup> piihmi/
018	person	<sup>1</sup> mih/
019	fish	<sup>1</sup> nyah/
020	bird	<sup>1</sup> tçah- <sup>1</sup> tçihwa/
021	dog	<sup>3</sup> kyibu, <sup>3</sup> khyi/
022	louse	<sup>3</sup> kiçikpa, <sup>3</sup> kyici/
023	tree	<sup>2</sup> tohŋbo, <sup>2</sup> tuhŋbu/
024	seed	<sup>3</sup> sen/
025	leaf	<sup>1</sup> lahpti, <sup>2</sup> lohma/
026	root	<sup>3</sup> tsarkyi, <sup>3</sup> tsarnyi, <sup>3</sup> tsarnnye/
027	bark	<sup>4</sup> pako, <sup>3</sup> phiko, <sup>3</sup> koldan/
028	skin	<sup>4</sup> paaba (E), <sup>4</sup> pako (W), <sup>4</sup> kooba/ (of animals)
029	flesh	<sup>3</sup> ça/
030	bone	<sup>1</sup> rehko, <sup>1</sup> riihba (E)/
031	blood	<sup>3</sup> tçaa/
032	grease	<sup>3</sup> khyakpa <sup>4</sup> tçhaa-/ (on liquids or pots) <sup>3</sup> tshilu, <sup>3</sup> tshilo/ (fat on meat)
033	egg	<sup>1</sup> tçahmu <sup>1</sup> kohŋa/
034	horn	<sup>1</sup> rohwa/
035	tail	<sup>3</sup> ŋama, <sup>3</sup> ŋema, <sup>3</sup> nyema/
036	feather	<sup>1</sup> tçoh (E), <sup>2</sup> tçooh (W)

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological		
	fur	/ʰpu/ (fur, downy feathers, body hair)		
037	hair (of head)	/ʰta/	h.: /βu-ʰta/	
038	head	/²goo/	h.: /βu/	
039	ear	/βnamdzo/	/βnyen/	
040	eye	/βmii/	/βtʃen/	
041	nose	/βnaasum/(E)	/βnarko/(W)	h.: /³ʃan/
042	mouth	/βkha/	h.: /¹ʃahl/	
043	tooth	/βso/		
044	tongue	/βtʃele/	h.: /¹dza/	
045	finger nail	/βsemu/ (for finger and toe)		
046	foot	/βkaŋba/ (foot and leg) h.: /¹ʃahp/ (for foot and leg)		
047	knee	/βkaŋba-³tshii/, /ʰpiimu/		
048	hand	/¹lahkpa/	h.: /ʰtʃhaa/	
049	belly	/¹tʃhpa/		
050	neck	/¹dʒiŋba/	h.: /²gur/	
051	breast	/¹ohma/		
052	heart	/ʰniŋ/ (physical)	/ʰlo, ʰkhokpa/(emotional)	
053	liver	/ʰtʃhimba/		
054	drink	/ʰthuŋ-/	h.: /βtʃhe-k/	
055	eat	/²sah-/	h.: /³tʃhe-k/	
056	bite	/ʰaa ³tap-, ¹kahp-/		

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological	
057	see	/βthoŋ-/	h.: /¹zii-/
	look	/ʰta-/	h.: /¹zii-/
058	hear	/βthee-/	h.: /βsen-/
	listen, obey	/¹nyihn-/	h.: /βsen-/
059	know	/ʰʃee-/ (something)	h.: /βkhyen-/
		/¹ŋoh ⁴ʃee-/ (someone)	h.: /¹ŋoh ³khyen-/
060	sleep	/βnyi ²looh-/	h.: /¹zim-/
061	die	/βʃi-g¹/	h.: /¹toŋ-/
062	kill	/βse-k¹/	
063	swim	/ʰtʃal ¹kyahp-/	
064	fly	/¹uhr-/	h.: /ʰphur-/
065	walk (go)	/²dʒo-/	h.: /βpʃep-/
066	come	/²ohŋ-/	h.: /βpʃep-/
067	lie down	/¹nyahl-/	h.: /¹zim-/
068	sit	/¹teh-k/	h.: /¹zuu-/
069	stand	/¹lahŋ-di ¹teh-k/	h.: /¹lahŋ-di ¹zuu-/
070	give	/ʰter-/	
071	say	/βma-, ¹lahp-/	h.: /ʰsuŋ-/
	say (tell)	/βʃe-k/	h.: /¹ʃuh-/

<sup>1</sup> For the significance of the verbal "suffixes" /-g/ and /-k/ after some verb stems see section 2.6.1 -2.6.1.1 of this sketch.

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological
072	sun	<sup>1</sup> nyihma/ h.: <sup>3</sup> ama <sup>1</sup> nyihma/
073	moon	<sup>1</sup> dawa, <sup>1</sup> dayum/ h.: <sup>1</sup> aw <sup>1</sup> dawa/
074	star	<sup>4</sup> karma/
075	water	<sup>4</sup> tchu/
076	rain	<sup>4</sup> nam-gi <sup>4</sup> tchu/ v.: <sup>4</sup> nam <sup>1</sup> kyahp-/
077	stone	<sup>2</sup> toh/
078	sand	<sup>2</sup> pehma/
079	earth	<sup>4</sup> sasa, <sup>3</sup> thasa, <sup>4</sup> saza, <sup>4</sup> saptçi/
080	cloud	<sup>3</sup> mukpa/
081	smoke	<sup>1</sup> tihpa, <sup>1</sup> tehpa/
082	fire	<sup>1</sup> meh/
083	ash	<sup>3</sup> thala/
084	burn	<sup>1</sup> tiih-, <sup>2</sup> bar-, <sup>3</sup> tshii-/
	burn (cremate)	<sup>2</sup> tçahj-, <sup>1</sup> tooh-/
085	path	<sup>1</sup> lahm/
086	mountain	<sup>1</sup> kahj/
	mountain peak	<sup>1</sup> lah- <sup>3</sup> tse/
087	red	<sup>1</sup> mahrmu, <sup>1</sup> mahrpu/
088	green, blue	<sup>4</sup> nombo, <sup>4</sup> numbu/
089	yellow, beige	<sup>4</sup> serpu/
090	white	<sup>4</sup> karpu, <sup>4</sup> karmu/

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological
091	black	<sup>1</sup> nahkpu/
092	night	<sup>1</sup> nuhp/ earlier part: <sup>2</sup> kuhymu, <sup>2</sup> nuhymu/
093	hot	<sup>3</sup> tshandi/ of weather: <sup>3</sup> tshapa <sup>3</sup> tsha-/
	warm	<sup>1</sup> tohmo/
094	cold (weather)	<sup>3</sup> khyaabu/ of liquids: <sup>1</sup> tahymu/
095	full (liquids)	<sup>1</sup> kahj, <sup>1</sup> kahngya/
	(to overflowing)	<sup>3</sup> mere, <sup>3</sup> merkya/
	full (in volume)	<sup>1</sup> bolbu/
096	new	<sup>4</sup> samba/
097	good	<sup>2</sup> yaahbu/ (good to look at, beautiful)
		<sup>2</sup> çihmbu/ (good tasting) h.: <sup>3</sup> nyeebu/
		<sup>4</sup> nyembu/ (good sounding)
		<sup>2</sup> zanbu/ (good, pure)
098	round	<sup>2</sup> kohrmu/ (circular)
		<sup>4</sup> rhilmu/ (ball-shaped)
099	dry	<sup>4</sup> kambu/
	dry (of weather)	<sup>2</sup> kahmaj <sup>2</sup> ohj-/ (be a drought)
100	name	<sup>1</sup> mihj/ h.: <sup>3</sup> tshen/

6.2 Social role and culture list<sup>1</sup>

## A. Nouns

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological	
01	dance	<sup>β</sup> tɕham/	h: <sup>ʌ</sup> kindzəm/
	social dancing	<sup>ʌ</sup> çəpru <sup>1</sup> kyəhp-/	
	dance at funerals	<sup>ʌ</sup> məhni <sup>3</sup> tɕhepa <sup>3</sup> tɕham-/	
	masked dance	<sup>ʌ</sup> bəə <sup>3</sup> tɕham-/	h.: <sup>ʌ</sup> bəəndzəm <sup>4</sup> nəŋ-/
02	dancer	<sup>β</sup> tɕham-gen <sup>1</sup> mih/	
	expert dancer	<sup>2</sup> zəeba (m.), <sup>2</sup> zəema (f.)	
03	sign (see)	<sup>ʌ</sup> tɕe ( <sup>3</sup> thoŋ-)	
	sign (perform)	<sup>2</sup> niihba ( <sup>ʌ</sup> ten-)	
04	song	<sup>β</sup> lu/	h.: <sup>2</sup> gurma/
05	singer	<sup>β</sup> lu <sup>2</sup> lehn-gen <sup>1</sup> mih/	
	expert singer	<sup>2</sup> zəeba (m.), <sup>2</sup> zəema (f.)	
06	music	--	
07	musician	<sup>β</sup> umdze, <sup>3</sup> yihnze ( <sup>2</sup> peh-k)/ (perform) duty of a musician in religious ceremonies	
08	paint (n.)	<sup>ʌ</sup> tshendze/	
09	painting (n.)	<sup>ʌ</sup> thəŋgu/ (religious painting)	
10	painter	<sup>β</sup> lhəri <sup>3</sup> kheeba/ (paints religious paintings)	

<sup>1</sup> The creator (or maybe last modifier) of this social role and culture word list is David Watters from SIL International. Date: March 29, 2008.

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological
11	game	<sup>2</sup> paah <sup>3</sup> tse-g/ (play a gambling game)
12	player	<sup>2</sup> paah <sup>3</sup> tse-gen <sup>1</sup> mih/
13	story	<sup>ʌ</sup> petəm/
14	drama	<sup>ʌ</sup> draama/
15	actor	<sup>ʌ</sup> draama <sup>3</sup> tse-gen <sup>1</sup> mih/
16	murder	<sup>ʌ</sup> mih <sup>3</sup> se-k/
17	lie	<sup>ʌ</sup> tsihŋ <sup>1</sup> kyəhp-, <sup>4</sup> çop <sup>1</sup> kyəhp-/
18	liar	<sup>ʌ</sup> tsihŋ/ <sup>4</sup> çop <sup>1</sup> kyəhp-ken <sup>1</sup> mih/
19	theft	<sup>β</sup> kumen <sup>1</sup> kyəhp-ken <sup>1</sup> leeh/
20	thief	<sup>β</sup> kumen/
21	people	<sup>ʌ</sup> mih-'ya, <sup>1</sup> luhŋba-'ya/ poetic: <sup>ʌ</sup> nyehn- <sup>4</sup> lo, <sup>1</sup> nehn- <sup>4</sup> lo/
22	language	<sup>ʌ</sup> təm/ h.: <sup>ʌ</sup> çahl/
23	word	<sup>β</sup> tshika, <sup>3</sup> tshii/
24	foreigner	<sup>ʌ</sup> mih <sup>1</sup> luhŋba-gi <sup>1</sup> mih, <sup>3</sup> tɕhi <sup>1</sup> kyəhl-gi <sup>1</sup> mih/
25	caste	--
26	Brahman	--
27	rich man	<sup>ʌ</sup> mih <sup>4</sup> tɕhukpu, <sup>1</sup> mih <sup>2</sup> baro/
28	poor man	<sup>β</sup> praŋna, <sup>1</sup> mih <sup>3</sup> praŋbu/
29	slave	<sup>ʌ</sup> yokpu (m.), <sup>4</sup> yoomu (f.)/
30	villager	<sup>ʌ</sup> yuhlba, <sup>1</sup> yuhl-gi <sup>1</sup> mih/
31	neighbour	<sup>β</sup> khyimzi, <sup>1</sup> toŋro/

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological
32	chief (leader)	<sup>2</sup> goba, <sup>4</sup> pombo/
33	elder	<sup>2</sup> go- <sup>3</sup> tchewa, <sup>2</sup> keehngen/
34	judge	<sup>4</sup> thim <sup>4</sup> ta-en-gi/ <sup>4</sup> taŋ-gen-gi <sup>1</sup> mih/
35	policeman	<sup>β</sup> pulis/ (E)
36	jail	<sup>1</sup> dzet/ (N)
37	school	<sup>β</sup> iskul/ (E)
38	teacher (religious)	<sup>β</sup> loben/ (also name of the guardian god of a temple)
39	assembly	<sup>4</sup> tshooba-'ya/
40	speech	<sup>4</sup> tam <sup>3</sup> ma-/ h.: <sup>1</sup> cahl <sup>4</sup> suŋ-/
41	vote	<sup>1</sup> boot <sup>3</sup> luu-/ (E)
42	message	<sup>2</sup> lehngu, <sup>2</sup> lehngo, <sup>2</sup> lihngi/
43	advice	<sup>1</sup> teeh <sup>1</sup> zaa-/
44	agreement	<sup>2</sup> tahmdza, <sup>2</sup> tohdam <sup>2</sup> ohŋ-/
45	disagreement	<sup>β</sup> thuuçi/ <sup>4</sup> kalam <sup>2</sup> peh-k, <sup>1</sup> yih <sup>2</sup> meeh- <sup>3</sup> tchee-/
46	argument	<sup>4</sup> thak <sup>4</sup> thak <sup>3</sup> thuk <sup>3</sup> thuk <sup>2</sup> peh-k/
47	fight	<sup>2</sup> dzinga <sup>3</sup> cor-/
48	soldier	<sup>β</sup> maa <sup>1</sup> kyahp-ken <sup>1</sup> mih/
49	war	<sup>β</sup> maa/
50	property	<sup>β</sup> khaŋsa <sup>2</sup> cihŋsa/
51	owner	<sup>2</sup> tahkpu, <sup>4</sup> neebu (m.), <sup>4</sup> neemu (f.)
52	buyer	<sup>1</sup> nyoh-gen <sup>1</sup> mih/

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological
53	seller	<sup>β</sup> tsoŋ-gen <sup>1</sup> mih, <sup>1</sup> kyuhr-ken <sup>1</sup> mih/
54	beggar	<sup>β</sup> laŋ-gen <sup>1</sup> mih/
55	market	<sup>β</sup> haat/ (N)
56	shop	<sup>β</sup> tshoŋgaŋ/
57	merchant	<sup>β</sup> tshoŋba/
58	cook	<sup>4</sup> yopta <sup>1</sup> kyahp-ken <sup>1</sup> mih/
59	master	<sup>2</sup> tahkpu/ <sup>1</sup> mihktemba, <sup>1</sup> mihpten/ (m. of wedding ceremonies)
60	servant	<sup>1</sup> cahpto <sup>1</sup> cah-en <sup>1</sup> mih, <sup>3</sup> labu, <sup>1</sup> kohrowa/
61	nursemaid	--
62	porter	<sup>4</sup> khurpa/
63	blacksmith	<sup>β</sup> kaami/(N)
64	weaver	<sup>4</sup> thaa <sup>4</sup> thaa-gen <sup>1</sup> mih/
65	fisherman	<sup>1</sup> nyah <sup>3</sup> se-ken <sup>1</sup> mih/
66	boatman	--
67	hunter	<sup>β</sup> çigar(N) <sup>3</sup> tša-gen(W)/ <sup>3</sup> tse-gen(E) <sup>1</sup> mih/
68	farmer	<sup>4</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> leeh <sup>2</sup> peh-ken <sup>1</sup> mih/
69	herdsman	<sup>1</sup> kohrowa/
70	worker	<sup>1</sup> leeh <sup>2</sup> peh-ken <sup>1</sup> mih/
71	friend	<sup>2</sup> rooh, <sup>3</sup> nyendzen, <sup>3</sup> nyindzen/ <sup>β</sup> nyen/ (poetic)
72	bondfriend	<sup>2</sup> toohbu (m.), <sup>2</sup> toohmu (f.)/



No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological
73	enemy	/ <sup>2</sup> tah/
74	children	/ <sup>2</sup> pehza-'ya, <sup>2</sup> pihza-'ya/
75	sons + daughters	/ <sup>2</sup> puh <sup>2</sup> pohmo-'ya/      h.: / <sup>3</sup> seebu <sup>3</sup> seemu-'ya/
76	father	/ <sup>4</sup> aba, <sup>3</sup> paba/      h.: / <sup>2</sup> yahp/ /yahptcen/ (poetic)
77	mother	/ <sup>3</sup> ama/    / <sup>1</sup> yuhm(dzen)/ (poetic)    / <sup>1</sup> mah/ (elevated)
78	elder brother	/ <sup>3</sup> ada/      h.: / <sup>1</sup> təohzo/
79	younger brother	/ <sup>1</sup> nooh/
80	elder sister	/ <sup>3</sup> azi/
81	younger sister	/ <sup>1</sup> nuhmu, <sup>1</sup> nohmo/
82	husband	/ <sup>3</sup> khyowa, <sup>3</sup> khyobo, <sup>3</sup> khyubu, <sup>1</sup> nyih- <sup>3</sup> kho/
83	wife	/ <sup>2</sup> piihmi, <sup>3</sup> tchuŋma/      of lama: / <sup>1</sup> yuhmbu/
84	grandfather	/ <sup>1</sup> mehme/ (paternal and maternal)
85	grandmother	/ <sup>3</sup> yibi/ (paternal and maternal)
86	bride	/ <sup>3</sup> nama <sup>4</sup> samba/
87	bridegroom	/ <sup>1</sup> mahkpa <sup>4</sup> samba/
88	marriage	/ <sup>2</sup> paahma <sup>2</sup> peh-k, <sup>1</sup> dzikten <sup>3</sup> tsuu-/

## B. Verbs: 1. Social diversion and travelling

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological
01	dance	/ <sup>3</sup> təham-/      / <sup>1</sup> əahpru <sup>1</sup> kyahp-/
02	play	/ <sup>3</sup> tsemu <sup>3</sup> tse-g/(E), <sup>3</sup> tsemu <sup>3</sup> tse-g/(W)
03	sing	/ <sup>1</sup> lu <sup>2</sup> lehn-/      h.: / <sup>2</sup> gurma <sup>4</sup> thaa-/
04	whistle	/ <sup>2</sup> piihru <sup>1</sup> kyahp- (E), / <sup>2</sup> piihru <sup>3</sup> laŋ- (W)
05	hum	/ <sup>3</sup> lu <sup>3</sup> ŋa- <sup>3</sup> ŋa <sup>3</sup> ŋu- <sup>3</sup> ŋu <sup>2</sup> lehn-/
06	beat a drum	/ <sup>4</sup> ŋaa <sup>2</sup> tuhŋ-/
07	play an instrument	/ <sup>1</sup> baaza(N) <sup>4</sup> tuhŋ-/
08	sound (itr)	/ <sup>3</sup> kee <sup>4</sup> then <sup>2</sup> ohŋ-/
	blow trumpet	/ <sup>1</sup> kyahliŋ <sup>4</sup> phu-/
	play stringed instr.	/ <sup>2</sup> tahmnyen <sup>2</sup> tuhŋ-/
	rattle small drum	/ <sup>1</sup> damur, <sup>1</sup> dambur <sup>4</sup> pruu-/
	sound out	/ <sup>3</sup> kee <sup>4</sup> ten-/
	make noise	/ <sup>3</sup> kee <sup>4</sup> ten-/
	blow	/ <sup>4</sup> phu-/
09	rattle	/ <sup>4</sup> pruu-/
10	clap hands	/ <sup>1</sup> lahkpa <sup>2</sup> tuhŋ-/
11	fingers	/ <sup>1</sup> lahkpa <sup>1</sup> dzuu/ <sup>1</sup> dzugu/ <sup>1</sup> dzugi/ <sup>1</sup> dzubi/
12	visit somebody	/ <sup>3</sup> thuu <sup>2</sup> do-/
	visitors come	/ <sup>2</sup> qombo/ <sup>2</sup> qombu/ <sup>2</sup> qumbu <sup>2</sup> ohŋ-/
13	welcome	/ <sup>3</sup> sendaŋ <sup>2</sup> peh-k/ (give ceremonial welcome)

No.	English	Yohlmo:phonological
14	gossip	<sup>4</sup> tam <sup>3</sup> kyaal-, <sup>4</sup> yoo/, <sup>1</sup> mihdam <sup>1</sup> tʃeh-k, <sup>3</sup> tʃee-k/
15	joke	<sup>β</sup> ʃaa <sup>β</sup> ʃaka <sup>1</sup> kyahp-/ h.: <sup>4</sup> kurʃa <sup>4</sup> suŋ-/ <sup>β</sup> kyaakya <sup>3</sup> ma-/
16	amuse	<sup>β</sup> khamšanbu <sup>2</sup> peh-k/
17	smoke (a cigarette)	<sup>1</sup> biri(N) <sup>4</sup> thuŋ-/ smoke waterpipe: <sup>1</sup> tohwa <sup>4</sup> thuŋ-/
18	gamble	<sup>β</sup> tshaka <sup>3</sup> tse-g/(E), <sup>3</sup> tsa-g/(W) h.: <sup>β</sup> tshaka <sup>4</sup> ken-/
19	get drunk	<sup>4</sup> tʃaŋ-gi <sup>1</sup> zii-/ h.: <sup>4</sup> phii-gi <sup>4</sup> ken-/
20	travel	<sup>4</sup> kora <sup>1</sup> kyahp-/ h.: <sup>4</sup> korala <sup>3</sup> phep-/
21	prepare	<sup>14</sup> thabe, <sup>4</sup> tʃabe, <sup>4</sup> thebe, <sup>4</sup> tebe <sup>2</sup> peh-k/
	prepare for travel	<sup>4</sup> khurpu <sup>3</sup> tʃee-/
22	decide	<sup>4</sup> thak <sup>4</sup> taŋ-, <sup>4</sup> ten <sup>4</sup> ten <sup>2</sup> peh-k/
23	walk (on foot)	<sup>β</sup> kaŋbagi <sup>2</sup> do-/
24	wander	<sup>4</sup> kor-/
25	overtake, go ahead	<sup>β</sup> thal-/
26	pass by	<sup>4</sup> then <sup>2</sup> ohŋ- <sup>2</sup> do-/ h.: <sup>4</sup> then <sup>3</sup> phep-/
	in passing by	<sup>1</sup> cohrto-la <sup>2</sup> do-/
27	point (to s.th.)	<sup>4</sup> tee <sup>3</sup> tsuu-/
28	load	<sup>β</sup> kal-/
29	cram into	<sup>β</sup> sap-ti <sup>3</sup> luu-/
30	carry	<sup>4</sup> khur-/ (on back, head of shoulders)

No.	English	Yohlmo:phonological
	carry	<sup>β</sup> thoo-/ (in hands or arms)
31	leave, start out	<sup>2</sup> do-/
	auspicious time	<sup>β</sup> temrel <sup>4</sup> ta-/ (look up)
	auspicious day	<sup>4</sup> karma <sup>4</sup> ta- (look up)
32	leave behind	<sup>β</sup> kyur <sup>1</sup> zaa-/
	forget s.th.	<sup>β</sup> kher-tʃee <sup>1</sup> tehmba <sup>1</sup> tʃeh-k/
33	rest	<sup>4</sup> thaŋ <sup>3</sup> so-/ put down load to rest: <sup>1</sup> nahl <sup>4</sup> tsho-g/
34	reach there	<sup>4</sup> lep-/
35	arrive here	<sup>4</sup> lep <sup>2</sup> ohŋ-/
36	return	<sup>2</sup> looh <sup>2</sup> do-/
	without spending night	<sup>β</sup> thalʃi <sup>2</sup> do-, <sup>3</sup> thalʃi <sup>2</sup> ohŋ-/
37	paddle	

## B. Verbs: 2. Social interaction

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological
01	buy	<sup>1</sup> nyoh-/
	buy with cash	<sup>1</sup> laahdi <sup>4</sup> khyoŋ-/
	buy on credit	<sup>β</sup> phidi <sup>4</sup> khyoŋ-, <sup>3</sup> khyer-/
02	sell	<sup>β</sup> tsoŋ-, <sup>1</sup> kyuhr-/
03	pay	<sup>4</sup> tʃal-/      pay back: <sup>1</sup> tuhp-/
04	repay (loan)	<sup>β</sup> pehlen <sup>4</sup> tʃal-, <sup>1</sup> tuhp-/
05	lend (money)	<sup>β</sup> pehlen <sup>4</sup> ter-/
06	borrow (money)	<sup>β</sup> pehlen <sup>1</sup> seh-k/
07	lend (things)	<sup>β</sup> yar <sup>4</sup> ter-/ (expecting the very same thing back) <sup>4</sup> kyii <sup>4</sup> ter-/ (to receive back the same in kind)
08	borrow (things)	<sup>β</sup> yar <sup>3</sup> khyer-/ (to return the very same item) <sup>4</sup> kyimba <sup>2</sup> lehŋ-/ (to return the same in kind)
09	exchange money	<sup>1</sup> djibu, <sup>3</sup> ʒaŋga <sup>1</sup> tʃeɕh-, <sup>1</sup> tʃehp-/
10	barter	<sup>1</sup> tʃeɕh-, <sup>1</sup> tʃehp-/
11	trade	<sup>β</sup> tshoŋ <sup>1</sup> kyahp-/
12	earn	<sup>1</sup> djibu, <sup>3</sup> ʒaŋga <sup>1</sup> zo-/
13	weigh	<sup>β</sup> umalila <sup>4</sup> kar-/
14	increase (itr)	<sup>β</sup> mahŋ-ro <sup>2</sup> mahŋ-ro <sup>2</sup> dɔ-/
	natural increasing	<sup>β</sup> phel-/

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological
	increase in size	<sup>β</sup> tʃeɕe-ro <sup>3</sup> tʃeɕe-ro <sup>2</sup> dɔ-/
15	decrease (itr)	<sup>1</sup> nyuhŋ-ro <sup>1</sup> nyuhŋ-ro <sup>2</sup> dɔ-/
16	bargain	<sup>1</sup> rihn ( <sup>1</sup> mahttsi) <sup>4</sup> tʃaa-/
17	marry	<sup>β</sup> paahma <sup>2</sup> peh-k/
18.	give in marriage	<sup>β</sup> paahma <sup>2</sup> peh <sup>4</sup> ter-/
19	marriage contract	<sup>β</sup> kahmgya <sup>1</sup> pruh-/ (write --)
20	divorce	<sup>4</sup> thakpa <sup>3</sup> tʃe-k/
21	desert	<sup>4</sup> thendi <sup>2</sup> dɔ-, <sup>3</sup> kyur <sup>1</sup> ʒaadi <sup>2</sup> dɔ-/
22	adopt	--
23	initiate	--
24	be defiled	<sup>β</sup> tsiibu <sup>2</sup> ohŋ-/      h.: <sup>β</sup> seeri <sup>1</sup> yihm-/
	defile things	<sup>β</sup> tʃhap <sup>3</sup> tʃohp <sup>2</sup> peh-k/
	defiled place	<sup>β</sup> pahŋ/ (by death or birth)
	defile the hearth	<sup>β</sup> thap <sup>3</sup> ʃor-/
25	purifying rituals	<sup>β</sup> thii <sup>2</sup> peh-k/ <sup>1</sup> tʃihhnsa <sup>4</sup> par-/
	purify dishes	<sup>β</sup> tsaŋ- <sup>4</sup> ʃal <sup>1</sup> kyahp-/
26	sprinkle to purify	<sup>β</sup> tʃhap <sup>1</sup> kyahp-/
27	become purified	<sup>β</sup> tsaŋma <sup>2</sup> dɔ-, <sup>2</sup> ohŋ-/
28	become unclean	<sup>β</sup> meh- <sup>3</sup> tsaŋma <sup>2</sup> dɔ-/
29	bury	<sup>β</sup> pah- (E), <sup>2</sup> pihp- (W)

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological
30	inherit	/ <sup>3</sup> phaçi <sup>4</sup> thop-/ , / <sup>3</sup> phaçi <sup>2</sup> sah-/
31	divide (inheritance)	/ <sup>3</sup> phaçi <sup>1</sup> koh-/
32	share (inheritance)	/ <sup>1</sup> keeh <sup>4</sup> ter-/ , / <sup>1</sup> bo <sup>1</sup> kyahp-/
33	possess, own	/ <sup>2</sup> tahkpu <sup>1</sup> yih- / , / <sup>2</sup> tahkpu <sup>1</sup> kyahp-/
34	serve (a master)	/ <sup>1</sup> cahpto <sup>1</sup> çuh- / , / <sup>1</sup> kohrowa <sup>1</sup> teh-k/
35	swear (an oath)	/ <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> kyal-/
36	assemble	/ <sup>4</sup> tshoo- , <sup>2</sup> dzom-/
37	elect (choose)	/ <sup>2</sup> dam-/
38	vote	/ <sup>1</sup> boot (E) <sup>3</sup> luu-/
39	collect taxes	/ <sup>3</sup> tiru (N) <sup>1</sup> tuh-/

### B. Verbs: 3. Social infringements and amendments

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological
01	rob	/ <sup>3</sup> haka <sup>3</sup> haki <sup>3</sup> kumen <sup>1</sup> kyahp-/
02	steal	/ <sup>3</sup> ku- , <sup>3</sup> kumen <sup>1</sup> kyahp-/
03	plunder	/ <sup>3</sup> luur- <sup>3</sup> tii- / (N)
04	attack	/ <sup>3</sup> tçom-/
05	insult	/ <sup>1</sup> cahmden <sup>4</sup> ken-/
06	conspire	/ <sup>1</sup> leeh <sup>4</sup> tsokpa <sup>2</sup> peh-tçe-la <sup>1</sup> tçeh <sup>1</sup> kyahp-/
07	transgress (the law)	/ <sup>4</sup> tchim <sup>2</sup> gom-/

No.	English	Yohlmo: phonological
08	suspect s.o.	/ <sup>4</sup> sem <sup>1</sup> nehnda , <sup>1</sup> nyehnda <sup>4</sup> tçan- / , <sup>4</sup> sem <sup>2</sup> lohkta <sup>4</sup> tçan- /
09	accuse	/ <sup>3</sup> phatur(N) <sup>3</sup> tsuu- , x-la <sup>1</sup> yihndo <sup>4</sup> ten- , <sup>3</sup> saa <sup>1</sup> kyahp- /
10	interrogate	/ <sup>1</sup> tjihdap / <sup>1</sup> tihdap <sup>2</sup> peh-k , <sup>4</sup> tam-gi <sup>3</sup> tçir- /
11	deny	/ <sup>2</sup> mihn / <sup>2</sup> mihm-ba <sup>3</sup> ma- / , <sup>4</sup> tam <sup>4</sup> phruk <sup>4</sup> pruu- /
12	judge	/ <sup>4</sup> tchim <sup>4</sup> ta- , <sup>4</sup> taç- /
13	condemn	/ <sup>2</sup> mah- <sup>2</sup> tahkpa <sup>1</sup> yih <sup>3</sup> ma- /
14	fine s.o.	/ <sup>1</sup> denda(N) <sup>1</sup> kyahp- /
15	persecute	/ <sup>1</sup> tuhkpu <sup>4</sup> ter- /
16	torture	/ <sup>3</sup> tshanjal <sup>1</sup> tahnyal <sup>4</sup> taç- / , / <sup>1</sup> kyuhkpa-gi <sup>4</sup> rop- /
17	release	/ <sup>4</sup> taç <sup>4</sup> ter- /
18	flee	/ <sup>1</sup> preeh- /
19	escape	/ <sup>1</sup> preeh-di <sup>4</sup> then- /
20	avenge	/ <sup>4</sup> kyihmba <sup>4</sup> tçal- /
21	file a case	/ <sup>3</sup> muta(N) <sup>3</sup> tsuu- /
22	pronounce judgement	/ <sup>3</sup> muta <sup>3</sup> tchin- <sup>3</sup> tii-(N) / , / <sup>4</sup> tchim <sup>4</sup> taç- /

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### 7.2 Bibliography for Yohlmo

In the linguistic literature references to Yohlmo (or more traditionally Helambu Sherpa) are absent. There are, however, a few references to Kagate. Since Yohlmo and Kagate are very closely related languages (dialects of each other) I think it is appropriate to include these quite early references into a bibliography of Yohlmo.

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#### 7.2.2 Ethnological field

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ह्योल्मो संस्कृति विश्लेषण कार्यशाला गोष्ठी। २०५३। सामुदायिक आत्मानिर्भर सेवा केन्द्र, किउल, हेलम्बु र ह्योल्मो फाउण्डेशन, काठमाण्डौ। फोटोकपिहरू।

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