

MEWAHANG VERBS AND THE PROTO-KIRANTI VERBAL AGREEMENT SYSTEM

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The purpose of this paper is to overview the historical status of conjugations observed in the Mewahang language based on a comparison of Proto-Kiranti verbal agreement system. The provenance of Proto-Kiranti affixal agreement paradigms is presented by investigating the conjugations of Mewahang. While some Mewahang suffixes are identical with the Proto-Kiranti morphemes, a few are cognate with the Proto-Kiranti reflexes.

Keywords: Proto-Kiranti, verb agreement, arguments, reflexes, Mewahang

1. Introduction

Languages differ considerably with respect to the conditions under which they display verbal person marking. Most Kiranti languages such as Mewahang, Puma, Camling, Bantawa, Yakkha, Dumi, and Kulung are typically characterized by complex verbal agreement system, where verbal person marking is obligatory. The S arguments in intransitive forms and both A and P arguments in transitive forms are inflected.

However, Kiranti languages differ considerably with respect to the paradigmatically and morphophonologically conditioned verb stem alternations and the morphemes that are bound to them under which they display complex agreement pattern. Consequently, though how to compare modern morphemes of each Kiranti languages with the Proto-Kiranti verbs is elusive, it is worth providing morphemes from more and more languages that have identical or at least cognate morphemes to the Proto-Kiranti.

This type of comparative and historical study of Kiranti languages would contribute to historical relationship between Proto-Kiranti and Proto-Tibeto-Burman verbs. Eventually, I present and study whether the Mewahang inflectional morphemes have preserved characteristics of

Proto-Kiranti, and if they do, I will explain how they do preserve.

2. General pattern of Kiranti verbal agreement

Previous comparisons of Kiranti verbal agreement systems in van Driem (1991) display the conjugations of Kiranti verbs to reflect a split-ergative system in which third person A arguments are triggered differently in the verb than first and second person A arguments.

In Kiranti languages, the person marking of first and second person A arguments follows an ergative pattern and the marking of third person A arguments in the verb follows an accusative pattern (van Driem 1991, p. 345) in which separate sets of morphemes index for a third person patient (3P) as opposed to a third person S or A arguments (3S/A).

3. Distant language showing a Kiranti model

It is worthy to note that Thangmi (Turin, 1998, p. 485), a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal, whose genetic affiliation is unclear (between Newar and Kiranti), exhibits the Kiranti split-ergativity model in structure while it differs in the specifics in which only the first person is indexed ergatively and second and third persons show the accusative pattern.

Contrary to this, Mewahang exhibits upside down ergativity in which S arguments are indexed in the same way as P arguments with the first person singular and plural, while A arguments are indexed in the same way as S arguments but differently from P arguments with the third person. Additionally, all S, A, and P arguments are indexed in the same way with the second person singular and plural.

4. Proto-Kiranti conjugation system

DeLancey (1989, p. 332) notes that there is a strong case for reconstructing the Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) paradigm for the common ancestor of Kiranti, Gyarong, Nungish, Kuki-chin and Kham.

For detailed information about historical reconstruction of Proto-Tibeto-Burman languages, see Matisoff (2003).

Based on the purpose of this paper, I discuss here only Proto-Kiranti paradigm. In fact, the Proto-Kiranti verb model is developed by the previous comparisons of the conjugational morphology of Bahing, Kulung, Thulung, Lohorung, Limbu, Dumi, and Hayu verbs. The Proto-Kiranti model, proposed in van Driem (1991, p. 354), is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: The Proto-Kiranti verbal agreement system

				- <i>ɲa</i> 1SG/N PST					- <i>k</i> 1PL		
				- <i>k</i> NPS T	- <i>aŋ</i> 1SG/PS T	- <i>ci</i> 1/2DL. S/P	- <i>ŋ</i> 1SG .A			- <i>ni</i> 2PL	- <i>ya</i> EX CL
<i>me- Σ</i> 3PL.STE A M		-	+AU X ₁					+AU X ₂			
		<i>nši</i> RE FL									
				- <i>te</i> PST	- <i>na</i> 2	- <i>ci</i> DL.A(S)	- <i>u</i> 3P			- <i>m</i> 1/2PLINC .A L	- <i>i</i>
						- <i>nya</i> 1SG→ 2			- <i>ci</i> 3DL. P		

As can be observed in Table 1, two auxiliaries (AUX1 and AUX2) are hypothetical that correspond to different positions in the suffixal string. The first auxiliary is reconstructed as a tensed auxiliary verb and the second auxiliary corresponds with a pivotal position in the suffixal string (Driem 1991: 354).

In this section, I deal with the Mewahang morphemes that have either clear or close Proto-Kiranti cognates. For example, while the Mewahang past negative prefix *ma-* is cognate with the negative prefixes of Dumi *mə-* and Limbu *me-*, un-tensed negative prefixes are not common to most Kiranti languages.

5. The supplemented neighboring languages

The newly described verbal conjugation of Mewahang provides a wide picture, shedding light on the description of Proto-Kiranti affixes. Furthermore, besides those languages analyzed by van Driem previously, I supply new data from other half-dozen neighboring Kiranti languages in which analyzed data are accessible. The remaining Kiranti languages other than discussed here are expected to be described at least morphologically to be selected for this kind of comparative research.

The languages which have additionally been provided for the comparison of inflectional morphemes of Kiranti languages with Proto-Kiranti are Puma (Sharma, 2014, 2019), Wambule (Opgenort, 2004), Sampang (Huysmans, 2011), Yamphu (Rutgers, 1998), Athpare, Bantawa, Camling and Khaling (Ebert, 1994), Jero (Opgenort, 2005), Yakkha (Schackow, 2015), and Kulung (Tolsma, 2006). In this section, I describe Mewahang morphemes which are either identical or cognate to the Proto-Kiranti morphemes.

6. The Proto-Kiranti morphemes

6.1 The Proto-Kiranti morpheme **me*

The modern reflexes of the Kiranti third person plural agent **me-* are prefixes in those languages which have prefixes and are suffixes in languages which lack prefixes, other than a prefix of negation (van Driem, 1991, p. 347).

As the morphological analysis of Mewahang verbal agreement affixes demonstrates, the third person plural *mi-* indicates the plurality of both third person S and A arguments. I discuss morphemes in Mewahang which have clear Proto-Kiranti cognates. Table 2 shows Mewahang reflexes that are identical to their Proto-Kiranti cognates of the third person plural agent morpheme.

With respect to the third person plural Proto-Kiranti prefix **me-*, while it is reflected as a prefix in Puma, Camling and Limbu as in Proto-Kiranti, it is reflected as a suffix in several Kiranti languages, along with Mewahang, as in Table 2.

Table 2: Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti affix **me-*

PROTO-KIRANTI <i>*me-</i>	3PL	<i>*pf.2</i>
Limbu	<i>mɛ-</i>	NS.S/A pf.1
Hayu	<i>-me</i>	3PL sf.3
Bahing	<i>-me~-m</i>	3PL.S/A sf.3
Puma	<i>ma-</i>	3PL.S/A pf.3
Bantawa	<i>im-</i>	3PL.S/A sf.?
Camling	<i>mi-</i>	3PL.S/A sf.?
Thulung	<i>-mi</i>	3PL → 3 sf.2
Wambule	<i>-mi</i>	3PL sf.4
Yamphu	<i>-mi</i>	2/3NSG sf.4
Sampang	<i>-imi</i>	3NSG.S/A sf.7
Yamphu	<i>-mi~-m</i>	3PL sf.4
Lohorung	<i>-mi</i>	3PL sf.3
Mewahang	<i>-mi</i>	3PL.S/A sf.3

Note that the plural number of a first- or second-person A argument is indexed by the cognate suffix **-m*. The morpheme *-mi* occurs in Mewahang as the third person plural agent or subject marker, as illustrated in (1) and (2).

- (1) *nanou leaŋmi*
nana=ou let-aŋ-mi
 sister=VOC tell-1SG.S/P-3PL
 ‘Elder sister! (They) told me.’
 [autobio_02b:029]
- (2) *ani maobadici tamin*
ani maobadici ta-mi=n
 and maoist-NSG come-3PL=COPY
 ‘And Maoists came.’ [LH_45:037]

As can be seen from the above examples the suffix *-mi* occurs only with the third person plural S, as in (2) and A argument, as in (1). In negative constructions, the nonpast negative marker *-na* always follows the morpheme *-mi*, while the past negative marker *ma-* is prefixed in the verbal form, as presented in (3).

- (3) *oci kekmina khipi*
oci kekmina khi-pi
 3PL come.up-3PL.S-NEG house-LOC
 ‘They do not come up home.’
 [autobio_03:0115]

6.2 The Proto-Kiranti morpheme **-m*

Turning to the suffix *-m*, plural number of a first- or second-person A argument is indexed by the cognate suffix **-m*. Note that the Mewahang plural agent morpheme *-m* only triggers the plural of first- and second-person A arguments. Table 3 shows the

Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti first- or second-person suffix **-m*.

Table 3: Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti first- or second-person suffix **-m*

PROTO-KIRANTI <i>*-m</i>	1/2PL	<i>*sf.6</i>
Thulung	<i>-mi</i>	PL sf.8
Bahing	<i>-mi</i>	3PL/1PL.EXCL sf.3
Limbu	<i>-m?na~-m</i>	1PL.EXCL.S/A.PST sf.7
Kulung	<i>-am~-m</i>	1PL→3/ 2PL→3 sf.5
Athpare	<i>-m</i>	1/2PL.A sf.?
Puma	<i>-m</i>	1/2PL.A sf.3
Bantawa	<i>-m</i>	1/2PL.A sf.?
Camling	<i>-m</i>	1/2PL.A sf.?
Yakkha	<i>-m</i>	1/2PL>3 sf.10
Sampang	<i>-m</i>	1/2PL.A sf.8
Yamphu	<i>-ma</i>	1/2NSG sf.7
Lohorung	<i>-m</i>	1PL.EXCL.S/A; 2PL→3 sf.5
Mewahang	<i>-m</i>	1/2PL.A sf.3

The suffix *-m* marks a first- or second-person plural agent in 1/2>3 forms in Mewahang, as presented in (4) and (5).

- (4) *tenum*
ten-u-m
 ten-3P-1/2PL.A
 ‘We meet them.’
- (5) *cheyuknum*
cheyu-k-na-m
 call-NPST-2-1/2PL.A
 ‘You call them.’

6.3 The Proto-Kiranti dual morpheme **-ci*

The suffixes marking the dual of first, second and third persons actants occupy an anterior position in the suffixal string. These reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti first and second person dual marker **-ci* follow tense morphemes but precedes the reflexes of Proto-Kiranti first singular agent suffix *-ŋ* and the Proto-Kiranti third person patient suffix **-u* (van Driem, 1991, p. 348).

In contrast, modern suffixes in languages like Mewahang and Puma never occur with the first singular agent suffix *-ŋ*. Some of the reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti first- and second-person dual morpheme **-ci* are listed in Table 4.

Table 4: Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti dual suffix **-ci*

PROTO-KIRANTI <i>*-ci</i>	1/2DU	<i>*sf.4</i>
Limbu	<i>-si, -tchi</i>	DU.S/P sf.4
Bahing	<i>-si~-sa~-su</i>	DU.S/P sf.4

Puma	-ci	DU	sf.2
Bantawa	-ci	DU	sf.?
Camling	-ci	DU	sf.?
Athpare	-ci	DU	sf.?
Khaling	-ci	DU	sf.?
Kulung	-ci	1/2DU	sf.3
Thulung	-ci	DU	sf.4
Wambule	-ci	DU	sf.3
Jero	-ci	DU	sf.4
Yakkha	-ci~-cin	DU	sf.5
Sampang	-ici	DU	sf.5
Yamphu	-ci	DU	sf.4
Lohorung	-ci	DU	sf.3
Mewahang	-ci	DU	sf.3

The first and second person dual morpheme *-ci* occurs in Mewahang, as presented in the following examples 6 through 8.

- (6) *desim mumaloŋ eichina puklusaciga*
desim muma-loŋ ei-china
 Desim grandmother-COM one-CLF
puklus-a-ci-ga
 speak-PST-DU-EXCL
 ‘We spoke a bit with Desim grandmother.’
 [daily_account_04:008]
- (7) *mucuganago*
mu-ci-ga-na-go
 do-DU-EXCL-NEG-COND
 ‘If we do not do it.’ [autobio_02b:308a]
- (8) *anci phinaciphou.*
an-ci phin-a-ci=pho=u
 2SG-DU run-a-DU=POL=VOC
 ‘You dual ran.’ [autobio_02b:060]

6.4 The Proto-Kiranti third person morpheme **-ci*

The suffixes marking the third persons actants occupy a posterior position in the suffixal string though it is homophonous with the dual morpheme. The reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti third person agent morpheme **-ci* are provided in Table 5.

Table 5: Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti third person morpheme **-ci*

PROTO-KIRANTI	<i>*-ci</i>	3DU.A	<i>*sf.4</i>
Limbu	-si	NSG.S/P	sf.8
Bahing	-si	DU.P	sf.8
Puma	-ci	3NSG.P	sf.5
Bantawa	-ci	3NSG.P	sf.?
Camling	-ci	3NSG.P	sf.?

Athpare	-ci	3NSG.P	sf.?
Kulung	-ci	3PL	sf.5
Yakkha	-ci	3NSG.P	sf.9
Sampang	-ici	3NSG.A/P	sf.7
Lohorung	-ci	NSG.P	sf.6
Mewahang	-ci	3NSG.P	sf.6

The morpheme *-ci* indexes non-singular number of a third person agent (A) and patient (P). The plural morpheme is distinct from the dual suffix *-ci* but homophonous with it. Distinguishing the indexation of the non-singular morpheme in paradigm seems elusive because of its nature of homophony.

The morpheme indexes the patient actants in 1SG>3NSG and 2SG>3NSG forms while the morpheme indexes at least one of the two actants in 3NSG>3NSG form which is non-singular in number, as presented in (9) and (10).

- (9) *yaktetucimaŋ pulisaloy lomuci.*
yak-tet-u-ci=maŋ pulisa-loŋ
 bring-V2-3P-3NSG.P=NMLZ police-COM
lom-u-ci
 hit-3P-3NSG.P
 ‘Bringing her, (she) was hit by the police.’
 [autobio_03:0040]
- (10) *phekwa muigapiŋ muiga muiga lalaŋkuci.*
phekwa mu-iga-pi-ŋ mu-iga
 money MED-ALL-LOC=EMPH MED-ALL
mu-iga la-laŋ-k-u-ci
 MED-ALL take.out-V2-NPST-3P-3NSG.P
 ‘They take out money there.’
 [bala_account:189]

In contrast, the non-singular third person morpheme *-ci* does not occur in 3DL>3DL form where at least one of agent or patient is marked by the dual morpheme *-cu*. The morpheme *-cu* is an allomorph of the dual suffix *-ci*. Apparently, the dual morpheme and third person non-singular patient morpheme can also be distinguished by their position.

The dual morpheme is always directly attached to the verb stem while the third person non-singular patient morpheme follows a third person patient morpheme (*-u*) plus nonpast morpheme *-k*, which is then attached after it (*u* and/or \emptyset / suffix), as presented in (11) through (13).

- (11) *lomukci*
lom-u-k-ci
 hit-3P-NPST-3NSG.P
 ‘I hit them.’ (1SG>3NSG)
- (12) *lomuci*
lom-u-ci
 hit-3P-3NSG.P
 ‘You hit them.’ (2SG>3NSG)
- (13) *lomcu*
lom-cu
 hit-3P
 ‘They hit them.’ (3DL>3DL)

The suffix *-ci~-ca* marks a non-singular third person P and appears with the first person, second person and third person A argument. Its two allomorphs are the result of vowel harmony with the preceding syllable, as illustrated in (14).

- (14) *oca me me khimne khinlendakmiṅma*
o-ca me me khim=ne
 3-NSG little little house=ADD
khin-len-dak-mi=η=ma
 carry-V2-V2-3PL=EMPH=NMLZ
 ‘They supported little bit to the house.’
 [autobio_02a:117]

It is not unusual for Kiranti languages to have two homophonous suffixes occurring in different slots denoting different meanings. The first is a proper dual marker and the second, which has been ‘generalized’ in van Driem’s (1990, p. 38) words, shows the meaning of non-singularity.

6.5 The Proto-Kiranti 1SG>2 morpheme **-nya*

The Proto-Kiranti 1SG>2 portmanteau morpheme **-nya* may be related to the Proto-Kiranti second person morpheme **-na*. This morpheme may be reflected in the Proto-Tibeto-Burman as the second person morpheme **-n* (DeLancey, 1989, p. 321). These suffixes indicate the transitive relationship between a first person singular A argument and a second person P argument. The reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti portmanteau morpheme **-nya* are listed in Table 6.

Table 6: Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti 1SG>2 morpheme **-nya*

PROTO-KIRANTI	<i>*-nya</i>	1SG>2	<i>*sf.3</i>
Kulung	<i>-yan</i>	1SG>2	sf.1
Thulung	<i>-nini</i>	1SG>2	sf.1

Yakkha	<i>-nen</i>	1>2	sf.2
Limbu	<i>-ne</i>	1SG>2	sf.1
Wambule	<i>-ni</i>	1SG>2	sf.2
Hayu	<i>-no</i>	1SG>2	sf.2
Dumi	<i>-n</i>	1SG>2	sf.2
Bahing	<i>-na</i>	1SG>2	sf.3
Puma	<i>-na</i>	1SG>2	sf.3
Bantawa	<i>-na</i>	1SG>2	sf.?
Camling	<i>-na</i>	1SG>2	sf.?
Athpare	<i>-na</i>	1SG>2	sf.?
Khaling	<i>-na</i>	1SG>2	sf.?
Jero	<i>-ni</i>	1>2	sf.2
Sampang	<i>-n</i>	1>2	sf.1
Yamphu	<i>-na</i>	1>2	sf.2
Mewahang	<i>-na</i>	1SG>2	sf.3

The morpheme *-na* occurs in all 1>2 forms along with negative forms and signals transitive relationship between a first person singular and dual A arguments and second person P arguments. However, in 1>2PL form, the morpheme *-ni* supplants the morpheme *-na*, which also occurs in its corresponding negative form.

The morpheme is always attached immediately to the verb stems ending in nasals. In such an phonotactically conditioned environment, the morpheme never permits other suffix like nonpast morpheme *-k* to be inserted between them since Mewahang does not permit any consonant clusters between nasals, as in (15) through (17). The 1>2 morpheme *-na* occupies the suffixal slot sf3.

- (15) *ana aka ciṭhi haṅnaphou*
ana aka-a ciṭhi haṅ-na=pho=u
 2SG.P 1SG-ERG letter send-1>2=POL=VOC
 ‘I send you a letter.’ [break_up_01: 057]
- (16) *khaynana*
khay-∅-na-na
 see-NPST-1>2-NEG.NPST
 ‘I do not see you.’
- (17) *lomni*
lom-∅-ni
 hit-NPST-1>2PL
 ‘I/we_{PE} hit you.’

6.6 The Proto-Kiranti second person plural morpheme **-na*

The reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti second person portmanteau morpheme **-na* occupy the same

functional position in the ancient affixal string as the Proto-Kiranti first singular S and P nonpast portmanteau **-ŋa* and the first singular S and P nonpast portmanteau **-aŋ*. The reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti second person portmanteau morpheme **-na* are presented in Table 7.

Table 7: Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti second person morpheme **-na*

PROTO-KIRANTI	<i>*-na</i>	2	*sf.3
Thulung	<i>-na</i>	2	sf.1
Wambule	<i>-nu</i>	2	sf.2
Kulung	<i>-na</i>	2	sf.1
Bahing	<i>-e</i>	2SG.P/s	sf.3
Khaling	<i>i-</i>	2	sf.?
Puma	<i>ta-</i>	2	sf.3
Bantawa	<i>ti-</i>	2	sf.?
Camling	<i>ta-</i>	2	sf.?
Jero	<i>-ni</i>	2	sf.4
Sampang	<i>-na</i>	2	sf.9
Lohorung	<i>-na</i>	2	sf.7
Mewahang	<i>-na</i>	2	sf.3

The morpheme *-na* occurs only with the second person singular forms along with negative forms, as presented in the following examples. As already mentioned above, it is supplanted with the morpheme *-ni* with the second person plural forms, while it does not appear with the second person dual forms as this form is identical with the first person dual inclusive and the third person dual forms.

(18) *anina ikŋaninna*

anin-a *i-k-ŋa-nin-na*
 2PL.POSS-ERG say-NPST-1SG.P-2PL-NEG
 ‘You do not tell me.’ [lh_45:045]

(19) *asi aŋkhipi tana*

asin *aŋ-khim=pi* *ta-na*
 today 1SG.GEN-house=LOC.NEU come-2SG
 ‘Today you came to my home.’ [attitude10]

6.7 The Proto-Kiranti second person plural morpheme **-ni*

Most languages presented in Table 8 below are marked for second person plural morpheme, with exception Limbu. The reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti second person plural morpheme **-ni* are presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti second person plural morpheme **-ni*

PROTO-KIRANTI	<i>*-ni</i>	1SG.A	*sf.7
Hayu	<i>-ne</i>	2PL	sf.3
Dumi	<i>-ini</i>	2/3PL	sf.6
Bahing	<i>-ni</i>	2PL	sf.6
Kulung	<i>-ni</i>	2PL	sf.2
Thulung	<i>-ni</i>	2PL	sf.1
Khaling	<i>-ni</i>	2PL	sf.?
Wambule	<i>-ni</i>	2PL	sf.3
Yakkha	<i>-ni</i>	2PL.IMP	sf.5
Sampang	<i>-ini</i>	2PL	sf.7
Lohorung	<i>-ni</i>	2PL	sf.7
Mewahang	<i>-ni</i>	2PL	sf.3

The morpheme *-ni* occurs only with the second person plural forms along with negative forms, as presented in the following examples.

(20) *nulo cuaninye*

nulo *cu-a-ni=n=ye*
 nice sit-IMP-2PL=COPY=POL
 ‘Please sit nicely.’ [marriage_04:066]

(21) *anina khayajnygoa*

anin-a *khaj-aŋ-ni=go-a*
 2PL-ERG look-1SG.S/P-2PL=COND-ERG
 ‘If you look after me.’ [autobio_02b:043]

6.8 The Proto-Kiranti third person morpheme **-u*

The Proto-Kiranti third person morpheme **-u* is attested in all languages presented below. The third person Proto-Kiranti morpheme **-u* is ubiquitously reflected in Proto-Tibeto-Burman (DeLancey, 1989, p. 321). This suffix occurs only in the direct third person P forms of the transitive paradigm, except for dual forms.

Mewahang has altogether three allomorphs, two of which (*-u* and *-i*) are categorically determined and one of which (*-o*) is phonologically determined. Note that the allomorphs *-i~-o* are very limited in Mewahang. The reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti third person patient (3P) morpheme **-u* are given in Table 9.

Table 9: Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti third person morpheme **-u*

PROTO-KIRANTI	<i>*-u</i>	3P	*sf.5
Limbu	<i>-u</i>	3PL	sf.4
Kulung	<i>-o~-ə~-u</i>	3P	sf.4
Puma	<i>-u~-i~-a~-o</i>	3P	sf.4

Bantawa	-u	3P	sf.?
Camling	-u	3P	sf.?
Athpare	-u	3P	sf.?
Thangmi	-u	3P	sf.3
Thulung	-u	1exc→3NPST	sf.7
Khaling	-u	2/3SG→3	sf.?
Wambule	-u	3P	sf.3
Yakkha	-u	3P	sf.7
Yamphu	-u	3P	sf.5
Sampang	-u	3P	sf.8
Lohorung	-u	3P	sf.4
Mewahang	-u	3P	sf.4

The underlying form of all these allomorphs is *-u*, which is related to the Proto-Kiranti morpheme **-u* as reconstructed by van Driem (1993) (although he analyses it as a third person P morpheme). A morphophonological rule that turns stem-final /a/ into /o/ before a following (usually third person P) suffix *-u* exists in several other Kiranti languages, as reflected in Table 9. Let me examine examples of the third person morpheme that is ubiquitous in most (if not all) of the Kiranti languages, namely *-u*:

- (22) *aka lomkuŋ*
aka lom-k-u-ŋ
 1SG hit-NPST-3P-1SG.A
 ‘I hit him.’ [autobio_03:0979]
- (23) *kodo khaŋuŋ*
kodo khaŋ-Ø-u-ŋ
 PROX look-PST-3P-1SG.A
 ‘I looked so.’ [autobio_03:0423]
- (24) *cakuŋ*
ca-k-u-ŋ
 eat-NPST-3P-1SG.A
 ‘(I) eat.’ [autobio_02b:060]

6.9 The Proto-Kiranti nonpast morpheme **-k*

Nonpast tense is always marked by the morpheme *-k*, which has a glottal stop allomorph *-ʔ* in antevocalic position. Furthermore, in third person singular forms, the nonpast morpheme is realized as zero after a stem final nasal consonant /n/ (see below). Some Kiranti languages exhibit nonpast tense marking while other Kiranti languages do not exhibit this behavior. Consequently, it is more common for Kiranti languages to lack the Proto-Kiranti nonpast morpheme **-k*, as in the case in Kulung, Thulung, Hayu, Limbu, and Bahing.

However, the number of languages have nonpast tense morphemes which are a stop, such as Limbu *-ʔɛ*, Dumi *-t*, Hayu *-k*, Lohorung *-k* and Mewahang *-k* as presented below. Table 10 shows reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti nonpast morpheme **-k*.

Table 10: Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti nonpast morpheme **-k*

PROTO-KIRANTI	<i>*-k</i>	NPST	sf.4
Limbu	<i>-ʔɛ</i>	NPST	sf.4
Dumi	<i>-t</i>	NPST	sf.2
Hayu	<i>-k</i>	NPST	sf.5
Lohorung	<i>-k</i>	NPST	sf.1
Mewahang	<i>-k</i>	NPST	sf.1

The morpheme *-k* occurs only with the nonpast tense with all participants, as presented in the following examples. Note that it does not appear with the negative forms.

- (25) *hakotte ikuŋ*
hako=tte i-k-u-ŋ
 DIST=only say-NPST-3P-1SG.A
 ‘I only say that.’ [lh_12:099]
- (26) *akan jatasuklai pukcaanŋ*
aka=n jatasuklai pu-k-ca-anŋ
 1SG-PTCL everywhere be-NPST-V2-1SG.S
 ‘I am everywhere.’ [autobio_03:0433]
- (27) *pheri arko takgo*
pheri arko ta-k-go
 again other come-NPST-COND
 ‘Again if other comes’ [autobio_02b:022]
- (28) *penanŋ*
pen-anŋ
 sit-1SG.S/P
 ‘I sit.’
- (29) **penkanŋ*
pen-k-anŋ
 sit-NPST-1SG.S/P
 ‘I sit.’

In contrast, as already discussed above, the nonpast morpheme is realized as zero after a stem final nasal consonant, as in:

6.10 The Proto-Kiranti past morpheme **-tɛ*

The Proto-Kiranti past morpheme **-tɛ* is reflected by the modern past tense markers listed below. The reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti past morpheme **-tɛ* are presented in Table 11.

Table 11: Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti past morpheme *-te

PROTO-KIRANTI *-te	PST	*sf.2
Limbu	-e	PST sf.2
Thulung	-ti	PST sf.3
	-u	PST sf.3
	-o	PST sf.3
Bahing	-ta	PST sf.2
Kulung	-a	PST sf.1
Puma	-a	PST sf.2
Yakha	-a	PST sf.1
Yamphu	-a	PST sf.3
Sampang	-a	PST sf.2
Lohorung	-a	PST sf.1
Mewahang	-a	PST sf.2

Past tense is always marked by the morpheme *-a*. The vocalic morpheme elides before other vowel-initial morphemes, as is the case in the first person plural morpheme *-in*, as in (30) through (33). Consider the following examples:

- (30) *banamusetacumaj*
ban-a-mu-set-a-cu=maj
 build-V.NTVZ-V2-V2-PST-DU=NMLZ
 ‘(They two) built the house.’
 [khakcalukpa_07:131]
- (31) *asin hapa khedabo?*
asin hapa khed-a=bo
 today where go-PST=NMLZ
 ‘Today where did he go?’
 [daily_account_03:032]
- (32) *anjchadima yisa*
anj-chadima yis-a
 1SG.POSS-mother-in-law laugh-PST
 ‘My mother-in-law laughed.’
 [autobio_03:0107]
- (33) *basin*
bas-a-in
 dance-PST-1PL-INCL
 ‘We_{PI} danced.’

6.11 The Proto-Kiranti first person nonpast morpheme *-ja

The Proto-Kiranti morpheme *-ja* marks first person nonpast morpheme. As can be seen from Table below, fifty percent of languages are marked for the first person singular nonpast while other fifty percent are marked for the first person

singular actants. Conversely, Mewahang appears to be unusual exhibiting marking of the first person singular nonpast negative forms among those neighboring languages. Table 12 shows reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti first person morpheme *-ja*.

Tables 12 to 14 show reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti first person morpheme *-ja*, first person tense morpheme *-aj*, and first person agent morpheme *-j*.

Table 12: Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti first person nonpast morpheme *-ja

PROTO-KIRANTI *-ja	1SG.NPST	sf.3
Dumi	-j	1SG sf.2
Hayu	-jo	1SG.S/P.NPST sf.2
Thulung	-ji	1SG/P sf.1
Puma	-ja	1SG.S/P.NPST sf.1
Kulung	-ja	1SG.NEG.PST sf.1
Sampang	-j	1SG sf.8
Lohorung	-ja	1SG sf.2
Mewahang	-ja	1SG.NEG.NPST sf.2

While the portmanteau morpheme *-ja* contains the meaning of nonpast tense and first person singular in some Kiranti languages like Puma (Sharma 2014), it functions as the first person singular negative nonpast tense in Mewahang, as is the case in Kulung in which it indicates the first person singular negative past tense. Consider the following examples (34) through (36).

- (34) *abon aka hijanani*
abo=n aka hi-ja-na=ni
 now=PTCL 1SG.s can-1SG.NEG.NPST-NEG=PTCL
 ‘Now I cannot do it.’ [autobio_02b:026]
- (35) *ghas yoksine khejyana*
ghas yok-si=ne khek-ja-na
 grass search-PURP=ADD go-1SG.NEG.NPST-NEG
 ‘I do not go to even look for grass.’
 [autobio_02a:198]
- (36) *cujanaphou akan*
cu-ja-na=pho=u aka=n
 sit-1SG.NEG.NPST-NEG=POL=VOC
 1SG=PTCL
 ‘I do not stay.’ [autobio_03:1110]

6.12 The Proto-Kiranti morpheme *-aj

Turning to the suffix *-aj*, the first person singular past morpheme is reflected as a suffix in Proto-Kiranti, as illustrated in Table 13. The tensed

morpheme *-aŋ* indexes a first person singular A and P argument.

Table 13: Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti first person past morpheme **-aŋ*

PROTO-KIRANTI	<i>*-aŋ</i>	1SG.PST	*sf.3
Limbu	<i>-aŋ</i>	1SG.S/P.PST	sf.4
Lohorung	<i>-iŋ</i>	1SG.S/P.PST	sf.2
Thangmi	<i>-ŋa</i>	1SG	sf.5
Puma	<i>-oŋ</i>	1SG.S/P.PST	sf.1
Mewahang	<i>-aŋ</i>	1SG.S/P.PST	sf.2

The morpheme *-aŋ* indicates the first person singular subject or patient in the past tense, as presented in examples (37) through (39).

(37) *modoŋ sagasito aka iskul khedaŋ*
modoŋ sagasi-to aka
 even get.hungry-IMPF 1SG.s
iskul khed-aŋ
 school go-1SG.S
 ‘Even when I was hungry, I went to school.’
 [autobio_01:015]

(38) *jhʌn aka dukh caaŋ*
jhʌn aka dukh ca-aŋ
 much 1SG trouble eat-1SG.P
 ‘I got troubled so much.’ [autobio_02a:189]

(39) *khawa yikma=ne ma-pit-aŋ*
khawa yik-ma=ne ma-pit-aŋ
 millet grind-INF=ADD NEG-give-1SG.P
 ‘He did not let me to grind millet either.’
 [autobio_03:1184]

6.13 The Proto-Kiranti morpheme **-ŋ*

While the reflexes of both tensed morphemes **-ŋa* and **-aŋ* of Proto-Kiranti occur before the dual morpheme **-ci* in the affixal string, the Proto-Kiranti morpheme indexing first person singular A argument occurs after the dual morpheme **-ci* in the affixal string. The involvement of the first person singular actant Proto-Kiranti morpheme **-ŋ* is reflected as 1>3 and 3>1, and also as 2>1 in slightly different position in Proto-Tibeto-Burman. However, it is noteworthy that Hayu has alternations for this, as illustrated in Table 14:

Table 14: Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti first person agent morpheme **-ŋ*

PROTO-KIRANTI	<i>*-ŋ</i>	1SG.A	*sf.5
Hayu	<i>-ŋ~-n~-soŋ</i>	1SG.A	sf.3
Limbu	<i>-ŋ</i>	1SG.A	sf.5

Puma	<i>-ŋ</i>	1SG.A	sf.1
Lohorung	<i>-n</i>	1SG.A	sf.5
Mewahang	<i>-ŋ</i>	1SG.A	sf.5

This suffix occurs when a first person singular agent acts on third person patient (1SG>3) in the nonpast and past tense. It occurs only after the third person patient morpheme <-u>. As illustrated in (40) through (42).

(40) *akpane lesuŋna*
ak-pa=ne les-u-ŋ-na
 1SG.POSS-father=ADD know-3P-1SG.A-NEG
 ‘I do not know my father either.’
 [autobio_03:007]

(41) *aka lomkuŋ*
akalom-k-u-ŋ
 1SG hit-NPST-3P-1SG.A
 ‘I hit him.’ [autobio_03:0979]

(42) *pokhara kheeŋ isuŋni*
pokhara khe-aŋ is-u-ŋ=ni
 Pokhara go-1SG.s say-3P-1SG.A=PTCL
 ‘I go to Pokhara, I said.’ [autobio_03:1111]

6.14 The Proto-Kiranti morpheme **-k*

van Driem (1991, p. 357) amalgamates reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti first person plural morpheme **-k* with reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti exclusive morpheme **-ya* and makes comparison among those morphemes. In contrast, I make distinctions between reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti first person plural morpheme **-k* and reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti exclusive morpheme **-ya* and deal with the morphemes which are attested in the Kiranti languages. Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti first person plural morpheme **-k* are presented in Table 15.

Table 15: Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti first person plural morpheme **-k*

PROTO-KIRANTI	<i>*-k</i>	1PL	sf.2
Dumi	<i>-k</i>	1PL	sf.2
Hayu	<i>-ke</i>	1PL	sf.3
	<i>-ki</i>	1PL.PST	sf.1
Mewahang	<i>-in~ik</i>	1PL	sf.1

The Proto-Kiranti first person plural morpheme **-k* appears as *-in~ik* in Mewahang with all S, A and P arguments, as presented in (43) through (47).

- (43) *tomaŋ dekpi cuiikka.*
tomaŋ dek-pi cu-ik-ka
 LNK behind-LOC.NEU sit-1PL-EXCL
 ‘And we stay behind.’
- (44) *ikin mewahaŋpi bakin.*
ikin mewahaŋ-pi
 1PL.INCL Mewahang-LOC.NEU
ba-k-in
 dance-NPST-1PL.INCL
 ‘We dance in Mewahang.’
 [birth_death_01:083]
- (45) *hik kahuwa raksi yakhetloŋ khekin*
hik kahuwa raksi ya-khet=loŋ
 two dry.gourd liquor TRA-go=NMLZ
khek-in
 go-1PL.INCL
 ‘We go taking two gourds of alcohol.’
 [birth_death_03:0030]
- (46) *casa cakin*
casa ca-k-in
 meal eat-NPST-1PL.INCL
 ‘(We) eat meal.’ [marriage_03a:085]
- (47) *ikin toŋloŋ cukingo minane hela metinna*
ikin toŋ=loŋ cu-k-in=go
 1PL.INCL unite=NMLZ sit-NPST-1PL.INCL=COND
mina=ne hela met-in-na
 man.ERG=ADD disgrace CAUS-1PL.INCL-NEG
 ‘If we unite, others do not disgrace us.’
 [LH_47: 047]

6.15 The Proto-Kiranti morpheme *-ya

The exclusive marker *-ka*, according to van Driem’s (1990) reconstruction of Proto-Kiranti morphemes, is common in several Kiranti languages, and is a reflex of the Proto-Kiranti first plural morpheme *-k and the exclusive marker *-ya, which coalesced as a single morpheme later due to their frequent co-occurrence.

Like many Kiranti languages, Mewahang pronouns are marked for the distinction of inclusive and exclusive reference. Mewahang also marks dual number in its pronouns. The first person non-singular inclusive is unmarked on the verb, while the first person non-singular exclusive is marked by the suffix *-ka* on the verb.

The suffix *-ka* only co-occurs with the non-singular first person S argument, A argument and P argument. This suffix is never found with a hearer (the second person). Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti exclusive morpheme *-ya are presented in Table 16.

Table 16: Reflexes of the Proto-Kiranti first person plural morpheme *-ya

PROTO-KIRANTI	*-ya	EXCL	sf.2
Athpare	-ya	EXCL	sf.?
Limbu	-ge	EXCL	sf.10
Wambule	-ku	EXCL	sf.6
Kulung	-ka	EXCL	sf.3
Thulung	-ki	EXCL	sf.6
Bahing	-k	1PL.EXCL	sf.8
	-ka~-ko~-ku	1EXCL.S/A	sf.5
Puma	-ka	EXCL	sf.8
Bantawa	-ka	EXCL	sf.?
Camling	-ka	EXCL	sf.?
Khaling	-ka	EXCL	sf.?
Sampang	-ka	EXCL	sf.9
Lohorung	-ka	EXCL	sf.8
Mewahang	-ka	EXCL	sf.7

The Proto-Kiranti morpheme *-ya becomes *-ka ~ -ga* in Mewahang to mark exclusivity. The morpheme *-ka* marks exclusive in all first person intransitive and transitive forms, which has a regular allomorph *-ga* after a vowel particularly with all first dual exclusive subjects, agents and patients, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (48) *toma mui khedikka*
toma mui khed-ik-ka
 LNK MEDI go-1PL-EXCL
 ‘And went far away.’ [autobio_03:0670]
- (49) *cakcuga*
ca-k-cu-ga
 eat-NPST-DU-EXCL
 ‘(We two) eat.’ [autobio_02b:060]
- (50) *mo pali banamusupka.*
mo pali ban-a-mus-u-m-ka
 MEDI hut build-V.NTVZ-do-3P-1/2PL.A-EXCL
 ‘We built that hut.’ [autobio_02a:195]
- (51) *kijwane icigane duŋaciga.*
kijwa=ne iciga=ne duŋ-a-ci-ga
 water=ADD 1DU.EXCL=ADD drink-PST-DU-EXCL
 ‘We two also drank water.’ [travel_03:054]

7. The identical and cognate morphemes to the Proto-Kiranti

The Mewahang tensed morphemes such as the first person singular nonpast negative morpheme *-ŋa*, though the semantic criteria is different, first person agent morpheme *-ŋ* and the first person past morpheme *-aŋ* are identical to the Proto-Kiranti morphemes. The third person patient morpheme *-u*, the dual morpheme *-ci*, third person non-singular morpheme *-ci*, and the first/second person plural agent morpheme *-m*, are also identical to the Proto-Kiranti morphemes.

Furthermore, the second person morpheme *-na*, the second person plural *-ni*, and nonpast morpheme *-k* are identical to the Proto-Kiranti morphemes. Apparently, the 1>2 morpheme *-na*, the third person plural agent and patient morpheme *-mi*, the first person plural morpheme *-in~-ik*, the past morpheme *-a*, and the first person exclusive morpheme *-ka* are cognate with the Proto-Kiranti reflexes.

Conjugations of Kiranti languages, when systematically compared with similar conjugations in Tibeto-Burman languages beyond the Kiranti, may be shown to be retentions of an archaic Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement pattern (van Driem, 1991, p. 355). It is observed that in Kiranti languages, as well as in the Tibeto-Burman languages in general, the presence of a velar nasal /ŋ/ indicates the involvement of a first person singular agent.

The summarization of the Mewahang morphemes that are identical to Proto-Tibeto-Burman and Proto-Kiranti is provided in Table 17 while the summarization of the Mewahang morphemes that are cognate to Proto-Tibeto-Burman and Proto-Kiranti is presented in Table 18.

Table 17: The identical morphemes to the P-K and P-T-B

Languages		
P-T-B	P-K	Mewahang
*-ŋ 1SG.A/P	*-ŋ 1SG.A	-ŋ 1SG.A
	*-aŋ 1SG.S/P	-aŋ 1SG.S/P

m or p h e m e s		*-ŋa 1SG.NEG.NPST	-ŋa 1SG.NEG.NPST
		*-m 1/2PL.A	-m 1/2PL.A
	*-u 3P	*-u 3P	-u 3P
		*-ni 2PL	-ni 2PL
		*-ci DU	-ci DU
		*-ci 3NSG.P	-ci 3NSG.P
		*-k NPST	-k NPST
	*-n 2	*-na 2	-na 2

Table 18: The cognate morphemes to the P-K and P-T-B

Language	Morphemes				
P-T-B	*-n 1>2; 3>2	2>3;			
P-K	*-nya 1>2	*-me 3PL.A/s	*-k 1PL	*-tɛ PST	*-ya EXCL
Mewahang	-na 1>2	-mi 3PL.A/s	-in~-ik 1PL	*-a PST	-ka EXCL

8. Conclusion

10 out of total 15 Mewahang morphemes that are identical to the Proto-Kiranti morphemes and the five cognate morphemes have been discussed. These identical morphemes are the first person past morpheme *-aŋ*, the first person singular nonpast negative morpheme *-ŋa*, first person agent morpheme *-ŋ*, the third person patient morpheme *-u*, the dual morpheme *-ci*, third person non-singular morpheme *-ci*, the first/second person plural agent morpheme *-m*, the third person plural agent and patient morpheme *-mi*, the second person morpheme *-na*, the second person plural *-ni*, and nonpast morpheme *-k*.

Furthermore, the 1>2 morpheme *-na*, the first person plural morpheme *-in~-ik*, the past morpheme *-a*, and the first person exclusive morpheme *-ka* are cognate with the Proto-Kiranti reflexes.

Conjugations of Kiranti languages, when systematically compared with similar conjugations in Tibeto-Burman languages beyond the Kiranti, may be shown to be retentions of an archaic Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement pattern (van Driem, 1991, p. 355). It is observed that in Kiranti languages, as well as in the Tibeto-Burman languages in general, there is strong evidence that the presence of a velar nasal /ŋ/ indicates the involvement of a first person singular agent in the historical reconstruction.

Acknowledgements

The data and information discussed in this paper were made possible by the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme, ELDP Grant–IPF0253 (2018-2020) and the Department of Linguistics, University of Oregon, USA (2018-2022) which is hereby gratefully acknowledged. I would like to thank my language consultants particularly Miss Namita Mewahang Rai, Mr. Jiten Mewahang Rai, Mr. Ganesh Mewahang Rai, Miss Anjana Mewahang Rai, Mr. Krishna Mewahang Rai, Mr. Yogesh Mewahang Rai, Mrs. Raj Kumari Mewahang Rai, and Miss Januka Mewahang Rai for their help.

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