

## **Limbu**

Tibeto-Burman, Kiranti, spoken in Nepal.

### **0 Morphosyntactic features relevant to syncretism**

#### **0.1 Repertory of morphosyntactic features**

Number

sg	singular
du	dual
pl	plural

Case

nom	nominative
gen	genitive
abs	absolutive
erg	ergative

Definiteness

def	definite
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Gender

female
other

Person

1	first (exclusive)
1i	first inclusive
2	second
3	third

Tense

non-past
past

Negation

	non-negative
neg	negative

#### **0.2 Distribution of morphosyntactic features**

Nouns

sg nom	pl nom	sg nom def
sg gen	pl gen	sg gen def
sg abs	pl abs	sg abs def
sg erg	pl erg	sg erg def

## Adjectives

female
other

## Verbs

1sg						1sg–2sg	1sg–2d	1sg–2pl	1sg–3sg	1sg–3pl
1du						1pl–2			1du–3sg	1du–3pl
1pl						1pl–2			1pl–3sg	1pl–3pl
1i du									1i du–3sg	1i du–3pl
1i pl									1i pl–3sg	1i pl–3pl
2sg	2sg–1sg	2–1pl							2sg–3sg	2sg–3pl
2du	2pl–1sg	2–1pl							2du–3sg	2du–3pl
2pl		2–1pl							2pl–3sg	2pl–3pl
3sg	3sg–1sg	3sg–1du	3–1pl	3sg–1i du	3sg–1i pl	3sg–2sg	3sg–2du	3sg–2pl	3sg–3sg	3sg–3pl
3du	3pl–1sg	3pl–1du		3pl–1i du	3pl–1i pl	3pl–2sg	3pl–2du	3pl–2pl	3du–3sg	3du–3pl
3pl									3pl–3sg	3pl–3pl

## 1 Nouns

Van Driem (1987) lists absolute, ergative/instrumental, genitive, vocative, locative, comitative and mediative as the primary cases; further cases involve combinations of these affixes either with each other or with other elements. All are clearly distinct except for the first three.

Plural may be marked by the suffix *-ha?*, but is not obligatory. There is a definite article, but Driem discusses it only in relation to the absolute, ergative/instrumental and genitive.

The absolute, ergative/instrumental and genitive are quite similar to each other; Wiedert and Subba (1985) do not even recognize the distinction. The information given by van Driem can be summarized as follows:

	vocalic stem			stem in derivational -a			consonantal stem		
	sg	sg def	pl	sg	sg def	pl	sg	sg def	pl
abs	Ø	-n	Ø	Ø	-n	Ø	Ø	-?in	Ø
erg	-lle	-?ille	-le	-lle	-?ille	-le	-le	-?ille	-le
gen				-le					

Note that a plural marker *-ha?* (added directly after stem) is optional.

- Driem states that the definite article/absolute affix is not found after plural affix *-ha?*:

ke:b-εn ‘the dumb one’

ke:b-ha? ‘the dumb ones’ (= indefinite, presumably?)

He does not say whether it may be found after a plural which is *not* marked by the plural affix (note that he does point out that the article isn’t found in the plural ergative/instrumental, regardless of whether *-ha?* is present or not)

## 2 Adjectives

Adjectives mark agreement with animate feminines, whereby the adjectival suffix *-pa* → *-ma*. Adjectives lacking this suffix remain unchanged (e.g. those with the diminutive suffix *-sa*, and negative participles). Thus:

yəmba yembitcha	'big man'	yəmma menchuma	'big lady'
cukpa pi?l	'small bull/cow'	cukma pitma	'small cow'
cuksa thaŋben	'tiny lad'	cuksa menchya	'tiny lass'

### 3 Verbs

Stems may be intransitive, transitive or reflexive/reciprocal. Verbs mark both subject and object. Various moods are built on the two tenses (past and non-past), but do not affect the pattern of syncretism. *Transitive and intransitive stems are divided into regular and irregular (apophonic), which exhibit slightly different patterns of syncretism in the intransitive paradigms [note: do reflexive/reciprocals have irregular stems too?].*

Stems may exhibit an automatic alternation depending on whether they are followed by a consonant-initial suffix or not (e.g. in the regular intransitive example *nu:ks* vs. *nu:ŋ*. A small set of stems, labelled here “alternating stems”, display a stem-vowel alternation between the non-past and past (originally the result of the absorption of the past tense marker *-ε-*), and take a slightly different set of endings as well.

#### Regular stem intransitive

nu:ŋ 'return'	non-past	past	neg non-past	neg past
1sg	nu:ŋ -?ε	nu:ks -aŋ	mε- nu:ŋ -en	mε- nu:ks -aŋnen
1 du	nu:ŋ -sige	nu:ks -etchige	mε- nu:ŋ -sigen	mε- nu:ks -etchigen
1 pl	nu:ks -ige	nu:ŋ -m?na*	mε- nu:ks -igen	mε- nu:ŋ -m?na*
1i du	a- nu:ŋ -si	a- nu:ks -etchi	an- nu:ŋ -sin	an- nu:ks -etchin
1i pl	a- nu:ŋ	a- nu:ks -ε	an- nu:ŋ -nen	an- nu:ks -en
2sg	kε- nu:ŋ	kε- nu:ks -ε	kεn- nu:ŋ -nen	kεn- nu:ks -en
2du	kε- nu:ŋ -si	kε- nu:ks -etchi	kεn- nu:ŋ -sin	kεn- nu:ks -etchin
2pl	kε- nu:ks -i		kεn-	nu:ks -in
3sg	nu:ŋ	nu:ks -ε	mε- nu:ŋ -nen	mε- nu:ks -en
3du	nu:ŋ -si	nu:ks -etchi	mε- nu:ŋ -sin	mε- nu:ks -etchin
3pl	mε- nu:ŋ	mε- nu:ks -ε	mε- nu:ŋ -nen	mε- nu:ks -en

\*mŋ → ŋŋ

#### Alternating stem intransitives

ca: 'perform'	non-past	past	neg non-past	neg past
1sg	ca: -?ε	cya -aŋ*	mε- dza: -?- -en	mε- dzya: -ŋnen/ mε- dza: -baŋ
1du	ca: -si	ce: -si	mε- dza: -sin	mε- dze: -sin
1pl	ce: -?- -ige	ca: -m?na	mε- dze: -?- -igen	mε- dza: -m?na
1i du	a- dza: -si	a- dze: -si	an- dza: -sin	an- dze: -sin
1i pl	a- dza:	a- dze:	am- dza: -nen	am- dze: -nen
2sg	kε- dza:	kε- dze:	kεn- dza: -nen	kεn- dze: -nen

2du	kε- dza: -si	kε- dze: -si	ken- dza: -sin	ken- dze: -sin
2pl	kε dza: -? -i	kε- dze: -? -i	ken- dza: -? -in	ken- dze: -? -in
3sg	ca:	ce:	mε- dza: -nen	mε- dze: -nen
3du	ca: -si	ce: -si	mε- dza: -sin	mε- dze: -sin
3pl	mε- dza:	mε- dze:	mεn- dza: -nen	mεn- dze: -nen

\*aa → a:

### Regular stem transitive

hu? 'teach'	non-past	past	neg non-past		neg past		
1sg-2sg	hu? -ne		mε- hu? -nen				
1sg-2du	hu? -netchiŋ			mε- hu? -netchiŋnen			
1sg-2pl	hu? -niŋ			mε- hu? -niŋnen			
1sg-3sg	hu? -ruŋ			mε- hu? -?en	mεn- hu? -baŋ		
1sg-3pl	hu? -ruŋsiŋ			mε- hu? -?enchin	mεn- hu? -baŋsiŋ		
1i du-3sg	a- hu? -su	a- hu? -retchu	an- hu? -sun	an- hu? -retchun			
1i du-3pl	a- hu? -susi	a- hu? -retchusi	an- hu? -susin	an- hu? -retchusin			
1pl-2	hu? -netchige			mε- hu? -netchigen			
1du-3sg	hu? -suge	hu? -retchuge	mε- hu? -sugen	me- hu? -retchugen			
1du-3pl	hu? -susige	hu? -retchusige	mε- hu? -susigen	me- hu? -retchusigen			
1i pl-3sg	a- hu? -rum	an- hu? -rumnen					
1i pl-3pl	a- hu? -rumsim	an- hu? -rumsimnen					
1pl-3sg	hu? -rumbe	hu? -m?na	mε- hu? -rumben	mεn- hu? -m?na			
1pl-3pl	hu? -rumsimbe	hu? -m?nasi	mε- hu? -rumsimben	mεn- hu? -m?nasi			
2sg-1sg	kε- hu? -?e	kε- hu? -raj	ken- hu? -?en	ken- hu? -rajen			
2-1pl 2pl-1sg	age- hu?	age- hu? -re	agen- hu? -nen	agen- hu? -ren			
2sg-3sg	kε- hu? -ru	ken- hu? -run					
2sg-3pl	kε- hu? -rusi	ken- hu? -rusin					
2du-3sg	kε- hu? -su	kε- hu? -retchu	ken- hu? -sun	ken- hu? -retchun			
2du-3pl	kε- hu? -susi	kε- hu? -retchusi	ken- hu? -susin	ken- hu? -retchusin			
2pl-3sg	kε- hu? -rum	ken- hu? -rumnen					
2pl-3pl	kε- hu? -rumsim	ken- hu? -rumsimnen					
3sg-1sg	hu? -?e	hu? -raj	mε- hu? -?en	mε- hu? -rajen			
3sg-1i du	a- hu? -si	a- hu? -retchi	an- hu? -sin	an- hu? -retchin			
3sg-1du	hu? -sige	hu? -retchige	mε- hu? -sigen	me- hu? -retchigen			
3sg-1i pl	a- hu?	a- hu? -re	an- hu? -nen	an- hu? -ren			
3sg-1pl	hu? -rige		mε- hu? -rigen				
3sg-2sg	kε- hu?	kε- hu? -re	ken- hu? -nen	ken- hu? -ren			
3sg-2du	kε- hu? -si	kε- hu? -retchi	ken- hu? -sin	ken- hu? -retchin			
3sg-2pl	kε- hu? -ri	ken- hu? -rin					
3sg-3sg	hu? -ru	mε- hu? -run					
3sg-3pl	hu? -rusi	mε- hu? -rusin					
3du-3sg	hu? -su	hu? -retchu	mε- hu? -sun	mε- hu? -retchun			
3du-3pl	hu? -susi	hu? -retchusi	mε- hu? -susin	mε- hu? -retchusin			

3pl-1sg	mε- hu? -?ε	mε- hu? -raŋ	men- hu? -?en	men- hu? -raŋnen
3pl-1i du	am- hu? -si	am- hu? -retchi	amen- hu? -sin	amen- hu? -retchin
3pl-1e du	mε- hu? -sige	mε- hu? -retchige	men- hu? -sigen	men- hu? -retchigen
3pl-1i pl	am- hu?	am- hu? -re	amen- hu? -nen	amen- hu? -ren
3-1pl	mε- hu? -rige		men- hu? -rigen	
3pl-2sg	kem- hu?	kem- hu? -re	kemen- hu? -nen	kemen- hu? -ren
3pl-2du	kem- hu? -si	kem- hu? -retchi	kemen- hu? -sin	kemen- hu? -retchin
3pl-2pl	kem- hu? -ri		kemen- hu? -rin	
3pl-3sg	mε- hu? -ru		men- hu? -run	
3pl-3pl	mε- hu? -rusi		men- hu? -rusin	

### Reflexive/reciprocal

leŋ 'return'	non-past	past	neg non-past	neg past
1sg	leŋ -siŋ?ε	leŋ -siŋaŋ	mε- leŋ -siŋ?en	mε- leŋ -siŋaŋnen
1du	leŋ -netchige		mε- leŋnetchigen	
1pl	leŋ -siŋige	leŋ -siŋŋ?na	mε- leŋ -siŋigen	men- leŋ -siŋŋ?na*
1i du	a- leŋ -netchi		a- leŋ -netchin	
1i pl	a- leŋ -siŋ	a- leŋ -siŋε	an- leŋ -siŋnen*	an- leŋ -siŋen*
2sg	ke- leŋ -siŋ	ke- leŋ -siŋε	ken- leŋ -siŋnen*	ken- leŋ -siŋen*
2du	ke- leŋ -netchi		ken- leŋ -netchin*	
2pl	ke- leŋ -siŋi		ken- leŋ -siŋin*	
3sg	leŋ -siŋ	leŋ -siŋε	mε- leŋ -siŋnen	mε- leŋ -siŋen
3du	leŋ -netchi		mε- leŋ -netchin	
3pl	mε- leŋ -siŋ	mε- leŋ -siŋε	men- leŋ -siŋnen*	men- leŋ -siŋen*

\* nl → ll

### References

- van Driem, George. 1987. *A grammar of Limbu*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.  
 Wiedert, Alfons and B. Subba. 1985. *Concise Limbu grammar and dictionary*. Amsterdam: Lobster.