

[CHUK111015norec] (recording is missing)

1) in [CHUK290412A8A_0001] can it also be *Saŋt^hilo?* *t^həjta*, *kukpa hin*, *ʔuçaŋ hin* *lont^haŋlo?* instead of *Saŋt^hilo?* *t^həjta*, *kukpa hin*, *ʔuçaŋ hin* *lonbagijo?gana?* What is the difference? After coming? While coming? See also [CHUK290412A8A_0004] *ɕak^hjakk^ho* *ɕubagijo?gana*, *bej lamba?* *ʔonbale*. while staying at Shakhyak? TSD *ɕak^hjakga* *t^honagai* ‘while staying at Shakhjak’? If it is ‘while’, then what is the difference with =*gaŋk^ho* e.g. *ɕak^hjakk^ho* *ɕubagaŋk^ho?* *ɕuba?* *ɕurenk^ho* ‘while staying’ is only in future not in past. See also [CHUK290412A8A_0026] *hanbagijo?gana* ‘while was brought’ so ‘while were staying’? *unbana gai/upphana gai* → . *lonbakho* different. *lonthangloq* different. *lonbagangkho* soso. *sangthiloq* *unbanagai*, *khijowga chona chumbi*. *shakhyakga chonagai*, *mi phunki dina chumbi*.

2) in [CHUK290412A8A_0001] can it also be *lonbagijo?gana* *K^hiɕowk^ho* *ɕuloŋ* or *lonbagijo?gana* *K^hiɕowk^ho* *ɕuba* or *lonbagijo?gana* *K^hiɕowk^ho* *ɕjuni* instead of *lonbagijo?gana* *K^hiɕowk^ho* *ɕubale?* What is the difference? I.e. what is the difference between -ba, -ni, -ba-le and -loŋ? Is it a difference per person: *ga/naŋ/woj* *t^huk^ho* *ɕubale* YES or *ga/naŋ/woj* *t^huk^ho* *ɕuloŋ* ONLY IF DOESN'T REMEMBER HIM/HERSELF? *gaq* *onu* *deythakpa aybagangkho* *ga chukkho juba/jubale*. *ga katikho bomdilakho julong* (u were small so don't remember it correctly but parents or someone else must have told me. so it was a reality but not in own memory). *go ga chukkho jubale*, (hoko *ga bomdila kho juba* now I am in *bomdila*, temporarily, but leaving to somewhere else), *thalamongkha ga bomdila kho judeq*. Perhaps it is ‘had stayed’ or is that *ɕuloŋ*? JULONG gives an impression that the speaker would have known about it. It is a long long time ago, speaker doesn't know, so *julong* doesn't fit in. *juba* is imperfective. it means that they would still be staying there now. *julongbe* is perfective means that it is finished there is no present relevance or reality in it so BE. JUNYI means he saw them living there so also not possible.

3) -de? is not person-bound, e.g. *naŋ t^hamoŋ* *abe ledaja?* What are you doing these days? Answer can be *ga ogjaraŋ ɕude?* I am staying just like that (i.e. without work) or *war ogjaraŋ ɕude?* They are staying just like that. -de? describes an event taking place at present and is done/observed/seen/heard etc. by the speaker himself. YES CORRECT.

4) in [CHUK290412A8A_0002] the difference between *ogi* there and *okho* there? *ogi* is there as in place or then as in time? *ogilo?* = and then? see also in [CHUK290412A8A_0008]. It appears to mean and then, from then onwards. OGI = ONYI = HERE, OCHI = UTHU = THIS. ONYIGAI = OGILOQ = FROM NOW. HOKOLOQ = from now, it occurs but is consider wrong. it should be said OGILOQ = ONYIGAI.

5) in [CHUK290412A8A_0002] $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{etbale}$ –bale can be with both intransitive verbs ($\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{ubale}$) as well as with transitive verbs e.g. $\text{wojjo}^{\text{h}} \text{na}^{\text{h}}\text{ni rup } \text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{ibale}$. he gave to you? YES. With which persons does –bale go e.g. $\text{wojjo}^{\text{h}} \text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{etbale/ go}^{\text{h}} \text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{etbale}$ is also correct? YES $\text{masa}^{\text{h}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{h}}\text{o}^{\text{h}} \text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{ukt}^{\text{h}}\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{\text{h}} \text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{etbale}$. means the strongman made the spring water to come out? or the strongman took out the spring water? YES. $\text{masa}^{\text{h}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{h}}\text{gai drukchu shona chum bi}$. * $\text{masa}^{\text{h}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{h}}\text{ngoq drukchunyi shetbale}$ because water is an unlijdend voorwerp. not a patient. $\text{shethanbale} = \text{shonphanna}$. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{etda} =$ come out intransitive.

is it wrong to say $\text{masa}^{\text{h}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{h}}\text{o}^{\text{h}} \text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{ukt}^{\text{h}}\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{\text{h}} \text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{etba/c}^{\text{h}}\text{et}^{\text{h}}\text{ni/c}^{\text{h}}\text{etlon}^{\text{h}}$? **MASANGNGOQ DRUKCHU SHETLONG** can be said. If the water is still there but the speaker didn't see it that can be said!

or is $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{etda}$ also to take out transitive? The -o^h indicates that $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{etbale}$ is transitive. But –bale does not make an intransitive verb transitive because how could 1) $\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{ubale}$ be explained? See also in [CHUK290412A8A_0003] $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{etda}$ ‘take out v.tr.’ ‘come out v.intr.’ cf. TSB $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{onp}^{\text{h}}\text{ale}$ vs. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{ole}$. What about $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{ethanda? c}^{\text{h}}\text{ett}^{\text{h}}\text{onda?}$ NO because a spring cannot be carried or lifted.

Does –le confer a sense of completion of an event as something that happened in the past? **PERFECTIVE**.

What happens if =bej is added i.e. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{etbalebej}$? If someone asked $\text{nangngoq drukchu adang shetda? goq drukchu bistiba shetbalebey/shetbale}$. **IT IS NOT -BEY BUT -BE!** If the addressee doesn't really believe you and you want to **ASSERT** the **VALIDITY** of the information of something that happened in the past. **SHETBASHI** is for **FUTURE**. E.g. $\text{adang shetbaq? mongkha shetbashi}$. when will u take it out. I will take it really out tomorrow.

6) in [CHUK290412A8A_0003] is it $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{ak}^{\text{h}}\text{ja}$ or $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{ak}^{\text{h}}\text{jak}$? **sa-okhyak RED SOIL**.

7) in [CHUK290412A8A_0004] is it correct -ba? in $\text{bej lamba? } \text{?o}^{\text{h}}\text{ŋbale?}$ (They) went to search for fire. Or is –ba also correct? **NO ONLY BAQ**