

DHIMAL MORPHOSYNTAX

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Tribhuvan
University in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

LINGUISTICS

By

KARNAKHAR KHATIWADA

T.U. Regd. No.: 52987-88

Ph.D. Regd. No. 11/068

Tribhuvan University

Kathmandu, Nepal

2016

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RECOMMENDATION LETTER

We hereby recommend that this dissertation entitled **DHIMAL MORPHOSYNTAX** prepared by **Mr. Karnakhar Khatiwada** under our supervision and guidance be accepted by the research committee for the final examination in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics.

Dissertation Committee

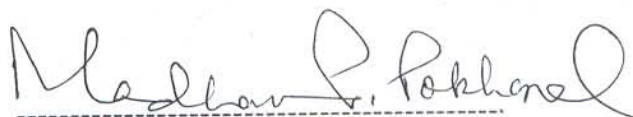


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APPROVAL LETTER

This dissertation entitled **DHIMAL MORPHOSYNTAX** was submitted by **Mr. KARNAKHAR KHATIWADA** for final examination to the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in LINGUISTICS. I, hereby, certify that the Research Committee of the Faculty has found this dissertation satisfactory in scope and quality and has, therefore, accepted it for the degree.


Prof. Chinta Mani Pokharel, PhD

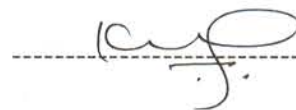
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Research Committee

Date: 16/02/2016

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation entitled **DHIMAL MORPHOSYNTAX** submitted to the office of the Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, is an entirely original work prepared under the supervision of my supervisors. I have made due acknowledgements to all ideas and information borrowed from different sources in course of writing this dissertation. The results presented in this dissertation have not been presented or submitted anywhere else for the award of any degree or for any other purposes. No part of the contents of this dissertation has ever been published in any form before. I shall be solely responsible if any evidence is found against my dissertation.

Date: 16-02-2016



Karnakhar Khatiwada

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February, 2016

Karnakhar Khatiwada

ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the morphosyntax in Dhimal, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the far eastern Tarai region of Nepal in the framework of the functional-typological grammar developed by Givón (2001a, b). The main objective of this study is to analyze the Dhimal morphosyntax.

Most of the examples presented in this dissertation are drawn from naturally occurring texts. Different strategies, viz., recordings of the texts (discourse), clause level elicitation and the researcher's field notes have been employed to prepare the database. Different tools like digital audio recorder, audio editor (Audacity 2.0.2) and the Toolbox software were utilized to obtain and process the data.

This study, organized into 15 chapters, presents the introduction and theoretical framework of the study in Chapters 1 and 2 respectively. Chapters 3 and 4 analyze the lexicon and the simple verbal clauses in order. The grammatical relations and case marking system is dealt with in Chapter 5, followed by the assessment of the constituent order in Chapter 6. Tense, aspect and modality and the grammar of the referential coherence are presented in Chapters 7 and 8 respectively. The noun phrase structure is discussed in Chapter 9 and the verbal complements, clause union and detransitive voices are discussed in Chapter 10. The grammar of the relative clauses and the contrastive focus and marked topic constructions are discussed in Chapters 11 and 12 consecutively. Chapter 13 presents the non-declarative speech acts. Chapter 14 analyzes the inter-clausal coherence followed by the summary and the typological implications of this study (Chapter 15). A sample of analyzed texts, 210-wordlist, index of grammatical morphemes and the details of the language consultants are annexed at the end.

The lexicon is categorized in terms of the major and minor word classes. Simple clauses are broadly classified as non-verbal and verbal predicates. The overt coding properties of grammatical relations are: nominal morphology and verb agreement. Dhimal employs the nominative-accusative case marking scheme. Dhimal is an SOV ordered language. Most of the implications of the SOV constituent order hold true in it. However, the constituents of the clause may be permuted within the clause for pragmatic purposes. Dhimal exhibits morphologically marked past, present and future tenses. Morphological aspects are categorized into perfective and imperfective. Modality exhibits epistemic and deontic contrast. Personal pronouns show three persons and three numbers distinction. Honorificity exhibits neutral vs. affinal contrast. The grammar of pronouns and grammatical agreement are morphological devices to encode the referential coherence. Verbs with clausal complements include modal-aspectual, manipulation and perception-cognition-utterance verbs. Causativization is primarily morphological. The detransitive voices include reflexive, reciprocal, middle and passive voice constructions. The widely used way to put the verb of the relative clause is in nominalized form. Discourse particles, intonation and constituent order may be utilized in contrastive focus and marked topic constructions. The non-declarative speech acts include interrogative, imperative, optative, hortative and imperious types. The adverbial subordinate clauses are either marked through the subordinating morphemes attached to the dependent clause or through the special non-finite verb forms. Coordinated or conjoined clauses exhibit the conjunctive, disjunctive and adversative relationships among the conjoined clauses. Dhimal exhibits a number of typologically interesting features.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ADVLZ	adverbializer
AFF	affectionative
ALL	allative
AMB	ambulative
AND	andative
APPR	apparentive
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
CFC	counterfactual conditional
CLF	classifier
COL	collective
COM	comitative
COMPL	completive
COMP	comparative marker
COND	conditional
CONR	contrastive
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DED	deductive
DM	discourse marker
DU	dual
DUB	dubitative
DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic
EXCL	exclamation
EXT	existential

FOC	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genetive
GF	gap filler
HCLF	human classifier
HORT	hortative
HYP	hypothetical
IMP	imperative
IMPL	implicational
INC	inchoative
IND	indicative
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
INTENT	intentional
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
MID	middle
MIR	mirative
NEG	negative
NH	non-honorific
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
OBL	oblique
ONOM	onomatopoea
OPT	optative
PART	particle
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PROH	prohibitive
PRS	present

PST	past
PURP	purposive
RECP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplicative
REL	relinquitive
REP	reportative
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
TAG	tag question
TEMP	temporal
TOP	topic
VOC	vocative

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This study is an attempt to analyze the Dhimal morphosyntax within the framework of the functional-typological grammar (henceforth, FTG) developed by Givón (2001a, b).¹ Dhimal is one of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken by the Dhimals residing originally in the far-eastern Tarai region (i.e., Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari districts) of Nepal. According to the census report (2011), the total number of the Dhimal is 26, 298 which comprise 0.09% of the total population of Nepal. However, the authorities of the Dhimal ethnic development committee claim that their population in Nepal figures around 35000.² This language is also spoken by a small number of people, known as Mallik, in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, India (King, 1994: 121; 2009: 2).³ However, the number of the speakers and their language is not included in the recent censuses of India.⁴ At present, Dhimals, with an ethno-linguistic identity, are confined to only in Nepal.

Ethnically, Dhimals prefer to identify themselves as related to Limbus and Rais of eastern hilly region of Nepal. However, linguistically, their form of speech is clustered to either the SAL group of TB languages (Bradley 2002: 84; Eppele et al. 2012: 44) or to the Toto language⁵ rather than to the Kirati languages spoken in Nepal.⁶

The Dhimal language spoken in Nepal has two dialects. These dialects are separated by the *Kankai* river in Jhapa district. The dialect spoken to the east of the river is

¹Other resources consulted are Givón (1979; 1983; 1992; 1993a,b; 1995a; 1997; 2002a; 2005; 2008; 2009; 2010 and 2011)

²Kedar Dhimal, general secretary of the *Dhimal jati bikas Kendra* (personal communication).

³Basanti Dhimal, one of the informants of the eastern dialect speakers from Aayabari, Mechinagar municipality informed that her paternal home is near the Naksalbari town of West Bengal state in India (personal communication).

⁴In the 1961 census of India, Dhimal is mentioned as one of the languages of the Himalayan group and the total number of speakers given is 11.
<http://www.languageinindia.com/aug2002/indianmothertongues1961aug2002.html>

⁵King (2009: 3) notes "this subgroup, Dhimal-Toto or Dhimalish, shows apparent similarities to both the Bodic group and to groups spoken in northeastern India."

⁶Bradley (2002: 81) asserts "Nearly all the remaining Tibeto-Burman languages further east in Nepal are part of core Kiranti; the only exception is Dhimal in the south east."

referred to as the eastern and to the west of the river as the western dialect.⁷ King (1994: 121) notes, these two dialects differ primarily in syntax and vocabulary.

Genetically, Dhimal belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family. The earliest genetic classification was made in Hodgson (1847). Grierson (1909: 3:1, as discussed in Kansakar 1981: 6), represents the work of August Conrady and Konow, places the Dhimal language within the complex pronominalized eastern sub-group of the Himalayan languages, along with Thami, Limbu and several Rai languages. Shafer (1966) views that Dhimal is not definitely classified in a division; probably it falls under the sections of Bodic possibly of Burmic languages of the Sino-Tibetan family.

The Dhimal language sometimes has been wrongly identified as Toto. Bradley (1997:20) notes that the Dhimals in the south-eastern corner of Nepal speak a language which is also spoken by a group known as Toto in Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal, India, just south of the south-western corner of Bhutan. Regarding the uncertainty of the genetic affiliation of some of the Tibeto-Burman languages, including Dhimal, Bradley (2002: 75) further maintains: "...the classification of some languages is uncertain, in most cases due to very extensive contact: Bai and Tujia with Chinese, the Nungish and Naxi languages with Burmese-Lolo languages, Lepcha with a variety of Tibeto-Burman languages, Dhimal with Kiranti and possibly other languages, Newari due to its position at the crossroads of Nepal, and so on."

Bradley (2002: 84) further notes that the Dhimal and Bodo may be linked to Bodo-Garo or to the Central Tibeto-Burman.

Sun (1993: 147) groups Dhimalish among the possible close relatives of Tani including Lepcha, rGyarong, Dhimal and the Mismi languages.

Eppele et al. (2012: 44) identifies Dhimal as Dhimalis of SAL group of the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Sino-Tibetan language family. Surprisingly, Burling (1983), who grouped some northeastern languages under 'SAL' has not included Dhimal in this cluster.⁸ The genetic classification of Dhimal based upon (Eppele et al. 2012) is presented in Figure 1.1.

⁷The 210-word list of the two dialects is presented in Annex B.

⁸The SAL sub-group and its name was first proposed by Burling (1983) and the grouping was based on the distinctive etymon for 'sun' found in these languages (Bradley 2002: 82). Burling (1983: 2) states, "the languages that I consider in this paper, for instance, have words such as *sal*, *san*, *jan* all meaning 'sun'." Despite the fact the Ethnologue (2012) groups Dhimal under SAL, Robbins (1983) does not

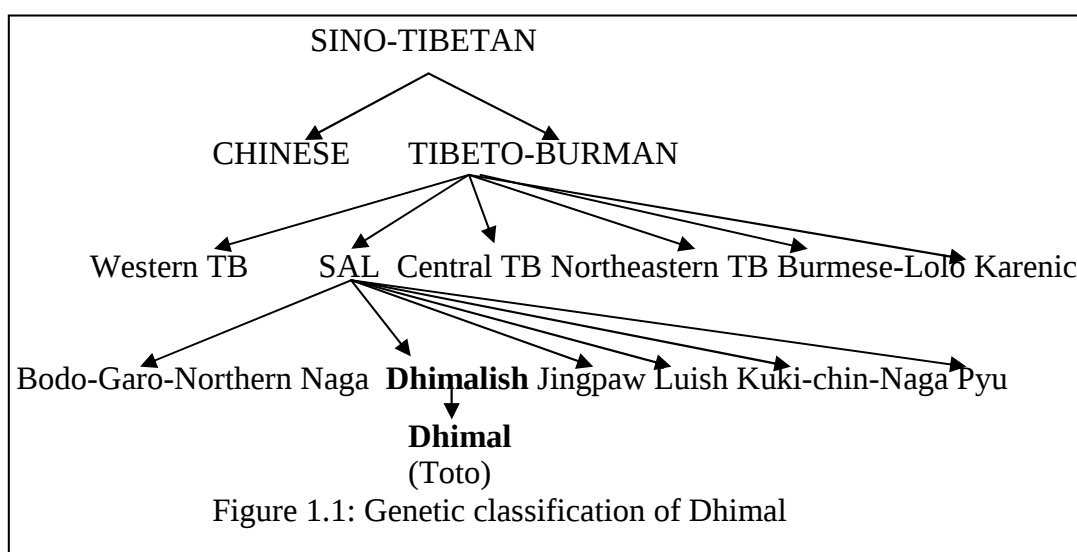


Figure 1.1 shows that Dhimal is a member of Dhimalish under SAL sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman language family.⁹

1.2 Statement of the problems

A few attempts have been made so far to describe the morphosyntactic features of the Dhimal language. However, the previous studies are basically limited to morphological analysis based on elicited data (except King 2009) from the structuralist point of view (See §1.4). No attempt has ever been made to analyze the morphosyntactic features of the language at the propositional and multi-propositional levels from the functional-typological perspective. The main problem of this study is to analyze the morphosyntactic constructions in Dhimal from the perspective of the functional-typological grammar. The specific problems of this study are presented as follows:

- a. What are the basic properties of the Dhimal lexicon?
- b. What are the morphosyntactic features realized at the propositional level in Dhimal?
- c. What are the morphosyntactic features realized at the discourse-pragmatic level in the language?

include Dhimal as part of the SAL group which was proposed as a grouping of Bodo-Garo, Northern Naga (Konyak) and Jinghpaw. However, the Dhimal word for 'sun' is *sane*'.

⁹The 'Sal' languages grouped by Burling (1983) are called by the same author as 'Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw' in Burling (2003a: 174).

- d. What are the typological implications of the morphosyntactic features of the language?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study is to analyze the Dhimal morphosyntax from the perspective of the functional-typological grammar. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- a. To look at the basic properties of the Dhimal lexicon;
- b. To examine the morphosyntactic features of the Dhimal language at the propositional level;
- c. To analyze the morphosyntactic features of the language at the discourse-pragmatic level; and
- d. To present the typological implications of the morphosyntactic features of the Dhimal language.

1.4 Review of the literature

There are only a few works on the Dhimal language. These works have made some attempts to deal with various aspects of the language, viz., lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax. We have presented the review of the existing literature in chronological order as follows.

Hodgson (1847/1880) is the first ever study in Dhimal. A comparative vocabulary of English, Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal languages, divided into different semantic categories is presented in the first part of this study. The second part deals with some of the aspects of the Dhimal grammar. The author also presents the demographic and socio-economic information. The Hodgson's study about Dhimal is, no doubt, of a historical significance. However, it is not a study of Dhimal in the modern sense of linguistic study of the grammar of a language.

Grierson and Konow (1909) is a study of Dhimal spoken by a small tribe in the Darjeeling Terai of the West Bengal state of India. This study is based on Hodgson (1847). In fact, it is a summary of Hodgson's observation on the Dhimal along with the Boḍo spoken in the Indian territories of Bengal and Assam. However, it provides some clue to go into depth in describing Dhimal morphosyntax.

King (1994) is the first synchronic description, based on the western dialect of the language. The author notes that Dhimial is an atonal (however, richly intonational) postpositional language with agglutinative morphology and employs a nominative-accusative topic marking scheme. It lacks pronominal prefixes which are found in the neighbouring East-Himalayan languages. Dhimial has 33 consonants. All the consonants except for *ʔ* and *ŋ* may occur word initially. There are five basic vowels and five diphthongs. Nominals in Dhimial are pronouns, nouns, adjectives and adverbs. Many nouns, adjectives and adverbs are derived from verbs by the way of suffixation. Dhimial distinguishes eleven pronominal categories which include singular, dual and plural numbers for all the three persons and honorific *kya* (1SG) and *nya* (2SG) applied to affinal kin relatives. Verbs are inflected for agent, tense, mood and aspect. This is the first study of Dhimial after Hodgson. It provides a guideline for the further research in Dhimial.

Khatriwada (1999a) is a study of the verbal morphology of the western dialect of the Dhimial language. This study deals mostly with the verbal categories of the language, however, it presents a brief summary of the phonology and a sketch of the nominal morphology. Verb paradigms indexing tense and aspect are presented in the appendix. The main part of this study includes classification of verb stems, verb paradigms on the basis of stem final segments, person and number affixes encoded in the verbal complex and tense, aspect and mood marking suffixes. It further discusses on the copular verbs in the language followed by the discussion on the pronominalization, tense, aspect and mood, negativization, causativization, intransitivization and benefactive constructions in Dhimial.

This study focuses mostly on the verb morphology and is based only on the elicited data from the western dialect, as is King (1994). So, it is incomplete to describe the Dhimial language in its entirety. However, this study has been useful for the further research on Dhimial morphosyntax.

Khatriwada (1999b) classifies Dhimial verbs in terms of stem alternation. However, being mostly based on Khatriwada (1999a), this study has not much contributed to the literature.

Cooper (1999) is a sketchy overview of the Dhimial language and people. To begin with, the author provides background information on the language followed by some

notes on the genetic affiliation and the existing literature on Dhimial. Secondly, the constituent order, case marking and verb paradigms are discussed in this study. Lastly, the author sheds light on the situation of literacy in Dhimial speech community and makes some remarks on the future of the language.

Unlike King (2009), Cooper (1999) states that Dhimial has a fully productive morphological passive marked by the detransitivizing morpheme *-nha*. King (2009) deals with the suffix *-n^ha* as detransitivizer (middle marking) and *-tsa* as a passivizing morpheme. Although Cooper (1999) adds some information on the Dhimial language it is far from enough. It is based mostly on King (1994) and also often on the writer's subjective judgments. Notwithstanding the description is sketchy, it provides some concrete information about the Dhimial people and their language. This study has been of a help to go into depth in analyzing the Dhimial morphosyntax.

King (2001) is a study of the grammatical indexing of the marked relationship between affinal kin in Dhimial. The author maintains that Dhimial has been characterized as a simple pronominalizing language, however, beneath this facade of simplicity lies a more complex agreement structure. This study adds that in addition to the pattern of subject agreement, the participants of the verb may be marked in transitive scenarios with portmanteau suffixes indexing both subject and object. There is also a distinct speech register in which the social relationship between affinal kin groups is marked. This relationship is indexed both lexically, through distinct pronominals, and by the verb agreement morphology. Significantly, the affinal kin-based speech register presented here is a linguistic manifestation of a socially-constrained relationship between the parents of a bride and groom, and the groom and his wife's senior in laws. The grammaticalization of the reciprocal relationship between affinal kin in Dhimial is a particular manifestation of a universal pattern that is elaborated to varying degrees in different languages.

King's study on Dhimial affinal kin register is of great importance; however, this study is based only on the western variety and deals only with the elicited data.

King (2002) explores the biactinal verb agreement in Dhimial. The author analyzes the archaic agreement morphology in the imperious mood in the western dialect and compares it with similar morphemes in related Tibeto-Burman languages. Finally, the diachronic implications of transitive agreement morphology in Dhimial are discussed.

The author maintains that in contrast to the subject agreement seen in the nominative system, the western dialect has two constructions involving a singular subject and a second person object that index a marked transitive relation between the participants. The first indexes a 1SG→2 scenario, while the second indexes 3SG→2 scenario. He notes that no other utterances encoding the transitive relation among other persons have been recorded (i.e, except 3→1 or 2 → 1 configuration). The writer maintains that functionally these two forms serve the same purpose i.e., encoding a marked transitive relation between the subject and the object.

The issues the author raised in this article are of great importance; however, this study is concentrated only on the western dialect. The data he has used from the eastern dialect are based on Hodgson's data which is very unusual to study a living language. Further investigations on the present-day spoken form of the language needs to be carried out to justify these findings.

Khatiwada (2003) provides a sketch on the pronominalization in Dhimial. The author notes that pronominalization in Dhimial appears not much complicated. He further asserts that Dhimial verbs get inflected for person and number of the first person and second person subject only. Pronominal patients are not indexed in the finite verb forms. This study has been helpful for further investigation to get into more concrete findings.

King (2009) is a continuation of the author's earlier studies (King, 1994; 2001 and 2002). However, this study presents a complete grammatical description of the western dialect of the Dhimial and fundamentally reveals the morphological aspects of the language. In this study, the author puts forward the goals and objectives of the study followed by the background information on the Dhimial language and people. He also presents the linguistic and cultural preservation of the Dhimial language. However, the author does not write about the research methodology as well as the theoretical approach he follows to analyze the grammar of the Dhimial language.¹⁰ The phonology of Dhimial, King presents in this study is only the elaboration of King (1994). In this study, the writer deals with the major derivational processes followed by the discussion on the verbal morphology of the Dhimial language. According to the author, there are two kinds of verb stems that affect the regular morphological process

¹⁰ See, Willis (2010).

of final consonant deletion. The first type involves the closed stems with a final glottal stop /ʔ/ and the second type involves the verbs ending with a long vowel. Dhimal, according to the author, distinguishes two grammatical tenses: past and future. The author discusses irrealis and imperious moods within the tenses and aspects. Dhimal distinguishes six morphologically marked aspects.

The deictic motion morphemes described in this study are distal, intensive, indeterminative motion, relinquitive, venitive and completive. King notes that Dhimal verbs have a number of morphological and periphrastic operations to increase or decrease the number of participants (valency) of the verb. According to him, valence decreasing operations include middle marking (*-nha*) and passive (*-ca*). The valence increasing operations include the causative (*-pa*), the indirect causative (*-nha-pa*) and periphrastic causative with the loan verb *lagaili* 'to employ'. The author further discusses the optative, adhortative and admonitive moods.

The author states that Dhimal makes use of non-finite clauses to encode temporal, logical and manner relations between propositions. The non-finite clauses tend to precede the main clause and are unmarked for person, tense or aspect. The author discusses the sequential morpheme *-teŋ* which also functions as a manner adverbial. The sequential clause may have past or future reading. The author discusses the co-temporal clause marked by the morpheme *-lau* and its allomorphs *-la/-labealu/-laubela/*. The concessive clause is indicated by the morpheme *-lau ~-la*. The conditional clause encoded by the morpheme *-nu* makes no distinction between generic, hypothetical or counterfactual conditionals. The author further notes that the speakers of Dhimal may use a clause marked with *-nu* to introduce a referent or topic into the discourse, which can be commented on its subsequent propositions. Regarding the negative conditional the author notes that the morpheme *-sa* is employed in negative conditional clauses to indicate either a temporal (until) or logical (unless) goal. The morpheme *-siŋ* encodes the purpose clause. A negative purposive is formed with the negative prefix *ma-* and the suffix *-siŋ*.

Further, the epistemic, mirative and attitudinal morphemes are discussed. The deductive morpheme *-wa* signals a minimal degree of commitment to the truth of a proposition. The epistemic particle *be* encodes the speaker's ignorance, doubt or uncertainty regarding the proposition. The author's further discussion is that of the apparentive morpheme *-sa* which is employed when the speaker suddenly becomes

aware of some proposition and is surprised or is in disbelief. The exclamative particle *ru* encodes the speaker's emotional state or attitude regarding the proposition.

The different morphemes used for the pragmatic functions of structuring information in discourse are discussed further. It includes the topic marker *te*, the assertive focus marker *doŋ*, the argument or the sentence focus marker *aŋ*, the presuppositional copula *ko*, the referential marker *u*, the assertive marker *re* and the contrastive marker *rə*. The author maintains that these particles have to do with the mental representation of referents or propositions in the speaker's or addressee's mind. The assertive focus marker *doŋ* is used in pragmatically structured assertions to establish a marked focus relation between a referent of a proposition itself. The sentence focus marker *aŋ* acts as an identificational or argument focus marker and also as a presentational or sentence-focus marker. The copula *ko* occurs with a finite verb and signals that the proposition expressed in the clause is in the presupposition. The referential particle *u* occurs in two distinct morphosyntactic environments. The assertive marker *re* indicates an assertion by the speaker in contrast to the presupposition of its negative proposition. The author further discusses the contrastive particle *rə* maintaining that it may be used to indicate the speaker's attitude toward a proposition that encodes counter-expectancy or belief. This may also be used to contrast or counter a presupposition held by the hearer.

The author also discusses the grammar of the relative clauses, reported speech and complementation. He identifies three types of relative clause constructions in Dhimal. Regarding the reported speech and complementation the author's observation is that a variety of non-finite or finite constructions with a verb of saying or doing are employed to encode the reported speech. Regarding the interrogatives in Dhimal, the author maintains that interrogatives may be encoded with rising intonation, the use of question words, and the interrogative particle or with conjoined alternate clauses. An adhortative tag, as the author notes, consists of an imperative followed by the particle *aŋ* or its allomorph *aũ*. A tag questions in Dhimal consists of a declarative utterance followed by the particle *mə*. At last, King discusses the particle *ki* as an Indo-Aryan loan, which occurs both clause-initially and clause-internally, and performs different functions.

In this study, what King (2009) excels is that he has exhaustively determined most of the morphemes in the Dhimal language, especially in the western dialect. However,

what he lacks is that he does not try to fully expound the array of the functions of those morphemes, basically at the multi-propositional level at which grammar plays a great role.

Khatiwada (2011) discusses the tense system in Dhimal. Unlike King (2009), the author, as in (Khatiwada, 1999a), maintains that Dhimal exhibits three-way contrast of tense, viz, the past, present and future and comments that unlike many other Tibeto-Burman languages; morphological future tense in Dhimal is distinctly marked. The morpheme *-khe* is labeled as present tense marker in this paper to which King (2009) labels as the imperfective aspect marker. This study is based upon (Khatiwada, 1999a), thus, it does not contribute substantively to the literature.

Khatiwada (2012a) discusses the aspects in Dhimal. The author maintains that the perfective aspect does not have any aspectual suffix, and indicates the completion of an action in the past without further temporal sub-division. He divides imperfective aspect into real/unreal-hypothetical situation and discusses different aspects like habitual and progressive in reference to the present and the past tenses. The unreal aspect in Dhimal is marked by the suffix *-dha*, attached to the verb root.

Although this study is insufficient to deal with different facets of the Dhimal aspects, it has been helpful for the further research in Dhimal aspectual system.

Khatiwada (2012b) is a study of moods and modality in Dhimal. It discusses declarative, interrogative and optative moods as morphologically marked and further sub-divides optative mood into imperative, optative and hortative. This study also discusses periphrastic ways to express the modality in Dhimal. It concludes that different modal verbs modify the assertion of the main verb. Despite the fact that this study provides sketchy information and is based mostly on Khatiwada (1999a), it has been helpful for further investigation of the Dhimal moods and modality.

Khatiwada (2013) analyzes the case marking in Dhimal. The main 'adaptive-imperative' of case marking in Dhimal is to code the pragmatically-oriented nominative-accusative case-marking scheme. The cases nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, genitive, locative, allative and comitative are marked to code syntactic relations in the clause. This study attempts to study the case marking system in Dhimal, however, it does not observe the phenomenon from the functional-typological perspective.

Khathiwada (2014/15) sheds light on the development of the grammatical morphemes from some of the lexical verbs in Dhimal. This study shows that Dhimal exhibits some well-defined grammaticalization process in its grammatical system. Different lexical/independent morphemes are found to be developed to grammatical morphemes retaining the original status intact for some functions and grammaticalized for some other functions. In contrast, some lexical items have been developed to grammatical morphemes losing their earlier independent status. This study is sketchy; however, it has been helpful for the present study of the Dhimal morphosyntax.

To sum up, the previous works reviewed so far have helped, to some extent, to understand the fundamental features of the Dhimal language. However, it is explicit that no work has consistently analyzed the Dhimal morphosyntax from the functional-typological perspective. The previous works on Dhimal are helpful to attain the objectives of the present study. Furthermore, this attempt for functional-typological analysis of the Dhimal morphosyntax is characterized by the functional approach. None of the reviewed studies provide with a comprehensive functional-typological study of the Dhimal language. A need for a comprehensive study of this language, therefore, was strongly felt. The present study will certainly bridge the gap.

1.5 Research methodology

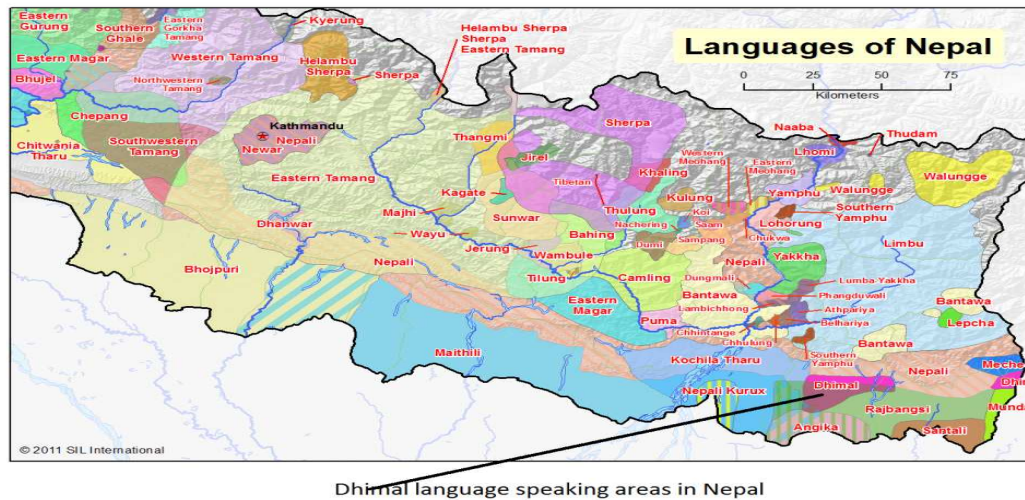
This study aims at explaining the morphosyntax of the Dhimal language from the functional-typological perspective. Effort has been made to provide the examples drawn from naturally occurring texts. All the examples are intelinearized with appropriate free translations in English. The methodology adopted to accomplish this study is presented in five separate subtitles: field study area, database, tools, theoretical framework and presentation and analysis.

a. Field study area

Dhimal language is spoken in different villages in the far eastern Tarai region of Nepal, specifically, Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari districts. Map 1.1 shows the Dhimal speaking area in Nepal.¹¹

¹¹The SIL International is duly acknowledged for the map presented here.

Map 1.1 Dhimal language speaking area in Nepal



As stated earlier, some speakers of Dhimal are also found in some places of the West-Bengal state of India. However, the field study area for this study is confined to the Dhimal language spoken in Nepal.

b. Database

Different methods have been employed to prepare the primary database for this study. It includes recordings of the naturally occurring texts of different genres (i.e., conversations, narratives, procedurals, expository and descriptive discourses), clause level elicitation and participant observation. We have also utilized the secondary (published) sources reviewed in §1.4. The original sources comprise mostly the text corpus gathered through the recordings of naturally occurring texts in Dhimel extracted from the communicative context. We have analyzed how the speakers deploy different grammatical constructions in the various communicative contexts. This, as Givón (2010: 49) suggests, "is the penultimate (leaving the ultimate to controlled experiment methods to the days to come) test for understanding grammar, the one most available to linguists." The primary data (i.e., text corpus) for this study was collected from the native speakers of the Dhimel language of Jhapa and Morang district of Nepal.¹² Specifically, the texts for western variety of Dhimel were recorded and analyzed for this study from different areas of Damak municipality of Jhapa. Similarly, some texts were recorded from Umlabari VDC and Tinghare village of the

¹²The detail of the Dhimel people who helped the researcher in different ways before, during and after the fieldwork is given in annex D.

Belbari VDC of Morang. Similarly, the texts were recorded for the eastern variety of Dhimal, from the speakers of Bahundangi, Budhabare and Dhajjan VDCs and Dhulabari and Aayabari areas of Mechinagar municipality. The ideal speakers of the language were identified through interview, participant observation and sample testing method and were selected as per the necessity of this study. For necessary reasons of presentation, many of the illustrative examples cited throughout the study are based on clause-level elicitation. Such examples were, however, constructed by analogy with the utterances found in the natural texts. Each example is given a reference after the free translation which refers to the text it is taken from. The examples which have no references are to be understood as elicited ones.

c. Tools

Different tools have been utilized while preparing the database for this study. Specifically, for the collection of the natural texts, a digital audio recorder (Sony IC Recorder, ICD-Px820) was used. The recorded texts were first transcribed with the help of a free digital audio editor *Audacity2.0.2*.¹³ Further, the transcribed texts were interlinearized through the help of *The Field Linguist's Toolbox*, a computer programme designed to help organize and analyze the language data.¹⁴ The data recorded and elicited were cross-checked with other native speakers of Dhimal.

d. Theoretical framework

As mentioned in § 1.1, as a model or framework of morphosyntactic analysis of the language, the functional-typological approach to grammar developed mainly by Givón (2001a, b) has been followed; however, insights from other related approaches are also utilized.¹⁵

e. Presentation and analysis

In this study, the examples are presented from the naturally occurring text as far as possible. First, the examples are transcribed in IPA symbols. Secondly, each word is rendered into morphemes. Thirdly, each morpheme is provided with the interlinearized glosses by using conveniently accessible list of abbreviations and

¹³ <http://audacity.sourceforge.net>

¹⁴ <http://www.sil.org/computing/toolbox>

¹⁵ The theoretical approach adopted for this is presented in Chapter 2.

symbols.¹⁶ Fourthly, each example is provided with the free translation in English. The four lines are used in the examples because there are morpho-phonemic changes that often obscure the morpheme boundaries. The strategy of cross-referencing has been exploited as per the necessity. While analyzing the data the basic principle of FTG, i.e. form-function approach is taken into consideration.

1.6 Significance of the study

This study aims at providing the morphosyntactic analysis and description of the Dhimal language. The morphosyntactic properties of the language explored in this study are of great significance from different points of view:

- a. It may be useful for Dhimal speakers who wish to think about their language more consciously and systematically.
- b. It may be useful for the Dhimal people of the new generation, who have been unable to acquire their mother tongue due to different reasons, however, want to learn their language in the later stages of their lives.
- c. The findings of this study may be useful to prepare educational materials for the native speakers of Dhimal as well as to prepare adult literacy materials in the Dhimal language.
- d. It may be useful for the linguists interested in further studies in the Dhimal language in particular and the other languages of the Tibeto-Burman branch of Sino-Tibetan language family in general. Furthermore, the data presented in this study may be useful for typological studies of the related languages.
- e. This study may also be used as a model for describing previously un/under-described languages in the light of the functional-typological approach to grammar.
- f. The findings of this study can be used for evaluating the empirical adequacy of the assumptions made in functional approach to language typology.

1.7 Limitations of the study

This study presents the morphosyntactic analysis of Dhimal language from the functional-typological perspective. However, it has some limitations. They are as follows:

¹⁶Leipzig glossing rules: conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses have been used for the purpose (www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php).

- a. It tries to accommodate the grammatical differences between the two dialects spoken in Nepal. However, this study does not include the variety of Dhimal spoken in India.
- b. Since this study focuses on exploring the morphosyntax of the Dhimal language, the phonological and sociolinguistic aspects of the language are not dealt with in this study.
- c. The functional-typological approach to grammar relies more on the language diachrony in explaining the morphosyntactic features of the language. However, this study is confined within our corpus, and focuses basically on the synchronic description of the language.

1.8 Organization of the study

This study is organized into 15 chapters. Chapter 1 deals with the background of study, a brief introduction of the Dhimal language and people, statement of the problems, objectives of the study, review of related literature, significance of the study, research methodology, limitations and organization of the study. In chapter 2, we discuss the theoretical framework adopted to analyze the Dhimal morphosyntax. Chapter 3 deals with the lexicon of the language. Chapter 4 is devoted to discuss the simple verbal clauses and argument structure in Dhimal. In chapter 5, we deal with the grammatical relations and case marking system. Chapter 6 examines the constituent order in Dhimal. Tense, aspect and modality is dealt with in Chapter 7. In Chapter 8, we analyze the referential coherence in Dhimal. The noun phrase structure in Dhimal is dealt with in Chapter 9. In Chapter 10, we discuss the verbal complements, clause union and detransitive voices. Chapter 11 deals with the relative clauses. Chapter 12 discusses the contrastive focus constructions and marked topic constructions in Dhimal. In Chapter 13, we deal with the non-declarative speech acts in Dhimal. Chapter 14 analyzes the inter-clausal coherence in Dhimal. In Chapter 15, we present the summary of the findings followed by the typological implications of the study. The annexes comprise a sample of analyzed texts, basic vocabulary in two dialects of Dhimal, index of grammatical morphemes and the details of the language consultants.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Outline

This study is guided by the functional-typological grammar (henceforth, FTG), a framework, mainly developed by T. Givón (2001a, b).¹ This framework is built on two basic assumptions about the nature of language and the nature of grammar. The first assumption, which is related to the nature of language, is that language is primarily a function. The second assumption relates that grammar, a coding system, is typological of which basis is functional. In short, this framework assumes that language is primarily functional and grammar is typological. Thus, this framework is known as functional-typological grammar.² In this chapter, we deal with the basic assumptions, which are the major components of the framework, including the strengths of the framework to deal with the morphosyntax of the Dhimal language. This chapter consists of five sections. In section 2.1, we briefly discuss the nature of language from the functional perspective. Section 2.2 deals with the nature of grammar within this framework. In section 2.3, we argue for the strengths of the framework for a fuller and comprehensive analysis and description of the morphosyntax of the Dhimal language. Section 2.4 briefly deals with the perspective on grammatical description in this framework. Section 2.5 presents the summary of the chapter.

2.1 Functional approach to language

As mentioned earlier, the functional-typological approach to grammar is characterized by functional approach to language. Thus, the governing principle of functionalism is the correlation or isomorphism between form and function. From the functional perspective, language is a function (i.e., communicative function); and the function is correlated with the forms of the language. This framework tries to investigate how language is used: what are the purposes that languages serve for human beings and how human beings are able to achieve these goals through speaking, listening, reading and writing. Furthermore, the nature of language is explained in functional terms. The

¹However, we have also been benefitted by the insights of other functional models of grammar.

²The detailed description of these two assumptions are available in Givón (2001a, b; 2007; 2009a and 2010)

functional explanation implies that if language itself is formed by use, how and in what ways the forms of language may be determined by function it is developed to perform. This framework believes, not in competence, but in performance. According to this framework, grammar emerges and changes and the forms adjust to novel functions. The meanings of the forms shaped by the functions are extended only for performance. From the functional point of view, there are two primary functions of human language:

- a. Representation of knowledge
- b. Communication of knowledge

According to this approach, language is a system in which the primary functions of representation and communication of knowledge are realized through the two sub-systems of language: cognitive representation system and communicative coding system.

The human cognitive representation system, according to Givón (2001a: 42), consists of three concentrically-linked components: the conceptual lexicon, propositional information and multi-propositional discourse. Figure 2.1 presents the components of human cognitive representation system.

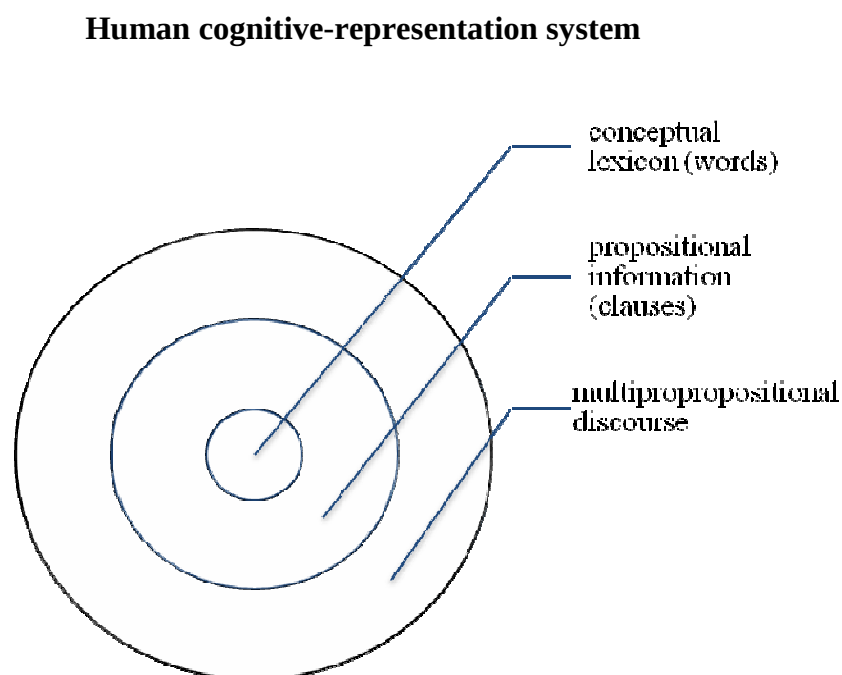


Figure 2.1: Human cognitive representation system (Givón 2001a: 42).

Figure 2.1 presents the combinatorial relations of lexical concepts, propositional information and multi-propositional discourse. The components of the cognitive representation system are briefly discussed as follows:

2.1.1 Conceptual lexicon

Givón (2001a: 7) explains that the human conceptual lexicon is a storehouse of "relatively time-stable, socially shared, and well-coded concepts which constitute (together) a cognitive map of our experiential universe." It includes: a. the external physical universe; b. the social-cultural universe and, c. the internal-mental universe.

Following Givón (2001a: 8), by time stability we mean that the meaning of a lexeme, say of the word 'cow' today will remain the same tomorrow. Similarly, socially-shared means that when grounding into communication the speaker assumes that a word has roughly the same meaning for each member of a particular speech community.³ That is, the bulk of background, presupposed knowledge (i.e., information) is shared by all members of the social unit. This includes "knowledge of members' character, social position, skills, and aptitudes" (Givón 1979: 289). The conceptual lexicon is well-coded in each chunk of lexically stored knowledge. It is strongly associated with its own "perceptual code-level". The conceptual lexicon is most likely organized as a "network of nodes or connections".⁴ A word node automatically activates a prototypical bunch of other closely related word nodes. Cognitive psychologists have long recognized the conceptual lexicon under the label of permanent semantic memory (Atkinson and Shiffrin 1968: 117).

2.1.2 Propositional information

The second component of human cognitive representation system is the level of propositional information. In this the clauses (i.e., simple sentences) combine concepts (i.e., words) into propositional information about states or events, relations

³Givón (1979: 287) relates the social structure and the language by stating that it is senseless to talk about a communicative system without reference to the social structure within which it arose and whose specific functions it is designed to perform.

⁴Givón (1995b: 63) postulates that even a text is represented as a network of connected nodes (mental text structure) that displays hierarchy and sequentiality features. As hierarchical organization nodes (chunks) are connected both upward and downward to other hierarchical adjacent nodes, i.e., clauses to their governing chains, chains to their governing paragraph etc. Similarly, Episodic text representation displays at least some sequential chaining at each hierarchic level, so that nodes are connected to both preceding and following sequentially-adjacent nodes –a clause to a preceding and following clause, a chain to a preceding and following chain, etc.

and qualities in which entities play a part. Such relations, qualities, states or events may relate either "to the external physical world, to the mental-internal world, to the culturally-mediated world or various combinations thereof" (Givón 1995a: 397; 2001a: 8). The capacity to process and store propositional information as episodic-declarative memory has been recognized by cognitive psychologists (Atkinson and Shiffrin 1968; Squire 1987 as cited in Givón 2001: 8).

2.1.3 Multi-propositional discourse

The third component of human cognitive representation system is the level of multi-propositional discourse. Givón (2007: 31) notes that early childhood and primate communication are almost absolutely mono-propositional.⁵ In contrast, well-developed human communication is, at the use-frequency level, overwhelmingly multi-propositional. This is mirrored in the fact that most of the grammatical system is dedicated to code multi-propositional (cross-clausal) coherence.⁶ Grammar-coded discourse coherence is primarily involved with mental models of the interlocutors' current epistemic and deontic states. Furthermore, individual states or events may be combined into coherent discourse. Its coherence exceeds the limits of its component clauses. Multi-propositional discourse is also processed and stored in episodic-declarative memory.

The immediate speech situation is mentally represented in the working memory/attention system. Such representation shifts from one moment to the next, and is thus temporally unstable. In contrast, displaced referents are more likely to be represented in episodic memory. Compared to working memory, "episodic representation is a much more stable mental representation. And this temporal stability may have contributed toward the objectivization of verbally-coded referents, including mental predicates" (Givón 2007: 30). The concentrically-linked components of human cognitive representation system shown in Figure 2.1 interact to form the grammar of a language.

⁵Further, Givón (2002b: 5-6) elaborates that individual propositions may be combined together into coherent discourse. Human discourse is predominantly multi-propositional, in that its coherence transcends the bounds of isolated propositions. The lowest multi-propositional unit of coherence discourse is coded grammatically as a clause-chain.

⁶Coherence may be taken to mean continuity, connectivity or grounding (Givón 2005: 126).

The interaction between concepts (words), propositions and discourse

As stated earlier, the lexical concepts, propositional information and multi-propositional discourse exhibit combinatorial relationships among them. The words communicate only conceptual meaning outside any propositional context. However, the same words take part in the coding of propositional information when combined into clauses. In multi-propositional discourse, accordingly, the same propositions are united to produce discourse coherence.⁷ In other words, one can understand the meaning of words independent of the proposition in which they are embedded; but one cannot understand a proposition without understanding the meaning of the words that make it up. So, the relation between lexical meaning and propositional information is one way conditional.

Thus, to display the partial dissociation between propositional information and discourse coherence we may string perfectly informative but incoherently combined propositions together. Furthermore, it is assumed that the relation between propositional information and discourse coherence, as of the conceptual lexicon and propositional information, also is one way conditional. That is, one can understand the meaning of clauses independent of the discourse in which they are embedded; but one cannot understand the discourse without understanding the propositions that make it up. The entire combinatorial system of language as a tool of communication is organized in three hierarchic levels, as in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Language as a hierarchic combinatorial system

a.	words	coding concepts
b.	clauses	coding events or states (where lexical words are combined into propositions)
c.	multi-clausal discourse	where clauses are combined into larger chunks of coherent communication as clause chains, paragraphs, episodes or whole texts.

The symbolic communicative codes (Givón 2002b: 8) of a language may be distinctly divided into the following two types:

⁷Givón (2005: 180) maintains that "the bulk of grammatical devices used to signal discourse coherence pertain either to grounding nominal referents into their proper clauses or to grounding clauses into their proper chain or, in a much more limited way, to grounding chains into their proper paragraphs."

a. Peripheral sensory-motor code

The peripheral sensory-motor codes of human language are the domain of phonetics, phonology and neurology.⁸ This coding system of human language serves "primarily to map lexical-conceptual meaning onto phonological words" (Givón 2002b: 8). It involves both a perceptual decoder (i.e., speech perception) and articulatory encoder (i.e., speech production) operations and is adjusted to pertinent perceptual and motor modalities.

b. Grammatical code

Givón (2007: 4) maintains that "grammar is probably the latest evolutionary addition to the mechanisms that drive human communication."⁹ Although the evolutionary argument regarding grammar remains basically speculative, it is supported by a body of supportive evidence. Ontogenetically, both through hearing and singing children acquire the lexicon and the pre-grammatical pidgin much earlier than grammar. Similarly, natural second language acquisition follows the same route. Furthermore, many non-human species like birds, dogs, horses and primates are easily taught auditory or visual lexical code labels for nouns, verbs and adjectives. This supports the proposition that the neuro-cognitive structures which underlie semantic memory are old pre-human, pre-linguistic structures (Givón 2002a: 147). In contrast, "the communicative natural use of grammar (i.e., morphology and syntax) in non-human species has never been attested, nor has any success in teaching grammar to non-human species been reported. Therefore, grammar is uniquely a human capacity" (Givón 2007: 5).

In addition, the grammar is a much more abstract and complex code than the sensory-motor codes of the lexicon. Most tangibly, the primary grammatical signal involves four major coding devices: morphology, intonation, rhythmicity and sequential order of

⁸Phonetics and phonology are considered as peripheral in this approach since phonetics is simply the study of sounds and the phonological elements have the capacity of contrasting the elements but do not code conceptual/semantic content. Regarding the reason of considering phonology as peripheral T. Givón opines that this approach concentrates on grammar and further adds that phonology is also functionally motivated (speech perception, speech articulation, lexical memory), but it is not central to understanding grammar (email communication, June 2, 2015).

⁹"Two distinct cycles of symbolization -- or code development -- must have taken place in the evolution of human language. The first involves the rise of a well-coded lexicon and its coding instrument, phonology. The second involves the rise of grammar and its coding instrument, morphosyntactic structure (Givón 2002b: 5)."

words or morphemes. Among these, some coding devices like morphology and intonation (stress) are more concrete. They involve the very same physical signal (sounds, gestures and letters) that code lexical meaning. The most concrete element of the grammatical code, grammatical morphology, is a diachronic derivative of lexical words. But these concrete devices are integrated into a complex whole with the more abstract elements of the codes like rhythemics and sequential order. These more abstract elements of the grammatical code are the second order constructs, inferred from more concrete signals. From the primary grammatical coding devices more abstract level of grammatical organization like hierarchic constituency organization, grammatical category labels, scope and relevance relations and government and control relations may be extracted. The primary grammar-coding devices in (2) are in turn used to signal further more abstract levels of grammatical organization. The central question in the study of language processing is how the abstract components of grammar are extracted from the more concrete signals of grammar. Coding instruments of the communicative coding system, according to Givón (2001: 11-13), are presented in (1) through (3):

(1)	Peripheral sensory-motor codes	
	a.	Phonetics
	b.	Phonology and neurology

(2)	Grammatical codes	
		Primary grammatical codes
	a.	Morphology
	b.	Intonation i. Clause level melodic contours ii. Word level stress or tone
	c.	Rhythemics i. Pace or length ii. Pauses
	d.	Order of words or morphemes

(3)	More abstract levels of grammatical organization	
	a.	Hierarchic constituency organization i. Morphemes into words ii. Words into phrases iii. Phrases into clauses
	b.	The grammatical category-levels i. Noun, verb, adjective ii. Noun phrase, verb phrase
	c.	Scope and relevance relations i. Operator-operand relations ii. Noun modifier relations iii. Subject and object relations
	d.	Government and control relations i. Agreement ii. Coreference iii. Modality iv. Finiteness

It may be clearly observed from (1) to (3) that there are three communicative coding instruments in human language. The peripheral sensory-motor codes (1a-b) apply at the conceptual lexicon where the meaningful words are coded with sounds. Primary grammatical codes (2a-d) are used to convey propositional information where clauses are coded with grammar. The propositions (i.e., clauses) express information. Discourse-pragmatic coding entities (3a-d) apply in multi-propositional discourse component of human cognitive representative system where combined clauses are coded with grammar.¹⁰ Such clauses provide multi-propositional information. In this framework, the syntactic constructions (i.e., clause types) are taken as the focal point of grammatical description and various types of clauses or constructions are taken as grammatical coding instruments that signal discourse pragmatic function.¹¹ The

¹⁰Givón (1979: 303) postulates , "at an evolutionary level where discourse is already multipropositional and where coherence and topic have emerged, the clausal order of agent-patient-verb is, at least in terms of discourse frequency, also most likely to be topic-patient-verb."

¹¹Givón (1979: 297) notes that the pragmatic mode of discourse is used either in the society of intimates, where all generic information is shared, or in communication about the immediate context, where all specific information is shared. These are the two contexts where this mode of

primary grammar-coding devices in (3a-d) are in turn used to signal more abstract levels of grammatical organization, as shown in (3) above.

Function of grammar

Grammar codes both propositional semantics and discourse coherence (pragmatics) simultaneously.¹² Although the grammar is located wholly in the clause, its functional scope is not primarily about the propositional information couched in the clause in which it resides. Rather, grammar is predominantly about the coherence relations between propositional information (clause) and its wider discourse context.¹³ The most common discourse-pragmatic domains coded by grammar are listed in (4-6) (Givón 2007: 6-7).

(4)	Discourse-pragmatic functions of major grammatical systems		
		Structures	Functions
		NP grammar	Referential coherence
	a.	Grammatical relations	referential coherence
	b.	Definiteness, reference	referential coherence
	c.	Anaphora, pronouns	referential coherence
	d.	Deictic	referential coherence
	e.	Pragmatic voice	referential coherence
	f.	Topicalization	referential coherence
	g.	Relativization	referential coherence, event grounding
	h.	Focus and contrast	referential coherence, grounding

communication is used in extant human language, such as in pidgins, child language, and informal-unplanned register of adults.

¹²Gernsbacher, Morton Ann and T. Givón (1995: vii) state "coherence is a mental phenomenon rather than an inherent property of a written or spoken text. The fact that readers or listeners can indeed judge with high agreement that one text is more coherent than another. But neither the words on the page nor the words in the speech stream of themselves confer coherence."

¹³Givón (1995b: 61) defines coherence as continuity by stating "coherence is the continuity or recurrence of some element (s) across a span (or spans) of text." He further notes that of the many elements that can recur across text, the six are more visible, concrete and the easiest to track and measure. They are: a. referents b. temporality c. aspectuality d. modality/mood e. location and f. action/script.

(5)		Structures	Functions
		VP grammar	Event coherence
	a.	Tense	temporal grounding of event
	b.	Aspect	aspectual grounding of event
	c.	Modality	epistemic-deontic grounding of event
	d.	Speech act	epistemic-deontic grounding of event to speaker/hearer

(6)		Structures	Functions
		Cross-clausal grammar	Event-chain coherence
	a.	Inter-clausal connective	event grounding, chain grounding
	b.	Chain-initial adverbials	chain grounding
	c.	Presentative constructions	referential grounding, chain grounding

As can be seen in (4-6), some grammatical systems can function in more than one discourse-pragmatic domain. Thus, for example, relativization (5g) and contrastive focus (5h) are part of the grammar of both referential coherence and event coherence/grounding. Tense (6a), aspect (6b) and modality (6c) are used to signal both temporal-aspectual-modal grounding and event coherence. And the grammar of inter-clausal connectives (7a) integrates devices that signal both referential coherence and event-coherence, albeit often at higher hierarchic levels.

The distinctness of propositional semantics from discourse pragmatics does not mean the lack of overlap or interaction between the two. Thus, for example, morphological case marking codes both the discourse pragmatic functions of subject (nominative) and direct object (accusative), and the propositional semantic functions of agent, patient, dative, locative, instrumental or associative cases. Similarly, tense, aspect, modality (henceforth, TAM) and negation display both propositional semantic and discourse pragmatic functions. While the morphology of TAM system is part of clausal structure, its functional scope is not the propositional semantics of the atomic event or state, but rather the pragmatics, or connectivity, of the clause in relation to its

discourse context (Givón 2001a: 285).¹⁴ It is easy to see that tense is fundamentally a pragmatic rather than propositional semantic phenomenon, anchoring the proposition to a temporal point outside itself. And, the grammar of detransitive clauses ranges over both propositional semantic and discourse-pragmatic functions like agent suppression in passive, reflexive and detransitive constructions. According to Givón (2010: 42), "the grammar of non-declarative (manipulative) speech acts are confined to here-and-now, you-and-I, the immediate speech situation which is more related to discourse-pragmatic context."

2.2 Functional-typological approach to grammar

According to this approach, the typological approach to grammatical diversity is historically associated with the functionalist perspective on grammar. It assumes a strong association between functional, typological and diachronic aspects of grammar. There exists a cross-language grammatical diversity which may be insightfully explained from the functional perspective. Different types of structures found in different languages are grouped as members of more general meta-types of structures on the basis of functions. In grammatical typology, the main structural means by which different languages code the same functional domain are enumerated. In this framework, the study of grammatical typology is studied as the diachronic process of grammaticalization, not as purely synchronic enterprise.¹⁵ The synchronic variants in structures of the languages are viewed as the results of diachrony. The functional-typological approach to grammar recognizes that language universals need not be absolute, rather they may be a matter of degree or tendency. This is due to the great complexity of biologically based (cognitive, communicative, grammatical) sub-systems. In such sub-systems, many factors interact in complex and often competing ways. In grammar, form-function isomorphism competes with economic motivation. The universals of grammar are not always overtly observed features of language but are the factors or subsystems which underlie such overt features. The typological approach to grammar assumes that languages can code the same functional domain by

¹⁴Givón (1995a: 305) notes, "tracking the communicative use of grammar via the distribution of grammar in text has been the central tool in the methodological arsenal of the functional grammarian."

¹⁵Givón (2009: 81) notes "a synchronic typology, of whatever syntactic domain, can only make sense from a diachronic perspective, that is, as a typology of the diachronic pathways that gave rise to the extant synchronic types."

more than one structural means.¹⁶ However, the diversity of structural types that may code the same domain is surprisingly constrained among 5-7 major types. The diversity is controlled by different adaptive factors like cultural, communicative, developmental, neurological or biological. Languages may differ typologically in two ways: a. languages may code the same functional domain by different structural means, and b. languages may differ in the way they organize grammar-coded functional domains.

Functionally, the grammar, like all other biologically based systems, is adaptively motivated. Thus, in principal, grammar is non-arbitrary. The functional approach has some basic assumptions about iconicity and markedness. They are as follows:

- a. Iconicity, the naturalness in grammar is not absolute. It is a matter of degree.
- b. The most iconic regularities are the rules of proto-grammar.
- c. Markedness is based on theme-and-variation approach to syntax. Unlike in structuralism, where the markedness is based upon complexity (i.e., marked case is more complex and the unmarked case is less complex), the markedness is based on both complexity and frequency distribution (i.e., marked category is less frequent in the text and unmarked one is more frequent). Accordingly, the categories that are structurally more marked tend to also be substantively more marked (Givón 2001a).
- d. Markedness is also a matter of communicative contexts.

2.3 Strengths of the functional-typological approach

The main goal of the FTG, a theoretical approach of linguistic description and analysis is to study the diversity of the structural means of affecting the same communicative functions from the formal and functional perspectives. The major characteristics of this approach to syntax owe, as Givón (2001a: 18) acknowledges, a

¹⁶Givón (2002a: 205) postulates the following three foundational theses of language typology:

- a. "A cross-linguistic grammatical typology is utterly non-sensical unless it involves a structure-independent definition of the functional domain to be 'typed'."
- b. "The inventory of extant synchronic types are but the inventory of available grammaticalization pathways that gave them rise."
- c. "Consequently, the constraints on syntactic universals are in essence constraints on the developemental process of grammaticalization, rather than on the resulting syntactic structures."

considerable debt to both Zellig Harris and Noam Chomsky. In this framework, the notion of syntactic constructions (i.e., clause types) occupies center stage in grammatical description. The functional typologists owe Harris (1956) for his observation that different clause types share, more or less the same propositional semantic theme. Harris, as a structuralist, couched this observation in terms of co-occurrence relation. Chomsky (1965) re-named the propositional-semantic theme as the 'syntactic' deep structure of clauses, said to support (be isomorphic to) their logical structure (propositional information). In contrast, FTG views that the various clause types, i.e., structural variants, found in the grammar (surface structures for Chomsky, 1965) of a language, are nothing but differential grammatical packaging of propositional semantic contents in different discourse pragmatic functional domains. Constructions or clause types are, thus, the grammatical coding instruments that signal discourse-pragmatic functions.

The distinctive cognitive position of one clause type, the main, declarative, affirmative, active clause, is what made it possible for Chomsky (1965) to identify this clause type as the syntactic deep structure of all other clause types. For FTG, this so-called neutral or basic clause is just one clause type, used in a particular functional domain. It is to be noted that functional-typologists' notion of syntactic construction, or clause type, is rather rich. It does not only involve constituency and hierarchy (3a), category labels (3b), rhythmic (2c) and sequential order (2d), but also the grammatical morphology (2a) and intonation pattern (2b) associated with the construction. It also involves the more abstract behavioral constraints on scope and relevance (3c) and government and control (3d) typical of the construction. Some of the fundamental properties of FTG are summarized in the points as follows:

- a. FTG redefines syntax in terms of propositional information and discourse-pragmatic function, and thus about the relation between the function of grammatical devices and their formal properties.
- b. Since FTG believes in evolution it obviously also believes in universals, both functional and structural. The functional universals guide diachrony, then, diachrony produces structural universals as well as typological diversity.

- c. FTG proposes the prototype clustering approach to categories. A member of natural categories needs to be determined by a cluster of characteristic features.
- d. FTG incorporates many substantive concepts discussed in the typological literature such as split intransitivity, anti-passive constructions, internally-headed relative clauses, switch reference and head-marking in the description of a grammatical phenomenon.
- e. FTG is concerned with the complex relationships between form and function, which gives importance to the subtle details of distribution which further enriches the grammatical description.
- f. FTG uses the processes of syntactic argumentation used in generative grammar in analyzing the syntax of a particular language.
- g. FTG generally makes use of a mix of elicited and discourse data. However, the emphasis is given upon discourse data which provides more natural database upon which the description is based.
- h. FTG proposes that the cross-language typological diversity at whatever level must be based on a study of representative diversity of types. (Givón 1995: 17 as cited in Butler, 2003a: 52) whereas other functionalists remain committed to the existence of language universals, presumably both of meaning/function and grammatical structure.
- i. FTG is strongly committed to the view of language as primarily an instrument of communication, and to the importance of this in explaining why languages are as they are (Butler, 2003a: 49).
- j. FTG rejects the autonomy of the grammar in favor of functional explanation. Givón (1979: 31) states "if language is an instrument of communication, then it is bizarre to try and understand its structure without reference to communicative setting."
- k. Butler (2003a: 49), citing (Givón 1995: xv), maintains "in FTG, like most of the functionalists subscribe to at least one fundamental assumption *sine qua non*, the non-autonomy postulate: that language (and grammar) can be neither

described nor explained adequately as an autonomous system." He further puts: "to understand what grammar is, and how and why it comes to be, one must make reference to the natural parameters that shape language and grammar: cognition and communication, the brain and language processing, social interaction and culture, change and variation, acquisition and evolution."

- l. FTG focuses the centrality of semantics and pragmatics as the motivating factors of the syntax of a language.
- m. FTG organizes the linguistic materials in terms of the three 'functional realms' coded by syntax: lexical semantics, propositional semantics and discourse pragmatics.

2.4 Perspective on grammatical description

Following Givón (2001a, b; 2010: 48; *inter alia*) the theoretical perspective we have adopted for this study begins with describing the language by looking at the lexicon (word classes). First we look at words that describe the relevant physical and social universe. In this framework, it is considered most natural to begin with nouns because they are physically compact, time-stable and concrete entities and their meaning are likely to be perceptible regardless of the specific event/state context in which they are used. Then, we discuss the lexicon of predicates (i.e., verbs and adjectives) in which various types of events, states and behaviors may be situated. Minor word classes, mostly exhibiting the grammatical features of the language are discussed to cover up the domains of the lexicon of the language.¹⁷ Further, in this framework, the description of the types of words found in the language and their internal structure is taken as a pre-requisite for describing the rest of the grammar.

After the word classes are discussed, we investigate simple propositions (main, declarative, affirmative, active clauses) in which the nouns take part as different semantic roles in simple events or states. This framework takes the verbal clauses as the basic unit of information processing in human language and the communicative

¹⁷Givón (2011: 34) states that "the grammatical morphemes, on the other hand, are not about the universe of experience, but primarily about the **communicative process** itself. As integral part of grammatical constructions, they are thus not about the contents of communicated information, but primarily about the mechanics of communicating in specific **discourse contexts**, given the particular mind-set of the **interlocutors** at the very time when information is being transacted."

function of simple clauses is to convey the bulk of new information in the discourse. The various types of events/states will yield the corresponding types of simple structures referred to as 'verb frames' or 'argument structures.' A point to be noted here is that the verbal clause, in which most of the grammar's machinery is lodged, is seldom produced in isolation; rather it exhibits multi-clausal coherence. Since the semantic roles at the propositional level simultaneously assume different grammatical relations which are exhibited through different grammatical strategies like pronominal agreement, case-marking and word order. In this point, we discuss the grammatical relations and case marking system in Dhimal. The participants assume characteristic grammatical roles, or grammatical relations in addition to their semantic roles in the state/event. The semantic roles define the semantic type of state or event, grammatical relations define the structural type of the clause (Givón 2011: 64).

Further, we discuss the grammar of constituent order in Dhimal which itself, cross linguistically, is one of the primary grammatical coding devices in languages. The grammar of the tense, aspect and modality, which exhibit simultaneously the propositional semantic and discourse pragmatic functions are dealt with in this study. It is apparent that the role played by the grammar of tense-aspect-modality in maintaining temporal, aspectual and modal coherence is of great importance. Givón (2001b: 237) maintains "morpho-syntactic marking of tense, aspect and modality is often combined together into an overall system that can be and often is extremely complex in the verb inflectional system." Within such an overall system, TAM morphology often combines with other verb inflections, such as speech-act markers, clausal conjunctions/subordinators and bound subject and object pronouns.

In discussing the grammar of the referential coherence we see how referents (participants) are grounded for the first time and re-introduced into the discourse and also how they are continued or terminated. Among the multiple strands in discourse coherence, the nominal reference is the most noticeable one. The grammar of referential coherence (reference tracking) is a functional domain of grammar that involves a large number of constructions and grammatical morphology. Further we discuss the noun phrase structure in Dhimal followed by the discussion on the grammar of the verbal complements, clause union and detransitive voices. While dealing with the detransitive voices we see how the active-transitive (theme) clauses

contrast with the de-transitive voices (variations). Dhimal, like other languages, has a range of detransitive voice constructions, which contrast both functionally and structurally with the active transitive voice. Further, we discuss relative clauses which functionally, very much like other noun modifiers, participate in the grammar of referential coherence. It furnishes anaphoric as well as cataphoric clues for referent identification. In dealing with the contrastive and marked topic constructions we see that the topic of contrastive focus and emphasis groups together a number of constructions that cover a range of communicative contexts. At one end of this range are contexts of contrary belief or counter expectation. That is, what the speaker asserts either contradicts what the hearer has previously said, or what the speaker assumes the hearer believes. The contradiction does not involve the entire event/state proposition; since such a broad-scope contradiction would have precipitated the use of a negative assertion. Rather, contrastive-focus constructions have a much narrower focus, contradicting only one element in the event/state – subject, direct object, indirect-object or adverb (Givón 2011: 293). In addition, we discuss the marked topic constructions which deal with another group of constructions and take part in the grammar of referential coherence. The topic-coding constructions covered here share a common theme which is the pragmatic use of word order. Further we deal with the non-declarative speech acts. It is the domain of speech acts which is central to human communication. It has to do with the speaker's communicative intent vis-à-vis the hearer, specifically, whether the state/event clause (proposition) expressed by the speaker is intended to convey information, request information, or solicit action. These three main communicative intents are the most prominent speech-act prototypes, those that receive the clearest grammatical coding in most languages. The intra-clausal coherence in Dhimal is investigated based mostly on multi-propositional discourse. The inter-clausal connections surveyed in this part are much looser which involve two major clause-types: subordinate adverbial clauses and coordinate chained clauses. The clause chain is the minimal unit of thematic coherence in discourse. The subordinate clause described under relative clauses (embedded inside the NP), verbal complements (embedded inside the VP) and clausal subjects and object (embedded inside the NP) are entrenched in well defined syntactic positions inside other clauses. Such clauses are syntactically bound to or dependent on their main clauses in three

major respects: a. intonation integration b. relational government c. reduced finiteness.

In this study, both the propositional semantic features and discourse pragmatic functions are dealt with based mostly on the data extracted from the naturally occurring texts in Dhimal.

2.5 Summary

To sum up, the perspective of FTG has been a popular theoretical framework for the grammatical description of previously un/under-described languages like Dhimal. Within this framework, we describe what the Dhimal language is like and provide explanations (though scantily) why the Dhimal language is the way it is. This framework, unlike a formal framework, prefers 'source of terms' to theory specific terminology. FTG views that only descriptions are not enough to get at the essential nature of language, they must be supplemented by explanations for why they exist. This framework seeks explanations outside of language system, i.e., the focus of explanations is on the fact that grammatical rules do not generate words and phrases in vacuum. The structures they produce are used in with a particular intent and in a particular context. In this framework, we seek explanations in discourse processing, economy, perception-cognition and iconicity. We provide plenty of examples comprising mostly from our discourse data and partially also from the elicited sentences. We attempt to highlight the features of the language which are important typologically. Within this theoretical framework, we analyze basically the propositional information and multi-propositional discourse preceded by a general overview of the conceptual lexicon (word classes). Thus, we analyze the structure (morphology, syntax and discourse) in the Dhimal language at lexical (i.e., conceptual), propositional (i.e., clausal) and multi-propositional (i.e., discourse) levels.

CHAPTER 3

THE LEXICON

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the lexicon in Dhimal. It consists of three sections. Section 3.1 deals with the properties of the major lexical word classes. In section 3.2, we discuss the properties of the minor word classes in the language. Section 3.3 summarizes the findings of this chapter.

3.1 Major word classes

Nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs, the major lexical word classes in Dhimal, are characterized by three properties: semantic, syntactic and morphological.¹ We discuss the properties of the major word classes as follows:

3.1.1 Properties of nouns

a. Semantic properties

Dhimal nouns, as in other natural languages, may be distinguished from other word classes in terms of semantic properties like durability, complexity, concreteness, compactness and individuation. The prototypical nouns in (1) exhibit these properties.

- (1) a. *unt^hui* 'stone' b. *dzamal* 'child'
 c. *sa* 'house' d. *siŋ* 'tree'
 e. *miŋkau* 'cat' f. *musar* 'mushroom'
 g. *wadzan* 'boy' h. *p^huru* 'star'

The durable, compact, concrete and complex nature of Dhimal prototypical nouns is associated with their multiple features like size, shape, weight, colour and cultural usage. These features remain in a noun for an extended period of time, however, changing nature is an inevitable feature of any entity existed in the world. Compared to the words of other classes, prototypical nouns tend to change their complex features relatively slowly. Prototypical nouns tend to be spatially compact rather than scattered all over the map (Givón 2011: 37) whereas scattered nouns as in (2) do exist, but they

¹Givón (2011: 33) defines grammar as the set of conventions (rules) used to combine meaning-bearing words and morphemes into information-bearing utterances. The meaning being a property of words or morphemes and information, a property of utterances is considered fundamental to the understanding of how human language is used as an instrument of communication.

are not prototypical. Such nouns occupy larger portion of the ground and can not be individuated.

- (2) a. *tsi* 'water' b. *b^herma* 'wind'
 c. *at^har* 'week' d. *basar* 'year'
 e. *wai* 'rain' f. *dera* 'village'
 g. *fiiti* 'blood' h. *miliŋ* 'land'

The non-prototypical nouns in (2), however, bear syntactic and morphological properties of a noun discussed as follows:

b. Syntactic properties

The distribution of nouns in distinct syntactic slots inside the clause may be characterized as the syntactic properties of noun. The noun is the head of the noun phrase in Dhimal. Dhimal nouns occupy five major syntactic positions in clauses. Example (3) is illustrative of the subject and direct object positions of nouns in a clause.

- (3) *wadzan um tsa-fi*
 boy rice eat-PST
 'The boy ate rice.'

In example (3), the noun *wadzan* 'boy' has occupied the subject position and another noun *um* 'rice' has occupied the object position in the clause.

A noun may occupy the position of an indirect object, as in (4):

- (4) *dzet^hi tsafiĩ kants^hiŋeŋ paisa piŋi*
 dzet^hi tsafiĩ [kants^hi-ŋeŋ] paisa pi-fi
 Jethi IND Kanchhi-DAT money give-PST
 'As for the eldest (sister), she gave money to the youngest (sister).'

In example (4), the noun *kants^hi* 'the youngest female' marked with the dative has occupied the indirect object position in the clause.

Dhimal noun may occupy the slot of a nominal predicate, as in (5):

- (5) *edoi unt^hur*
 this stone
 'This (is) a stone.'

Dhimal noun may also occupy the position of possessive/genitive noun modifier in the noun phrase, as in (6):

- (6) *kaŋko sanaitiko tsan remka fi*
 kaŋ-ko [sanaiti-ko tsan] rem-ka fi
 1SG.OBL-GEN friend-GEN son be.good-NMLZ COP
 'My friend's son is good.'

In example (6), the noun *sanaiti* 'friend' occupies the position of possessor noun modifier.

Dhimal noun may also occupy the slot of an object complement, as in (7):

- (7) *kelai waseŋeŋ adəkts^{he} banain^{ha}fi*
 kelai wa-seŋeŋ adəkts^{he} banai-n^{ha}-fi
 1PL 3SG-DAT president make-1PL-PST
 'We made him president.'

In example (7), the noun *adəkts^{he}* 'president' occupies the position of the object complement.

Similarly, Dhimal nouns may occupy the slot of locative expressions, as in (8):

- (8) *kaŋko sanaiti kat^hmanduta fi*
 kaŋ-ko sanaiti kat^hmandu-ta fi
 1SG.OBL-GEN friend Kathmandu-LOC be
 'My friend is in Kathmandu.'

In example (8), the place name 'Kathmandu' occupies the position of the locative noun phrase.

c. Morphological properties

The kind of bound morphemes that tend to be affixed to a noun is characterized as the morphological property. Dhimal nouns are not much complex in terms of their

morphology.² However, they are inflected in terms of number, classifier and case role of the referent. Gender is not morphologically marked in Dhimal.³

i. Number

The verb does not agree with the nominal subject in Dhimal. However, plural number in noun is indicated by the suffix *-gelai~galai~lai*, e.g., *tsan-gelai* 'the sons'; *d^hemalai* [*Dhimal-lai*] 'the Dhimals', *wadzalai* [*wadzan-lai*] 'the boys'. Dual number is restricted to the first and second person pronouns and verbal agreement for the same. Examples are *kid^hin^hemi* 'we (two)' and *nid^hin^hemi* 'you (two)'. In case of the third person dual, the pronoun *od^hin^hemi* 'they two' is used by analogy with the first and second person dual forms. However, it does not require corresponding verb form to agree with. Dual number in Dhimal pronouns are, in fact, *kid^hiŋ* and *nid^hiŋ* followed by the numeral *n^he* 'two' and *-mi* 'human classifier'; hence is periphrastic.⁴ The morphology of the dual number in first and second person pronouns also affects the verbal agreement (see Chapter 8 for detail).⁵

The use of the plural suffix indicates plurality or suggests manifoldedness, e.g., *umgelai* 'rice and pulse' or 'rice and other edibles', therefore plural marker in Dhimal often conveys the sense of 'and so on' meaning in English. The adjectives, in Dhimal, may also be pluralized when used as nouns, as in (9):

- (9) *warəŋ berəŋ-gelai* 'the old people'
 d^hana d^hani-gelai 'the youths'

The interrogative pronouns *hasu* 'who' and *hai* 'what' do not generally take plural marker while referring to the multiple referents but are reduplicated, as in (10):

²Cross-linguistically, the morphological properties of the noun comprise class or gender markers, number, case-role markers and possessor pronouns (Givón 2001a).

³The natural gender in regards to human being is distinguished lexically. Some domestic animals are also distinguished lexically in terms of their gender.

⁴Hodgson (1880: 74) notes "In Dhimal ... I have met with some vague traces of a dual, which further research may establish."

⁵In the eastern variety of the Dhimal language, the grammar of dual number marking is totally absent. While asking about the dual number in the western variety and the absence of the same in the eastern, the eastern dialect speakers opined that the western dialect speakers might have developed this system being influenced by the pattern of some other languages (p.c. Patra Dhimal). Contrary to this claim, duality in Dhimal seems not to be new invention because even some story tellers above 70 have spontaneously used the constructions in our recorded text.

- (10) a. *andzi hasu hasu hate hane-hi*
 andzi hasu hasu hate hane-hi
 yesterday who who market go-PST
 'Who (all) went to the market yesterday.'
- b. *na hai hai kam pan^ha*
 na hai hai kam pa-hi-na
 2SG what what work do-PST-2
 'What different works did you do?'

In examples (10a, b) the reduplicated question words encode the sense of plurality.

ii. Classifiers

Dhimal employs only two classifiers with the counted nouns. As in Belhare⁶, classifiers in Dhimal are obligatory with numerals which are categorized semantically as human and generic classifiers. The morpheme *-mi* is exclusively restricted to human referents whereas the generic classifier *-loŋ* (also realized as *-noŋ* in rapid speech) is used with counted nouns, numerals and even with the human nouns in generic sense.⁷ The human classifier *-mi* refers to a human referent even if it is not followed by a human noun, as in (11):

- (11) *eʔmi bimari dzeŋli gojaŋ rʌ eʔmi odz^ha*
 eʔ-mi bimari dzeŋ-li goi-aŋ rʌ eʔ-mi odz^ha
 one-HCLF sick be-INF must-FUT and one-HCL shaman
kail^hali gojaŋ doʔk^he aŋ
 kai-l^ha-li goi-aŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 call-INTENT-INF must-FUT say-PRS REP
 'One must pretend of being sick and another must go to call and bring a shaman.' (TBDFSW_328)

As observed in example (11) the noun can only be a human referent even in its absence. No doubt, *eʔmi* means 'a human being' in (11).

⁶Belhare draws a basic distinction between humans *-paŋ* and non-human *-kira* whereas more specific classifiers are borrowed from Nepali (Bickel 2003: 563).

⁷In Nepali, the classifier *dzəna* exclusively indicates human reference whereas *wəʈa* is used for both human and non-human countable nouns.

The generic classifier *-loŋ* may occur with the human noun if the referent is not familiar to the speaker or is referred to in generic sense, as in (12):

- (12) *eloŋ waraŋko naloŋ tsamindi hiŋ^hak^he*
 e-loŋ waraŋ-ko na-loŋ tsamindi hi-g^ha-k^he
 one-CLF old.man-GEN five-CLF daughter be-IPFV-PRS
 'One old man had five daughters.' (LBDFSW_03)

In example (12), the generic classifier *-loŋ* occurs before *waraŋ* 'the old man' and *tsamindi* 'daughter'.

The same classifier occurs before the non-human noun *des* 'country' and human referent *radza* 'king', as in (13):

- (13) *eloŋ desta hiŋ^hak^he doʔk^he eloŋ radza*
 [e-loŋ des-ta] hi-g^ha-k^he doʔ-k^he [e-loŋ radza]
 one-CLF country-LOC be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS one-CLF king
 'There was a king in a country.' (TBDFSW_1)

Some classifier-like morphemes like *-k^he*, 'time' *n^he-k^he* 'two times' and *-t^hoi* 'piece' *eʔt^hoi biŋa* 'one piece of meat' are restricted to be used with time and piece of a thing respectively. Following are the examples:

- (14) a. *tsundziŋ mainata te eʔk^he r^hima*
 tsundziŋ maina-ta te [eʔ-k^he] r^hima
 winter month-LOC TOP one-time morning
ΛthΛwa dilima tsi tsafiĩ lagaiten ʔ lagaili goik^he
 ΛthΛwa dilima tsi tsafiĩ lagai-li goi-k^he
 or evening water IND employ-INF must-PRS
 'In the winter, one needs to irrigate either once in the morning or in the evening.' (KRDMPW_126)
- b. *eʔt^hoi biŋa tsaten r^himaŋ haneŋi*
 eʔ-t^hoi biŋa tsa-ten r^hima-ŋ hane-fi
 one-piece meat eat-SEQ morning-EMPH go-PST
 'Having eaten a piece of meat (S/he) went away early in the morning.'

In example (14a) the classifier-like morpheme *-k^{he}*⁸ denotes time whereas in (14b), *-t^{hoi}* 'piece' functions in the same way.

iii. Case roles

Dhimal nouns may be marked by different postpositions to indicate the case roles of the participant in a proposition. They may pertain to either semantic roles (patient, instrument, location) or grammatical relations (subject, direct object, indirect object). The role of different case markers in Dhimal is discussed in Chapter 5.

3.1.2 Properties of adjectives

Most of the native adjectives in Dhimal are derived from verbs. They are created for the most part by affixing the nominalizing suffix *-ka* to a verb stem. Watters (2002: 111) observes the same pattern in Kham.⁹ Dixon (2010b: 72) classifies languages into four types in terms of alignment of adjectives either to nouns or to verbs. Dhimal suits best as the first type, where adjectives show grammatical properties similar to that of verbs. Along similar lines, Givón (2001a: 82) points out that the size, color and a number of qualities perceived by human senses are most typically expressed by adjectives.

a. Semantic properties of adjectives

Dhimal adjectives tend to code durable, inherent, physical single features of concrete nouns. These features are color, size, shape, hardness, roughness, smell or taste. Most of the adjectives are derived from the stative verbs. Many qualities coded as adjectives in other languages are stative verbs in Dhimal. Following are the adjectives in Dhimal grouped in terms of their semantics.

- (15) a. Color
- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>da:ka</i> 'black' | <i>dze:ka</i> 'white' |
| <i>i:ka</i> 'red' | <i>jauka</i> 'yellow' |

⁸It resembles the Nepali postposition *k^{he}* 'time'.

⁹Ebert (2003a: 508) observes that typologically Kirati languages usually have a small number of lexical adjectives, but most words corresponding to adjectives in English are derived from verbs through nominalization.

b. Size

barka 'big' *atuika* 'small'
m^huika 'small' *r^hiŋka* 'long/tall (object)'

c. Age

nawa 'new' *purna* 'old'
d^hana 'young male' *d^hani* 'young female'
warəŋ 'old male' *berəŋ* 'old female'

d. Value

remka 'good' *maremka* 'bad/unattractive'
elka 'good/ pretty/ proper' *maelka* 'not good/ ugly/improper'

e. Physical property

t^haŋka 'hard (wood/ meat)' *nomka* 'soft'
l^hika 'heavy' *d^haŋka* 'hot (food/ drinks/ air)'

f. Human propensity

tsalak 'clever' *lederka* 'ashamed'
k^husi 'happy' *dajaka* 'kind'
papi 'cruel' *bud^hi remka* 'intelligent'

g. Speed

marp^ha 'fast' *alhopa* 'slow'
d^himpa 'fast' (E)

h. Position

b^herpa 'near' *dure* 'far'
da^hẽ ' north' *ma^hẽ* 'south'
nu^hẽ 'east' *di^hẽ* 'west'
dampa 'right' *kepa* 'left'
b^herpa 'near' *dure* 'far'

b. Syntactic properties of the adjectives

Dhimal adjectives tend to occur in two main syntactic slots. First, they may function like verbs as the head of an intransitive predicate, as in (16a). And, second, they may modify a head noun which is the head of an NP, as in (16b).

- (16) a. *bedzan rem-ka hi*
 girl be.good-NMLZ be
 '(The) girl is beautiful.'
- b. *edoi [rem-ka] bedzan*
 this good-NMLZ girl
 'This beautiful girl.'

In example (16a), the adjective *remka* 'good' functions as the head of an intransitive predicate whereas in (16b) the adjective functions as a modifier of the head noun *bedzan* 'girl'.

c. Morphological properties

Dhimal adjectives exhibit the properties of a noun when employed as the head of a noun phrase. The plural marker may be attached to the adjective, as in (17):

- (17) a. *ela waraŋgelai doʔk^{he} kukruteŋ*
 ela [waraŋ-gelai] doʔ-k^{he} kukru-ten
 now old.man-PL say-PRS bend-SEQ
dzimlabelau d^{ha}ʔli madok^{he}
 dzim-labelau d^{ha}ʔ-li ma-do-k^{he}
 sleep-TEMP run-INF NEG-be.able-PRS
 'Now the old people say, while sleeping in bend legs, one can not run
 (while in dream).' (CLDDRW_16)

In example (17a), the adjective *waraŋ* 'old male' is functioning as a head noun in that it has inflected for number (a property of noun).

Dhimal adjectives may also take a case marker when the adjective itself functions as the head of an NP, as in (18):

- (18) *ka barkaheŋ te dzitili madog^ha*
 ka barka-heŋ te dzitili ma-do-g^ha
 1SG big-DAT TOP win-INF NEG-be.able-PST.1SG
 'I could not be able to win the bigger one.'

In example (18), the dative case marker *-heŋ* is attached to the adjective *barka* 'big' functioning as the object of the clause.

d. Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals encode number of nominal entities in the noun phrase whereas the quantifiers code notions of quantity. Dhimal possesses native cardinal numerals only from one to ten, as in (19):

- (19) *eʔ* 'one' *n^he* 'two' *sum* 'three'
dja 'four' *na* 'five' *tu* 'six'
n^hi 'seven' *jeʔ* 'eight' *kwa* 'nine'
te 'ten' *kuri* 'twenty' *na kuri* 'one hundred'

The numerals from one to ten take either human classifier *-mi* or generic classifier *-long* when they modify an NP. Dhimal does not possess native ordinal numbers.¹⁰

The quantifiers in Dhimal quantify both the countable and uncountable nouns, as in (20):

- (20) *atuisa bilaitu* 'a few potatoes' *istuŋ tsi* 'much water'
dz^haraŋ djaŋgalai 'all people' *asa tsirka* 'quite cold'
gotaŋ um 'all of the rice'

The quantifiers *dzaraŋ* 'all (people)', *gotaŋ* 'all (things)' are universal quantifiers whereas *atuisa* 'a few', *asa* 'quite', and *istuŋ* 'much' are existential types of quantifiers.

3.1.3 Verbs

The characteristic feature of prototype verbs is temporal instability, i.e., they are coherent bundle of relatively short duration states/events (Givón 2001a: 52). Verbs in Dhimal are most important lexical items. The words of other major classes, mainly adjectives, nouns and adverbs may be derived from verbal roots. Also, Dhimal is rich

¹⁰King (2009: 60) also notes, "ordinal numbers are not attested" in Dhimal.

in terms of the number of verbs, i.e., around 1500 verbs (including derived verbs) are found in Dhimal. The properties of Dhimal verbs is discussed as follows:

a. Semantic properties

Semantically, verbs contrast with nouns and adjectives in that they typically code changes rather than stasis (Givón 2011: 54). Prototype verbs code rapid changes in either the state, condition or spatial location of some noun-coded entity, as in (21):

- (21) *a:* 'break open/tear apart' *kal^ham* 'jump over'
 laŋ 'leave/go ahead' *ɦulpa* 'drop/let down'
 k^hitsi 'shoot (a p^hoto)' *peŋ* 'break/burst'

Certain range of variation is found in this category as well. Some verbs are less prototypical, and may code events of longer duration, as in (22):

- (22) *te* 'walk' *kam* 'weed by hand'
 tsoi 'to plough' *ɦane* 'go'

Other verbs less prototypical yet, may even code longer enduring states, as in (23):

- (23) *dzim* 'sleep' *jom* 'sit'
 ki? 'want/desire' *nal* 'to recognize'
 gi 'know' *nil* 'forget'

Many verbs also have complex temporally-sequenced sub-components, as in, (24):

- (24) *banai* 'build' *ga:* 'cook (rice)'
 k^hiŋ 'cook' (a side dish)

But here again one may find gradation, so that some verbs are temporally less complex, involving only a single feature of change, as in (25):

- (25) *tir* 'be cool' *l^ho:* 'wake up'

Many prototype verbs code actions, i.e., events initiated deliberately by a human or animate agent capable of volition, as in (26):

- (26) *te* 'walk' *b^ha?* 'attack'
 laŋ 'leave/go ahead' *d^hui* 'speak'

Other verbs may involve no action, however, encode conscious mental activity. Such verbs often denote the mental states of a human or animate participant, but neither change nor volition nor action, as in (27):

- (27) *kiʔ* ‘want’ *gi* ‘know’
 budz^he ‘understand’ *sotse* ‘think’

Finally, some verbs code event or state that involve neither action nor mental activity, as in (28):

- (28) *ɦul* ‘fall’ *dampa* ‘heat up’
 ai ‘rot’ *sempa* ‘dry up’

b. Syntactic properties

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Dhimal is a verb final language, i.e., the most common position of the finite verb is clause final. However, due to some discourse pragmatic factors like focus and contrast, Dhimal verbs may take any position in a sentence.¹¹ In terms of frequency distribution, the verb normally occurs clause-finally, functioning as the main predicate of the clause, as in (29):

- (29) a. *wadzan dzimɦi*
 wadzan *dzim-ɦi*
 boy sleep-PST
 ‘The boy slept.’
 b. *ka ɦateta waseɦeŋ tiŋg^ha*
 ka *ɦate-ta* *wa-seɦeŋ* *tiŋ-g^ha*
 1SG market-LOC 3SG-DAT see-PST.1SG
 ‘I saw him in the market.’

In example (29a), the finite verb *dzimɦi* ‘(s/he) slept’ is preceded by a single argument, a subject, whereas in (29b) the finite verb *tiŋg^ha* ‘(I) saw’ is preceded by an oblique (postpositional) object, a subject/agent and a direct object/patient.

c. Morphological properties

The morphological (structural) properties of verb, i.e., TAM markers and agreement markers are commonly found in Dhimal. These properties will be discussed in the

¹¹ We have discussed the discourse pragmatic features of Dhimal in Ch. 12.

subsequent chapters, (tense-aspect-modal morphemes in Chapter 7), (agreement markers in Chapter 8) and (valency in Chapter 10). Here, some important classes of the verb stems are introduced and exemplified as follows:

i. Verb stems

A verb stem in Dhimal, as in Bhujel (Regmi 2012: 73) may be directly affixed to by the tense, aspect and mood markers in combination with the participant reference markers. Two types of verb stems are affected by a regular morphological process of final consonant deletion (King 2009: 101). In terms of stem alternation, Dhimal verb stems may be classified into three groups.

Glottal stop /ʔ/ ending

The verb stems in this class have the glottal stop ending in their citation form and also when they are followed by any suffix ending with a consonant. However, when the following suffix starts with a vowel, the stem final glottal stop is followed by /t/, as in (30):

- (30) *doʔ* 'say' *doʔ-kʰe* ' (s/he) says' *doʔt-aine* 'let's say'
piʔ 'sell' *piʔhi* '(s/he) sold' *piʔt-aŋ-ka* 'I will sell'
kʰuʔ 'descend' *kʰuʔ-ka* 'descended' *kʰuʔt-ako* 'may (s/he descend'

Some other verb stems in this group are listed in (31):

- (31) *beʔ* 'beat (a drum)' *seʔ* 'kill'
biʔ 'plant/ sow seed' *boʔ* 'wear (a woman garment)'

All the verbs of this type follow the same morphophonemic pattern.

Long vowel /V:/ ending

The verb stems in this group have long vowel ending in their citation form and also when followed by any suffix ending with a consonant. However, when the following suffix begins with a vowel, the stem final vowel length is followed by /k/, as in (32):

- (32) *a:* 'break open' *bo:* 'grind' *bu:* 'scald' *bʰo:* 'to look for'
a:-kʰe ' (s/he) *bo:hi* *bu:-ka* 'scalded' *bʰo:doŋ-kʰe*
'breaks open' '(s/he) ground.' 's/he is looking for'
a:k-aine *bo:k-aŋ-ka* *bu:k-ako* *bʰo:k-ako*
'let's break open' 'I will grind.' 'may (s/he scald' 'may s/he look for.'

Some verb stems in this group are illustrated in (33):

- (33) *ga:* 'cook (rice)' *tʂa:* 'grab/hold of'
 tsu: 'suck' *da:* 'be black'
 tse: 'cut' *tsi:* 'bite'

Others

All the verb stems except those ending with the glottal stop and the long vowel, behave uniformly. They are consonant ending and vowel ending (either monophthongs or diphthongs), as in (34):

- (34) *tʂa* 'eat' *am* 'drink' *kai* 'to call'
 tʂa-kʰe 's/he eats.' *am-kʰe* 's/he drinks.' *kai-kʰe* 's/he calls.'
 tʂa-ŋ-ka 'I shall eat.' *am-aŋ-ka* 'I shall drink.' *kaj-aŋ-ka* 'I shall call.'
 tʂa-ako 'may s/he eat.' *am-ako* 'may s/he eat.' *kaj-ako* 'may s/he call.'

In cases of vowel final stems, the initial vowel of the suffix and final vowel of the stems results in vowel harmony, e.g., *tʂa* 'eat'+ *-ako* 'optative' becomes *tsako* 'may s/he eat.'

ii. Derivational process

The adjectives and adverbs are derived from the verbal root through the suffixation of *-ka* and *-pa*, respectively. Nouns are also derived from verbs through the same process, as in case of adjectives. Some nouns derived from the verbal bases are illustrated in (35):

- | | | |
|------|--|-----------------------------------|
| (35) | Verbs | Nouns |
| | <i>boʔ</i> 'wear' | <i>boʔna</i> 'type of woman wear' |
| | <i>buŋ</i> 'to carry in <i>bunsu</i> ' | <i>bunsu</i> 'pocket' |
| | <i>tʂa</i> 'eat' | <i>tsaka</i> 'edible' |

Adjectives in Dhimal are derived through the suffixation of *-ka* to the verb stems. This process is very productive in Dhimal. The attributive or the predicative adjectives may be derived from almost all the verb roots. Following are the examples:

(36)	Verbs	Adjectives
	<i>el</i> 'be good'	<i>elka</i> 'proper/good'
	<i>buŋ</i> 'carry in <i>bunsu</i> '	<i>buŋka</i> 'carried in <i>bunsu</i> '
	<i>dz^hey</i> 'be light/bright'	<i>dz^heyka</i> 'bright'

Adverbs are also derived from verbs through the suffixation of *-pa/p^ha*, as in (37):

(37)	Verbs	Adverbs
	<i>m^hitu</i> 'be hungry'	<i>m^hitupa</i> 'hungrily'
	<i>rem</i> 'be good'	<i>rem^ha</i> 'well/thoroughly'
	<i>ta:</i> 'be tasty'	<i>ta:pa</i> 'sweetly'

Verbal nouns are also formed through the suffixation of the infinitive morpheme *-li* and the nominalizer *-ka* to a verb root, e.g., *tsa* 'eat' with the infinitiver *-li*, *tsa-li* 'to eat' and with the nominalizer *-ka*, *tsaka* 'edible'. Following are the examples:

- (38) a. *um tsali remka*
 um tsa-li rem-ka
 rice eat-INF be.good-NMLZ
 'Eating rice is good.'
- b. *kalau tsaka amka lesrata tsumgiln^ha*
 kalau tsa-ka am-ka lesra-ta tsum-gil-fi-na
 then eat-NMLZ drink-NMLZ back-LOC grab-AMB-PST-2
 'Then, you carried all the edibles on your back.' (TBDFSW_79)

In example (38a) the infinitival *-li* is employed to derive the verbal noun. Similarly in example (38b), the nominalizer *-ka* is employed to derive the noun.

3.1.4 Adverbs

The adverbs are identified as a 'catch all' category in that any word with some semantic content (except noun, adjective and verb) is often put into the class of adverbs (Payne 1997: 69). Semantically, adverbs cover an extremely wide range of concepts. They typically function at the clause or discourse level. Syntactically adverbs are the most unrestricted word class in terms of their position in clauses. Adverbs in Dhimal are broadly categorized, in terms of structure, into two types: basic and derived. Basic adverbs are limited in number whereas derived adverbs are formed by adding the adverbializing suffix *-pa*, (also realized as *-p^ha* in rapid speech).

It may be affixed to the nominal, verbal or adverbial roots. This morpheme seems to be developed from the lexical verb *pa* 'do'. So, the adverbs derived from the other lexical roots encode the meaning of manner adverbs in English. Some of more common types of adverbs in Dhimel are as follows:

a. Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs typically modify or add to the meaning of the verb (Givón 2001: 88). Almost all the manner adverbs in Dhimel are derived through the suffixation of *-pa/-p^ha* to the verbal root. Even nominal and adverbial roots are augmented with the same morpheme in Dhimel. Typical manner adverbs in Dhimel are given in (39):

- | | | |
|------|--|----------------------------------|
| (39) | <i>remp^ha</i> 'well' | <i>alopa</i> 'slowly' |
| | <i>alol^hopa</i> 'very slowly' | <i>marp^ha</i> 'fast' |
| | <i>hesapa</i> 'how' | <i>atsanak</i> 'all of a sudden' |
| | <i>esapa</i> 'like this, in this manner, this way' | |

b. Time adverbs

Adverbs may code a point in time, or various temporal aspects of events (Givón 2001a: 91). Consequently their semantic scope is thus not the verb alone, but rather the entire event-clause (proposition). Time adverbs in Dhimel are listed in (40):

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (40) | <i>ela</i> 'now' | <i>elalau</i> 'nowadays' |
| | <i>elauselau</i> 'nowadays' | <i>dzelauselau</i> 'sometimes' |
| | <i>elay</i> 'right now' | <i>heʔlau</i> 'when' |
| | <i>nani</i> 'today' | <i>dzumni</i> 'tomorrow' |
| | <i>andzi</i> 'yesterday' | <i>udini</i> 'day before yesterday' |
| | <i>itini</i> 'day after tomorrow' | <i>basar</i> 'year' |

c. Adverbs modifying adjectives

Some adverbs functioning as modifying adjectives are listed in (41):

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|--|
| (41) | <i>het^he</i> 'how much' | <i>et^he</i> 'this much (big/small)' |
| | <i>dzet^he</i> 'as much' | <i>ot^he</i> 'that much' |
| | <i>heʔloŋ</i> 'how many' | <i>hinsa/ hindza</i> 'a lot/ many (animate)' |
| | <i>istuŋ</i> 'much' | |

d. Place adverbs

Place adverbs refer to the location of the event/state encoded in the verb as illustrated in (42):

- (42) *b^herpa* 'beside/ next to' *tsenta* 'near'
 dure 'far/ distant' *djapaña* 'on all sides/ in every direction'
 p^harapa 'far' *nuhẽ* 'east/ eastward'
 nuhẽpa 'from the east' *nuhẽpaña* 'on the east side'

3.2 Minor word classes

In this sub-section we deal with the different types of grammatical operators in Dhimal. The morphemic status of these operators is not as clear as of the major word classes.

3.2.1 Postpositions

Dhimal is a post-positional language. There are a number of postpositions in Dhimal. They mark different case roles of the nominals in the proposition. The postpositions found in Dhimal are listed in (43):

- (43) *ta* 'in/on/at' *so* 'from/with' *aŋ* 'with/by' *r^huta* 'up'
 dop^ha 'with' *hoi* 'with/by (instrumental)' *leta* 'down' *lita* 'in/under'
 t^hekapa 'until' *b^hari* 'towards'

The function of these postpositions in sentential use is discussed in Chapter 5.

Syntactically, all the adpositions presented in (43) follow the noun phrase in Dhimal.

3.2.2 Determiners

a. Demonstratives (deictics)

Givón (2001a: 97) notes "demonstratives code orientation (deixis) of a noun vis-a-vis some spatial reference point, most commonly the location of the speaker or hearer."

Dhimal possesses the demonstratives as in (44). They are also used as determiners/definitizers.

- (44) Proximal distal far distal
 edoi/ede 'this' *odoi/ode* 'that' *iŋko /uŋko* 'that'

b. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are simply formed through the suffixation of *-ko*¹² to the personal pronouns as listed in (45):

(45) Possessive pronouns

Singular	dual	plural	affinal
<i>kaŋko /kaŋ/kã</i>	<i>kid^hin^hemiko</i>	<i>kelaiko</i>	<i>kiŋko</i>
<i>naŋko/ nã</i>	<i>nid^hin^hemiko</i>	<i>nelaiko</i>	<i>niŋko</i>
<i>wako</i>	<i>od^hin^hemiko</i>	<i>obalaiko</i>	x

3.2.3 Independent subject and object pronoun

Dhimal is a subject pronominal language, i.e., Dhimal pronouns (first person singular and second person) are affixed to the verbal complex as pronominal clitics. In case of the first person plural and the third person, Dhimal finite verbs are not coded by the participant reference. This phenomenon is described in Chapter 8. The list of independent subject and object pronouns are illustrated in (46a) and (46b) in order:

(46) a. personal pronoun (nominative)

Number ↓ Person	singular	dual	plural	affinal
First	<i>ka</i>	<i>kid^hin^hemi</i>	<i>kelai</i>	<i>kja</i>
Second	<i>na</i>	<i>nid^hin^hemi</i>	<i>nelai</i>	<i>nja</i>
Third	<i>wa</i>	<i>od^hin^hemi</i>	<i>obalai</i>	x

b. Personal pronouns (accusative/dative)

Number ↓ Person	singular	dual	plural	affinal
First	<i>ka-seheŋ</i>	<i>kid^hin^hemi-heŋ</i>	<i>kelai-heŋ</i>	<i>kja-eŋ</i>
Second	<i>na-seheŋ</i>	<i>nid^hin^hemi-heŋ</i>	<i>nelai-heŋ</i>	<i>nja-eŋ</i>
Third	<i>wa-seheŋ</i>	<i>od^hin^hemi-heŋ</i>	<i>obala-iheŋ</i>	x

¹²Chelliah (2003: 431) reports *-ki* as the genitive marker in Meithei, a TB language spoken in the Indian state of Manipur.

3.2.4 Inter-clausal connectives

Like many other TB languages, Dhimal is verb chaining language. So, we do not get many of the inter-clausal connectives as are pervasive in English. However, Dhimal employs the following connectives.

a. Conjunctions

Dhimal utilizes the following conjunctions to conjoin nominals, noun phrases and clauses:

- | | | |
|------|--|------------------------------|
| (47) | <i>na</i> 'or' | <i>kalau/kola</i> 'then' |
| | <i>aro</i> 'and' | <i>ki</i> 'or' |
| | <i>makunu</i> 'otherwise' | <i>haiapali</i> 'because' |
| | <i>haiipali panu</i> 'because' | <i>ra</i> 'and' |
| | <i>odoi b^hasi</i> 'therefore' | <i>hunu te</i> 'even though' |

b. Subordiantors

Adverbial subordinators are not so common in Dhimal. However, some adverbial clause subordinators and relative clause subordinators, as in (48), are employed in Dhimal.

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (48) | <i>dzelauni</i> 'sometimes' | <i>dzelauselau</i> 'sometimes' |
| | <i>dzisikaŋ</i> 'as like' | <i>usikaŋ</i> 'that like' |
| | <i>dzet^he</i> 'as much' | <i>ot^he</i> 'that much' |

3.2.5 Interjections

Interejection words are used to show a short or sudden expression of emotion. They cover a broad range of functions, either signaling epistemic notions such as an assent or disagreement with the interlocuter. Such words may signal surprise, incomprehension, query, uncertainty and social insecurity (Givón 2001a: 102). Some interjections in Dhimal are illustrated in (49):

- | | | |
|------|--------------|--|
| (49) | <i>atse</i> | 'interjection conveying a sense of surprise' |
| | <i>ãhã?</i> | 'negative interjection/ no' |
| | <i>aijau</i> | 'ouch' |
| | <i>are</i> | 'surprise' |
| | <i>e</i> | 'yes' |

<i>e</i>	'oh (in response)'
<i>ɦo</i>	'yes/is it so?'
<i>ik^h</i>	'exclamation of disgust'
<i>la</i>	'there (expresses completion, exasperation, change)'
<i>m</i>	paying attention (with falling intonation)/soliciting agreement (with rising intonation)
<i>nai</i>	'no'
<i>oe</i>	'hey (calling from a distance)'
<i>te</i>	'okay, alright, <i>te kunu</i> . 'okay then'
<i>ti</i>	'come, come on.' <i>ti hanaine</i> 'Come on, let's go'
<i>u</i>	'over there'

Some of the particles in example (49) have multiple functions depending on the discourse context or determined by their syntactic position. For example *te* means 'okay' when occurred in sentence initial context whereas it topicalizes a constituent when it follows the constituent.

3.2.6 Discourse particles

Different particles are employed to encode different pragmatic function in the multi-propositional discourse in Dhimal.¹³ It is not possible to translate them literally because English lacks the analogous lexical items for the particles employed in Dhimal. To make the reader understand them, the semantic characterization of the particles are given in (50).¹⁴

(50)	<i>aŋ</i> 'reportative'	<i>au</i> 'assertative'
	<i>be</i> 'dubitative'	<i>wa</i> 'deductive'
	<i>la</i> 'mirative'	<i>doʔk^he</i> 'quotative'
	<i>ru</i> 'exclamative'	<i>te</i> 'topicalizer'
	<i>doŋ</i> 'assertive focus'	<i>aŋ</i> 'reportative'
	<i>ni</i> 'persuasive'	<i>re</i> 'assertive'
	<i>ra</i> 'contrastive'	

¹³Genetti (2007: 237) notes that the particles are grammatical morphemes which are not phonologically bound to their host and which do not participate in affixation. Further she maintains that clitics differ from particles in being phonologically bound. They are not stressed independently and they form a single phonological word with their hosts.

¹⁴The discourse pragmatic function of these particles is dealt in Chapters 7 and 12.

The discourse particles in (50), add the pragmatic nuances of meaning when occurred in the propositions.

3.3 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the properties of the conceptual lexicon in Dhimal. Syntactically, Dhimal nouns occupy the subject, direct object, indirect object, nominal predicate possissee noun modifier, complement and locative noun phrase position. There is no grammatical gender in Dhimal, however, human/animate nouns are marked lexically to distinguish the sex of the referent. Dhimal employs only two classifiers: *-mi* for human noun and *-loŋ/-noŋ* in generic senses. There is three-way distinction in pronominal agreement in Dhimal. Plurality in Dhimal nominals is indicated by the suffix *-gelai~galai~lai*. Most of the adjectives/modifiers in Dhimal are derived from verbs. Dhimal adjectives may be classified in terms of size, color, age, value, physical property and human propensity. Syntactically, they may function like verbs as the head of an intransitive predicate or they may modify a noun which is the head of an NP. The verb normally occurs clause-finally and functions as the main predicate of the clause. The verb registers three person and three numbers (in first and second person pronouns) combined with a complex system of tense, aspect and modality. The verbal nouns in Dhimal are derived by the suffixation of the nominalizer morpheme *-ka* and the infinitive marker *-li*. Adverbs in Dhimal are broadly categorized, in terms of structure, into two types: basic and derived. Basic adverbs are limited in number whereas derived adverbs are formed by adding the adverbializing suffix *-pa* sometimes also realized as *-p^ha*, which may be affixed to the nominal, verbal or adverbial roots. Minor words classes include adpositions, determiners, pronouns (independent and possessive), interclausal connectives (conjunctions and subordinators), interjections and discourse particles. Discourse particles play very important role in information structuring in Dhimal.

CHAPTER 4

SIMPLE VERBAL CLAUSES AND ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

4.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the simple verbal clauses and argument structure in Dhimal. It is divided into four sections. In section 4.1, we deal with the classification of verbs and simple clauses. Section 4.2 analyzes the verbal predicates focusing on the sub-classification of verbs based on argument structure and transitivity. In section 4.3, we deal with the verbs with clausal complements. Section 4.4 summarizes the findings of this chapter.

4.1 Classification of verbs and simple clauses

The simple, main, declarative, affirmative, active clause, according to Givón (2001a: 105), serves as the reference point for grammatical description. He further notes that the simple clause is "the theme *vis-à-vis* which all other clause-types may be seen as variants." The verbs or predicates make up the semantic core of clauses, defining their semantic types. We discuss the verbs and simple clauses in Dhimal as follows:

4.1.1 Copular verbs and their predicates

Semantically, copular clauses represent permanent or temporary states. Their subject occupies the semantic role of either a patient or dative of state. In copular clauses, "most of the lexical-semantic load of the predication is carried by the non-verbal predicate rather than by the copular verb itself" (Givón 2001a: 119). The copular verb often acts as a dummy verb, which acts as the syntactic head of the verb phrase but carries very little lexical-semantic load (Givón 2001: 120). Cross-linguistically, there are three types of clauses with non-verbal predicates whose properties vary considerably. They are nominal predicates, adjectival predicates, and locative predicates (See, Dryer 2007b: 224).

Dhimal exhibits all the three types of non-verbal predicates: nominal predicates, adjectival predicates and locative predicates. They are discussed as follows:

a. Copular clauses with nominal predicates

Though Dhimal employs copulas, copular clauses with the nominal predicates generally occur without an overt copula in the present tense. However, the copula

may be employed as an optional element. Nominal predicates without copula in Dhimal are illustrated, as in (1):¹

- (1) a. *kaŋko miŋ maŋmaja*
 kaŋ-ko miŋ [maŋmaja]
 1SG.OBL-GEN name Manmaya
 ‘My name (is) Manmaya.’ (MMDFSW_01)
- b. *wa kã aba*
 wa kã [aba]
 3SG 1SG.OBL.GEN father
 ‘He (is) my father.’
- c. *wa ekdam remka bedzan*
 wa ekdam rem-ka [bedzan]
 3SG much be.good-NMLZ girl
 ‘She (is) a very beautiful girl.’ (GMDFSW_40)

In examples (1a-c), the copular clauses with the nominal predicates enclosed in square brackets are without any copula.²

When a clause predicates the time reference other than the present tense, the copula *hi* ‘be’ is inflected to encode the aspectual meaning encoded by the clause in Dhimal, as in (2):

- (2) a. *n^{he}noŋ neŋgri dija hi^{g^ha}hi aŋ*
 n^{he}-noŋ neŋgri dija [hi-g^ha-hi] aŋ
 two-CLF lame buffalo be-IPFV-PST REP
 ‘There were two lame buffaloes (it is said).’ (MMDFSW_01)

¹In Dhimal, the first person singular pronoun takes an oblique form when followed by the genitive case marker *-ko*. In rapid speech, the nasalized vowel suffices to code the genitive case.

²Doornenbal (2009: 119) assumes zero copula (ϕ) to indicate phonetically empty equative verb in Bantawa, for example: *k^hana haŋ* [ϕ] you king EQ ‘you are the king.’

- b. *b^haujiko miŋ tokra ɦiɡ^hak^he*
 b^hauji-ko miŋ tokra [ɦi-ɡ^ha-k^he]
 sister-in-law-GEN name Tokra be-IPFV-PRS
 'The sister-in-law's name was Tokra.'

In example (2a, b), the copula verb *ɦi* 'be' is inflected to encode the past habitual aspects.

However, when the Dhimial native speakers are given sentences to translate from Nepali they employ the identificational copula *ko* 'be'. It may be because of the influence of Nepali. In Nepali, the copula *ɦo* 'be' is consistently used in identificational copular clauses. The examples in (5a, b) exhibit the pattern in Dhimial.

- (3) a. *ede naja kodla ko*
 ede naja kodla ko
 this new spade COP
 'This is a new spade.'
- b. *wa kaŋko sanaiti ko*
 wa kaŋ-ko sanaiti ko
 3SG ISG.OBL-GEN friend COP
 'S/he is my friend.'

In examples (3a, b), the identificational copula *ko* is used.

The copula for identification is distinctly realized in the negative clauses even in the present time reference in Dhimial. Following are the examples:

- (4) a. *id^hiɦeŋ iso mako*
 id^hi-ɦeŋ iso ma-ko
 thi-DAT here NEG-COP
 'This place is not for it (the horse).' (TBDFSW_468)
- b. *ode kodla mako*
 ode kodla ma-ko
 that spade NEG-COP
 'That is not a spade.'

However, the copula is rarely used in the affirmative nominal predicates in natural texts in Dhimal. Regarding this pattern, Givón (2001a: 120) asserts, "... in many languages, copular clauses may appear without their copular head verb ('be'), at least in the present or habitual tense-aspects. However, they often reappear in other tense-aspects."

Copular clauses predicating a change of state can be formed with *dzeŋ* 'become' as in (7a)³. Regmi (2012a: 105) presents this as the type of the inchoative copular clause.⁴ Dhimal also has homophonous transitive verb *dzeŋ* 'bear/to give birth'), as in (5b):

- (5) a. *wa djaŋko djaŋ la dzeŋfi*
 wa djaŋ-ko djaŋ la dzeŋ-fi
 3SG person-GEN person MIR become-PST
 'He (the prince) became human being (again).' (LBDFSW_39)
- b. *ja te tsandrΛ surja dzeŋli kʰaŋkʰe*
 ja te tsandrΛ surjΛ dzeŋ-li kʰaŋ-kʰe
 this TOP moon sun bear-INF wish-PRS
 'She wishes to bear moon and sun.' (TBDFSW_88)

In example (5a), the copula *dzeŋ* 'become' encodes the state of affair of the change of state in the proposition, whereas in (5b) *dzeŋ* 'to bear' functions as the main verb.

b. Copular clauses with adjectival predicates

Most of Dhimal adjectives are created through the suffixation of the nominalizer *-ka* to the verb root. Attributive adjectives generally precede the head nouns which they modify. So, they are formally identical to relative clauses followed by a head noun. Non-native types of adjectives in Dhimal appear largely to be borrowings from Nepali, an Indo Aryan language of wider communication in Nepal. The attributive adjectives in Dhimal do not inflect for the case role or number of the modified noun (King 2009: 52).

³In Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009: 119) the verb *lima* 'to become' is used where predication has an aspect of change.

⁴In Bhujel (2012a: 105) the copula *ge* takes on an inchoative function, as *ram pʰamto ge-al* 'Ram became white.'

To use an adjective predicatively, *-ka* is suffixed to the verb stem followed by the copula *hi* 'be'. Such construction is structurally equivalent to the periphrastic resultative, with the nominalized verb acting as a headless noun phrase. In the clauses with predicate adjective phrase the copula is always overt, as in (6):

- (6) a. *tsi tirka hi*
 tsi tir-ka hi
 water cold-NMLZ COP
 'The water is cold.'
- b. ... *kants^{hi} te menaŋ remka hi*
 kants^{hi} te mena-ŋ rem-ka hi
 Kanchhi TOP very-EMPH be.good-NMLZ COP
 'As for Kanchhi, she is very pretty.' (TBDFSW_87)

In examples (6a, b), the adjectives *tirka* 'cold' and *remka* 'good' are followed by the existential copula *hi* 'be'.

c. Copular clauses with locative predicates

In the clauses with predicate locative phrases, the copula is always overt, similar to that of the predicate adjective phrases, as in (6a, b) above. With present time reference the copula *hi* 'be' is used without agreement in gender and number with the NP as in (7a, b). However, in perfective past and past habitual, the copula verb is inflected for the appropriate tense and aspect, as in (7c, d):

- (7) a. *inta iŋko tsaurta barka pok^hari hi doʔk^{he}*
 inta iŋko tsaur-ta bar-ka pok^hari [hi] doʔ-k^{he}
 there that meadow-LOC be.big-NMLZ pond COP say-PRS
 'There is a big pond in the meadow (it is said).' (TBDFSW_37)
- b. *mAndirko nuñẽ bagmati dz^hora hi*
 mAndir-ko nuñẽ bagmati dz^hora [hi]
 temple-GEN east Bagmati river COP
 'Bagmati river lies to the east of the temple.'

c. *ela wako sata hatijar fiḡ^hak^he*

ela wa-ko sa-ta hatiyar [fi-g^ha-k^he]

now 3SG-GEN house-LOC weapon be-IPFV-PRS

doʔ-k^he bΛnduk

doʔ-k^he bΛnduk

say-PRS gun

'Now, there was a weapon called gun in his house (it is said)' (TBDFSW_07)

d. *eloŋ desta fiḡ^hak^he doʔk^he eloŋ radza*

e-loŋ des-ta [fi-g^ha-k^he] doʔ-k^he e-loŋ radza

one-CLF country-LOC be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS one-CLF king

'There was a king in a country.' (TBDFSW_01)

In examples (7a, b) the copula verbs are unmarked for tense/aspect, i.e., in present habitual/stative whereas in (7c, d) the copula verbs are inflected for past habitual aspect with the present time reference.

4.2 Verbal predicates

The primary distinction of the verbal predicates can be made as intransitive clauses and transitive clauses. The intransitive clauses are further divided as simple intransitive and intransitive clause with an indirect object. Likewise, transitive clauses may also be sub-divided as simple transitive and transitive with an indirect object (bi-transitive). They are discussed as follows.

4.2.1 Simple intransitive clauses

Simple intransitive clauses may code states, events or actions. The subjects of the intransitive clause may be an agent, a patient or a dative. Dhimial intransitive verbs take a single argument in the form of a subject noun phrase coded in nominative case. The normal (unmarked) word order of simple intransitive clause is: NP_{sub} V. This is exemplified in (8a, b) with the verb *hane* 'go' and *naŋg^ha* 'be.awaken', respectively.

(8) a. *kalau kelai dz^himn^hafi*

kalau kelai [dzim-n^ha-fi]

then 1PL sleep-1PL-PST

'Then, all (of us) slept.'

- b. ... *nan̥gaʔhi doʔkʰe iŋko radzkumar*
 [nan̥gaʔ-fi] doʔ-kʰe iŋko radzkumar
 be.awaken-PST say-PRS that prince
 'The prince woke up (it is said).' (TBDFSW_32)

In example (8), the subject of the intransitive verb *dzim* 'sleep' is indicated by the first person plural marking morpheme *-nʰa* in the verbal complex. In (8b), the verbal complex *nan̥gʰahi* 'woke up/awakened' is topicalized to indicate the special discourse context.⁵

The subject of the intransitive verb in Dhimial may also be a dative, as in (9):

- (9) *kaseŋeŋ mʰituhi*
 ka-seŋeŋ mʰitu-fi
 1SG-DAT be.hungry-PST
 'I'm hungry/I felt hunger.'

In example (9), the experiencer subject is marked by the dative case marker and the verb is not encoded for the first person singular pronominal subject.

Many other verbs are the process verbs and the subject noun phrase has a semantic role that could be described as a patient-of-change, whether human, animate or inanimate, as in (10):

- (10) *si* 'die' *tui* 'become fat'
 mʰitu 'be. hungry' *bara* 'grow'
 pʰute 'break' *leder* 'be.ashamed'
 bantse 'live'

Other intransitive verbs, to a lesser extent, may take a single argument either as an agentive subject or a patient-of-state subject, as in (11):

- (11) *soʔ* 'urinate' *jom* 'sit'
 dzim 'sleep' *nan̥gʰa* 'be awaken'

The verbs listed in (10) and (11) are some examples of the intransitive verbs in Dhimial. They take a single argument as a subject.

⁵The marked topic constructions in Dhimial are discussed in Chapter 12.

4.2.2 Simple transitive clauses

The transitive clauses in Dhimal take one subject NP coded in the nominative and one direct object NP coded in the accusative or dative depending upon the semantic case-frame of the verb. The normal (unmarked) word order of simple transitive clause is: NP_{SBJ} NP_{DO} V. This phenomenon is exemplified in (12a-c) with the verbs *am* 'drink', *maŋ* 'fish' and *b^hete* 'meet' respectively.

- (12) a. *te lamp^ha ka tsi amã kunu doʔk^he aŋ*
 te lamp^ha ka tsi am-ã kunu doʔ-k^he aŋ
 okay before 1SG water drink-FUT than say-PRS REP
 'Okay, I will drink water first (he says).' (TBDFS_W_348)
- b. *obalai gotaŋ haia maŋfi*
 obalai gotaŋ haia maŋ-fi
 3PL all fish fish-PST
 'They fished all the fish.'
- c. *kalau iŋko dzaigulfiŋ wako param sjaile b^hetihi*
 kalau iŋko dzaigul-fiŋ wa-ko param sjaile b^hete-fi
 than that crocodile-DAT 3SG-GEN close.friend jackal meet-PST
 'Than the jackal met his close friend crocodile.' (HLDSJ_W_12)

The direct object in transitive verbs of this type has a patient of change role corresponding closely to the role of the subject of the typical intransitive verb. Some transitive verbs in Dhimal are listed in (13):

- (13) *seʔ* 'kill' *banai* 'make' *ga:* 'cook' *lek^he* 'write'
 tsa 'eat' *am* 'drink' *tsol* 'buy' *dz^ha:* 'wash/clean'

Givón (2001a: 127) further classifies prototypical transitive verbs according to the changes undergone to the patient: a) creation: *banai* 'make', b) destruction: *tsa* 'eat', c) change in physical condition: *p^hute* 'break', d) change in physical location: *sare* 'push/move', *jompa* 'gather' and, e) changes in the surface condition: *dz^ha:* 'wash/clean'.

4.2.3 Intransitive clauses with an indirect object⁶

Some intransitive verbs take, in addition to a subject, an indirect object. The indirect objects, in Dhimal, are marked by different postpositions. The verbs in this group may be further divided into different semantic subtypes, not all of which fall into the same syntactic type in all languages (Givón 2001a: 136). The indirect object also occasionally occurs as a non-nominative noun phrase. The intransitive clauses with an indirect object in Dhimal are discussed as follows:

a. Intransitive verbs with a locative indirect object

The verbs in this subgroup are in some sense the prototype intransitive verbs with an indirect object (Givón 2001a: 137). Their subject is either an agent or a patient and their indirect object is a locative. The normal (unmarked) word order of intransitive clause with locative indirect object is: NP_{SU} PP/NP_{IO} V. This pattern is exemplified with the verbs *hane* 'go' and *dul* 'enter' in Dhimal, as in (14a, b):

- (14) a. *obalai tsahĩ dz^har liʔta hanihi*
 ebalai tsahĩ [dz^har liʔta] hane-fi
 3PL IND jungle inside go-PST
 kelai tsahĩ baḥarbaḥar hin^hahi
 kelai tsahĩ [baḥar-baḥar] hi-n^ha-hi
 1PL IND outside-REDUP stay-1PL-PST
 'They entered into the jungle, we stayed outside instead.' (GMDWH_44)
- b. *iṅko atuika g^harata kalau ka hiso dulaṅka*
 [iṅko atuika g^hara-ta] kalau ka hiso dul-aṅ-ka
 that small hole-LOC then 1SG where enter-FUT-1SG
 'Where will I enter into that small hole?' (LBDFSW_25)

In example (14a), the intransitive verb *hane* 'go' requires a location/destination for the action to be fulfilled. Thus, the locative phrase *dz^har liʔta* 'into the jungle' functions as the locative indirect object. Similarly in (14b), the verb *dul* 'enter' requires a locative indirect object which is represented by *g^hara* 'hole'.

Many verbs of this type as in (15) code event of motion:

⁶ See Givón 2001a: 136-37.

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (15) | <i>lo</i> 'come' | <i>dul</i> 'enter' |
| | <i>k^{hu}ʔ</i> 'descend' | <i>hane</i> 'go' |
| | <i>ole</i> 'appear, emerge' | <i>d^{ha}ʔ</i> 'run' |
| | <i>taŋ</i> 'climb' | <i>te</i> 'walk' |

Many TB languages spoken in Nepal, like Limbu (Tumbahang 2011: 238),⁷

Yamphu (Rutgers 1998: 153-54)⁸ and Koyi (Lahaussois 2009: 20), possess the vertical/directional verbs.⁹ In contrast, Dhimal does not possess the vertical directional senses like 'up', 'down', level etc. in its verbal lexicon.

b. Intransitive verbs with an associative indirect object

Some syntactically intransitive verbs code the associative events, where the subject is an agent and the indirect object is an associative co-agent, as in (16):

- (16) *mΛnu amadop^{ha} hate hanihi*
 mΛnu ama-dop^{ha} hate hane-fi
 Manu mother-COM market go-PST
 'Manu went to market with her mother.'

An associative pattern with the two participants may be conjoined as the co-subjects, as in (17):

- (17) *mΛnu ra aamai hate hanehi*
 mΛnu ra aamai hate hane-fi
 Manu and mother market go-PST
 'Manu and mother went to the market.'

In example (17), the conjoined NPs *mΛnu ra aamai* 'Manu and mother' are in subject position.

⁷Tumbahang (2011: 238) lists the directional verbs like *phemma* 'to come from the surface level' *umja* 'to come down from higher location' and *tama* 'to come from anywhere' types of verb in Chhatthare Limbu.

⁸Rutgers (1998: 153-57) discusses circumvagant motion, downward motion, upward motion and dispatching motions in Yamphu, one of the Rai-Kirati languages spoken in mainly Sankhuwasabha district.

⁹Lahaussois (2009: 20) lists some motion verbs in Koyi that can be combined together to convey more precise meaning. He further notes that they can also be combined with non-motion verbs to add a directional component to the basic verb.

4.2.4 Transitive clauses with an indirect object

The bi-transitive verbs code the events with three obligatory participants, one taking the role of syntactic subject, next of direct object and the other of indirect object (Givón 2001a: 141). The indirect object, in Dhimal, is usually marked with the post-position *señeñ~ñeñ~eñ*. The sub-types of the bi-transitive verb class are discussed as follows:

a. Transitive verbs with dative or patient indirect object

The verbs in this sub-group take what appears to be two direct objects, the first a dative-recipient, the second a patient (Givón 2011: 84). Following are the examples:

- (18) a. *kaseñeñ b^hagwan ñaipali sat^h mapiñi*
ka-señeñ b^hagwan ñaipali sat^h ma-pi -ñi
1SG-DAT god why support NEG-give-PST
'Why the god did not grace on me?' (TBDFSW_260)
- b. *dzet^hi tsañĩ kants^hiñeñ dup^he piñi*
dzet^hi tsañĩ kants^hi-ñeñ dup^he pi-ñi
jethi IND Kanchhi-DAT axe give-PST
'As for Jethi, she gave an axe to Kanchhi.'
- c. *nokar narjañeñ dana piñi doʔk^he m^ha*
nokar narja-ñeñ dana pi-ñi doʔ-k^he m^ha
servant elephant-DAT fodder give-PST say-PRS TAG
'The servant gave fodder to the elephant, it is said, didn't he?'
- d. *tsi pili nilñi la tɔbelako oñjãñeñ*
tsi pi-li nil-ñi la tɔbela-ko oñjã-ñeñ
water give-INF forget-PST MIR stable-GEN horse-DAT
(He) forgot to give water to the horse of the stable.' (TBDFSW_336)

In examples (18a-d), the transitive verb *pi* 'give' has taken the dative/indirect objects marked with the dative marker *señeñ~ñeñ* and the patient/objects are in unmarked accusative case.

b. Transitive verbs with a locative indirect object

The verbs in this group take a subject agent, a direct-object patient whose location is being changed, and a locative indirect object, marked with an appropriate post-position, indicating either the source or the goal of the motion (Givón 2011: 83). Consider the examples in (19):

- (19) a. *oso dana lagaipihī doʔkʰe dũd ta*
 oso dana lagi-pi-hi doʔ-kʰe [dũd-ta]
 that.side fodder employ-BEN-PST say-PRS fodder.container-LOC
 '(He) put the fodder in the fodder container.' (TBDFSW_457)
- b. *obalai bunsuta paisa taʔhi*
 obalai bunsu-ta paisa taʔ-hi
 they pocket-LOC money keep-PST
 'They (women) put the money into the pocket.'

In example (19a), the verb *lagai* 'put' has taken the locative indirect object *dũd* 'fodder container' followed by the locative marker *-ta*. Similarly in (19b), *bunsu* 'pocket of a female garment' appears as the locative indirect object.

c. Transitive verbs with an associative indirect object

A few verbs, in Dhimal, may take an associative noun as an indirect object, marked with the comitative post position *-dopʰa* 'with', as in (20):

- (20) a. *wa ekdam sanaiti bʰajagelai dopʰaŋ*
 wa ekdam sanaiti bʰaya-gelai dopʰa-ŋ
 3SG consistently friend brother-PL with-EMPH
kʰiniŋ morimeʔeka
 kʰiniŋ morimeʔe-ka
 only live or die-NMLZ
 'He used to be very fond of his friends and brothers only.' (TBDFSW_03)

- b. *barka dzagir tsaka dop^ha*
 bar-ka dzagir tsa-ka dop^ha
 be.big-NMLZ employment eat-NMLZ with
hanaŋka doʔka
 hane-aŋ-ka doʔ-ka
 go-FUT-1SG say-NMLZ
 'I will go with (a person) having an attractive job.' (TBDFSW_87)

In examples (20a-b), the associative nouns as indirect objects are marked by the comitative postposition *-dop^ha* 'with'.

4.3 Verbs with clausal complement

The syntax and semantics of verbs that take a clause, i.e., another predicate, as their complement will be discussed in detail in Chapter 10. The verbs with clausal complements in Dhimal are modal-aspectual verbs, manipulation verbs and perception-cognition and utterance verbs.¹⁰ The major semantic and syntactic subtypes of verbs with verbal complements are discussed as follows.

4.3.1 Modal-aspectual verbs

Semantic characterization of the modality verb is that the complement clause is a proposition, coding a state or event. The subject of the main clause headed by the finite modality verb is co-referent with the subject of the complement clause. The subject of the complement clause is unexpressed.

Givón (2001: 86) notes "the verbs in this group convey a cluster of modal meaning such as volition, refusal, planning, ability, attempt, success or failure to perform an action. They also include, according to him, "the cluster of aspectual meanings such as beginning, ending or continuing the performance of an action." Dhimal possesses some lexical verbs to encode the modal-aspectual meaning, as in (21):

¹⁰Here, we deal with the verbs with the clausal complement to show their argument structure. They are discussed in terms of multi-propositional features in Chapter 10.

- (21) Modal verbs aspectual verbs
kiʔ 'want' *tom* 'be about to'
goi 'must' *hoi* 'complete'
tʰale 'start' *teŋ* 'start'
do 'be able to' *tʰale* 'start'

Syntactically, the modality verbs are characterized by an equi-subject condition, whereby the subject of the complement clause is co-referential to the subject of the main clause. The complement clause verb appears as an infinitival/ verbal noun. Some modality verbs are sort of conjunct verbs in Dhimal. The conjunct verbs are complex constructions that function as lexical units, usually consisting of a verb preceded by a noun or an adjective. Dhimal possesses some conjunct verbs, as in (22):

- (22) *kosis pa* 'try' *asa pa* 'wish'

Other modality verbs in Dhimal are *do* 'be able', as in (27a) and *goi* 'must', as in (23b):

- (23) a. *wa kalau siŋta nʰoʔli madokʰe*
 wa kalau siŋ-ta nʰoʔ-li ma-do-kʰe
 3SG than tree-LOC land-INF NEG-be.able-PRS
 'Than, it cannot sit on the tree.' (GMDWH_16)
- b. *ela kelai um tsali goi*
 ela kelai um tsa-li goi
 now 1PL rice eat-INF must
 'Now, we must eat rice.'

The aspectual modality verbs like *teŋ* 'begin/start', *tʰale* 'start' *hoi* 'complete' and *tom* 'be about to' are exemplified in (24a, b) respectively:

- (24) a. *kalau puŋjã kalau ela waseheŋ niʔli teŋfi*
 kalau puŋjã kalau ela wa-seheŋ niʔ-li teŋ-fi
 then snake then now 3SG-DAT swallow-INF begin-PST
 'Then the snake started to swallow her.' (LBDFSW_56)

- b. *ka ede musar k^heti pali t^haleg^ha*
 ka ede musar k^heti pa-li t^hale-g^ha
 1SG this mushroom farming do-INF start-PST.1SG
 'I started this mushroom planting.' (KRDMPW_13)

The verb *hioi* 'finish' encodes the completive aspect when directly attached to the main verb. It is not inflected for tense and also does not encode a participant reference marker, as in (25):

- (25) *damata te k^hara olehioi*
 dama-ta te k^hara ole-hioi
 path-LOC TOP rabbit emerge.out-PERF
 'The rabbit already emerged out on the very road.' (GMDWH_28)

In example (25), the aspectual verb *hioi* 'finish' has imparted the perfective meaning being directly attached to the main verb *ole* 'emerge out.'

4.3.2 Manipulation verbs

Semantically, the verbs in this group, according to Givón (2011: 88), convey complex events in which the agent of the main verb manipulates another agent to perform the action or activity coded in the complement clause. He further notes "syntactically the verbs in this group are characterized by an equi-object constraint, whereby the agent-subject of the complement clause is identical (co-referent) to the manipulee-object of the main clause, and is not overtly expressed." In Dhimal, some borrowed verbs roots nativized with the native tense/aspect markers are employed as manipulation verbs, as in (26a-b):

- (26) a. *taiko pale p^harehien arajã*
 taiko pale p^hare-hien arai-aŋ
 self-GEN peon guard-DAT order-FUT
k^hatajã doʔk^he aŋ
 k^hataj-aŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 employ-FUT say-PRS REP
 'I will order and employ my peons and guards (she said).' (TBDFSW_64)

- b. *ela gond^higelai lagaili gojaŋ*
 ela gond^hi-gelai lagai-li goi-aŋ
 now fisherman-PL employ-INF must-FUT
 'Now, the fishermen must be employed.' (TBDFSW_325)

The verbs *arai* 'order' and *k^hatai* 'employ', in (26a) and *lagai* 'employ' in (26b) are manipulative verbs in Dhimal.

4.3.3 Perception-cognition-utterance (P-C-U) verbs

The subject of the verbs in this group either perceives or cognizes a state or event, or utters a proposition concerning the state or event. The perceived, cognized or uttered proposition is coded in the complement clause. The complement clause thus functions as the object of the mental or verbal activity depicted in the main clause (Givón 2001: 153).

In Dhimal, the P-C-U verbs take a verbal complement clause with no co-reference (equi-subject, equi-object) restrictions. The examples in (27) are the P-C-U verbs in Dhimal:

- (27) Perception-cognition-utterance (PCU) verbs in Dhimal

<i>k^haŋ</i> 'look'	<i>giʔ</i> 'know'
<i>nil</i> 'forget'	<i>doʔ</i> 'say'
<i>fiŋ</i> 'listen'	<i>p^hom</i> 'remember'

Some examples of the PCU verbs in Dhimal are presented in (28a-b):

- (28) a. *wa kaŋko doʔka maŋiŋk^he*

wa	kaŋ-ko	doʔ-ka	ma-ŋiŋ-k ^h e
3SG	1SG-GEN	say-NMLZ	NEG-listen-PRS
'He does not listen to what I say.'			

- b. *tsi pili nilfi la tɔbelako ofjãŋeŋ*

tsi	pi-li	nil-fi	la	tɔbela-ko	ofjã-ŋeŋ
water	give-INF	forget-PST	MIR	stable-GEN	horse-DAT
'(He) forgot to give water to the horse of the stable.' (TBDFSW_336)					

In the example (28a), the perception verb *hiŋ* 'listen' has taken the clause *kaŋko doʔka* as its complement. Similarly in example (28b), the perception verb *niŋ* 'forget' has taken the clause *tsi pili* as its complement.

a. Direct-quote complements

The complements of PCU verbs described so far were all of the indirect-quote type. However, "utterance verbs can take direct quote complements" (Givón 2001a: 155). In Dhimel, it is very common to take direct quote complement by the utterance verb *doʔ* 'say', as in (29a) and *hiʔ* 'ask' as in, (29b):

- (29) a. *wa naseŋ sikar buŋ remka*

wa [na-seŋeŋ sikar buŋ rem-ka
3SG na-DAT meal also be.good-NMLZ

papjaŋka doʔhi

pa-pi-aŋ-ka] doʔ-fi
give-BEN-FUT-1SG say-PST

'He said, "I will manage some good meat for you."' (NLDD&LW_60)

- b. *eʔni tsaŋi wako bʰaudzi hiʔhi*

eʔ-ni tsaŋi wa-ko bʰaudzi hiʔ-fi
one-day IND 3SG sister-in-law ask-PST

oe ʌltsʰja koŋkar na ʰetʰe din

[oe ʌltsʰja koŋkar na ʰetʰe din
hey lazy Koŋker 2SG how.much day

tʰekapa esa dzenana re

tʰekapa esa dzeŋ-aŋ-na re]
GOAL like.this become-FUT-2 PART

'One day, his sister-in-law asked, "hey, lazy Kongker, how low will you remain in this way?"' (GMDFSW_10)

In the example (29a), full-fledged finite clauses enclosed in square brackets is the complement of the utterance verb *doʔ* 'say'. Similarly in (29b) the direct quote complement of the utterance verb *hiʔ* 'ask' is enclosed in square brackets.

b. Information verbs

A number of PCU verbs, all seemingly utterance or communication verbs such as *do?* 'say', *hi?* 'ask', *d^hatai* 'lie to', may take a dative direct object or indirect object in addition to their clausal complements (Givón 2001a: 157). Let us consider the example in (30):

- (30) *wa kaseheŋ hieʔlau sa hanaana doʔteŋ hiʔhi*
wa **ka-seheŋ** [hieʔlau sa hane-aŋ-na] doʔ-teŋ hiʔ-hi
3SG 1SG-DAT when home go-FUT-2 say-SEQ ask-PST
'He asked me, "when will you go to (your) home?"'

In example (30), the information verb *hi?* 'ask' has taken dative direct object (boldfaced) in the example in addition to its clausal complement enclosed in square brackets.

4.3.4 Multiple membership in verb classes

Some verbs may also belong to more than one semantic and syntactic verb classes (Givón 2001: 160). In Dhimal, *do?* 'say' and *hi?* 'ask' may be either simple transitive verbs like *tsa* 'eat', manipulation verb like *pa?* 'do' or information verbs. Examples of multiple membership of the verb *do?* 'say' are given in (31) through (33).

a. Transitive verb

The verb *do?* 'say' may function as a simple transitive verb in Dhimal, as in (31):

- (31) *wa eʔloŋ kat^ha doʔhi*
wa eʔ-loŋ kat^ha [doʔ-hi]
3SG one-CLF story say-PST
'(Once) he told a story'.

In the example (31), the utterance verb *do?* 'say' functions as a transitive verb.

b. Manipulative verb

The utterance verb *do?* 'say' may also function as a manipulative verb in Dhimal. Following is an example:

- (32) *wa kaseheŋ um tsali doʔhi*
 wa ka-seheŋ um tsa-li doʔ-hi
 3SG 1SG-DAT rice eat-INF say-PST
 'He said me to eat rice.'

In example (32), the utterance verb *doʔ* 'say' functions as a manipulative verb.

c. Informative verbs

Similarly, the verb *doʔ* 'say' may function as an informative verb in Dhimal, as in (33):

- (33) *wa ram hanehi doʔhi*
 wa ram hane-hi doʔ-hi
 3SG Ram go-PST say-PST
 'He said that Ram went.'

In example (33) the utterance verb *doʔ* 'say' functions as an informative verb. Similarly, the verb *nil* 'forget' may be a transitive verb as well as cognitive verb in Dhimal.

a. Transitive

The verb *nil* 'forget' may be used as a transitive verb in Dhimal. Let us consider the example in (34):

- (34) *ka waseheŋ nilg^{ha}*
 ka wa-seheŋ nil-g^{ha}
 1SG 3SG-DAT forget-PST.1SG
 'I forgot him.'

In example (34), the verb *nil* 'forget' functions as a transitive verb with a direct object.

b. Cognitive

The same verb may also function as a cognitive verb, as in (35):

- (35) *kã ama um ga:li nilhi*
 kã ama um ga:-li nil-hi
 1SG.GEN mother rice cook-INF forget-PST
 'My mother forgot to cook dinner.'

In example (35), the verb *nil* 'forget' functions as a cognitive verb like *ki?* 'want' in Dhimal.

Givón (2001a: 161) emphasizes that the verbs, like other words, may be polysemous, however, their various senses may be systematically related.

4.3.5 Optional participants case roles

Most of the verbal clause types, both transitive and intransitive, may take, in addition to their obligatory participants, also some optional arguments. Most commonly, they are added as indirect objects. In Dhimal, the indirect objects occurred with intransitive verbs are exemplified in (36) and (37):

a. Associative indirect object

The intransitive verbs like *d^ha?* 'run' in Dhimal may take an associative indirect object, as in (36):

- (36) *wa kaŋko dada dop^ha d^ha?hi*
 wa kaŋ-ko dada dop^ha d^ha?-hi
 3SG 1SG.OBL-GEN elder.brother COM run-PST
 'S/he ran away with my brother.'

In example (36), the intransitive verb *d^ha?* 'run' has taken an associative indirect object marked with the comitative.

b. Locative indirect object

Similarly, the intransitive verbs like *dzim* 'sleep' and *lo* 'come' may take a locative indirect object, as in (37):

- (37) a. *ka sa?taŋ dzimg^ha*
 ka sa?-ta-ŋ dzim-g^ha
 1SG house-LOC-EMPH sleep-PST.1SG
 'I slept in the very house.'

- b. *wa kaŋkota lofi*
 wa kaŋ-ko-ta lo-fi
 3SG 1SG.OBL-GEN-LOC come-PST
 'He came to my (place/home/room).'

In examples (37a, b), the verbs *dzim* 'sleep' and *lo* 'come' have taken locatives as their indirect objects.

The transitive verb *d^he*: 'split' with the instrumental indirect object and the verb *pa* 'do' with the benefactive indirect object are exemplified respectively, as in (38) and (39):

a. Instrumental indirect object

- (38) *wa dup^hefoi misiŋ d^he:fi*
 wa [dup^he-foi] misiŋ d^he:-fi
 3SG axe-INS firewood split-PST
 'He split the firewood with an axe.'

b. Benefactive indirect object

- (39) *obalai kelai b^hasi kam paŋfi*
 obalai kelai b^hasi kam pa-fi
 3PL 1PL for work do-PST
 'They worked for us.'

In example (38), the transitive verb *d^he*: 'split' has taken the instrumental indirect object. Similarly in (39), the transitive verb *pa* 'do' has taken the benefactive indirect object.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed simple verbal clauses and argument structure in Dhimal. Dhimal verbs may be classified in different groups in terms of clause structure and argument structure. Non-verbal predicates in Dhimal are nominal predicates, adjectival predicates and locative predicates. The nominal predicates in Dhimal generally occur without an overt copula in present tense whereas when a clause predicates the time reference other than the present, the copula verb is employed. The adjectival and locative copular clauses take the copula *fi* 'be' inflected to encode tense, aspect and participant reference marking morphemes. The verbal predicates in Dhimal may be divided in terms of transitivity. Basic differences are found in

intransitive predicates and transitive predicates. Both of these types may be divided as encoding indirect objects. Further, modality verbs, manipulation verbs and perception-cognition-utterance (P-C-U) verbs in Dhimel are characterized by clausal complements of different types. Some predicate in Dhimel exhibit multiple membership.

CHAPTER 5

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS AND CASE MARKING SYSTEM

5.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the grammatical relations and case marking system in Dhimal. It is divided into three sections. In section 5.1, we discuss the grammatical relations in Dhimal. Section 5.2 deals with the case marking system. Section 5.3 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

5.1 Grammatical relations

Grammatical relations in Dhimal are subject, direct object and indirect object.¹ Grammatical relations play a vital role in the structure of both simple and complex constructions.² In Dhimal, grammatical relations are characterized by two major formal properties referred to as overt coding properties and behavioral properties.³ Such properties are discussed as follows:

5.1.1 Overt coding properties

Overt coding properties are the properties which may be realized overtly in the basic structures of the languages. Such properties, as Givón (2001a: 175) notes, are "perceptually discernible features of the grammatical code." Cross linguistically, arguments are most commonly distinguished by three types of coding properties: nominal morphology (case marking), verb agreement and word order.⁴ Of such properties, verb agreement is morphological, case marking is both the morphological

¹This chapter deals with the formal properties of grammatical/syntactic relations, viz. subject, direct object and indirect object in Dhimal; mainly, in response to three problems: What are the grammatical relations in Dhimal? How are the grammatical relations encoded in Dhimal? And what pattern of syntactic control do major rule governed syntactic processes tag on in this language?

²Cross-linguistically, these relations play a vital role not only in the structure of simple clauses but also in major syntactic processes (complex constructions) such as promotion to direct object, de-transitivization, complementation, causativization, nominalization, relativization, raising, and various types of anaphoric reference and agreement (Givón 1997; 2001a).

³However, cross-linguistically, these properties are not always applicable across the board. Within the same language, some constructions may be governed only by the subject, or only by the object, or by both, or by neither. Such constructions either follow nominative pattern or ergative pattern or mixed pattern (Brainard 1997: 91).

⁴These properties are termed as overt-coding properties (Givón 2001a: 155). Overt coding properties, which can be perceptually distinguished, comprise word order (i.e., the NP's position in the clause in relation to other GR-bearing arguments and the verb), verb agreement (i.e., the NP's control of pronominal affixes on the complex of verb) and nominal morphology (the NP's morphological case marking) (Givón 2001a: 175).

and syntactic and word order is syntactic. These overt coding properties remarkably determine the grammatical roles of the clausal participants. The relevance of the overt coding properties to grammatical relations even in simple clauses varies from one language to another, or within the same language from one case-role to the other (Givón 1997: 8). We examine the overt coding properties and their relevance to grammatical relations in Dhimal as follows.

a. Nominal morphology

The nominal morphology, as one of the overt coding properties, refers to the NPs morphological case marking in determining the grammatical relations. In nominative-accusative languages such as English and Japanese the case marking morphology codes the grammaticalized subject in a unified way as nominative and direct-object as accusative regardless of semantic role or transitivity. In contrast, in ergative-absolutive languages, case marking morphology codes the syntactic distinction between transitive and intransitive clauses (Givón 2001: 208). Unlike in many Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal, in Dhimal, the subject of an intransitive clause and the agent of a transitive clause, irrespective of the tense, aspect or person, are marked as nominative whereas the object of the transitive clause is marked as accusative. Thus, like Garo (Burlings 2003b: 396)⁵, Tani (Sun 2003: 457)⁶ and Hakha lai⁷ (Peterson 2003: 409) languages, Dhimal is consistently nominative-accusative language. Despite the fact that other Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal are ergative-absolutive, Dhimal exhibits nominative-accusative pattern. This may be because of the areal influence since the languages like Rajbanshi⁸, Maithili and Bengali (Indo-Aryan) and Santhali⁹ (Austro-Asiatic) spoken in Dhimal speaking area follow nominative-accusative pattern. And, Dhimal might have adopted this feature due to an areal influence. Examples in (1a, b) exhibit the nominative-accusative case marking pattern in Dhimal.

⁵Garo, a TB language spoken in Northeastern India and in Bangladesh, is a straightforward nominative-accusative language (see Burling 2003b: 396).

⁶The Tani languages are spoken mainly in Arunachal Pradesh and Northern Assam. Tani nominal case marking follows a nominative-accusative pattern (Sun 2003: 457).

⁷Hakha Lai is a Kuki-chin language spoken primarily in and around the city of Hakha in Chin state, Burma and in Adjacent areas of India and Bangladesh (Peterson 2003: 409).

⁸Wilde (2008: 108) notes that the case marking system of Rajbanshi is arranged on a nominative/accusative basis.

⁹See Eppele et al. (2012: 86).

(1) a. **Intransitive clause**

ka dzimg^ha

ka- ϕ dzim-g^ha

1SG-NOM sleep-PST.1SG

'I slept.'

b. **Transitive (non-human patient/object)**

ka um tsag^ha

ka- ϕ um- ϕ tsa-g^ha

1SG-NOM rice-ACC eat-PST.1SG

'I ate rice.'

In example (1a), the subject of the intransitive clause is encoded by the nominative marker ϕ .¹⁰ Similarly, the agent of the transitive clause in (1b) is marked as nominative and the non-human object/patient of the transitive clause in (1b) is marked as accusative.

However, a human patient/object is marked as dative in Dhimal, as in (2):

(2) **Transitive (human patient)**

ka naseheŋ danaig^ha

ka na-seheŋ danai-g^ha

1SG 2SG-DAT beat-PST.1SG

'I beat you.'

In example (2), we see that the pronominal argument in object/patient role is marked by the dative case *-seheŋ*. Thus, the nominal morphology as coding property follows a consistent nominative pattern in Dhimal.

b. Verb agreement

Dhimal displays the pattern of verb agreement/verb cross-referencing to index the person and number in the complex of verb. They are discussed as follows:

¹⁰Nominative is almost always the functional term in a nominative-accusative system, and may also be formally unmarked (Dixon 2010b: 120).

i. Pronominal verb agreement

In a single-argument clause, only the reference of the first person singular and second person singular and plural arguments are indexed in the complex of the verb in Dhimal. Following are the examples:

- (3) a. *ka leŋg^ha*
ka-ϕ leŋ-fi-ka
1SG-NOM laugh-PST-1SG
'I laughed.'
- b. *na leŋn^ha*
na- ϕ leŋ-fi-na
2SG-NOM laugh-PST-2
'You laughed.'
- c. *wa leŋfi*
wa- ϕ leŋ-fi
3SG-NOM eat-PST
'S/he laughed.'

In example (3a), first person singular subject *ka* is indexed in the verb which is blended with the past tense morpheme *-fi* resulting in a portmanteau morpheme *-g^ha*. Similarly, in (3b) the second person singular subject *na* is indexed in the verb which is blended with the past tense morpheme *-fi* resulting in a portmanteau morpheme *-n^ha*. However, in (3c) the subject in the third person is not indexed in the verbal complex at all.

The first person singular participant reference in the verbal complex is distinctly realized in the clause that encodes future tense reference whereas the second person subject participant reference is realized in the present and future tenses. Following are the examples:

- (4) a. *ka um tsaŋka*
ka um tsa-aŋ-ka
1SG rice eat-FUT-1SG
'I will eat rice.'

- b. *na h̥ate h̥ane-k^he-na*
 na h̥ate h̥ane-k^he-na
 2SG market go-PRS-2
 'You go to the market.'
- c. *nelai h̥ate h̥anesuk^hena*
 nelai h̥ate h̥ane-su-k^he-na
 2PL market go-COL-PRS-2
 'You (all) go to the market.'

In example (4a), the first person singular subject/agent is distinctly indexed in the verbal complex. Similarly, in (4b, c) the second person singular and plural subject participants are indexed invariably by *-na*. The plurality in (4c) is indexed by the collective marker *-su* attached to the verb stem *h̥ane* 'go'.

The first person plural subject/agent is not distinctly indexed in the verbal complex, however, the plural marker *-n^ha*, employed exclusively for the first person, indicates the subject/agent reference, as in (5):

- (5) a. *kelai um tsan^hak^he*
 kelai um tsa-n^ha-k^he
 1PL rice eat-1PL-1SG
 'We (all) eat rice.'
- b. *kelai um tsan^hafi*
 kelai um tsa-n^ha-fi
 1PL rice eat-1PL-PST
 'We (all) ate rice.'
- c. *kelai um tsan*
 kelai um tsa-aŋ
 1PL rice eat-FUT
 'We (all) will eat rice.'

In examples (5a, b), there is no overt agent participant reference for the first person plural, however, since the plural marker is employed only when the subject/agent participant is in the first person, it is apparent that the subject/agent is first person

plural. In contrast, in (5c) no number marker is employed in the verb in the future tense. It leaves the verbal complex unmarked for the number, along with the person.

In Dhimial, pronominal agreement on the verb complex is controlled by the grammatical roles of the participants. Thus, the pronominal indexation/verb agreement in Dhimial is exclusively controlled by the nominative principle, i.e., the subjects regardless of transitivity.

ii. Number agreement

Dhimial overtly indexes dual and plural number of the subject/agent arguments in the verb complex for first person and second person. Duality is indexed by the suffix *-niŋ* in both first and second person, as in (6):

- (6) a. *kid^hin^hemi um tsak^heniŋ*
 kid^hin^hemi um tsa-k^he-niŋ
 1DU rice eat-PRS-DU
 'We (two) eat rice.'
- b. *nid^hin^hemi um tsak^heniŋ*
 nid^hin^hemi um tsa-k^he-niŋ
 2DU rice eat-PRS-DU
 'You (two) eat rice.'
- c. *od^hin^hemi um tsak^he*
 od^hin^hemi um tsa-k^he
 3DU rice eat-PRS
 'They (two) eat rice.'

From examples in (6a, b), it may be observed that duality in the verbal complex is indexed by the morpheme *-niŋ* in both the first and second person. In contrast, in example (6c), the third person verbal complex is not marked with the dual marker. However, the pronoun indicates the dual reference of the participant even in the third person.

Dhimial does not contrast the verbal complex in terms of inclusivity. Plurality in first person is marked by *-n^ha*. In contrast, plurality in second person is marked by the collective marker *-su*, whereas the number distinction is not realized in the third person. Following are the examples:

- (7) a. *kelai um tsan^hak^he*
kelai um tsa-n^ha-k^he
1PL rice eat-1PL-PRS
'We (all) eat rice.'
- b. *nelai um tsasuk^hena*
nelai um tsa-su-k^he-na
2PL rice eat-COL-PRS-2
'You (all) eat rice.'
- c. *obalai um tsak^he*
obalai um tsa-k^he
3PL rice eat-PRS
'They (all) eat rice.'

In example (7a), plurality of the first person is indexed by the morpheme *-n^ha* in the verbal complex. Similarly in (7b) plurality of the second person is indexed by the morpheme *-su*, followed by the second person reference *-na* in the verbal complex. In example (7c) the third person verbal complex is not marked for plural number, similar to the dual number as exemplified in (5c) above.

c. Word order

Basic word order in Dhimal is SOV with nominative-accusative case marking pattern. Both the subject of an intransitive clause, as in (8a) and the agent of a transitive clause, as in (8b) occupy the same clause initial position. However, as in Bhujel (Regmi 2012a: 119-21), this order is not rigid. For the pragmatic effects, especially in topicalized and contrastively focused constructions, the constituents may be permuted within the clause to a great extent.¹¹ In a nominative-accusative language like Dhimal, both subject and agent, which are the main clause topic and the direct object/patient, the secondary topic, may be permuted from their stipulated places in the clause. Thus, in a language in which constituent order is permitted to be relatively free, word order is not a definite diagnostic of grammatical relations.

¹¹. See Chapter 12 for detail.

- (8) a. *wa leŋfi*
 wa leŋ-fi
 3SG laugh-PST
 'He laughed.'
- b. *wa um tsaŋi*
 wa um tsa-fi
 3SG rice eat-PST
 'He ate rice.'

In example (8a) the subject of the intransitive clause and in (8b) the agent of the transitive clause have occupied the same clause initial position.

Of the three overt coding properties that commonly identify the grammatical relations, Dhimal mainly exhibits nominal case marking and verb agreement. Of these, nominal case marking, which displays a nominative pattern in Dhimal, is the more straightforward properties of grammatical relations. Moreover, verb-agreement, i.e., pronominal and number agreement display nominative pattern. Word order as a coding property is less straightforward in Dhimal, i.e., all NPs in basic transitive and single-argument clauses occur in the clause initial position. However, they may be displaced for pragmatic purposes. Thus, word order does not encode grammatical coding pattern in Dhimal. However, in Dhimal, word order distinguishes between the nominative subject and accusative object in the transitive clauses and the nominative NP in single argument clauses.

5.1.2 Behavior-and-control properties

Apart from the overt-coding properties, grammatical relations are also characterized by the formal properties referred to as behavior-and control properties (i.e., behavioral constraints). Givón (2001a: 177) defines "behavior-and-control properties of GRs are, in practical terms, a list of the syntactic constructions or 'processes' whose behavior can be governed, at least potentially, by the GRs subject and/or direct-object." Such properties are syntactic constructions whose behavior is most likely to be governed either by the subject or direct-object grammatical relations. Much like overt-coding properties, behavior-and-control properties, are not always applicable across the board. Within the same language, some rule governed syntactic processes or

constructions may be relevant only to the subject or only to the object.¹² Moreover, in a morphologically nominative-accusative language like Dhimial, the morphology does not reveal unified categories of subject and direct object.

We examine the patterns of syntactic control in the light of the cross-linguistic underpinnings in some syntactic constructions in Dhimial as follows:

a. Equi-NP deletion and grammatical relations

Equi-NP deletion is a syntactic process in which the co-referential argument/NP in the complement clause is deleted. Brainard (1997: 122) notes "equi-NP deletion takes place between a main clause and complement clause: when an argument in the main clause is co-referential with one in the complement clause, the co-referential complement argument is deleted." Such deletion is controlled by the subject of the main clause. In both transitive and intransitive complement clauses, the equi-NP deletion is controlled by the nominative subject. Thus, in Dhimial, the Equi-NP deletion (or co-reference) in complement clauses displays a nominative pattern of control in modality verb like *kiʔ* 'want' either with indirect object complement (9a) or direct object complement (9b).

(9) a. Indirect object complement clause

ka itaŋ hili kiʔkʰa

ka_i [ϕ_i ita-ŋ hi-li] kiʔ-kʰa
1SG here-EMPH sit-INF want-PRS.1SG
'I want to stay in here.'

b. Direct object complement clause

ka um tsali kiʔkʰa

ka_i [ϕ_i um tsa-li] kiʔ-kʰa
1SG rice eat-NMLZ want-PRS.1SG
'I want to eat rice.'

¹²Brainard (1997: 91) presents three patterns of syntactic control attested cross-linguistically: (a) nominative pattern (b) ergative pattern and (c) mixed pattern. In nominative pattern, the required argument of single-argument clause and the subject of the transitive clause control most of the syntactic processes. However, in ergative pattern, the required argument of single-argument clause and the object of transitive clause control most of the syntactic processes. In mixed pattern, the required argument of single-argument clause combines with the subject of transitive clause to control some syntactic processes (following a nominative pattern) and with object to control other syntactic patterns (following an ergative pattern).

In example (9a, b), the deleted NPs in the complement clause (enclosed in the square brackets) are co-referential with the NPs in the respective main clauses. Regarding the equi-NP deletion, Givón (1997: 24) asserts that it applies differently to grammatical relations in different types of complement taking verbs within the same language. In English modality verbs (want, start, try), the equi-NP is relevant to the subject of both clauses. In English manipulation verbs (force, make, tell), on the other hand, it is relevant to the subject of the complement and object of the main clause.

In Dhimal, as in English sentence, 'she told him (0) to leave' the human object of manipulative verbs is direct object, so the equi can be formulated in terms of the subject of the complement and the direct object of the main clause, as in (10a, b):

- (10) a. *ka waseheŋ um tsali doʔg^ha*
 ka wa-seheŋ_i ϕ_i um tsa-li doʔ-g^ha
 1SG 3SG-DAT rice eat-INF say-PST.1SG
 'I said him to eat rice.'
- b. *amai tsanheŋ kam pali lagaihi*
 amai tsan-heŋ_i ϕ_i kam pa-li lagai-fi
 mother son-DAT work do-INF employ-PST
 'The mother employed the son to work.'

In example (10a), the equi-NP of the manipulation verb *doʔ* 'say' is co-referential with the subject of the complement and the object of the main clause. Similarly in (10b), the equi-NP of the manipulation verb *lagai* 'employ' is co-referential with the subject of the complement clause and object of the main clause.

b. Reflexives and grammatical relations

Reflexivization is another behavior and control property to be applicable to subject grammatical relation. Givón (1997: 24) notes "the true reflexive invariably is controlled by the subject, although the co-referentially-deleted argument may be direct or indirect object." That is, only the nominative subject NP becomes the reflexive pronoun regardless of transitivity. In Dhimal, reflexivization clearly exhibits nominative control, as in (11):

- (11) a. *wa taimiŋ danaihi*
wa taimi-ŋ danai-fi
3SG self-EMPH beat-PST
'S/he beat himself/herself.'
- b. *obalai tripasa taimiŋ tsumteŋ olehi doʔk^{he} bas*
obalai_i tripasa [taimi-ŋ]_i tsuma-teŋ ole-fi doʔ-k^{he} bas
3PL tripasa self-EMPH bring-SEQ emerge-PST say-PRS that's all
'They emerged out taking Tripasa themselves, that's all.' (TBDFSW_95)
- c. *dʌs barʌ din hiiteŋ aroŋ kants^{hi}i*
dʌs barʌ din fi-teŋ aro-ŋ kants^{hi}_i
ten twelve day sit-SEQ again-EMPH Kanchhi
kalau taiko sita bida r^{hu}:teŋ hanihi
kalau [taiko_i] si-ta bida r^{hu}:teŋ hane-fi
then self house-LOC leave ask-SEQ go-PST
'Having stayed for ten to twelve days, the youngest sister went to her own home.' (LBDFSW_47)

Examples in (11a-c), show that the reflexive, in Dhimal, is indexed by the reflexive pronoun *tai* optionally followed by the human classifier *-mi*. Such reflexive pronoun is controlled by the subject NP which is marked as nominative. That is, the nominative subject NP can become the reflexive pronoun in Dhimal.

c. Zero anaphora in chained clauses and grammatical relations

Zero anaphora in chained clauses involves conjoined or adjacent independent clauses that share co-referential arguments. The use of zero anaphora, as in English (Givón 2001a: 177), as a pronominal device to mark co-reference in clause-chaining is confined to the subject grammatical relation in Dhimal. The zero in a chained (conjoined) clause could only be governed by the subject of the preceding clause as in (12a), not by its object (12b).¹³ Following are the examples from Dhimal.

¹³ The same pattern is observed in Bhujel, one of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal (Regmi 2014: 150).

- (12) a. *ka waseheŋ dusug^ha kat^ha pag^ha*
 ka_i wa-seheŋ_j dusu-g^ha ϕ_i kat^ha pa-g^ha
 1SG 3SG-DAT meet-PST.1SG talk do-PST.1SG
 kalau hiate hianeg^ha
 kalau ϕ_i hiate hane-g^ha
 then market go-PST
 'I met him, talked (to him), then went to the market.'
- b. * *ka waseheŋ dusug^ha kat^ha pag^ha*
 ka_i wa-seheŋ_j dusu-g^ha ϕ_j kat^ha pa-g^ha
 1SG 3SG-DAT meet-PST.1SG talk do-PST.1SG
 kalau hiate hanehi
 kalau ϕ_j hiate hane-fi
 then market go-PST
 'I met him, talked (to him), then (he) went to market.'

From the examples in (12a, b), it is clear that the governed zero (ϕ) could only be the subject of the chained clause, not the object (see Givón 2001a: 177), i.e., an absent argument (zero anaphor), in the subsequent clause is coreferential with the agent/subject argument.

d. Relativization and grammatical relations

In Dhimal, the same zero coding strategy is used in the relative clauses, regardless of whether the focus of relativization is subject, direct object or indirect objects. The same situation is reported in Japanese (Givón 1997: 14; 2001a: 183).¹⁴ In the same way, relativization in Dhimal is not governed by grammatical roles because all the grammatical relations are relativized employing the same strategy, as in (13):

¹⁴ In Puma, one of the Rai-Kirati languages, relativization can be a test for grammatical relations "since A-arguments, S-arguments and P-arguments are relativized by different strategies" (Sharma 2014: 336).

(13) a. **Main clause**

bebal wabalheŋ paɪsa pi-fi

bebal wabal-heŋ paɪsa pi-fi

woman man-DAT money give-PST

'The woman gave money to the man.'

b. **Subject relative clause**

wabalheŋ paɪsa pi-ka bebal...

[ϕ] wabal-heŋ paɪsa pi-ka bebal

man-DAT money give-NMLZ woman

'The woman who gave money to the man....'

c. **Direct object relative clause**

bebal wabalheŋ pi-ka paɪsa ...

bebal wabal-heŋ [ϕ] pi-ka paɪsa

woman man-DAT give-NMLZ money

'The money that the woman gave to the man....'

d. **Dative (indirect object) relative clause**

bebal paɪsa pi-ka wabal ...

bebal [ϕ] paɪsa pi-ka wabal

woman money give-NMLZ man

'The man to whom the woman gave money....'

Examples in (13b-d) exemplify that the same nominalizing morpheme *-ka* is employed to relativize different arguments in Dhimal.

e. **Co-reference in imperatives**

Imperatives are constructions in which an argument of the clause is co-referential with the addressee; thus, the argument can be said to control co-reference (Brainard 1997: 131). In Dhimal, the co-referential argument may be present in the surface structure usually as the second person pronoun, as in (14a), or it may be absent, as in (14b):

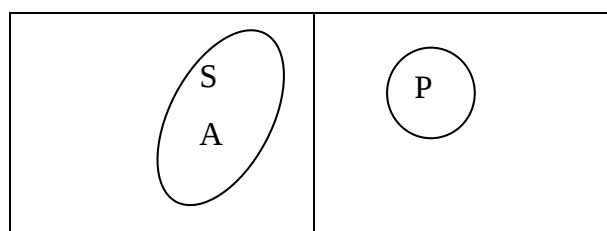
- (14) a. *na edʌi dzamaleŋ tʰʌpʌkkʌi tsumpu pose*
 na edʌi dzamal-eŋ tʰʌpʌkkʌi tsuma-pu pose
 2SG this child-DAT immediately bring-AND.IMP rear.IMP
 'You take this child instantly and take care of it.' (TBDFSW_355)
- b. *te kunu ʃane-tsa doʔ-ʃi doʔ-kʰe*
 te kunu ʃane-tsa doʔ-ʃi doʔ-kʰe
 okay than go-IMP.AFF say-PST say-PRS
 'Okay, you go now (he says).' (TBDFSW_512)

In example (14a), the argument *na* '2SG' of the imperative verbs *tsumpu* 'bring away' and *pose* 'rear' is present in the surface whereas in (14b) the co-referential argument of the imperative verb *ʃane-tsa* 'go' is covert, however, understandable because the co-referential argument for the imperative is always the second person pronoun.

5.2 Case marking system

Grammatical case marking is generally referred to as primary morphological coding property of the syntactic or grammatical relations, viz., subject and primary object (patient and dative) in a clause. Typologically, the languages of the world reveal remarkable diversity in grammatical case marking. Three different systems have been observed so far, namely, active-stative (coding semantic roles), ergative-absolutive (coding transitivity) and nominative-accusative (coding pragmatic function) (Givón 2001a: 201). Dhimel employs the pragmatically oriented nominative-accusative case marking strategy. In such languages, as Givón (2001a: 203) notes, "the case-marking morphology is keyed towards coding the grammaticalized subject (nominative) and direct-object (accusative), regardless of semantic roles or transitivity." In Dhimel, S and A are treated the same, and P differently. This phenomenon is shown in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: Dhimel case marking strategy



As shown in Figure 5.1, in Dhimal, the subject of an intransitive clause and the agent of a transitive clause are treated in one way (nominative) and the patient of a transitive clause is treated differently (i.e., accusative). Following are the examples:

- (15) a. *na dzimk^hena*
 na- ϕ dzim-k^he-na
 2SG-NOM sleep-PRS-2
 'You sleep.'
- b. *na waseheŋ danaik^hena*
 na- ϕ wa-seheŋ danai-k^he-na
 2SG-NOM 3SG-DAT beat-PRS-2
 'You beat him.'

In examples (15a, b), the subject *na* of the intransitive verb *dzim* 'sleep' and the agent of the transitive verb *danai* 'beat' are marked in the same way, i.e., zero-marked. Morphological case marking of the NP is one of the overt coding properties of grammatical relations, others being the word order and the verb agreement (Givón 2001a: 175). Case marking is a morphological overt-coding property of grammatical relations: subject, direct object and indirect object. Such grammatical relations are encoded in the noun phrases by case role inflections. Similarly, they can also be indexed by pronominal verb agreement in the verbal complex. The case marking of the subject and direct object, two 'grammaticalized' grammatical relations, is primarily governed by three functional-adaptive imperatives, viz., coding semantic roles, coding pragmatic function and coding transitivity. Givón (2001a: 198) notes, "though individual languages may enjoy adaptive compromise, most languages dedicate their indirect object case marking almost exclusively to marking semantic roles."

Case role inflections

In addition to the nominative-accusative case marking system, first person and second person subject pronouns are encoded in the verbal complex in Dhimal. It displays the grammatical relation of the pronominal subject with the verb. A noun phrase may be case marked to signal the syntactic relationship at the phrasal and sentence level. Table 5.1 presents the case markers employed to indicate different cases in Dhimal.

Table 5.1: Case markers in Dhimial

Case markers	Cases	Gloss
- $\emptyset$	Nominative	NOM
- <i>seheŋ</i> ~- <i>heŋ</i> ~- <i>eŋ</i>	Accusative/dative	ACC/DAT
- <i>ko</i>	Genitive	GEN
- <i>hoi/-aŋ</i>	Instrumental	INST
- <i>so</i>	Ablative	ABL
- <i>ta</i>	Locative	LOC
- <i>dop^ha</i>	Comitative	COM
- <i>b^hari</i>	Allative	ALL

Table 5.1 shows the Dhimial case markers employed to encode different case roles of the core and oblique arguments in Dhimial. In the following sub-section, we briefly discuss the cases with the specific case role inflections.

a. Nominative

As stated in 5.2, case marking in Dhimial is guided by pragmatic orientation. Thus, the subjects of both the transitive and intransitive constructions are zero-marked, as in (16):

- (16) a. *ka dzim^ha*
 ka- $\emptyset$ dzim-fi-ka
 1SG-NOM sleep-PST-1SG
 'I slept.'
- b. *ka um tsa-g^ha*
 ka- $\emptyset$ um tsa-fi-ka
 1SG-NOM rice eat-PST-1SG
 'I ate rice.'

In example (16a, b), the subjects of both the intransitive and transitive constructions are zero-marked.

The subject as full-NP displays the same case marking morphology, as in (17):

- (17) a. *wadzan leŋfi*
 wadzan- ϕ leŋ-fi
 boy-NOM laugh-PST
 'The boy laughed.'
- b. *wadzan meʔsa piʔfi*
 wadzan- ϕ meʔsa- ϕ piʔ-fi
 boy-NOM goat-ACC sell-PST
 'The boy sold the goat.'

Examples (17a, b) show that unlike the first and second person pronouns, the third person pronoun and the full-NP subject do not have agreement with the verb.

b. Accusative

The patient of a transitive construction is marked in two different ways. The inanimate patient is zero marked just like the subject of an intransitive construction, as in (18a, b).

- (18) a. *ka um tsag^ha*
 ka- ϕ um- ϕ tsa-g^ha
 1SG-NOM rice-ACC eat-PST.1SG
 'I ate rice.'
- b. *bedzan meʔsa piʔfi*
 bedzan- ϕ meʔsa- ϕ piʔ-fi
 boy-NOM goat-ACC sell-PST
 'The boy sold the goat.'

In examples (18a,) the inanimate patients *um* 'rice' and the non-human patient *meʔsa* 'goat' are zero marked. In contrast, the animate, mostly the human patient of the transitive construction is marked by the dative case marker *-eŋ, ~heŋ~seheŋ*, as in (19):

- (19) a. *wadzan bedzanheŋ kaiʔfi*
 wadzan- ϕ bedzan-heŋ kai-fi
 boy-NOM girl-DAT call-PST
 'The boy called the girl.'

- b. *na kaseheŋ danain^ha*
 na-ϕ ka-seheŋ danai-fi-na
 2SG-NOM 1SG-DAT beat-PST-2
 'You beat me.'

In (19a, b), the human patients are marked by the dative case marker.

c. Dative

The dative case is primarily used to express the syntactic relationship of indirect object in the ditransitive clause. In Dhimal, dative case role is marked by the dative marker *-seheŋ~heŋ* or *~eŋ* as exemplified in (19a, b). The beneficiary/recipient patients are dative case-marked, as in (20):

- (20) *wa kaseheŋ atuisa bilaiti pihi*
 wa ka-seheŋ atuisa bilaiti pi-fi
 3SG 1PL-DAT some potato give-PST
 'He gave me some potatoes.'

As shown in example (20), the indirect object of a ditransitive clause is marked with the dative case marker. The same morpheme is realized as *-heŋ*, as in (21):

- (21) *ka ramheŋ kitab pi-g^ha*
 ka ram-heŋ kitab-ϕ pi-g^ha
 ISG Ram-DAT book-ACC give-PST.1SG
 'I gave a book to Ram.'

As shown in the example (21), the dative marker is realized as *-heŋ* for the function of an indirect object.

Sometimes, in rapid speech, the dative morpheme is realized as *-eŋ*, as in (22):

- (22) *rameŋ m^hituhi*
 ram-eŋ m^hitu-fi
 Ram-DAT be.hungry-PST
 'Ram is hungry. Lit. hunger occurred to Ram.'

Example (22) is an example of dative subject construction in Dhimal. Since dative subject is not a characteristic feature of the Tibeto-Burman languages, it may be an

influence of the Indo-Aryan languages (see King 2009: 90).¹⁵

d. Genitive

Genitive case in Dhimal is encoded by the suffix *-ko*, which is used to denote a possessive relationship between nouns (see Khatiwada 2013). It follows the possessor and precedes the possessed nouns, as in (23):

- (23) *wa bomiko sita nokar hika hig^hafi*
wa bo-mi-ko si-ta nokar hi-ka hi-g^ha-fi
3SG other-HCLF-GEN house-LOC servant stay-NMLZ be-IPFV-PST
'He stayed as a servant at someone's house.'

In example (23), the suffix *-ko*, is used to denote the possessive relationship between nouns.

The genitive marker is followed by the emphatic marker *-ŋ* when more emphasis is required, as in (24):

- (24) *elaso bewalaikoŋ ʌd^hikar jenəŋ*
ela-so bewalai-ko-ŋ ʌd^hikar jen-an
now-ABL woman.PL-GEN-EMPH right be-FUT
'Now onward, only the women will be powerful.' (MMD2MWW_50-51)

In example (24), the genitive marker attached to the noun *bebalai* is followed by the emphatic marker *-əŋ*. The genitive case does not agree with the verb.

e. Instrumental

The instrumental case is used to mark a tool, by which an agent accomplishes an action. The instrumental noun is marked by the suffix *-hoi* in the western dialect whereas the same function is performed by the suffix *-əŋ* in the eastern dialect, as in (25a, b) and (26a, b).¹⁶

¹⁵Givón (2001a: 205) notes "the dative subject crops-up, under one guise or another, in many if not most nominative languages. They present a lacuna in the topicality-oriented case marking system, where semantic role orientation takes over the case-marking of some verbs."

¹⁶King (2009: 81) reports an alternative but uncommon instrumental marker *-au*, which is not found in our corpus.

- (25) a. *wa lat^hi^hoi pu^hjã seʔfi*
 wa lat^hi-^hoi pu^hjã seʔ-fi
 3SG stick-INS snake kill-PST
 'He killed the snake with the stick.'
- b. *kati^hoi kat^he ma-tseʔ*
 kati-^hoi kat^he ma-tseʔ
 knife-INS wood NEG-cut.IMP
 'Do not cut the wood with the knife.'

Examples (25a, b) show that the instrumental nouns in the western dialect are marked with *-^hoi*.

The instrumental marker in the western variety is *-^hoi*. In contrast, the eastern variety employs *-aŋ* as the instrumental case marker, as in (26a, b):

- (26) a. *wa laʔ^hiaŋ pu^hjã seʔfi*
 wa laʔ^hi-aŋ pu^hjã seʔ-fi
 3SG stick-INS snake kill-PST
 'He killed the snake with the stick.'
- b. *kati^haŋ kaʔ^he matseʔ*
 kati-aŋ kaʔ^he ma-tseʔ
 knife-INS wood NEG-cut.IMP
 'Do not cut the wood with the knife.'

In example (26a, b), it is exemplified that the eastern dialect of Dhimial employs *-aŋ* as the instrumental marker.¹⁷

Hodgson (1847: 75) reports *-doŋ* as the instrumental marker. However, in present day Dhimial *-doŋ* is not found to be employed as an instrumental marker. In contrast, the homophonous particle *doŋ* is exclusively used as a focus marker in the Dhimial language today.

¹⁷The differences in the instrumental markers show the grammatical differences in the two varieties (dialects) of the language.

f. Ablative

The ablative case in Dhimal is marked by the suffix *-so*, sometimes followed by the emphatic marker *-ŋ*, as in (27):

- (27) a. *na hasuso dzota tsol^ha*
na hasu-so dzota tsol-n^ha
2SG who-ABL shoe buy-PST.2
'With whom did you buy the shoes?'
- b. *kisan taiko miliŋso lofi*
kisan tai-ko miliŋ-so lo-fi
farmer self-GEN farm-ABL come-PST
'The farmer came from his field.'

In example (27a, b), the nouns in ablative case are marked with *-so*. Ablative case is also employed in the temporal sense, as in (28):

- (28) a. *wa andzisoŋ loka mant^hu*
wa andzi-so-ŋ lo-ka mant^hu
3SG yesterday-ABL-EMP come-NMLZ NEG.be
'He has not come since yesterday.'
- b. *ka r^himasoŋ haidoŋ matsag^ha*
ka r^hima-so-ŋ fai-doŋ ma-tsa-g^ha
1SG morning-ABL-EMP whatever NEG-eat-1SG.PST
'I did not eat anything since morning.'

Examples (28a, b) show that the ablative marker employed to encode the temporal sense is sometimes followed by the emphatic marker *-aŋ/-ŋ*.

g. Locative

The locative case marker in Dhimal is *-ta*. It indicates the spatial/locational or temporal goal. The spatial location is illustrated, as in (29):

- (29) *ka hisika siŋta hyaŋka ela*
ka hisika siŋ-ta hy-aŋ-ka ela
1SG what.kind tree-LOC sit-FUT-1SG now
'At what kind of tree shall I sit now?'

In example (29) above, the locative marker encodes the spatial location. Temporal location is also marked by *-ta*, as in (30):

- (30) *ka maʰika belata na wa-ko tsʰuri tsalainʰa*
 ka ma-fi-ka bela-ta na wa-ko tsʰuri tsalai-fi-na
 1SG NEG-be-NMLZ time-LOC 2SG 3SG-GEN knife use-PST-2
 'Did you use his knife when I was not there?'

In example (30) temporal location is marked through the same process.

h. Comitative

The comitative case in Dhimal is marked by the morpheme *-dopʰa*. It denotes an associate of the agent, patient or dative of the action/event, whose role in the event is similar, but is not as important. Following are the examples:

- (31) a. *kaŋko sanaitiko tsan wako onedopʰa*
 kaŋ-ko sanaiti-ko tsan wa-ko one-dopʰa
 1SG.OBL-GEN friend-GEN son 3SG-GEN younger sibling-COM
 biʰu paka fi
 biʰu pa-ka fi
 marriage do-NMLZ be
 'My friend's son is married to his sister.'
- b. *ka te barka dzagir tsaka*
 ka te bar-ka dzagir tsa-ka
 1SG TOP be.big-NMLZ service eat-NMLZ
 djaŋ dopʰa kʰiniŋ ʱanaŋka
 djaŋ dopʰa kʰiniŋ ʱane-aŋ-ka
 person with only go-FUT-1SG
 'I shall go only with a person (who has) an attractive job.'

In examples (31a, b), the comitative or associative meaning of the nominal is encoded by the comitative marker *-dopʰa*.

i. Allative

The allative marks motion of the referents towards a goal. It is indicated by the morpheme *-bʰari*, as in (32):

- (32) a. *obalai derab^hari hane^hi*
 obalai dera-b^hari hane-fi
 3PL village-ALL go-PAST
 'They went towards the village.'
- b. *pok^harib^hari k^haŋlabelau dz^hakakamakk^h tiŋ^hi aŋ*
 pok^hari-b^hari k^haŋ-labelau dz^hakakamakk^h tiŋ-fi aŋ
 pond-ALL watch-TEMP brightening see-PST REP
 '(He) saw a dazzling light while looking towards the pond.'

In examples (32a, b), the allative marker *-bhari* in Dhimal encodes the meaning 'towards' a certain location.

5.3 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the grammatical relations and case marking system in Dhimal. The grammatical relations play a vital role not only in the grammar of simple clauses but also in major syntactic processes. Here, we mainly focused on the way the grammatical relations are encoded and the pattern of syntactic control in major rule governed syntactic processes in Dhimal. We examined the overt coding properties of grammatical relations, i.e., nominal morphology and verb agreement. The nominal morphology as coding property presents a consistent nominative pattern of control in Dhimal. The pronominal verb agreement and number agreement also follow the nominative pattern. The Equi-NP deletion (or the co-referent deletion) in complement clauses displays the nominative control. However, in Dhimal, relativization does not play any role for controlling the grammatical relations. Dhimal also displays pronominal verb agreement in first person and second person pronouns with three numbers in the western variety and only singular and plural numbers in the eastern variety. Dhimal employs pragmatically oriented nominative-accusative case-marking strategy. The cases nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, genitive, locative, allative and comitative are marked to code syntactic relations of the NP to the finite verb in a clause. The inanimate patient is zero marked whereas the animate and pronominal patients are marked morphologically. Dhimal may have adopted the dative subject construction under the influence of the language of wider communication, i.e., Nepali.

CHAPTER 6

CONSTITUENT ORDER

6.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the constituent order in Dhimial. It consists of five sections. In section 6.1, we deal with the order of the core constituents in the simple clauses. Section 6.2 examines the order of the constituents in the phrasal categories. In section 6.3, we discuss the order of clauses in complex sentences. Section 6.4 deals with the order of bound morphology in Dhimial. In section 6.5, we present the summary of the findings of this chapter.

6.1 Order of constituents in simple clauses

We deal with basic and variant word order of the core constituents in the simple clauses as follows:

6.1.1 Unmarked order

Dhimial, as a Tibeto-Burman language, holds the usual constituent order in line with the Dryer's (2003: 43) statement "all the Tibeto-Burman languages are OV, except the Bai and the Karen languages".¹ Dhimial exhibits the common characteristic features of the TB languages, displaying the basic constituent order SOV. However, flexibility in the basic order is found in pragmatically marked constructions.² The basic/unmarked constituent orders in Dhimial are discussed as follows:

a. Intransitive clause

In an intransitive clause, the subject precedes the finite verb, as in (1):

¹Dryer (2008: 2) asserts "the OV languages in Asia tend to be head final at all levels of syntactic structures, not only placing most clause constituents before the verb, but also placing most if not all modifiers of nouns before the noun and modifiers of other elements before modified element."

²Similar pattern is observed in Bantawa. Doornenbal (2009: 13) notes "while Bantawa is clearly verb-final, the order of the other constituents is not rigidly determined by syntax, but rather influenced by pragmatic considerations."

(1) **Subject-verb**

ka dzimg^ha

ka dzim-g^ha

1SG sleep-PST.1SG

'I slept.'

In example (1), the subject of the intransitive clause *ka* 'I' precedes the verbal complex *dzim-g^ha* 'sleep-PST.1SG'.

b. Transitive clause

The order of the constituents in a transitive clause is: subject-object-verb, as in (2):

(2) **Subject-object-verb**

ka um tsag^ha

ka um tsa-g^ha

1SG rice eat-PST.1SG

'I ate rice.'

In example (2), the subject *ka* 'I' and object *um* 'rice' precede the verb in their order.

c. Intransitive clause with an indirect object

In an intransitive clause with an indirect object, the order of the clausal constituents is: subject-indirect object-verb, as in (3):

(3) **Subject-indirect object-verb**

aba siŋ r^huta taŋfi

aba siŋ r^huta taŋ-fi

father tree up climb-PST

'Father climbed up the tree.' (LBDFSW_06)

In example (3), the subject *aba* 'father' and the indirect object *siŋ* 'the tree' precede the verb in order.

d. Transitive clause with direct and indirect objects

In a ditransitive clause with direct and indirect objects, the normal order of the constituents is: subject- indirect object-direct object-verb, as in (4):

(4) **Subject- indirect object-direct object-verb**

bai kaseheŋ paɪsa pihi

bai ka-seheŋ paɪsa pi-hi

elder.sister 1SG-DAT money give-PST

'The elder sister gave me money.'

In example (4), the subject *bai* 'elder sister', dative/indirect object *kaseheŋ* 'to me', accusative/direct object *paɪsa* 'money' and verb '*pi-hi*' give-PST come in successive order.

e. Adjectival predicate clause

In a clause with an adjectival predicate, the order of the constituent will be: subject-predicate-copula, as in (5):

(5) **Subject-predicate-copula**

bedzan remka hi

bedzan rem-ka hi

girl be.good-NMLZ COP

'The girl is pretty.'

In example (5), the adjectival predicate *remka* 'pretty' is preceded by the subject *bedzan* 'girl' and followed by the copula verb *hi* 'be'.

f. Nominal predicate clause

In a clause with a nominal predicate, the order of the constituents will be: subject-predicate-copula, as in (6):

(6) **Subject-predicate-copula**

dada siksjaɬk ko/∅

dada siksjaɬk ko/∅

elder.brother teacher COP

'The elder brother is a teacher.'

In example (6), the nominal predicate *siksjaɬk* 'teacher' is preceded by the subject *dada* 'elder brother' and followed by the optional copula verb *ko* 'be'.

g. Sentential complement clause

In a clause with a sentential complement, the order of constituents will be: subject-complement-verb, as in (7):

(7) **Subject-complement-verb**

kants^{hi} ka puŋjã dop^{ha} biŋu paŋka doʔfi

kants^{hi} ka puŋjã dop^{ha} biŋu pa-aŋ-ka doʔ-fi

Kanchhi 1SG snake with marriage do-FUT-1SG say-PST

'Kanchhi said, 'I will marry with the snake.' (LBDFSW_19)

In example (7), we see that the sentential complement of the utterance verb *doʔ* 'say' occurs between the subject and the finite verb of the main clause.

h. Sentence with clausal complement

In a sentence with a clausal complement, the order of the constituent will be: subject-complement-verb, as in (8):

(8) **Subject-complement-verb**

amai um ga:li t^halefi

amai um ga:-li t^hale-fi

mother rice cook-INF start-PST

'Mother started cooking rice.'

In example (8), the complement clause of the aspectual verb *t^hale* 'start' occurs between the subject and the verb of the main clause.

i. Sentence with clausal object complement

In a sentence with a clausal object complement, the order of the constituents will be: subject-indirect-object-complement-verb as in (9):

(9) **Subject-object-complement-verb**

wa kaseŋeŋ kam pali lagaiŋi

wa ka-seŋeŋ kam pa-li lagai-fi

3SG 1SG-DAT work do-INF employ-PST

'He employed me to work.'

In example (9) it may be noted that the clausal object complement occurs after the indirect object and before the finite verb of the main clause.

From the examples (1) through (9) it may be concluded that Dhimal follows the basic constituent order of the SOV languages attested cross-linguistically.

6.1.2 Variations in constituent order

Dhimal allows variations in several types of pragmatically marked clauses. The variations of constituent order in Dhimal are discussed as follows:

a. Variant order for verbal complements

The unmarked position of the verbal complement is between the subject and verb; however, it may be shifted to the clause final position, as in (10):

(10) **Subject-verb-complement**

aba kiʔhi ki amai um ga:ko

aba kiʔ-hi ki amai um ga:-ko

father wish-PST that mother rice cook-OPT

'Father wished that mother cook rice.'

In example (10), the verbal complement clause is placed in the final position intermediated by the complementizer *ki*.

b. (Contrastive) topicalization/L-dislocation

The object of a transitive clause may be topicalized/L-dislocated to create a contrastive situation, as in (11a, b):

(11) **Object-subject-verb**

a. *haja tsampalal maŋhi*

haja tsampalal maŋ-hi

fish Champalal fish-PST

'It is CHAMPALAL who killed fish (nobody else).'

b. *naseheŋ ka lamp^{ha} tsiupaŋka*

na-seheŋ ka lamp^{ha} tsiu-pa-aŋ-ka

2SG-DAT 1SG before bathe-CAUS-FUT-1SG

'It's YOU to whom I will make bathe first (not other way round).'

MMD1HRW_80)

In example (11a), the subject *Champalal* is right-dislocated to focus the agent of the event. Similarly in (11b) the subject pronoun *ka* '1SG' is dislocated from its usual position.

c. Wh-question (Dat/O-S-Acc/IO-V)

In common with other Tibeto-Burman (SOV) languages, the position of wh-question in Dhimal is the place of the questioned constituent, i.e., *in situ*, however, it can be fronted in pragmatically marked clauses, as in (12):

(12) Dative/indirect object-subject-accusative/direct object-verb

hasuhen sanaiti kitab pihi
 hasu-hen sanaiti kitab pi-fi
 who-DAT friend book give-PST
 'Who did the friend give the book to?'

In example (12), the wh-question word *hasu* 'who' with the dative marker is fronted from its usual second position in the clause.

d. Pseudo-cleft/emphatic

To focus a particular constituent, the object may be fronted to the beginning to yield object-verb-subject-copula order, as in (13):

(13) (Object-verb-subject-copula)

um ga:ka amai aŋ hiɡʰaɦi
 um ga:ka amai aŋ fi-g^ha-fi
 rice cook-NMLZ mother EMPH be-IPFV-PST
 'The one who cooked rice was mother (no one else).'

In example (13), it may be noted that to focus a particular element, it is fronted (left-dislocated) to the clause initial position.

6.2 Order of the constituents in phrases

The order of constituents in different types of phrases is discussed as follows:

6.2.1 Constituent order in the noun phrase

In Dhimal, noun phrases may have different elements employed as pre-nominal and post-nominal modifiers. Pre-nominal modifiers in Dhimal NP are adjectives,

demonstratives, numerals and possessives.³ However, these elements may occupy the post-nominal position in pragmatically marked propositions. Here, we will exemplify the unmarked order of pre-nominal modifiers and also present the counter-examples to the extent supported by our data.

a. Adjective-Noun

Both orders (Adj+N or N+Adj) are well-attested as preferred order among TB languages (Dryer 2003: 44). In many languages, adjectives can either precede or follow the head noun, with the variation often coding, at least initially, the pragmatic difference between restrictive and non-restrictive modification (Givón 2001a: 259). In Dhimal, the preferred order is Adj+N, however, the reverse order is also permitted. In line with other SOV languages in general and the Tibeto-Burman languages in particular, as in Chhatthare Limbu (Tumbahang 2011: 242), Bhujel (Regmi 2012a: 159) and many other Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal, the adjective in Dhimal precedes the head noun it modifies, as in (14):

- (14) a. *are hisika reremka bedzalai olek^he eta*
 are hisika [reremka bedzalai] ole-k^he eta
 oh what.kind good.PL girl.PL emerge-PRS here
 'Oh, What (sort of) pretty girls emerge out here? (TBDFSW_86)
- b. *idoi remka b^hagwan^hen*
 idoi rem-ka b^hagwan-^hen
 this good god-DAT
 'To this good god....' (TBDFSW_142)

In example (14a), the noun *bedzalai* 'girls' is preceded by the distributive adjective *reremka* 'pretty'. Similarly, in (14b) the noun *b^hagwan* 'god' is preceded by the adjective *remka* 'good'.

However, the adjective may be post-posed from its usual pre-nominal position, as in (15):

³In Bantawa, the order of the noun phrase constituents is observed as: (determiner)-(modifiers)-head-(number)-case (Dornenbal 2009: 60).

- (15) *wadzan tsan baʔtã doʔteŋ remka*
 wadzan tsan baʔt-an doʔ-teŋ rem-ka
 boy son carry.in.arm-FUT say-SEQ be.good-NMLZ
 'You wished you will carry a male child in your arm.' (TBDFSW_270)

In example (15), the adjective *remka* 'good' is in the last position of the proposition.

b. Demonstrative-noun

Dryer (2003: 47) maintains that Dem+N order is more common to the western area of Tibeto-Burman languages, which includes the area of Nepal, while N+Dem order is more common to the east area (including east Asia). In Dhimal Dem+N order is preferred, as in (16):

- (16) a. *iŋko bridzabʌnko dzʰarta sikar gʰali ʱanaine*
 iŋko bridzabʌn-ko dzʰar-ta sikar gʰa-li ʱane-aine
 that big.jungle-GEN jungle-LOC hunt play-INF go-HORT
 'Let's go for hunting to the jungle of Brijaban'. (TBDFSW_11)
- b. *edoi kaʔʰ paida dzeŋgʰa ka*
 edoi-ŋ kaʔʰ paida dzeŋ-gʰa ka
 this-EMPH wood delivery bear-PST.1SG 1SG
 'Is this wood that I gave birth to?' (TBDFSW_258)

In examples (16a, b) we see that the demonstratives *iŋko* 'that' and *edoi* 'this' have preceded the nouns they refer to.

c. Numeral-noun

Dryer (2003: 47) states "there is less variability in the order of numeral and noun among TB languages; however, in Bodic, both types N-Num and Num-N are equally common. In Dhimal, the preferred order is numeral+noun, as in (17):

- (17) a. *te to eloŋ narja ʱjako*
 te to e-loŋ narja ʱi-ako
 okay PART one-CLF elephant sit-OPT
 'Okay then, may an elephant sit.' (TBDFSW_41)

- b. *sumloŋ bedzan olefi doʔkʰe*
 sum-loŋ bedzan ole-fi doʔ-kʰe
 three-CLF girl emerge-PST say-PRS
 'Three girls came out (it is said).' (TBDFSW_55)

In examples (17a, b), the numerals *eʔ-loŋ* 'one-CLF' and *sum-loŋ* 'three-CLF' have preceded the nouns they modify.

However, for some pragmatic purposes numeral may follow the head noun, as in (18):

- (18) *iŋko naŋko sʌuteni ama nʰe-loŋ*
 iŋko naŋ-ko sʌuteni ama nʰe-loŋ
 that 2SG.OBL-GEN step mother two-CLF
 'Those, two of your step-mothers...' (TBDFSW_527)

In example (18), we see that in spite of the usual order numeral-noun, the numeral *nʰe-loŋ* 'two-CLF' is post-posed from its original place. It is because one may have more than two step-mothers. And, the speakers tries to avoid the ambiguity by stating the exact number as an afterthought.

d. Possessive-noun

The preferred order of possessive/genitive modifier and noun in Dhimal is possessive-noun, as in (19):

- (19) a. *pokʰʌriko tsita ʰeʔ basar fi wa la*
 [pokʰʌri-ko tsi-ta] ʰeʔ basar fi wa la
 pond-GEN water-LOC how.much year stay DED MIR
 How many years (he) might have stayed in the pond?' (TBDFSW_617)
- b. *eʔloŋ sesnagko radzkumar*
 eʔ-loŋ [sesnag-ko radzkumar]
 one-CLF king.of.snake-GEN prince
ki ʰigʰakʰe wa
 ki fi-gʰa-kʰe wa
 PART be-IPFV-PRS 3SG
 'He came to be a prince of the King of the snake instead.' (LBDFSW_32)

- c. *kalau iŋko kose pe:liko lagi*
kalau iŋko kose pe:-li-ko lagi
then that fodder.fig pluck-INF-GEN for
wako aba siŋ r^huta taŋfi
[wa-ko aba] siŋ r^huta taŋ-fi
3SG-GEN father tree up climb-PST
'Then their father climbed up the tree to pluck the fodder fig.'
(LBDFSW_6)

Examples in (19a-c) reveal that the possessive/genitive modifiers in Dhimal precede the nouns they modify.

e. Noun-noun

Two NPs may occur in a noun phrase in Dhimal. They are simply juxtaposed, as in (20):

- (20) a. *wadzan tsan*
wadzan tsan
boy child
'The male child...' (TBDFSW_270)
- b. *d^hemalai djaŋgalai*
d^hemalai djaŋ-galai
Dhimal.PL individual-PL
'The Dhimal people...'

In example (20a) the noun *tsan* 'son' is modified by another noun *wadzan*. Similarly in (20b) the plural noun *djaŋgalai* 'people' is modified by another plural noun *d^hemalai* 'the Dhimals'.

6.2.2 Constituent order in the adjectival phrase

In Dhimal, the adjectival phrases have some internal complexity, thus the constituents in an adjectival phrase have some sort of order. We discuss the order of constituents in the adjectival phrase as follows:

a. Order of degree word and adjective

By 'degree word' we mean the words with meaning like 'very', 'more', and 'a bit' (as in English *a bit cold*) which are traditionally called adverbs and which indicate the degree denoted by the adjective (Dryer 2003: 62). Dryer further notes that both orders, i.e., either preceded or followed the adjective by the degree word are attested among Tibeto-Burman languages. In Dhimal, the order of degree word with respect to the adjective is: degree word-adjective, as in (21):

(21) a. *gArmi mainata asa ts^{hi}to d^{hu}?k^{he}*

gArmi maIna-ta [asa ts^{hi}to] d^{hu}?-k^{he}
hot month-LOC a little fast sprout-PRS

'It (the mushroom seed) sprouts a bit faster in the summer season.'

(KRDMPW_106)

b. *kants^{hi} te menaŋ remka fi*

kants^{hi} te [menaŋ rem-ka] fi
Kanchhi TOP enough be.good-NMLZ be

'As for Kanchhi, she is more beautiful (compared to others).' (TBDFSW_87)

The examples in (21a, b) exemplify that the degree words *asa* 'a bit' and *menaŋ* 'enough' precede the adjectives they intensify.

b. Comparative construction

In the comparative construction, the order is standard marker-adjective in Dhimal, as in (22):

(22) a. *kalau k^{hu}wãfã do?k^{he} na k^hanteŋ ka barka*

kalau k^{hu}wãfã do?-k^{he} [na k^hanteŋ ka barka]
so tiger say-PRS 2SG COMP 1SG big

'So the tiger says, 'I am bigger than you' (King 2009: 96).

- b. *ka te dz^haraŋ k^hanteŋ t^hor-Λi*
 ka te dz^haraŋ k^hanteŋ t^hor-Λi
 1SG TOP all COMP little-EMPH
dud^he amka djaŋ
 dud^he am-ka djaŋ
 milk drink-NMLZ person
 'As for me, I'm the one who sucked (mother's) breast least of all.'
 (TBDFSW_116)

In examples (22a, b), the standard marker *k^hanteŋ* 'than' precedes the adjectives.

6.2.3 Constituent order in the adverbial phrase

In Dhimal, the adverbial phrases also have some internal complexity, thus the constituents in the adverbial phrases have some sort of order. The constituent order in adverbial phrase is discussed as follows:

a. Order of the manner adverb and verb

Dryer's (2003: 44) observation is that TB languages more commonly place manner adverbs before the verb, however, a few TB languages, all of the Kuki-Chin-Naga languages, commonly if not preferentially, place manner adverbs after the verb.⁴ In line with the usual order of manner adverb preceding the verb, Dhimal manner adverbs precede the main verb, as in (23):

- (23) a. *te idoi ħajaħeŋ ħesa pateŋ*
 te idoi ħaja-ħeŋ [ħesa pa-teŋ]
 okay this fish-DAT how do-SEQ
seʔtaŋ doʔk^he aŋ
 seʔt-aŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 kill-FUT say-PRS REP
 'Okay, now how to kill those fish?' (TBDFSW_310)

⁴Dryer (2008: 15) asserts that there is a strong crosslinguistic tendency for manner adverbs in OV languages to precede the verb. Further, he notes 'Most OV Tibeto-Burman languages conform to this tendency.'

- b. *kaŋko one rem^haŋ leŋfi*
 kaŋ-ko one [rem-p^ha-ŋ] leŋ-fi
 1SG-GEN younger sibling be.good-ADVLZ-EMPH laugh-PST
 'My brother laughed well.'

In example (23a, b), the manner adverbs enclosed in square brackets precede the main verb.

However, the manner adverb may follow the verb for some pragmatic effect, as in (24):

- (24) *k^harteŋ koi d^haʔfi tsilibilipa*
 k^har-ten koi d^haʔ-fi tsilibilipa
 weep-SEQ some run-PST helplessly
 'Some (people) ran crying helplessly.' (GMDWH_60)

In (24), we see that the manner adverb is post-posed from its usual preverbal position to code the intensity of helplessness.

b. Expression of ability word

Regarding the expression of ability word Dryer (2008: 23) notes that the normal order for VO languages is ability word V, the opposite order is common among OV. In Dhimal, while expressing the ability, the verb *do* 'be.able' follows the infinitive form of the main verb, as in (25):

- (25) *ka siŋ r^huta taŋli dwŋka*
 ka siŋ r^huta taŋ-li do-aŋ-ka
 1SG tree up climb-INF be.able-FUT-1SG
 'I am able to climb up a tree.'

In example (25), we see that in line with the characteristics of the OV languages, the ability word in Dhimal follows the main verb.

6.3 Order of clauses in complex sentences

In this section, we discuss the preferred/unmarked order of clauses in the complex sentences. Specifically, the order of relative clause in relation to noun, the order of adverbial clauses and the order of complement clause in relation to the main clause will be discussed.

6.3.1 Relative clause and the head noun

The order of the relative clause and the head noun is analogous to the order of adjective and noun in Dhimal. To be precise, just as the adjective precedes the noun it modifies, the relative clause also precedes the relativized head noun it modifies.

Following are the examples:

- (26) a. *delib^hari hika djaŋlai kaɦĩ kaɽ^h dzʌnmik^he*

[delib^hari hi-ka] djaŋ-gelai kaɦĩ kaɽ^h dzʌnmi-k^he

delivery be-NMLZ person-PL wherever wood born-PRS

'Does a woman who is pregnant give birth to a wood?' (TBDFSW_267)

- b. *ka te barka dzagir tsaka wadzan ta k^hiniŋ*

ka te [bar-ka dzagir tsa-ka] wadzan-ta k^hiniŋ

1SG TOP be.big-NMLZ job eat-NMLZ boy-LOC only

hanan̄ka ekdʌm dzagire dzjaŋka

hane-aŋ-ka ekdʌm dzagire dzeŋ-ka

go-FUT-1SG complete job.holder be-NMLZ

'As for me, I shall go only with a boy who has got a good job.' (TBDFSW_62)

In examples (26a, b), the relative clauses precede the head noun they modify.

6.3.2 Adverbial clause and main clause

Most of the adverbial clauses precede the main clause in Dhimal. The adverbial clauses preceding the main clause are: temporal, sequential, simultaneous, conditional, counter-factual, concessive, purpose and participial. All these types of adverbial clauses are treated in Chapter 14. Here, we present some examples to exhibit the order of adverbial clause in respect to their main clause in Dhimal. Consider the examples in (27):

- (27) a. *enoŋ kei mako kei pateŋ haniŋsiŋ doʔɦi*

[e-long kei ma-ko kei pa-teŋ] hane-siŋ doʔ-ɦi

one-CLF some NEG-be some do-SEQ go-HORT.DU say-PST

'(He) said, let's go back after doing something at least.' (TBDFSW_131)

- b. *hate hanelau waseheŋ dusug^ha*
 [hate hane-lau] wa-seheŋ dusu-g^ha
 market go-TEMP 3SG-DAT meet-PST.1SG
 'I met him while going to the market.'
- c. *kaŋko tsanheŋ seʔli b^hasi hai mapahi*
 kaŋ-ko tsan-heŋ [seʔ-li b^hasi] hai ma-pa-fi
 1SG.OBL-GEN son-DAT kill-INF for what NEG-do-PST
 'What did they not do to kill my son?' (TBDFSW_611)

It may be noted from the example (27a) that the sequential participial clause enclosed in square brackets precedes the main clause. Similarly in (27b), temporal adverbial clause is placed before the main clause. The position of the purpose clause in (27c) is also before the main clause.

However, the cause and reason adverbial clauses conjoined by a cause/reason adverbial conjunct follow the main clause, as in (28):

- (28) *kaseheŋ musar k^heti ramro*
 ka-seheŋ musar k^heti ramro
 1SG-DAT mushroom farming good
lagika fi haipali panu
 lagi-ka fi [haipali pa-nu
 feel-NMLZ be why do-COND
musar k^hetiko bisajata
 musar k^heti-ko bisajata
 mushroom farming-GEN subject-LOC
tsaŋĩ ka atutuipa krisi
 tsaŋĩ ka atutui-pa krisi
 IND 1SG a.little-ADV LZ agro

prabid^hikgalaiso d^hirka fiɡ^ha
 prabid^hik-gelai-so d^hir-ka fi-ɡ^ha]
 technician-PL-ABL learn-NMLZ be-PST.1SG
 'I feel that mushroom farming is good because I have learnt a little
 bit about the mushroom farming even from the agro-technicians.'
 (KRDMPW_09-10)

From example (28), it may be noted that the cause adverbial clause conjoined by the complex cause/reason adverbial conjunct *fiapali panu* 'because' follows the main clause.

The reason adverbial clause juxtaposed to the main clause also follows the main clauses, as in (29):

- (29) *nani sjaŋ k^hadza pani fiabe*
 nani si-aŋ [k^hadza pani fiabe
 today die-FUT snack water GF
k^hadza te fi tsi mant^hu
 k^hadza te fi tsi mant^hu]
 snacks TOP be water NEG.be
 'We may die today (because) as for snacks we have it, however, we do not
 have water.' (TBDFS_W_20)

In example (29), the reason for the possible dying of the speech act participants is that they did not have water to drink though they do have snacks to eat.

6.3.3 Complement clause and verb

Complement clauses in Dhimal occupy the respective position of the noun slot, i.e., the subject complement clause occurs in the usual subject position. Similarly, the object complement clause occurs in the object position, as in (30):

- (30) a. *wa um tsali kiʔk^he*
 wa [um tsa-li] kiʔ-k^he
 3SG rice eat-INF want-PRS
 'He wants to eat rice.'

- b. *kelai waseñeñ anemane tsolli pat^hain^hafi*
kelai wa-señeñ [anemone tsol-li] pat^hai-n^ha-fi
1PL 3SG-DAT thing buy-INF send-1PL-PST
'We sent him to buy things.'

In example (30a), the object complement clause has occupied the usual object position and in (30b) the indirect object complement clause has occupied the usual indirect object position.

6.4 Order of bound morphemes

In this section, we discuss the order of bound morphemes in Dhimal. First, we discuss the bound morphemes related to nominal morphology. Then, we look at the order of tense, aspect and modal morphemes. Lastly, we discuss the place of negative morpheme in Dhimal.

6.4.1 Order of nominal morphemes

Dhimal nominals employ case marker and plural number marking morphemes. Both of them follow their head. If both of the morphemes occur together, the plural marker precedes the case marker, as in (31):

- (31) *ka ãd^hjargelaiñeñ nokar tsak^hargelaiñeñ*
ka ãd^hjar-gelai-ñeñ nokar tsak^har-gelai-ñeñ
1SG shareholder-PL-DAT servant and.SO-PL-DAT
ar^haili ninako
ar^hai-li niñ-ako
order-INF get-OPT
'May (I) get to order and employ the shareholders and servants!' (TBDFS_W_191)

In example (31), it may be observed that the number marker precedes the case marker.

6.4.2 Tense-aspect-modal morphology

The order of tense, aspect and modal morphemes in Dhimal may be observed from the examples (32) through (35):

- (32) *wa um tsahi*
 wa um tsa-fi
 3SG rice eat-PST
 'He ate rice.'
- (33) *wa um tsadoŋk^he*
 wa um tsa-doŋ-k^he
 3SG rice eat-DUR-PRS
 'He is eating rice.'
- (34) *wa um tsadoŋghak^he*
 wa um tsa-doŋ-g^ha-k^he
 3SG rice eat-DUR-IPFV-PRS
 'He used to be eating rice.'
- (35) *wa um tsadoŋghafi*
 wa um tsa-doŋ-g^ha-fi
 3SG rice eat-DUR-IPFV-PST
 'He used to be eating rice.'

In examples (32) through (35), we see that the aspect markers occur first in the series of morpheme whereas the tense marker occurs at the end of all.

6.4.3 Negation morpheme

Dhimal conforms to most of the constituent order features of SOV languages except the negative morpheme. In contrast to all other affixes, Dhimal negative morpheme is prefixed to its head⁵, as in (36):

⁵Dryer (2008: 67-69) asserts that the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal like Newar, Tamang, Gurung, Narphu, Chhantyal, Dhimal etc. have NegV order whereas languages like Athpare, Belhare, Chepang etc., are VNeg.

- (36) *ke doŋ maniŋfi*
 ke doŋ ma-niŋ-fi
 husband FOC [NEG-get-PST]
d^honi sita mat^hukaʔl^haŋi
 d^honi si-ta ma-t^hukaʔ-l^ha-fi
 rich house-LOC [NEG-reach-INTENT-PST]
 '(She) did not get even a husband, (she) did not reach to a house of a rich.'
 (TBDFSW_554)

In example (36), the negative morpheme *ma-* is prefixed to the finite verb *niŋfi*.

To encode the absolutive negative sense, the negative prefix is reduplicated, as in (37):

- (37) a. *ad^hjan pali tsahĩ mamaŋaneka wa*
 ad^hjan pa-li tsahĩ ma-ma-ŋane-ka wa
 study do-INF IND NEG-NEG-go-NMLZ 3SG
 'He did not go to study at all.' (TBDFSW_04)
- b. *na pap mamalagja wa*
 na pap ma-ma-lagi-aŋ wa
 2SG sin NEG-NEG-stick-FUT DED
 'You might not be a sinner at all.' (TBDFSW_508)

In examples (37a, b), the negative prefix *ma-* is reduplicated to code the intensity of negation in Dhimal.

Interestingly, the negative prefix *ma-* is repeated three times to emphasize the absolutive negative sense, as in (38):⁶

- (38) *ka ela t^hekapa buŋ mamamagik^ha*
 ka ela t^hekapa bu-ŋ ma-ma-ma-gi-k^ha
 1SG now up to also-EMPH NEG-NEG-NEG-know-PRS.1SG
 'I do not know at all even up to now (to swim).' (CLDDRW_27)

⁶Bantawa, one of the Kirati languages of Nepal, employs *man-* as negative prefix in past tense (Doornenbal 2009: 167).

In example (38), the triple repetition of the negative prefix *ma-* reveals the absolutive negative sense given to the proposition by the speaker.

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, we looked at the syntactic use of constituent order in Dhimal. Dhimal is an SOV order language. Most of the implications of the SOV constituent order hold true in Dhimal. Adjectives, demonstratives, genitives and numerals in Dhimal precede the head noun they modify. However, Dhimal allows enough flexibility of the constituents in the pragmatically marked constructions. The degree word modifying an adjective precedes the adjective. Manner adverbs in Dhimal precede the main verb in unmarked clauses. The ability word follows the main verb. In complex sentences, the relative clause precedes the head noun it modifies. Most of the adverbial clauses in Dhimal precede the main clause; however, the cause and reason adverbial clauses follow the main clause. Complement clauses in Dhimal occupy the slot between the subject and the main verb. All the affixal elements, except the negative morpheme, follow their heads. In a finite verbal complex, aspect markers precede the tense marker. The negative prefix in Dhimal may be repeated to create absolutive negative sense.

CHAPTER 7

TENSE, ASPECT AND MODALITY

7.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the tense, aspect and modality in Dhimial. It is divided into four sections. In section 5.1, we deal with the tense system in Dhimial. Section 5.2 deals with the aspects in Dhimial. Modality in Dhimial is discussed in section 5.3. In section 5.4, we present the summary of the findings of this chapter.¹

7.1 Tense

The category tense involves the relation between the time when the event/state occurs and some other reference time, most commonly the time of speech (Givón 2011: 117).² The unmarked temporal reference point vis-à-vis which event/state clauses are anchored is the time of speech. Temporal anchoring to this default reference point is referred to as absolute tense.

There are three tenses in Dhimial. They are marked by suffixes in the complex of the verb. King (2009: 132) distinguishes two grammatical tenses: past and future in the finite verb morphology of Dhimial. Present tense, according to King, is encoded aspectually, i.e., the morpheme *-k^he* is used to encode present tense as well as the imperfective aspects like habitual and progressive. In contrast to King's observation, we argue that the basic function of the morpheme *-k^he* is to encode the present tense. It is also employed to encode the imperfective, habitual and progressive aspects. They are discussed as follows:³

¹These categories (tense, aspect and modality) tend to be coded as verbal morphology. Givón (2011: 117) notes, "the reason is that these functions pertain to states or events that are coded by the verb. What is more, tense, aspect and modality are closely intertwined, so that the same morpheme may have some tense, some aspect and some modal value."

²Givón (2001a: 285) further notes, "tense, in its broader sense, involves the systematic coding of the relation between two points along the ordered linear dimension of time: reference time and event time."

³Hodgson (1880: 87) notes that *khi* denotes 'the present', *hi* 'the past' and *ang* 'the future' and further states 'I have often found the whole three employed promiscuously'.

7.1.1 Past tense

The past tense codes events/states whose event time precedes the time of speech, i.e., reference time. In Dhimial past tense is marked by the suffix *-fi*.⁴ It is attached to the root of the verb along with person and number affixes. The past tense marker in Dhimial, unlike in Bhujel (Regmi 2012: 76), encodes the state/event occurred in the past irrespective of immediate and remote time reference.⁵ The past tense marker may co-occur with the imperfective morpheme *-g^ha* and the progressive morpheme *-doŋ* (King 2009: 133).

The past tense morpheme in Dhimial blends with the participant reference marking morpheme in some cases (first person singular and the second person singular and plural). It is realized distinctly if there is no participant marking on the verb (first person plural and third person verbs).⁶ Following are the examples of the past tense in all three persons and three numbers:

- (1) a. *ka um tsag^ha*
ka um tsa-fi-ka
1SG rice eat-PST-1SG
'I ate rice.'
- b. *kid^hiŋ um tsan^hiŋ*
kid^hiŋ um tsa-fi-niŋ
1DU rice eat-PST-DU
'We (two) ate rice.'

⁴In Chhantyal, the perfective marker is *-i* as in (*ram tsawa thali-i* 'Ram began to eat') (see Noonan 2007: 140). This construction resembles the Dhimial counterpart which is *ram tsa-li t^hali-fi* (Ram began to eat.)

⁵In Bhujel, the past tense may be divided as immediate past and remote past (Regmi 2012: 76)

⁶Hodgson's (1880: 92) example *ka pi-hi-ka* 'I gave' now realized as *ka pig^ha* 'I gave' proves that the sort of morphophonemic changes is a recent development in Dhimial.

c. *kelai um tsan^hafi*
kelai um tsa-n^ha-fi
1PL rice eat-1PL-PST
'We (all) ate rice.'

(2) a. *na um tsan^ha*
na um tsa-fi-na
2SG rice eat-PST-2
'you ate rice.'

b. *nid^hiŋ um tsan^hiŋ*
nid^hiŋ um tsa-fi-niŋ
2DU rice eat-PST-DU
'You (two) ate rice.'

c. *nelai um tsasun^ha*
nelai um tsa-su-fi-na
2PL rice eat-COL-PST-2
'You (all) ate rice.'

(3) a. *wa um tsa^hfi*
wa um tsa-fi
3SG rice eat-PST
'S/he ate rice.'

b. *od^hin^hemi um tsa^hfi*
od^hin^hemi um tsa-fi
3DU rice eat-PST
'They (two) ate rice.'

c. *obalai um tsa^hfi*
obalai um tsa-fi
3PL rice eat-PST
'They (all) ate rice.'

In examples (1a-c), the verb forms encode the past time reference with the singular, dual and plural first person pronouns, respectively. Similarly, in examples (2a-c), the verb forms encode the past time reference with the singular, dual and plural second person pronouns, respectively. And, in examples (3a-c), the verb forms encode the past time reference with the singular, dual and plural third person pronouns. It is apparent from the examples in (3a-c) that there is no participant reference marking in the third person verbal complex in Dhimal.

The past tense may function to encode different aspectual distinctions in Dhimal. They are discussed as follows:

i. Simple past/recent past

The past tense morpheme encodes simply a past state/event in everyday conversation that precedes the time of speech but are not viewed as too remote, as in (4):

- (4) a. *kaŋko one kat^hmandu haneŋi*
 kaŋ-ko one kat^hmandu hane-ŋi
 1SG.OBL-GEN younger sibling Kathmandu go-PST
 'My younger brother/sister went to Kathmandu.'
- b. *pente sita loŋi*
 pente si-ta lo-ŋi
 Pente house-LOC come-PST
 'Pente came to home.'

In examples (4a, b), the verbs in past tense *haneŋi* 'went' and *loŋi* 'came' simply state that the event occurred in the past, irrespective of the immediate or remote time reference.

ii. Remote past

The past tense morpheme, in combination with imperfective morpheme, codes the state/event in remote past, as in (5):

- (5) *idoi dui fiədzar barə salso iso dzəbə səmmə*
 idoi dui fiədzar barə sal-so iso dzəbə-səmmə
 this dui thousand twelve year hither when-up.to
dzʰar tsumpuhi rə miliŋgelai dʰaili
 dzʰar tsuma-pu-fi rə miliŋ-gelai dʰai-li
 jungle bring-AND-PST and land-PL slash-INF
do:ka mantʰugʰahi
 do:-ka mantʰu-gʰa-fi
 be.finish-NMLZ NEG. be-IPFV-PST
 'It was from 2012 VS when the deforestation was taken place but the land
 was not cultivated.' (GMDWH_06)

In example (5), the imperfective marker *-gʰa* followed by the past tense marker *-fi* encodes the event occurred in the remote past.

iii. Sequence of event

The sequence of events in the past may be indicated by the past finite verbs in sequence. According to King (2009: 133), "in narrative the past tense is often used to indicate the temporal sequence of a series of discrete past events." The event of the preceding verb is assumed to be located temporally prior to the following ones. Following are the examples:

- (6) *kalau ela lofi bai one*
 kalau ela lo-fi bai one
 then now come-PST elder.sister younger sibling
dopʰa bʰeʰifi dzʰaraŋ dopʰa
 dopʰa bʰeʰi-fi dzʰaraŋ dopʰa
 with meet-PST all with
leŋfi gʰahi tsaʰi amʰi
 leŋ-fi gʰa-fi tsa-fi am-fi
 laugh-PST play-PST eat-PST drink-PST
 'Then, they came and met with the siblings and they laughed, played, ate
 and drank with all (of them).' (LBDFSW_45-46)

In example (6), the verbs in past tense *lohi* 'came', *b^hetihi* 'met', *leŋhi* 'laughed', *g^hahi* 'played', *tsahi* 'ate' and *amhi* 'drank' in sequence encode the sort of loose temporal sequence of events.

iv. Iterativity

Past tense is also used to indicate iterativity of the same action, as in (7):

- (7) *obalai g^hahi doʔk^he ekdəm fiabe tripasa*
 obalai g^ha-fii doʔ-k^he ekdəm fiabe tripasa
 3PL play-PST say-PRS consistently GF tripasa
g^hahi g^hahi g^hahi g^hahi doʔk^he
 g^ha-fii g^ha-fii g^ha-fii g^ha-fii doʔ-k^he
 play-PST play-PST play-PST play-PST say-PRS
 'They played and played Tripasa continuously.' (TBDFSW_56)

In example (7), the simple past verbal complex *g^hahi* ' (s/he/they) played' is repeated four times to encode the iterative sense of the same action.

7.1.2 Present tense

The present tense codes events/states whose event time coincide the time of speech, i.e., reference time. The present tense in Dhimal, as in Lepcha (Plaisier 2003: 713)⁷, is used to describe a situation or activity which is taking place at the present time, an activity which the speaker is planning to perform, or an event or situation of which the speaker is certain or convinced that is going to take place soon. In Dhimal, the present tense is marked by the suffix *-k^he*.⁸ It is attached to the base of the verb along with person and number affixes. The present tense marker, as in the past tense, may also co-occur with the imperfective morpheme *-g^ha* and the progressive morpheme *-doŋ*.

The present tense morpheme in Dhimal blends with the first person singular participant reference marking morpheme whereas it remains as it is in other cases.

⁷The Lepcha, a Tibeto-Burman language is spoken in Sikkim and Darjeeling district in West-Bengal of India and in Ilam district of Nepal (Plaisier 2003: 705).

⁸ In Kham, the modality of probability is marked by the discontinuous morpheme *-k^he- ...ho* intermediated by participant reference marker (Watters 2002: 285).

Following are the examples of the present tense in all three persons and three numbers:

(8) a. *ka um tsak^ha*

ka um tsa-k^he-ka
1SG rice eat-PRS-1SG
'I eat rice.'

b. *kid^hiŋ um tsak^heniŋ*

kid^hiŋ um tsa-k^he-niŋ
1DU rice eat-PRS-DU
'We (two) eat rice.'

c. *kelai um tsa-n^ha-k^he*

kelai um tsa-n^ha-k^he
1PL rice eat-1PL-PRS
'We (all) eat rice.'

(9) a. *na um tsak^hena*

na um tsa-k^he-na
2SG rice eat-PRS-2
'you eat rice.'

b. *nid^hiŋ um tsak^hen^hiŋ*

nid^hiŋ um tsa-k^he-niŋ
2DU rice eat-PRS-DU
'You (two) eat rice.'

c. *nelai um tsasuk^hena*

nelai um tsa-su-k^he-na
2PL rice eat-COL-PRS-2
'You (all) eat rice.'

- (10) a. *wa um tsak^{he}*
 wa um tsa-k^{he}
 3SG rice eat-PRS
 'S/he eats rice.'
- b. *od^{hi}in^{he}mi um tsak^{he}*
 od^{hi}in^{he}mi um tsa-k^{he}
 3DU rice eat-PRS
 'They (two) eat rice.'
- c. *obalai um tsak^{he}*
 obalai um tsa-k^{he}
 3PL rice eat-PRS
 'They (all) eat rice.'

In examples (8a-c), the verb forms encode the present time reference with the singular, dual and plural first person pronouns, respectively. Similarly, in examples (9a-c), the verb forms encode the present time reference with the singular, dual and plural second person pronouns, respectively. And, in examples (10a-c), the verb forms encode the present time reference with the singular, dual and plural third person pronouns, respectively. In case of the first person singular, the tense marker *-k^{he}* and the pronominal suffix *-ka* get blended to yield the portmanteau morpheme *-k^{ha}*. It is also apparent from the examples in (10a-c) that there is no participant reference marking in the third person verbal complex in Dhimal.

7.1.3 Future tense

The future tense is formed by the suffix *-aŋ* in Dhimal.⁹ Functionally, it refers to yet unrealized state/event that follows the time of speech. The future tense codes

⁹Dahl (1985: 103) notes 'when we talk about the future, we are either talking about someone's plan, intentions or obligations, or we are making a prediction or extrapolation from the present state of the world. As a direct consequence, a sentence which refers to the future will almost always differ also modally from a sentence with non-future time reference. This is the reason why the distinction between tense and mood becomes blurred when it comes to the future.'

events/states whose event time follows the time of speech, i.e., the reference time¹⁰. In Dhimal, future tense is marked by the suffix *-aŋ* or its allomorphs *-ã* or *-a*.¹¹ When followed by a morpheme with a consonantal onset (except first person singular) the future marker is generally realised as *-a*. The future does not co-occur with any other tense or aspect markers (King 2009: 135). It is attached to the base of the verb along with the person and number affixes. Future tense marker in Dhimal, encodes the state/event occurred in the future irrespective of immediate future and remote future time reference. The future tense morpheme in Dhimal assimilates with the participant reference marking morpheme in some cases, whereas in cases of the third person participants the future tense marker is sometimes followed by the deductive particle *wa*, to encode the less possibility of the state/event to occur. Following are the examples of the future tense in all three persons and three numbers:

- (11) a. *ka um tsaŋka*
 ka um tsa-aŋ-ka
 1SG rice eat-FUT-1SG
 'I shall eat rice.'
- b. *kid^hiŋ um tsaniŋ*
 kid^hiŋ um tsa-aŋ-niŋ
 1DU rice eat-FUT-DU
 'We (two) shall eat rice.'
- c. *kelai um tsaŋ*
 kelai um tsa-aŋ
 1PL rice eat-FUT
 'We (all) shall eat rice.'

¹⁰Liljegren (2008: 215) notes that the future category is almost exclusively used in reference to future, i.e. not yet realized situations.

¹¹In Quiang (LaPolla 2003: 582), a language of Qiangic branch of Tibeto-Burman, only future tense is overtly marked by the suffix *-a*. This morpheme seems to be a cognate to Dhimal future tense marker *-aŋ*.

- (12) a. *na um tsana*
 na um tsa-aŋ-na
 2SG rice eat-FUT-2
 'you shall eat rice.'
- b. *nid^hiŋ um tsaniŋ*
 nid^hiŋ um tsa-aŋ-niŋ
 2DU rice eat-FUT-DU
 'You (two) shall eat rice.'
- c. *nelai um tsasuana*
 nelai um tsa-su-aŋ-na
 2PL rice eat-COL-FUT-2
 'You (all) shall eat rice.'
- (13) a. *wa um tsaŋ*
 wa um tsa-aŋ
 3SG rice eat-FUT
 'S/he shall eat rice.'
- b. *od^hin^hemi um tsaŋ*
 od^hin^hemi um tsa-aŋ
 3DU rice eat-FUT
 'They (two) shall eat rice.'
- c. *obalai um tsaŋ*
 obalai um tsa-aŋ
 3PL rice eat- FUT
 'They (all) shall eat rice.'

In examples (11a-c), the verb forms encode the future time reference with the singular, dual and plural first person pronouns, respectively. Similarly, in examples (12a-c), the verb forms encode the future time reference with the singular, dual and plural second person pronouns, respectively. Further, in examples (13a-c), the verb forms encode the future time reference with the singular, dual and plural third person

pronouns, respectively. It is apparent from the examples in (13a-c) that there is no participant reference marking in the third person verbal complex.

In addition to simple future time reference, the future morpheme may indicate possibility, desire, intention or weak obligation. Hence the future has modal uses and may encode deontic or epistemic modality¹² (King 2009: 135).

The different functions of the future tense are associated with the modality in Dhimal. So, we discuss this when discussing the modality (§7.3) further below.

7.2 Aspects

Aspects in Dhimal may be broadly classified as inherent lexical aspects in the verb and morphologically marked grammatical aspects.¹³ In terms of the inherent lexical aspects, Dhimal verbs may be classified into four types: stative verbs, activity verbs, compact/achievement verbs and accomplishment verbs. Apart from the inherent lexical aspects, Dhimal exhibits morphological aspects discussed further below. In this sub-section we deal with the inherent lexical aspects followed by the morphological/grammatical aspects in Dhimal.

7.2.1 Inherent lexical aspects

The verbs (or predicates), of the lexicon of all languages can be divided into four major groups (Givón 2001a: 287) in terms of their inherent aspectuality.¹⁴ The best way to observe the inherent aspectuality of verbs is to combine them with various grammatical aspects.¹⁵ Unlike inherent aspect, grammatical aspect is the addition of the communicative perspective to states or events above and beyond their inherent aspectuality. Vendler (1967: 106), as paraphrased in (Regmi 2012a: 77), defines

¹²Dahl (1985: 105) observes that the morphemes that mark future time reference are frequently used in combination with others to form complex TMA categories, such as conditionals.

¹³Givón (2011: 118) proposes four subtle perspective distinctions of aspect on the basis of how events/states are viewed or described. They are: perfectivity, sequentiality, lingering relevance and immediacy.

¹⁴Givón further notes that one cannot fully understand what grammatical aspect does to verbs without understanding first their inherent aspectuality (2001a: 287).

¹⁵Dahl (1985: 26-27) distinguishes the inherent lexical aspect and morphological aspect as he states "verb lexemes differ as to their 'Aktionsart' or 'inherent aspectual meaning'; in addition, some languages distinguish different morphological forms of the same lexeme, called aspects, according to the context in which the verbs are used."

lexical aspects as "States are non-dynamic and temporally unbounded. Activities are dynamic and temporally unbounded." Achievement verbs, (Compact verbs in Givón (2001a: 288), code instantaneous changes, usually changes of state but also change in activities lacking an inherent temporal point. Accomplishments are temporally extended changes of state leading to a temporal point. On the basis of above mentioned theoretical premises Dhimal verbs may be classified into the four lexical aspects. They are as follows:

a. Compact verbs

Compact or achievement verbs have sharp boundaries and short duration.¹⁶ The verbs in example (14) may be termed as compact/achievement verbs in Dhimal.

- (14) *burli* 'to spit out liquid' *de:li* 'to lick'
 tsimli 'to blink' *t^he:li* 'to slap'
 su:li 'to cough' *aʔli* 'to shoot'
 laʔt^hili 'to kick' *d^hoʔli* 'to snap'
 toŋli 'to jump' *danaili* 'to beat'

The compact/achievement verbs appear much more commonly in discourse in the perfective aspect. When combined with imperfective, a rare occurrence in discourse, they tend to yield a repetitive sense (Givón 2001a: 289). In line with this observation, we did not find examples of the achievement verbs combined with imperfective aspect in Dhimal. However, such verbs are commonly found in perfective aspect, as in (15):

- (15) *k^hur^hoi k^hiniŋ mako pasimko lat^hi^hoi*
 k^hur-fioi k^hiniŋ ma-ko passim-ko lat^hi-fioi
 hand-INS only NEG-COP bamboo-GEN stick-INS

¹⁶Givón (2001a: 288) suggests that the two extreme ends of the perfectivity scale, boundedness and duration can be strongly associated. Compact verbs have sharp boundaries and short duration.

b. *ka kat^hmandu hane^ka*

ka kat^hmandu hane-k^ha

1SG Kathmandu go-PRS.1SG

'I am going to Kathmandu (after sometime/day).'

c. Activity verbs

Activity or process verbs may have both, duration and a sharp terminal boundary, but their communicative perspective focus depends on the choice of grammatical aspect (Givón 2001a: 288). Some activity (process) verbs of shorter activities are illustrated in (18a) and encoding longer activities are illustrated in (18b).

(18) a. Shorter activities

peŋli 'to break' *dzamli* 'to smash/smite

tug^hurli 'to bend down' *meʔli* 'to twist'

jaŋli 'to step/trample' *tsali* 'to eat'

b. Longer activities

teli 'to walk' *kam pali* 'to work'

por^heli 'to read' *n^hali* 'to dance'

When an activity verb is marked by the grammatical imperfective aspect, it yields a state, ongoing or habitual repetitive interpretation (Givón 2001a: 291). In line with this observation, Dhimal activity verbs marked by imperfective aspect impart the sense of habitual event, as in (19a, b):

(19) a. *iŋko sjaile tsafĩ iŋko gaiko*

iŋko sjaile tsafĩ iŋko gai-ko

that jackal IND that cow-GEN

hamuŋ lita dulten tsag^hak^he

hamuŋ lita dul-ten tsa-g^ha-k^he

stomach inside inter-SEQ eat-IPFV-PRS

'As for the jackal, it entered into the stomach of the cow and used to eat (meat of the cow). '(HLD.SJ.W_76)

- b. *got^hala tsafĩ dai mun tsateŋ*
 got^hala tsafĩ dai mun tsa-teŋ
 cowboy IND yoghurt bitten rice eat-SEQ
um tsateŋ wa gaipija l^hapiteŋ fianeg^hak^he
 um tsa-teŋ gai-pija laʔ-pi-teŋ fiane-g^ha-k^he
 rice eat-SEQ cow-buffallo untie-BEN-SEQ go-IPFV-PRS
 'Then, as for the cowboy, having eaten the yoghurt, bitten rice and rice
 (meal) and having taken the animals (he) used to go to (the jungle).'
- (LBD2HSW_12)

In examples (19a, b), the imperfective suffix *-g^ha* followed by the present tense morpheme *-k^he* occurred with the activity verbs *-tsa* 'eat' and *hane* 'go' to yield repetitive/habitual readings.

d. Stative verbs

Stative verbs have long duration but no boundaries (Givón 2001a: 288). Stative verbs in Dhimal, as in Bhujel (Regmi 2012a: 79), tend to reject perfective interpretation because they lack terminal boundary. Hence, they automatically take on an imperfective interpretation. The verbs in (20) may be characterized as stative verbs.

- (20) a. **Temporary states**
melli 'to be sad/despondent' *gili* 'to know'
tsunli 'to be cold' *b^hemli* 'to be hot'
- b. **Long lasting states**
d^haŋgali 'to be tall' *barli* 'to be big (human)'
dz^hauli 'to be big' (objects) *da:li* 'to be black'

However, stative verbs in (20), when combined with the grammatical perfective aspect the inherent state is converted into an event. It may yield a perfective interpretation as in, (21a, b):

- (21) a. *ka m^hitu^ha*
 ka m^hitu-g^ha
 1SG be.hungry-PST.1SG
 'I became hungry.'
- b. *torse miŋ^hoi*
 torse miŋ^h-foi
 mango be.ripe-PFV
 'The mango ripened.'

In (21a, b) the stative verbs *m^hitu* 'be.hungry' and *miŋ* 'be.ripe', combined with the perfective aspect have converted into perfective interpretation.

7.2.2 Morphological aspects

Morphological/grammatical aspects in Dhimal may be divided into two main types: perfective and imperfective. Comrie (1976: 16) notes "perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation." King (2009: 143) distinguishes these aspects as the morphemes encoding imperfectivity that may co-occur with either *-k^he* or *-hi*. In contrast, the perfective and inceptive morphemes do not co-occur with any other tense or aspect markers. The morphological aspects in Dhimal are discussed as follows:

a. Perfective aspect

The focus of perfective aspect is on termination and boundness of the states/events in Dhimal. Perfective aspect may be further divided into past perfective, perfect, completive and inceptive.¹⁷ They are discussed as follows:

i. Past perfective

Perfectivity of the states/events is exhibited by the morpheme *-hi*, which is also the past tense marker. It characterizes the state/event as complete, and without discrete

¹⁷Dahl (1985: 78) defines that the perfective verb will typically denote a single event, seen as an unanalyzed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state, located in the past.

subparts as *-ke* does in Kham (Watters 2002: 257). Perfective aspect marker and the past tense marker is the same in Dhimal.¹⁸ So we have glossed as *-PST* for both. The Dhimal perfective, as in Palula (Liljegren 2008: 218), is used to refer to completed events in the past, whether remote or close in time.¹⁹ Following are the examples:

- (22) a. *wa buŋ ekdəməi rəhər paŋi aŋ*
 wa bu-ŋ ekdəm-əi rəhər pa-fi aŋ
 3SG also-EMPH very-EMPH desire do-PST REP
 'He (the prince) also showed a lot of interest (for hunting).'(TBDFSW_06)

- b. *tsi amli kiʔteŋ wakul dzeŋteŋ*
 tsi am-li kiʔ-teŋ wakul dzeŋ-teŋ
 water drink-INF want-SEQ unrest be-SEQ
 esaŋ dzimfi
 esa-ŋ dzim-fi
 like.this-EMPH sleep-PST
 'Having wished to drink water and being unrest (he) slept like this.'
 (TBDFSW_31)

- c. *kaseheŋ fiʔli lofi*
 ka-seheŋ fiʔ-li lo-fi
 ISG-DAT ask-INF come-PST
 '(He) came to ask me.'(TBDFSW_34)

The states and events in (22a-c) are characterized as complete events irrespective of the inherent lexical aspects of the verbs. Perfective aspect ignores any internal complexity and construes them as single, unitary event (cf. Watters 2002: 257).

ii. Perfect aspect

The perfect aspect in Dhimal is similar to the perfective aspect in that both aspects may code events which either occurred, or at least was initiated, prior to the temporal

¹⁸Liljegren (2008: 217) notes that perfective aspect can alternatively be labeled as simple past, as it is indeed restricted to past time reference.

¹⁹The association of past tense and perfective aspect, according to Watters (2002: 276), is a common phenomenon cross-linguistically.

reference time (Givón 2001a: 293). However, perfect aspect differs from perfective in formal as well as functional criteria. Perfect aspect codes 'out of sequence' events which are relevant not to the event time but to some subsequent time reference. In contrast, perfective aspect codes a situation which was terminated and bounded before one absolute reference time, the time of speech. There are two perfect aspects: present perfect and past perfect in Dhimal. They are discussed as follows:

Present (non-past) perfect

The present (non-past) perfect employs the nominalized main verb followed by the existential copula *hi* inflected for the appropriate tense. The copula functions as an auxiliary verb carrying the past tense marker *-hi* in the finite construction. Following are the examples:

- (23) *ka um tsaka hig^ha*
 ka um tsa-ka hi-fi-ka
 1SG rice eat-NMLZ be-PST-1SG
 'I have eaten rice.'

In example (23), we can see that the present (non-past) perfect is expressed periphrastically in Dhimal. In this aspect, the main verb is marked by the nominalizer *-ka* followed by the copula verb *hi* 'be'. In the present perfect, for example, the event which already occurred has relevance in the present (Watters 2002: 278).

Past perfect

The past perfect employs the nominalized main verb followed by the existential copula *hi*. The copula verb is also inflected with habitual past morpheme *-g^ha* followed by the past tense marker *-hi*. Following are the examples:

- (24) a. *wa um tsaka hig^hahi*
 wa um tsa-ka hi-g^ha-fi
 1SG rice eat-NMLZ be-IPFV-PST
 'He had eaten rice.'

- b. *andzi ka wako sata haneka hīg^hag^ha*
 andzi ka wa-ko sa-ta hane-ka hī-g^ha-g^ha
 yesterday 1SG 3SG-GEN house-LOC go-NMLZ be-IPFV-PST.1SG
 'Yesterday, I had been to his house.'

In example (24a, b), the main verb *hane* 'go' is nominalized with the morpheme *-ka* whereas the copula verb *hī* 'be' is inflected with the imperfective morpheme *-g^ha* followed by the past tense morpheme *-hī*.

Completive aspect

Completive aspect in Dhimal is marked by the morpheme *-hōi*, which is the grammaticalized form of the lexical verb *hōi* 'finish'.²⁰ Following are the examples:

- (25) a. *te nid^hin^himi te hī?hōika*
 te nid^hin^himi te hī?-hōi-ka
 okay 2DU TOP ask-PFV-1SG
 'Okay, as for you (two), I have already asked.' (TBDFSW_65)
- b. *itaso kalau tsan ama dzeṇhōi b^hetg^haṭ*
 ita-so kalau tsan ama dzeṇ-hōi b^hetg^haṭ
 here-ABL then son mother be-PFV meeting
 'The son and mother got united hereafter.' (TBDFSW_627)
- c. *ka ela əṇṭ^haunnə basarko dzeṇhōika*
 ka ela əṇṭ^haunnə basar-ko dzeṇ-hōi-ka
 1SG now fifty-eight year-GEN be-PFV-1SG
 'I have been fifty-eight year old now.' (CLDDRW_02)

In examples (25a-c), the morpheme *-hōi* is employed to encode the completive aspect. This morpheme is glossed as perfective 'PFV' in our examples.

²⁰Bybee et al. (1994: 54) defines completive aspect as doing something thoroughly and to completion. It further notes that the mode of expression of completive falls into basically two types - periphrastic and derivational expressions. Completives are relatively rich in lexical meaning and may be lexically restricted or simply not used frequently enough to have become inflectional.

b. Imperfective aspects

The imperfective aspect in Dhimal may be sub-divided into three main types: imperfective, durative and habitual. They are discussed as follows:

i. Imperfective

The imperfective aspect in Dhimal is encoded by the present tense marking suffix *-k^{he}*. It indexes an imperfective event in all persons except first person singular, where it fuses with pronominal suffixes.²¹ The imperfective morpheme occurs before the singular and dual person agreement markers, but after the plural markers in the affixal string (cf. King 2009: 144). This morpheme is employed in multiple functions in Dhimal. The imperfective indicates an unbounded event and may encode habitual, progressive, stative, generic or the past event with vivid present meaning.

In habitual reading, the morpheme *-k^{he}* encodes habitual aspect, as in (26):

- (26) a. *puḥjāḡelai lok^{he}*
 puḥjā-gelai lo-k^{he}
 snake-PL come-PRS
 'The snakes come (often).' (TBDFSW_316)
- b. *ḥai niṅk^{he} sikar doʔteṅ narja*
 ḥai niṅ-k^{he} sikar doʔ-teṅ narja
 what get-PRS hunting say-SEQ elephant
 sadz^{he}epaḥi doʔk^{he}
 sadz^{he}-pa-ḥi doʔ-k^{he}
 decorate-CAUS-PST say-PRS
 'Having asked what hunting is available (he) prepared the
 elephant, it is said.' (TBDFSW_12)

In example (26a), the morpheme *-k^{he}* attached to the main verb *lo* 'come' encodes that the coming of the snakes occur frequently. Similarly, in (26b), the verb *niṅ* 'get'

²¹Manipuri, one of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken mainly in the Manipur state of India, employs the morpheme *-k^{hi}* as the direct evidential marker in the past tense references (Poudel 2007: 122). It may be a cognate to the present tense marker *-k^{he}* in Dhimal.

followed by the present tense marker encodes the habitual state of the availability of the things/animals to be hunted in the forest.

The morpheme *-k^he* may indicate an unmarked present progressive. This present progressive meaning only occurs with non-stative verbs (King 2009: 145). Consider the examples in (27a, b):

- (27) a. *tsumateŋ tsamateŋ ekdΛm malis paka pakaŋ*
 tsuma-teŋ tsamateŋ ekdΛm malis pa-ka
 bring-SEQ REDUP complete massage do-NMLZ
uk^h ita atuisa tu:k^he doʔk^he aŋ
 pa-ka-ŋ uk^h ita atuisa tu:-k^he doʔ-k^he aŋ
 do -NMLZ-EMPH ouch here little ache-PRS say-PRS REP
 'Having brought the (medicine) and while getting massaged (she)
 says that it aches in some part (of her body).' (TBDFSW_402)
- b. *nantsiŋeŋ t^hoŋk^he la*
 nantsi-ŋeŋ t^hoŋ-k^he la
 poor-DAT lead-PRS MIR
 '(He) leads away the poor (horse).' (TBDFSW_487)

In example (27a), the verbal complex *tu:k^he* 'aches' encodes the reading that the person realizes the pain for the prolonged period of time. Thus, the meaning encodes progressive aspect. Similarly in (27b), the verb *t^hoŋ* 'lead' followed by the present imperfective marker encodes the progressive reading.

With stative verbs, the morpheme *-k^he* denotes an inherent quality or a situation which generally holds true (King 2009). Following are the examples:

- (28) a. *proŋingalai buŋ niŋk^he edeta*
 proŋin-gelai bu-ŋ niŋ-k^he ede-ta
 protein-PL also-EMPH get-PRS this-LOC

bib^hinna tattwa buŋ niŋ^{kʰe} musarso

bib^hinna tattwa bu-ŋ niŋ-k^he musar-so
 various element also-EMPH get-PRS mushroom-ABL
 'Protein is available in it, many other elements can be found from the
 mushroom.' (KRDMPW_22)

b. *ɦunu te ela bar^Λi ma^Λina dzeŋ^{kʰe}*

ɦunu te ela bar^Λ-i ma^Λina dzeŋ-k^he
 though TOP now twelve-EMPH month become-PRS
 'Even though, nowadays it produces in all the season.' (KRDMPW_114)

In example (28a), the present tense marker *-k^he* attached to the verb *niŋ* 'get' encodes the inherent quality of the mushroom to have some useful elements. Similarly, in (28b) the imperfective marker encodes the general quality of the mushroom being available in all the seasons.

The present tense morpheme *-k^he* combined with the imperfective morpheme encodes the past event described as the present time reference. Following are the examples:

(29) a. *eloŋ desta ɦiŋ^hak^he doʔ^{kʰe} eloŋ radza*

e-loŋ des-ta ɦi-g^ha-k^he doʔ-k^he e-loŋ radza
 one-CLF country-LOC be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS one-CLF king
 'There was a king in a country.' (TBDFSW_01)

b. *na^bɦand^Λi wako diɦẽ paɦa eloŋ*

na^bɦand^Λi wa-ko diɦẽ paɦa e-loŋ
 at.once 3SG-GEN west side one-CLF

barka pok^hari ɦiŋ^hak^he

bar-ka pok^hari ɦi-g^ha-k^he
 be.big-NMLZ pond be-IPFV-PRS

'To (his) surprise, there was a pond to the west side.' (TBDFSW_23)

c. *maili bai wa barka dzagirta*

maili bai wa bar-ka dzagir-ta
 maili elder.sister 3SG be.big-NMLZ job-LOC

ɦanã doʔgʰakʰe

ɦane-ã doʔ-gʰa-kʰe

go-FUT say-IPFV-PRS

'The second eldest sister said that she would go with a person
having an attractive job.' (TBDFSW_253)

In examples (29a-c), the verbal complexes with the combination of the present tense morpheme *-kʰe* and imperfective *-gʰa* describe the past event as the narrator describes the events as witnessed by him/herself.

The present tense morpheme *-kʰe*, attached to the verb *doʔ* 'say' is lexicalized as the quotative marker in Dhimel. In narratives, it is expressed by the narrator in almost every proposition to remind the listener that the thing being said is not directly witnessed by the speaker. Following are the examples:

(30) a. *eloŋ desta ɦigʰakʰe doʔkʰe eloŋ radza*

e-loŋ des-ta ɦi-gʰa-kʰe [doʔ-kʰe] e-loŋ radza

one-CLF country-LOC be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS one-CLF king

'There was a king in a country.' (TBDFSW_01)

b. *kalau ɦanikataŋ ɦanikataŋ*

kalau ɦane-ka-ta-aŋ ɦane-ka-ta-aŋ

then go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH

ɦanikataŋ ɦanikataŋ

ɦane-ka-ta-aŋ ɦane-ka-ta-aŋ

go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH

dziɦã dzuileŋ eloŋ ɦaidoŋ ma-dʰiʔka

dziɦã dzuileŋ e-loŋ ɦaidoŋ ma-dʰiʔ-ka

bird lizard one-CLF anything NEG-get-NMLZ

tʰameta tʰukalʰaɦi doʔkʰe aŋ

tʰame-ta tʰuka-lʰa-ɦi [doʔ-kʰe] aŋ

place-LOC reach-INTENT-PST say-PRS REP

'Then going continuously, (they) reached to a place where even no
birds were available, it is said.' (TBDFSW_13-14)

In examples (30a-b), the verb *doʔ* 'say' followed by the present tense marker *-kʰe* is used as the quotative marker. Because it occurs abundantly in the narrative discourse we have often left it untranslated. In most of the instances the quotative is found to be followed by the reportative particle *aŋ* in our corpus.

ii. Durative

The morpheme *-doŋ* encodes a continuous or progressive event that is ongoing within a certain time frame. The progressive explicitly encodes "what may be implicit with the imperfective and generally occurs only with dynamic verbs which typically require volitional active subjects" (King 2009: 150).

The progressive morpheme occurs closest to the verb stem compared to any other tense or aspect marker. However, it follows the deictic motion morphemes if there is any. The imperfective marker *-gha* follows the durative marker. The progressive morpheme *-doŋ* obligatorily co-occurs with either the present tense morpheme *-kʰe* or the past tense morpheme *-fi* (King 2009: 151). The durative morpheme may encode both the non-past durative and past durative aspects in Dhimal.

Non-past durative

The non-past durative aspect in Dhimal is marked by the durative suffix *-doŋ* attached immediately after the verb root. The present tense marker followed by the durative morpheme encode the non-past durative, as in (31):

- (31) *iŋko ʰaja posedoŋkʰe iŋkoʰeŋ*
 iŋko ʰaja pose-doŋ-kʰe iŋko-fiŋ
 that fish rear-DUR-PRS that-DAT
 'That fish is rearing to that (child).' (TBDFSW_309)

In example (31), the verb *pose* 'rear' is followed by the durative morpheme *-doŋ* which is further followed by *-kʰe* to encode the durative meaning.

The durative marker is also used to encode the future time reference, as in (32):

- (32) *te mʰa ela ʰate lodoŋkʰe*
 te mʰa ela ʰate lo-doŋ-kʰe
 okay wait now market come-DUR-PRS
 'Okay, wait now the market day is approaching.' (MMD2MWW_139-140)

In example (32), the market day is to approach in future. Since it is approaching soon, the durative marker combined with the present tense marker encodes the situation in Dhimal.

Past durative

Durative event encoding past time reference is marked by the suffixal combination of the durative marker *-doŋ* and the imperfective morpheme *-g^ha* further followed by the past tense morpheme *-hi*. Following are the examples:

- (33) a. *wa andzi hiate hianedon^hg^hahi*
 wa andzi hiate hiane-doŋ-g^ha-hi
 3SG yesterday market go-DUR-IPFV-PST
 'Yesterday he was going to the market.'
- b. *na lolau ka sata kam padon^hg^hag^ha*
 na lo-lau ka sa-ta kam pa-doŋ-g^ha-g^ha
 2SG come-TEMP 1SG home-LOC work do-DUR-IPFV-PST.1SG
 'I was working at home when you came.'

In examples (33a, b), the past durative aspect is encoded by the suffixal combination of the durative morpheme and the imperfective morpheme followed by the past tense morpheme.

iii. Habitual

In Dhimal, the past habitual action is expressed by the imperfective morpheme *-g^ha*. It is followed either by the past tense morpheme *-hi* or by the present tense morpheme *-k^he*. Following are the examples:

- (34) a. *tsattΛ bistara daʔhi sumi sum kona*
 tsattΛ bistara daʔ-hi su-mi sum kona
 ONOM bed stretch.bed-PST three-HCLF three corner
 jomteŋ lagig^hak^he aŋ tirpasa
 jom-teŋ lagi-g^ha-k^he aŋ tirpasa
 sit-SEQ feel-IPFV-PRS REP Tripasa
 'Having stretched the bed and sitting in the three coners (they) used to start playing Tripasa.' (TBDFSW_96)

- b. *ka b^habisj^Λko lagi doʔteŋ sotsig^hak^ha*
 ka b^habisj^Λ-ko lagi doʔ-teŋ sotsi-g^ha-k^ha
 1SG future-GEN for say-SEQ think-IPFV-PRS.1SG
 'I used to think about the future.' (TBDFSW_597)

- (35) a. *lamp^ha wa kaŋkota log^haŋi*
 lamp^ha wa kaŋ-ko-ta lo-g^ha-ŋi
 before 3SG 1SG.OBL-GEN-LOC come-IPFV-PST
 'He used to come to me before.'

- b. *ka lamp^ha gora amg^hag^ha*
 ka lamp^ha gora am-g^ha-g^ha
 3SG before liquor drink-IPFV-PST.1SG
 'I used to drink liquor before.'

In examples (34a, b) the present tense morpheme *-k^he* follows the imperfective morpheme *-g^ha* to encode the habitual past event. Similarly in (35a, b), the past tense marker *-ŋi* follows the imperfective morpheme *-g^ha*. The speakers of Dhimal find difficulty in explaining the differences between the habitual situation encoded by the followed either by present tense morpheme or by the past tense morpheme. Intuitively, it may be said that the habitual action with the following present tense morpheme indicates some relevance to the present time reference.

7.3 Modality

In this section, we deal with the modality in Dhimal. We will discuss the morphological/grammatical moods in Dhimal under the section manipulative speech acts in Chapter 13. Therefore, we discuss only the modality here.²²

The modality codes the speaker's attitude towards the proposition. By attitude here we mean primarily two types of judgments made by the speaker concerning the

²²Palmer (1986: 5) notes "the inflectional mood is a very clear example of grammatical marking, but the markers of modality may be modal verbs, clitics or particles."

propositional information carried by the clause.²³ Following Givón (2001a: 301), we divide modality in Dhimal into epistemic and evaluative (deontic) types. The modality in Dhimal is discussed as follows:

7.3.1 Epistemic modalities

The main function of epistemic modality is to indicate the degree of commitment of the speaker to the truth or future truth of the proposition. In Dhimal, epistemic modalities include probability, certainty, evidentiality and mirativity. They are discussed as follows:

a. Probability

The main function of this modality is to indicate that the situation described in the proposition is probably true.²⁴ In Dhimal, it is marked by the combination of the deductive particle *wa* followed by the mirative particle *la*. Following are the examples:

(36) a. *anmane te niŋk^he wa la ni sotsa^hi*

anemone	te	niŋ-k ^h e	wa	la	ni	sotsa-fi
materials	TOP	get-PRS	DED	MIR	PART	think-PST

iŋkotaŋ fi wa la

iŋko-ta-ŋ	fi	wa	la
that-LOC-EMPH	be	3SG	MIR

'They thought, probably the materials will be available, it might be there.'
(TBDFSW_147)

b. *et^he fi wa la*

et ^h e	fi	wa	la
this.much.big	be	DED	MIR

'It may be this much big (pointing) probably.' (TBDFSW_300)

²³Cross-linguistically, the modality is expressed in language in a variety of ways: morphological, lexical, syntactic or via intonation. These, however, are not mutually exclusive (Bybee and Fleischman 1985: 2)

²⁴In case of Kham, Watters (2002: 287) maintains that the modality of probability expresses the strong likelihood of a particular situation whereas possibility expresses just one of many possible options.

In examples (36a, b) the suffixal combination of the deductive particle *wa* followed by the mirative particle *la* has encoded the modality of probability in Dhimal.

While eliciting sentences, one of our consultants reported that the probability in Dhimal is also expressed by the particle *b^hane*, as in (37):

- (37) *dzumni wai lwaŋ b^hane*
 dzumni wai lo-aŋ b^hane
 tomorrow water come-FUT PART
 'Probably, it will rain tomorrow.'

However, in our texts, we did not come across any example of the modality of probability expressed by the particle *b^hane*. This particle, according to the same informant, may also occur in sentence middle position in the proposition, as in (38):

- (38) *sanjaŋ b^hane nani*
 sane-aŋ b^hane nai
 sun-FUT PART today
 'It may be sunny today.'

In example (38), the particle *b^hane* occurred in the sentence middle position encodes the meaning of probability.

b. Certainty

There is no separate morpheme or any distinct particle to encode certainty in Dhimal. However, when the proposition suffixed by the future tense marker is not followed by the combination of the deductive and mirative particle, it may be interpreted as the modality of certainty. Following is an example:

- (39) *nanebareso na basar suru dzeŋ-aŋ*
 nanebare-so na basar suru dzeŋ-aŋ
 this.year-ABL five year start be-FUT
 '(Certainly), the fifth year will start this year (of
 the mushroom planting) (KRDMPW_15)

In examples (39), the future tense marker *-aŋ* is employed to encode the modality of certainty in Dhimal.

c. Dubitative

The epistemic particle *be* encodes the speaker's ignorance, doubt or uncertainty regarding the proposition (King 2009: 244). The dubitative is often pronounced with a distinct high level pitch and increased duration, as in (40):

(40) a. *kalau sajəd pəuri g^hag^ha be*

kalau	sajəd	pəuri	g ^h a-g ^h a	be
then	perhaps	swimming	play-PST.1SG	DUB

mag^hag^ha be

ma-g ^h a-g ^h a	be
NEG-play-PST.1SG	DUB

'Then whether did I swim or I did not swim.' (CLDDRW_28)

b. *sikar g^hali fianika djaŋ*

sikar	g ^h a-li	fiane-ka	djaŋ
hunting	play-INF	go-NMLZ	person

djaŋ tsumteŋ lok^he be

djaŋ	tsuma-teŋ	lo-k ^h e	be
person	bring-SEQ	come-PRS	DUB

'It's doubtful that the person who went for hunting came with a woman.' (TBDFSW_215)

c. *ka kaseheŋ duk^hə porelabelau nelai*

ka	ka-seheŋ	duk ^h ə	porelabelau	nelai
1SG	1SG-DAT	sorrow	fall-TEMP	2PL

ba maloswana be

ba	ma-lo-su-aŋ-na	be
or	NEG-come-COL-FUT-2	DUB

pateŋsa ka bitsar pateŋ k^haŋg^ha

pateŋsa	ka	bitsar	pa-teŋ	k ^h aŋ-g ^h a
do-SEQ-after	1SG	think	do-SEQ	see-PST.1SG

'I thought because I was doubtful that whether you will come or not whenever I am in trouble.' (MMD2MWW_160)

In examples (40a-c), the dubitative particle *be* is employed by the speaker to encode the doubt or uncertainty about the proposition.

d. Deductive

The deductive particle *wa* indicates a proposition which "the speaker believes to be possible based on inference, speculation or deduction" (King 2009: 240). Following are the examples:

- (41) a. *iŋko doʔnasantaŋ naŋko iŋko*

iŋko	doʔ-na-san-ta-ŋ	naŋ-ko	iŋko
that	say-IMPL-after-LOC-EMPH	2SG.OBL-GEN	that

dama barka dzenawa kalau swattai

dama	bar-ka	dzeŋ-aŋ	wa	kalau	swattai
path	be.big-NMLZ	be-FUT	DED	then	easily

dul doʔteŋsaŋ iŋko puŋjã doʔpihi

dul	doʔ-teŋ-san-aŋ	iŋko	puŋjã	doʔ-pi-fi
enter.IMP	say-SEQ-after-EMPH	that	snake	say-BEN-PST

'The snake said, as soon as (you) say this, the road (hole) will be wider and then (you) enter instantly.' (LBDFSW_29)

- b. *ela kunu ela puŋjã naseŋeŋ tsumafi*

ela	kunu	ela	puŋjã	na-seŋeŋ	tsuma-fi
now	than	now	snake	2SG-DAT	bring-PST

matsa wa doʔkataŋ doʔkataŋ

ma-tsa	wa	doʔ-ka-ta-aŋ	doʔ-ka-ta-aŋ
NEG-eat	DED	say-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH	say-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH

insa pakataŋ pakataŋ

insa	pa-ka-ta-aŋ	pa-ka-ta-aŋ
like.that	do-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH	do-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH

atutui atutuipa pakataŋ pakataŋ

atutui	atutui-pa	pa-ka-ta-aŋ	pa-ka-ta-aŋ
a.little	a.little-do	do-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH	do-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH

pakataŋ puɦjã waseɦeŋ ode

pa-ka-ta-aŋ	puɦjã	wa-seɦeŋ	ode
do-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH	snake	3SG-DAT	that

dzet^hieŋ niʔli doɦi

dzet ^h i-eŋ	niʔ-li	do-ɦi
Jethi-DAT	swallow-INF	be.able-PST

'Although her father said, I have brought the snake for you it might not eat to you; the snake swallowed the girl completely.' (LBDFSW_59)

c. *iŋko ʌrt^hʌ ɦai wa la be doʔk^he aŋ*

iŋko	ʌrt ^h ʌ	ɦai	wa	la	be	doʔ-k ^h e	aŋ
that	meaning	what	DED	MIR	DUB	say-PRS	REP

'What might that mean in fact?' (TBDFSW_89)

d. *nani sjaŋ wa la kelai doʔk^he aŋ*

nani	si-aŋ	wa	la	kelai	doʔ-k ^h e	aŋ
today	die-FUT	DED	MIR	1PL	say-PRS	REP

narjako mofotijaɦeŋ

narja-ko	mofotija-ɦeŋ
elephant-GEN	herder-DAT

'We might die today, (he) said to the elephant herder.'

(TBDFSW_19)

In examples (41a-d), the deductive particle *be* encodes the speakers' inference or deduction towards the proposition.

e. Evidentiality

Evidentiality is the source of the evidence available to back up the truth value of an assertion (Givón 2001a: 326). In Dhimal, directly-witnessed type of evidentiality is not expressed morphologically.²⁵ The discourse particle *aŋ* 'REP' alone occurred clause

²⁵Watters (2002: 285) notes "in many Himalayan languages, notably Tibetan and its close siblings, level of certainty is marked by elaborate evidential categories – categories that express a speaker's relative certainty of the veracity of his/her statement. Relative certainty is based on the speaker's

finally or preceded by the quotative particle *doʔkʰe* 'they say' is employed to encode the 'heresay-type' of evidentiality. Following are the examples:

- (42) a. *wa buŋ ekdəməi rəhər paɦi aŋ*
 wa bu-ŋ ekdəm-əi rəhər pa-ɦi aŋ
 3SG also-EMPH very-EMPH interest do-PST REP
 'He (the prince) also showed a lot of interest (it is said).' (TBDFSW_06)
- b. *atuisa diɦẽ ɦaniɦi doʔkʰe aŋ barka*
 atuisa diɦẽ ɦane-ɦi doʔ-kʰe aŋ bar-ka
 little west go-PST say-PRS REP be.big-NMLZ
 pokʰəri ɦigʰakʰe aŋ
 pokʰəri ɦi-gʰa-kʰe aŋ
 pond be-IPFV-PRS REP
 '(They went a little bit westward; there was a big pond (it is said)).'
 (TBDFSW_43)

In examples (42a, b), the reportative particle *aŋ* employed in the proposition in which the speakers refers to the truth value as hearsay, i.e., the speaker is not responsible for the truth value of the assertion.

The propositions lacking the reportative marker may be construed as relatively certain statement.

f. Mirativity

In Dhimal, the modality of mirativity is coded with the discourse particle *la* 'MIR'. The category of mirativity indicates "unexpected information" (Delancey 1997: 33). That is, "the information coded in the proposition is surprising to the speaker" (Dickinson, as cited in Dhakal 2012: 169). The mirative particle, in Dhimal, indicates that the information is new or surprising to the speaker. Following are the examples:

source of information; events witnessed directly, for instance, are accorded more certainty than those based on hearsay."

- (43) a. *te kants^{hi} naŋko dop^{ha}*
 te kants^{hi} naŋ-ko dop^{ha}
 okay Kanchhi 2SG.OBL-GEN with
madaŋ la kelai doʔk^{he} aŋ
 ma-do-aŋ la kelai doʔ-k^{he} aŋ
 NEG-be.able-FUT MIR 1PL say-PRS REP
 'Okay, Kanchhi, we might not be able (to win) you (they said).'

(TBDFSW_182)

- b. *ela sumni dzeŋfoi la*
 ela sum ni dzeŋ-foi la
 now three day be-PFV MIR
 'Now, three days were already past.' (TBDFSW_203)

- c. *dzab^Λ narja sum k^{he} r^{hi}kai^{fi} doʔfi doʔk^{he}*
 dzab^Λ narja sum k^{he} r^{hi}kai-^{fi} doʔ-^{fi} doʔ-k^{he}
 when elephant three time yell-PST say-PST say-PRS
e lofoi la
 e lo-foi la
 oh come-PFV MIR
 'When the elephant yelled out three times (they) said, 'oh, (they) have already arrived.' (TBDFSW_207)

In example (43a), the discourse context is that three sister are playing wager. Surprisingly the youngest one wins the game repeatedly. In this situation, the eldest sister feels that the youngest one was found to be the winner contrary to her expectation. So, the proposition is expressed with the mirative particle *la*. Similarly, in example (43b), contrary to the expectation to the speaker, three days were found to be already passed, thus the proposition coded with the mirative particle. In (43c), the speaker notices that his/her son came back home based on the noise made by the elephant. So, the proposition is coded with the mirative particle.

7.3.2 Deontic modalities

Deontic modality describes the internal or external ability of the willful agent with respect to the completion of the predication. They may be combined with any of the

tenses, either by the tense marking morpheme or in combination of different aspectual morphemes. In Dhimal, unlike in Bhujel, the deontic modalities are encoded by the modal verbs.²⁶ Deontic modalities encoded in Dhimal are as follows:

a. Ability

The ability indicates that the agent/subject of the clause has the mental or physical ability to complete the action encoded in the main verb. The modal verb *do* 'be able' encodes the ability in Dhimal. Following are the examples:

- (44) a. *tsalaiko awəsjək porehie panu ka*
 tsalai-ko awəsjək pore-hie pa-nu ka
 seed-GEN necessity lie-HYP do-COND 1SG
tsalai buŋ upələbd^{hə} papili daŋka
 tsalai bu-ŋ upələbd^{hə} pa-pi-li do-aŋ-ka
 seed also-EMPH available do-BEN-INF be.able-FUT-1SG
 'If (someone) needs the seed (of the mushroom) I can also make it
 available.' (KRDMPW_174)
- b. *wa kalau siŋta n^hoʔli madok^{hə}*
 wa kalau siŋ-ta n^hoʔ-li ma-do-k^{hə}
 3SG then tree-LOC land-INF NEG-be.able-PRS
 'It, then, cannot sit on the tree.' (GMDWH_16)
- c. *kelai te atuisa diŋẽ ɦanili madon^hafi*
 kelai te atuisa diŋẽ ɦane-li ma-do-n^ha-fi
 1PL TOP little west go-INF NEG-be.able-1PL-PST
 'We could not be able to go a bit west.' (TBDFSW_35)

In examples (44a-c), the modal verb *do* 'be.able' encoding the ability is used to impart the meaning of ability.

²⁶In Bhujel, the two evaluative (deontic) modalities, i.e., ability and obligation are encoded morphologically (Regmi 2007: 246).

b. Obligation

The modality of obligation indicates that the agent/subject is obliged to perform the action expressed by the main verb. It is indicated by the modal verb *goi* 'must' inflected for the tense/aspect and participant reference, as in (45a-c):

- (45) a. *ela dzʰaŋgri kʰuʔpali gojaŋ*
 ela dzʰaŋgri kʰuʔ-pa-li goi-aŋ
 now shaman descend-CAUS-INF must-FUT
 'Now the pickle the shaman should be appointed.' (TBDFSW_387)

- b. *kelaiko dʰemal dʰol beʔteŋsa wako*
 kelai-ko dʰemal dʰol beʔ-teŋ-sa wa-ko
 1PL-GEN Dhimal drum blow-SEQ-after 3SG-GEN
kam paka nokər tsakərgalaiheŋ
 kam pa-ka nokərtsakər-galai-heŋ
 work do-NMLZ servant-PL-DAT
kaili goigʰafi
 kai-li goi-gʰa-fi aŋ
 call-INF must-IPFV-PST REP
 '(Earlier) we Dhimals, ought to call our servants by blowing the drum (it is said).' (MMD1HRW_15)

- c. *hisa pali goikʰe hisa ampali goikʰe*
 hisa pa-li goi-kʰe hisa am-pa-li
 how do-INF must-PRS how drink-CAUS-INF
hisa tsapali goikʰe
 goi-kʰe hisa tsa-pa-li goi-kʰe
 must-PRS how eat-CAUS-INF must-PRS
 'How must be done, how must to make (someone) drink (and) how must be fed.' (KLD2.INSTW_16)

In examples (45a-c), the modal verb *goi* is employed to encode the strong obligation of the agent/subject to perform the action expressed by the main verb.

Apart from this, the same modal verb is employed to encode the weaker obligation in the part of the agent/subject, as in (46a, b):

- (46) a. *kaŋko param fi biŋu pa-li goi-ka*
 kaŋ-ko param fi biŋu pa-li goi-ka
 1SG-GEN friend be marriage do-INF must-NMLZ
 'I have a friend who needs to get married.'(HLD.SJ.W_25)
- b. *isika siŋ maniŋla bu daleŋ r^huta*
 isika siŋ ma-niŋ-la bu dale-ŋ r^huta
 like.this tree NEG-get-TEMP also branch-EMPH up
 toin^hateŋ fi-li goik^he
 toi-n^ha-teŋ fi-li goi-k^he
 hang-mid-SEQ sit-INF must-PRS
 'Even if one does not get a tree like this, one ought to sit hanging on
 the branch.' (KLD3.INSTW_04)

In examples (46a, b), the obligation in the part of the agent/subject is weaker than those exemplified in (45a-c). In (46a), the person needs to get married because may be he is unmarried and he is grown enough to get married, however, it is may not be as compulsive. Similarly, in (46b), the speaker suggests the hearer to be cautious while s/he goes for hunting, however, the hearer is not obliged to do as s/he is suggested.

7.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the tense, aspect and modality in Dhimal. This language exhibits morphologically marked past, present and future tenses. The past tense in Dhimal is marked by the suffix *-fi*. The morpheme *-k^he* encodes the present time reference in Dhimal. Similarly, future tense is marked by the suffix *-aŋ*. In terms of their inherent aspectuality Dhimal verbs may be classified into compact/achievement verbs, accomplishment verbs, activity (process) verbs and stative verbs. Morphological aspects in Dhimal may be broadly categorized into perfective and imperfective. Perfective aspect includes the past perfective, past perfect, present perfect and completive aspects. Similarly, the imperfective aspect includes imperfective, non-past durative, past durative and habitual aspects. Modality in Dhimal may be divided into epistemic and deontic types. The probability, certainty,

dubitative, deductive and evidentiality and mirative fall under epistemic modality. Similarly, ability and obligation fall under deontic modality.

CHAPTER 8

REFERENTIAL COHERENCE

8.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the devices of referential coherence in Dhimal. It consists of five sections. In section 8.1, we discuss the morphosyntactic devices that are commonly used for referential coherence in languages. In section 8.2, we deal with the pronominal system in Dhimal. In section 8.3, we deal with the anaphoric reference in Dhimal. Section 8.4 deals with the reference and definiteness. In section 8.5, we present the summary of the findings of the chapter.

8.1 Major morphosyntactic devices

Referential coherence is basically a domain of the discourse-pragmatics. In this domain we see how the referents (participants) are introduced or re-introduced into the discourse and also we see how they may be continued or terminated (Givón 2011: 156). The grammar of independent pronouns and grammatical agreement covers the semantic domain of classifying the participants in terms of person, number, gender/class, deixis and case role. On the other hand, the pronominal system also covers the discourse-pragmatic domain of referential coherence. Within the discourse-pragmatic domain of the independent pronouns, clitic, inflectional or zero-anaphors play a crucial role to determine the grammatical subject and object as well as the reference and definiteness of the participants.¹ Dealing with the referential coherence in Dhimal, we first observe the grammar of pronouns and grammatical agreement based on the semantic domain and then we discuss the grammar of anaphoric reference, a sub-domain of referential coherence in the discourse-pragmatic ground.

8.2 Pronominal system

Semantically, the grammar of pronouns in Dhimal includes different classificatory features like person, number, honorificity, deixis and case roles. In the domain of discourse-pragmatics, the pronominal system involves the grammar of anaphoric reference, which is a sub-domain of referential coherence (Givón 2001a: 399). In

¹Givón (2011: 158) maintains that the reason that allow speakers to make such assumptions about the mind of hearers are: a. "the reference is unique and known to all members of the social unit" b. "the referent is uniquely named and known to the hearer" c. "the reference is accessible to both the speaker and hearer in the shared speech situation" d. "the reference has been mentioned previously in the current discourse e. combination of (d) and general cultural knowledge."

Dhimal, personal pronouns stand either as independent (personal) pronouns or pronominal suffixes bound to the finite verbs. We deal with the personal and demonstrative pronouns that take part in discourse in both semantic and pragmatic grounds as follows:

8.2.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in Dhimal are categorized in terms of person, number, honorificity and case roles. They refer deictically to the speech-act participants. In the third person, the spatial location is also indicated by separate pronominal forms. The personal pronouns in all three persons have singular, dual and plural forms in the western dialect.² Honorific pronouns also exhibit the grammatical consequences in the western dialect.³ Personal pronouns are free standing and take case markers and postpositions in the same way as do the full noun phrases. Personal pronouns in Dhimal are presented in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Independent subject pronouns in Dhimal

Number → Person ↓		singular		dual	plural
		neutral	honorific		
First		<i>ka</i>	<i>kja</i>	<i>kid^hin^hemi</i>	<i>kelai</i>
Second		<i>na</i>	<i>nja</i>	<i>nid^hin^hemi</i>	<i>nelai</i>
Third	unmarked	<i>wa</i>		<i>od^hin^hemi</i>	<i>obalai</i>
	proximal	<i>ja</i>		<i>id^hin^hemi</i>	<i>ebalai</i>
	distal				<i>imbalai</i>

Table 8.1 shows that Dhimal exhibits the distinction between three persons (first vs. second vs. third) and three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural in independent personal pronouns).

The personal pronouns in Dhimal take the dative case role as shown in Table 8.2.

²In our corpus it is observed that eastern dialect of Dhimal lacks dual vs. plural distinction.

³However, in the eastern dialect, honorificity is not found as it is realized in the western dialect.

Table 8.2: Accusative pronouns in Dhimal

Number → Person ↓	singular	dual	plural
First	<i>ka-seheŋ/ke-eŋ</i>	<i>kid^hin^hemi-heŋ</i>	<i>kelai-heŋ/-eŋ</i>
Second	<i>naseheŋ/ne-eŋ</i>	<i>nid^hin^hemi-heŋ</i>	<i>nelai-heŋ/-eŋ</i>
Third	<i>waseheŋ/we-eŋ</i>	<i>od^hin^hemi-heŋ</i>	<i>obali-heŋ/-eŋ</i>

Similarly, Dhimal personal pronouns may take the genitive case marker *-ko* as shown in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3: Possessive pronouns in Dhimal

Number → Person ↓		singular		dual	plural
		unmarked	honorific		
First		<i>kaŋko</i>	<i>kiŋko</i>	<i>kid^hin^hemiko</i>	<i>kelaiko</i>
Second		<i>naŋko</i>	<i>niŋko</i>	<i>nid^hin^hemiko</i>	<i>nelaiko</i>
Third	neutral	<i>wako</i>		<i>od^hin^hemiko</i>	<i>obalaiko</i>
	proximal	<i>jako</i>		<i>id^hin^hemiko</i>	<i>ebalaiko</i>
	distal				<i>imbalaiko</i>

From Table 8.3, we may observe that in case of unmarked first person and second person singular pronoun the pronoun and the genitive marker are intermediated by the emphatic marker *aŋ* with vowel harmony to yield the oblique form of the independent pronouns. However, the honorific genitive forms have quite distinct shape from their nominative counterparts *kja* and *nja*.

8.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Dhimal has free standing demonstrative pronouns. They are used to refer to both animate and inanimate entities. The animate entity may be human or non-human. Demonstrative pronouns are also used to code the definiteness of the referent in

discourse.⁴ Table 8.4 presents the demonstrative pronouns in terms of proximal/distal contrast.

Table 8.4: Demonstrative pronouns in Dhimial

proximate	neutral	remote
<i>idoi/ede</i>	<i>odoi/ode</i>	<i>iŋko/uŋko</i>

Demonstrative pronouns listed in Table 8.4 show that Dhimial exhibits, proximate and neutral in terms of distance and remote (invisible) deictic reference. In discourse, these pronouns also take part in referential coherence and definiteness of the referent. Referential definiteness encoded in demonstrative pronouns is discussed further below in this chapter.

8.2.3 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns in Dhimial are shown in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5: Interrogative pronouns in Dhimial

	<i>hai</i>	'what'
	<i>hasu</i>	'who'
	<i>hidoi/hede</i>	'which'

Table 8.5 shows interrogative pronouns in Dhimial. Examples of the interrogative pronouns are presented in (1a-c).

- (1) a. *hai niŋk^{he} sikar doʔteŋ narja sadz^{he}epaŋi doʔk^{he}*
 hai niŋ-k^{he} sikar doʔ-teŋ narja sadz^{he}-pa-ŋi doʔ-k^{he}
 what get-PRS hunt say-SEQ elephant decorate-CAUS-PST say-PRS
 'Having asked what hunting is available (he) prepared the elephant, it is said.'
 (TBDFSW_12)
- b. *ja hasu doʔk^{he} aŋ*
 ja hasu doʔ-k^{he} aŋ
 this who say-PRS REP
 'Who is this (they ask)?' (TBDFSW_212)

⁴In case of Ute language Givón (2011: 162) notes that in natural discourse, the distal pre-nominal demonstratives are often used as definite articles.

- c. *fiēde kʰalko bimar wa la be doʔkʰe aŋ*
 fiēde kʰal-ko bimar wa la be doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 which type-GEN illness DED MIR DUB say-PRS REP
 'What sort of sickness it might be?' (TBDFSW_461)

In example (1a), the interrogative pronoun *fiē* 'what' is employed to ask about an inanimate referent. In (1b), the interrogative pronoun *fiasu* 'who' is employed to ask about a human referent. In (1c), *fiēde* 'which' is used to ask about a type of disease. Unlike *fiē* 'what' and *fiasu* 'who', *fiēde* 'which' may be employed for both animate or inanimate referents.

8.2.4 Indefinite pronouns

The interrogative pronoun in Table 8.5 may also be used as indefinite pronouns when it is followed by the inclusive particle *buŋ* 'also/even' or by the focus particle *doŋ*. Table 8.6 shows the indefinite/non-referring pronouns in Dhimal.

Table 8.6: Indefinite/non-referring pronouns in Dhimal

<i>fiasu buŋ</i>	'whoever'
<i>fiē doŋ</i>	'whatever'
<i>fiēdoi buŋ</i>	'whichever'

The indefinite/non-referring pronouns in Table 8.6 are followed by either the inclusive particle *buŋ* 'also/even' or by the focus particle *doŋ*. The indefinite/non-referring pronouns used in the propositions are illustrated in (2):

- (2) a. *inta fiasu buŋ mantʰugʰafi*
 inta fiasu buŋ mantʰu-gʰa-fi
 there who also NEG. be-IPFV-PST
 'There was no one (there).'
- b. *iŋko fiāja fiē doŋ matsafi*
 iŋko fiāja fiē doŋ ma-tsa-fi
 that fish what FOC NEG- eat-PST
 'The fish did not eat anything.'

- c. *ela k^haŋlau hai doŋ matɪŋk^he*
 ela k^haŋ-lau hai doŋ ma-tɪŋ-k^he
 now look-TEMP what FOC NEG-see-PRS
 'Now, while looking nothing is seen.' (NLDD&L_W.34)
- d. *ɦidoi buŋ kisimso iŋko ʌnusʌnd^haŋɦeŋ sʌɦʌjog*
 ɦidoi buŋ kisim-so iŋko ʌnusʌnd^han-ɦeŋ sʌɦʌjog
 which also type-ABL that research-DAT help
mapaŋ ʌu doʔka k^halko buŋ doʔn^haɦi
 ma-pa-ŋ ʌu doʔ-ka k^hal-ko buŋ doʔ-n^ha-ɦi
 NEG-do-FUT ASS say-NMLZ type-GEN also say-1PL-PST
 'We also said that we would not help in anyway to that research.'
 (RMDLSW_351)

In example (2a), the interrogative pronoun *ɦasu* 'who' followed by the inclusive particle *buŋ* imparts the meaning 'nobody'. In example (2b), the interrogative pronoun *ɦai* 'what' followed by the focus particle *doŋ* imparts the meaning 'nothing'. In (2c), *ɦidoi* 'which' followed by *buŋ* imparts the meaning 'whichever/whatever'.

8.2.5 Pronominal agreement

Unlike many other Tibeto-Burman (especially Kirati) languages which code both the agent and the patient pronouns in the finite verb form, Dhimal allows only first and second person subject/agent pronouns (speech act participants) as pronominal suffixes. The third person subject/agent is not affixed to the verb. In case of first person plural, the agreement is coded with the suffix *-n^ha*, which also indicates number agreement. In cases where pronominalization is realized, personal pronouns become verbal suffixes without changing their forms.⁵ Sometimes, pronominal suffixes get blended with the tense marker to yield *portmanteau* morpheme. Finite verb forms of the verb *tɕa* 'eat' in present tense are presented in Table 8.7.

⁵For example, the first person singular pronoun *ka* and second person singular *na* are pronominalized in the examples (a) and (b) respectively:

- a. *ka um tɕa-ŋ-ka*
 1SG rice eat-FUT-1SG
 'I shall eat rice.'
- b. *na um tɕa-a-na*
 2SG rice eat-FUT-2
 'You shall eat rice.'

Table 8.7: Person indexing in the present tense

Number Person →	singular	dual	plural
First person	Σ-k ^h e-ka	Σ-k ^h e-niŋ	Σ-n ^h a-k ^h e-φ
Second	Σ-k ^h e-na	Σ-k ^h e-niŋ	Σ-su-k ^h e-na
Third	Σ-k ^h e-φ	Σ-k ^h e-φ	Σ-k ^h e-φ

It may be observed from Table 8.7 that the pronominal agent/subject is suffixed to the verbal complex in all the numbers of the first and second person except first person plural where agreement is distinguished by the first person plural marker *-n^ha*. In the first person singular, the present tense marker *-k^he* and the pronominal suffix *-ka* are combined to yield *-k^ha*. In the third person, no pronominal indexing is realized. Finite verb forms of the verb *tsa* 'eat' in past tense are presented in Table 8.8.

Table 8.8: Person indexing in past tense

Number Person →	Singular	dual	plural
First	Σ-ŋi-ka	Σ-ŋi-niŋ	Σ-n ^h a-ŋi-φ
Second	Σ-ŋi-na	Σ-ŋi-niŋ	Σ-su-ŋi-na
Third	Σ-ŋi-φ	Σ-ŋi-φ	Σ-ŋi-φ

Table 8.8 shows that in past tense also the pronominal subjects are suffixed to the verbal complex in all the numbers of the first and second person except first person plural where agreement is distinguished by the first person plural marker *-n^ha*. In first person singular, the tense marker *-ŋi* and pronominal suffix *-ka* are merged to yield *-g^ha*. Similarly, in second person singular and dual verb forms, the tense marker and pronominal suffix get blended to yield *-n^ha* and *-n^hiŋ* respectively. However, in the third person no pronominal indexing is realized.

Finite verb forms of the verb *tsa* 'eat' in future tense are presented in Table 8.9.

Table 8.9: Person indexing in future tense

Number Person →	singular	dual	plural
First	Σ-aŋ-ka	Σ-aŋ-niŋ	Σ-aŋ
Second	Σ-aŋ-na	Σ-aŋ-niŋ	Σ-su-aŋ-na
Third	Σ-aŋ-φ	Σ-aŋ-φ	Σ-aŋ-φ

It may be observed from Table 8.9 that in the future tense the pronominal subjects are suffixed to the verbal complex in all the numbers of the first and second person except for first person plural. Contrary to the present and past tense, there is no first person plural marker affixed in the verbal complex. When the verb root ends in a vowel, the last vowel of the root gets assimilated to the tense marker to yield *tsaŋka* (*tsa-aŋ-ka*) '(I) will eat.' *pjaŋka* '*pi-aŋ-ka* 'I will give' *dwaŋka* (*do-aŋ-ka*) 'I will be able to.'⁶

8.3 Anaphoric coherence

Different discourse-pragmatic strategies may be employed to maintain the anaphoric coherence in Dhimel. Cross-linguistically, according to Givón (2001a: 417), the anaphoric coherence is mostly represented by the following four grammatical devices:

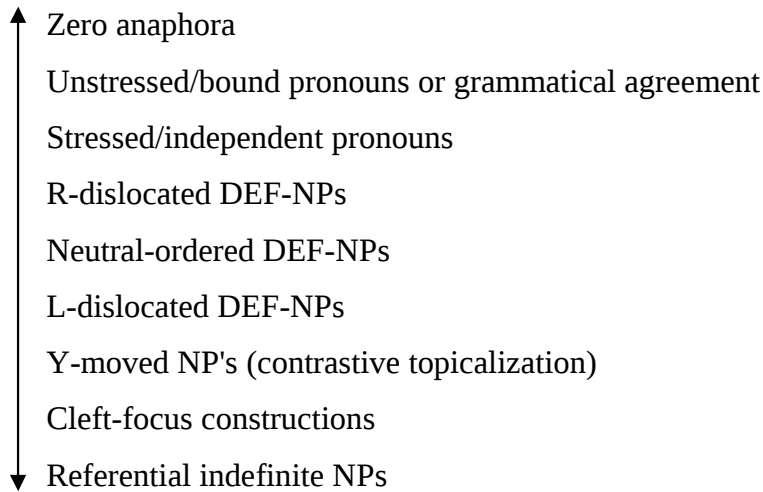
- a. Anaphoric zero
- b. Unstressed anaphoric pronouns
- c. Stressed independent pronouns⁷
- d. Definite (vs. indefinite) full-NPs

Givón (1983: 17) presents a scale of cross-linguistic coding devices that are employed to indicate topic continuity in discourse and grades them from the most continuous to the most discontinuous as follows:

⁶This sort of assimilation of vowels is called गुण् and यण् sandhi in Sanskrit.

⁷The term 'stress' is not used in its specific sense as used in English. Here, stress means additional emphasis/focus assigned to a particular constituent to encode the discourse pragmatic function.

(3) Most continuous/accessible topic



Most discontinuous/inaccessible topic

We introduce and illustrate the devices which play a role in specific discourse contexts to indicate referential coherence in Dhimal as follows:

8.3.1 Zero anaphora

Zero anaphora or anaphoric zero (also referred to as ellipsis) is used in the context of maximal referential continuity in Dhimal. Cross linguistically, the antecedent of the anaphoric zero, a full-NP, a stressed/unstressed pronoun or a zero anaphora, may be found in the immediately preceding clause (Givón 2001a: 418). Following are the examples:

(4) a. *kalau radzkumar ela nindrataŋ fi*

kalau radzkumar ela nindra-ta-aŋ fi
 then prince now sleep-LOC-EMPH be
 'Then the prince is sleeping now.' (TBDFSW_30)

b. *tsi amli kiʔteŋ wakul dzeŋteŋ*

tsi am-li kiʔ-teŋ wakul dzeŋ-teŋ
 water drink-INF want-SEQ unrest be-SEQ

esaŋ dzimfi

[ϕ] esa-ŋ dzim-fi
 like.this-EMPH sleep-PST

'Having wished to drink water and being unrest (he) slept like this.' (TBDFSW_31)

In example (4b), the topic/participant is coded by the anaphoric zero. The antecedent of this zero anaphora is the noun *radzkumar* in (4a). Apart from the finite verb *dzim-fi*

'sleep-PST', there are two sequential converbs *kiʔ-teŋ* 'wish-SEQ' and *dzeŋ-teŋ* 'become-SEQ' in (4b). Thus, in Dhimal, the strategy of the zero anaphora is used to indicate the continuity of the topic.

8.3.2 Unstressed anaphoric pronoun

The unstressed anaphoric pronoun, as the anaphoric zero, is also employed in the context of maximal referential continuity in Dhimal. The antecedent of such pronoun may be found in the immediately preceding clause as a full-NP or as an independent pronoun. Following are the examples:

- (5) a. *haja oʔteŋ taʔhi doʔkʰe*
 haja oʔ-teŋ taʔ-hi doʔ-kʰe
 fish vomit-SEQ keep-PST say-PRS
 'The fish vomited and kept.' (TBDFSW_313)
- b. *bas wa tsarehiḡilkʰe ela*
 bas wa tsare-hiḡil-kʰe ela
 that's all 3SG graze -walk-PRS now
 'It walks around grazing.' (TBDFSW_314)

The unstressed anaphoric third person pronoun *wa* in (5b) is co-referent to *haja* 'fish' in the immediately preceding clause in (5a). The choice of the anaphoric pronoun rather than an anaphoric zero is prompted by the thematic discontinuity. The discontinuity may be explained by the presence of the sequential stative verbs *oʔ* 'vomit' and the telic finite verb *taʔ-hi* 'keep-PST' in (5a) and the motion verb *tsarehiḡilkʰe* 'walks around grazing' in (5b).

8.3.3 Bound pronouns

As discussed in 8.3, the first person (singular, dual) and second person (singular, dual and plural) pronouns are also affixed/pronominalized to the verbal complex. Thus, topic continuity is also indicated by the grammatical agreement, as in (6):

- (6) a. *ka tsʌndrʌ surdze rodzi-ka djaŋ*
 1SG moon sun choose-NMLZ person
 ke niŋgʰa
- b. ϕ ke niŋ-gʰa
 husband get-PST.1SG
 'I was the person to choose the sun and moon and got a husband.'
 (TBDFSW_555)

In example (6), the subject pronoun *ka* 'I' is affixed to the finite verb *niŋgʰa* 'get.PST-1SG' yielding grammatical agreement, hence the topic continuity.

8.3.4 Independent pronoun

Unlike the zero anaphora and grammatical agreement, the stressed independent pronoun is used in the context of referential discontinuity.⁸ The independent pronoun is used especially when the context of possible ambiguity is raised because of the presence of two or more referents of equal status. Following are the examples:

- (7) a. *eloŋ desta fiŋgʰakʰe doʔkʰe eloŋ radza*
 e-loŋ des-ta fi-gʰa-kʰe doʔ-kʰe e-loŋ radza
 one-CLF country-LOC be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS one-CLF king
 'There was a king in a country.' (TBDFSW_01)
- b. *iŋko radza dinaŋ wako sita wa jubʌk*
 iŋko radza dinaŋ wa-ko si-ta wa jubʌk
 that king daily 3SG-GEN house-LOC 3SG lad
 doʔkʰe radzkumar
 doʔ-kʰe radzkumar
 say-PRS prince
 'The king had a prince in his house.' (TBDFSW_02)

⁸Givón (1983: 30) notes "all language code the most discontinuous situation with stressed independent pronouns. They are used either contrastively or as topic switchers."

c. *wa ekdam sanaiti b^hajagelai dop^haŋ*

wa	ekdam	sanaiti	b ^h aya-gelai	dop ^h a-ŋ
3SG	consistently	friend	brother-PL	with-EMPH

k^hiniŋ morimeŋeka

k^hiniŋ morimeŋe-ka

only live or die-NMLZ

'He used to be very fond only of his friends and relatives.'(TBDFSW_03)

d. *ad^hjan pali tsafĩ mamahaneka wa*

ad ^h jan	pa-li	tsafĩ	ma-ma-fiane-ka	wa
study	do-INF	IND	NEG-NEG-go-NMLZ	3SG

'As for his studies, he did not go at all.'(TBDFSW_04)

In example (7a), there is one referent, *radza* 'king' and in (7b) there is another referent *radzkumar* 'prince'. The third person singular pronoun *wa* in (7c) may be anaphoric to both the antecedents. To avoid this ambiguity, the pronoun in (7c) is stressed so that it refers to the prince, not to the king. In contrast, the right-dislocated anaphoric pronoun *wa* in (7d), however, is not stressed because its antecedent is the stressed pronoun in (7c), which is already established as the co-referent of one of the two probable referents.

8.3.5 Pronouns and zero anaphors vs. R-dislocated definite full-NPs

As noted earlier, the antecedents of zero and bound pronouns are found most commonly in the directly preceding clause. In case of stressed independent pronoun, its antecedent co-referent is found within 2 to 3 clauses back. In contrast, the antecedent co-referent of definite full-NPs is found much further away in the preceding discourse, often not even in the same chain or paragraph. Following are the examples:

- (8) a. *kalau utaso iṅko radzkumar tsafiĩ ekdam wa*
 kalau uta-so iṅko radzkumar tsafiĩ ekdam wa
 then there-ABL that prince IND consistently 3SG
madzimsiṅ rḥumteṅ ḥik^he aṅ
 ma-dzim-siṅ r^hum-teṅ ḥi-k^he aṅ
 NEG-sleep-PURP wait-SEQ sit-PRS REP
 'And the prince sits waiting not even sleeping thereafter.' (TBDFSW_85)
- b. *are ḥisika reremka bedzalai olek^he eta*
 are ḥisika rerem-ka bedzalai ole-k^he eta
 oh what.kind good.PL-NMLZ girl.PL emerge-PRS here
 'Oh, what sort of pretty girls emerged out here?' (TBDFSW_86)
- c. *idoi d^hani sita ḥanaṅka doʔka*
 idoi d^hani si-ta ḥane-aṅ-ka doʔ-ka
 this rich house-LOC go-FUT-1SG say-NMLZ
barka dzagir tsaka dop^ha ḥanaṅka
 bar-ka dzagir tsa-ka dop^ha ḥane-aṅ-ka
 be.big-NMLZ job eat-NMLZ with go-FUT-1SG
doʔka k^hanteṅ nuiteṅ kants^hi te
 doʔ-ka k^haṅ-teṅ nui-teṅ kants^hi te
 say-NMLZ look-SEQ speak-SEQ Kanchhi TOP
menaṅ remka ḥi
 menaṅ rem-ka ḥi
 enough be.good-NMLZ be
 'Kanchhi is prettier than those who want to marry a rich person or who want to marry with a job holder.' (TBDFSW_87)
- d. *ja te tsandrᴀ surja dzeṅli k^haṅk^he*
 ja te tsandrᴀ surjᴀ dzeṅ-li k^haṅ-k^he
 this TOP moon sun bear-INF wish-PRS
 'She wishes to bear moon and sun.' (TBDFSW_88)

- e. *iŋko ʌrtʰʌ ɦai wa la be doʔkʰe aŋ*
 iŋko ʌrtʰʌ ɦai wa la be doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 that meaning what DED MIR DUB say-PRS REP
 'What might that mean in fact? He says' (TBDFSW_89)
- f. *iŋko kʰiniŋ ʌpʰsos ta ɦi doʔkʰe ela radzkumar*
 iŋko kʰiniŋ ʌpʰsos-ta ɦi doʔ-kʰe ela radzkumar
 that only surprise-LOC be say-PRS now prince
 'Only due to that the prince is surprised.' (TBDFSW_90)

The most topical referent in the discourse in (8a-f) is *radzkumar* 'the prince'. In (8a), it is coded as full-NP. After that, other referents like *bedzalai* 'girls' in (8b), *Kanchhi* 'the youngest female' in (8d) come into stage one after another. Lastly in (8f), the most topical referent *radzkumar* 'prince' is coded as R-dislocated full-NP to avoid the referential competition among the referents. Thus, the antecedent co-referent of definite full-NP, as Givón (2001a: 419) asserts, is found far away if compared to zero anaphora or its antecedent pronoun.

8.3.6 R-dislocated DEF-NPs

Right-dislocated DEF-NP is used when the speaker believes that the referent is well accessible, thus to be coded as anaphoric pronoun but after a brief contemplation (represented by a pause) speculates that may be the referent was not quite as accessible, and is better recoded as full NP (Givón 2001b: 267). Examples in (9) illustrate the R-dislocated DEF-NP in Dhimal.

- (9) a. *wa tsaregil-kʰe aŋ iŋko ɦaja*
 wa tsare-gil-kʰe aŋ iŋko ɦaja
 3SG graze-AMB-PRS REP that fish
 'It moves around (in search of edibles). The fish.' (TBDFSW_302)
- b. *kalau tikarta oʔteŋ taʔɦi doʔkʰe*
 kalau tikar-ta oʔ-teŋ ϕ taʔ-ɦi doʔ-kʰe
 then hump-LOC vomit-SEQ keep-PST say-PRS

iŋko dzamal-heŋ

iŋko dzamal-heŋ

that child-DAT

'Then (the fish) vomited and kept on a hump, the child.' (TBDFSW_301)

The R-dislocated DEF-NP in example (9a) is *iŋko haŋa* 'that fish', it is encoded by the pronoun *wa* '3SG' in subject/agent position whereas the referent is repeated as the full NP employing R-dislocation strategy in the same proposition. In example (9b), the referentiality is indicated by zero anaphora, however, as an afterthought, the same referent 'dzamal-heŋ' 'child-DAT' preceded by the definite marker *iŋko* 'that' is presented as definite Full-NP.

8.3.7 Y-moved NP's

Y-moved NPs often involve fronting of the contrasted topic. However, Givón (1983: 33) notes "in SOV-order languages Y-movement is most commonly handled by stress with or without added topic-marking morphology." In Dhimal, there are two ways to mark contrastive topicalization. The first one is adding stress in the noun phrase functioning as the subject or object. In case of the subject, assigning the additional emphasis is the only option. The reason is that, since Dhimal is SOV order language, the subject is naturally in sentence initial position. In case of the object topicalization, it is either fronted to the clause initial position or is given an extra emphasis to topicalize it.⁹ Following is an example:

(10) *odoi bistara daʔteŋ taʃar dzen-teŋ*

φ	odoi	bistara	daʔ-teŋ		taʃar	dzen-teŋ
	that	bed	stretch.bed-SEQ		ready	be-SEQ

hi aŋ la dzet^{hi} rʌ maili

hi	aŋ	la	dzet^{hi}	rʌ	maili
be	REP	MIR	jethi	and	maili

'The first and second eldest sisters stayed on the bed there.' (TBDFSW_174)

In example (10), the referents *dzet^{hi} rʌ maili* are Y-moved for the purpose of topicalization. The discourse context is that there are three sisters, *dzet^{hi}* 'eldest', *maili*

⁹Givón (1983: 32) states that Y-movement and dislocations are attested in languages with different rigid word order (SVO, SOV and VSO), at least to some extent, although they are most clearly attested in SVO languages. The neutral word-order has an overall continuity value somewhere between the two extremes of pre-verbal ordering (L-dislocation, Y-movement) and post-verbal ordering (R-dislocation).

'second' and *kants^{hi}* 'youngest'. The anaphoric pronoun *obalai* 'they' refers back to all the three on the stage. But, the narrator remembers that those sitting on the bed were only two (*dzet^{hi}* and *maili*) and makes the context clear applying the Y-moved construction to avoid the confusion.

8.3.8 Referential indefinite NPs

Referential indefinite NPs refer to those noun phrases which are not marked with the assumption that the addressee may identify the referent.¹⁰ In Dhimal, such noun phrases code the most discontinuous topics in the paragraph, as in (11):

- (11) a. *kalau b^həgwan waseheŋ sat^h pihi wala*
kalau b^həgwan wase-heŋ sat^h pi-fi wa la
then god 3SG-DAT supprot give-PST DED MIR
Then, perhaps the god supported him...'
- b. *eʔni tsaɦĩ b^hauji ɦiʔɦi doʔk^he*
eʔ-ni tsaɦĩ b^hauji ɦiʔ-fi doʔ-k^he
one-day IND sister-in-law ask-PST say-PRS
oe ʌlts^hja koŋkər na ɦet^he din t^hekapa
oe ʌlts^hja koŋkər na ɦet^he
hey lazy koŋkər 2SG how many
din t^hekapa esa dzenana re
din t^hekapa esa dzeŋ-aŋ-na re
day all like this become-FUT-2 PART
'One day (his) sister in law asked, hey lazy Konkar, how long will you remain like this (idle)?'(GMDFSW_10)

In example (11a), *b^həgwan* 'god' and in (11b) *b^haudzi* 'sister-in-law' are indefinite but referential noun phrases exploited to code the most discontinuous topics.

¹⁰ Following Givón's (1983: 25) suggestion, referential-indefinite NPs, being introduced into the discourse for the first time, should be considered maximally surprising/disruptive/discontinuous, as least as far as their continuity vis-à-vis the preceding discourse context is concerned. However, they may have persistent properties, which would then indicate their potential topical/thematic importance in the subsequent discourse.

8.4 Reference and definiteness

Languages mark grammatically the difference between referring and non-referring indefinites. Givón (2001a: 447) suggests "Modern Hebrew is one of the languages of this type where referring indefinites are marked with the de-stressed numeral *one*, while non-referring indefinites are zero-marked." The correlation between reference and definiteness in Dhimal is discussed as follows:

8.4.1 Grammatical marking of indefinite reference

In Dhimal, unlike in English, there is no separate set of definite and indefinite articles, however, some strategies are employed to indicate whether a referent is definite or indefinite. The numeral *eʔ-loŋ* 'one-CLF' functions as indefinite reference marker. The definite referent, on the other hand, is marked by the demonstratives.¹¹ Example in (12a) is illustrative of the grammatical marking of the indefinite referent in contrast to the definite referent marked by the demonstrative *iŋko* 'that' in (12b).

- (12) a. *eʔ ni dilimako poŋortaŋ dzimlabelau*
 eʔ -ni dilima-ko poŋor-ta-ŋ dzim-labelau
 one-day evening-GEN time-LOC-EMPH sleep-TEMP
 ekikasi enoŋ t^hameta
 ekikasi e-long t^hame-ta
 suddenly one-CLF place-LOC

 eʔnoŋ derata kitikitika
 eʔ-loŋ dera-ta kitikiti-ka
 one-CLF village-LOC be.dark-NMLZ
 'One day, while (I) was sleeping in the evening, I came to be in a
 village (where) it became dark all of a sudden.' (CLDDRW_8)
- b. *iŋko t^hameta dulnasantaŋ inta*
 iŋko t^hame-ta dul-na-san-ta-aŋ inta
 that place-LOC enter-IMPL-after-LOC-EMPH there

¹¹In Tamang also the demonstratives and the numeral 'one' can be used as definite/indefinite markers. (Mazaudon 2003: 298).

liʔta te barka dʌrbar ki ɦigʰakʰe

liʔta te bar-ka dʌrbar ki ɦi-gʰa-kʰe

inside TOP be.big-NMLZ palace PART be-IPFV-PRS

'As soon as she entered into the place (hole) there was a big palace to
(her) surprise. (LBDFSW_31)

In example (12a), the numeral *eʔ-loŋ* 'one-CLF' is employed to code the nominals *tʰame* 'place', and *dera* 'village' as indefinite.¹² In contrast, in example (12b), the noun *tʰame* 'place' is modified by the demonstrative pronoun *ɪŋko* 'that', where the noun is definite in Dhimal.

In many other languages, the grammatical morphology marks just as distinctly the contrast between referring and non-referring indefinites (Givón 2001a: 450). We look at some of the more common grammaticalized patterns of marking referring-indefinite nominals as follows.

8.4.2 Numeral '*eʔloŋ*' as indefinite reference marker

The most grammaticalized marker of referring indefinites is the numeral *eʔ-loŋ* 'one-CLF' in Dhimal.¹³ It simply marks the fact that the referent is being introduced into the discourse for the first time, with the speaker making no assumption about familiarity or accessibility of the referent to the hearer. Givón (2001a: 451) notes that this pattern is also found in Sherpa, one of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. Following are the examples:

(13) a. *kose pe:kataŋ pe:kataŋ*

kose	pe:-ka-ta-aŋ	pe:-ka-ta-aŋ
fodder.fig	pluck-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH	pluck-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH

¹²Indefinites are the topics introduced by the speaker for the first time, with which the hearer is not familiar, which therefore are not available to the hearer readily in her /his file, and for which s/he thus has to open the initial file (Givón 198: 10).'

¹³Givon (2001a: 451) notes that this marking pattern is found, in various developmental stages, in many unrelated languages and language families, such as Mandarin Chinese, Turkish, Hebrew, Sherpa and many Indo-European languages.

atsanΛk eloŋ puɦjã ode siŋta oleɦi

ΛtsanΛk e-loŋ puɦjã ode siŋ-ta ole-ɦi
suddenly one-CLF snake that tree-LOC emerge-PST

'While plucking the fodder fig, a snake emerged out on the tree suddenly.' (LBDFSW_07)

b. *eʔloŋ sesnagko radzkumar ki ɦiɡ^hak^he wa*

eʔ-loŋ sesnag-ko radzkumar ki ɦi-ɡ^ha-k^he wa
one-CLF king.of.snake-GEN prince PART be-IPFV-PRS 3SG

'Surprisingly, he came to be a prince of the King of the snake.'
(LBDFSW_32)

The indefinite referent marked by *eʔ-long* 'one-CLF' is referring NP whereas when it is to be coded an indefinite NP as non-referring, it is not preceded by the numeral-classifier combination. Following are the examples:

(14) a. referring NP

wa enoŋ ɦaja maŋ-ɦi

wa eʔ-noŋ ɦaja maŋ-ɦi
3SG one-CLF fish fish-PST
'He killed a fish.'

b. non-referring NP

wa ɦaja maŋ-ɦi

wa ɦaja maŋ-ɦi
3SG fish fish-PST
'He killed fish.'

In example (14a), the referent *ɦaja* preceded by the numeral classifier is referring, though indefinite. In contrast, the same referent is non-referring in (14b).

8.4.3 Demonstratives as definite reference marker

The demonstrative pronouns *idoi* 'this', *odoi* 'that' and *iŋko* 'that' function as definite reference markers in Dhimal. In this case, demonstrative pronouns modify the noun with deictic type features rather than modifying the noun attributively (see, waters 2002: 202). Following are the examples:

- (15) a. *sada din idoi fiabe seba pali ninako*
 sada din idoi fiabe seba pa-li niŋ-ako
 daily day this GF service do-INF get-OPT
idoi pok^haritaŋ doʔteŋ seupasahi aŋ
 idoi pok^hari-ta-ŋ doʔ-teŋ seu-pa -sa-fi aŋ
 this pond-LOC-EMPH say-SEQ greet-CAUS-APR-PST REP
 'May (I) offer the service always in this (pond); (he) greeted and said
 (again) in this very pond.' (TBDFSW_140-41)
- b. *odoi k^horsani bo:ka k^hundita iŋko*
 odoi k^horsani bo:-ka k^hundi-ta iŋko
 that chilli grind-NMLZ mortar that
fiiti lagaiteŋ taʔpihi la
 fiiti lagai-teŋ taʔ-pi-fi la
 blood employ-SEQ keep-BEN-PST MIR
 'Now (they) kept the mortar smudged with the blood.' (TBDFSW_284)
- c. *kalau dilima iŋko narjako gadita*
 kalau dilima iŋko narja-ko gadi-ta
 then evening that elephant-GEN saddle-LOC
ela anemane tsumpuka fiig^hak^he
 ela anemone tsuma-pu-ka fi-g^ha-k^he
 now stuff bring-AND-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS
 'Then, things were carried in the saddle of the elephant in the evening.'
 (TBDFSW_52)

In example (15a), the proximal demonstrative *idoi* 'this' is employed to make the following referent *pok^hari* 'pond' definite. In (15b), the distal demonstrative *odoi* 'that' makes the relative clause *k^horsani bo:ka k^hundi* definite and in (15c), another distal demonstrative *iŋko* 'that' is employed to make the referent *narja* 'elephant' definite.

8.4.4 Dative case marker for definiteness

Dhimal also employs dative case to signal the definite reference of nouns.¹⁴ Comrie (1975, as cited in Givón 2001a: 470) notes that many languages have a special accusative case marker coding only definite direct objects. In Dhimal, definite animate nouns (human, non-human both) are dative case marked. Following are the examples:

- (16) a. *nani sjaŋ wa la kelai doʔk^{he} aŋ*
 nani si-aŋ wa la kelai doʔ-k^{he} aŋ
 today die-FUT DED MIR 1PL say-PRS REP
narjako mohotijaŋeŋ
 narja-ko mohotija-ŋeŋ
 elephant-GEN herder-DAT
 'We might die today, (he) said to the elephant herder.' (TBDFSW_19)
- b. *kants^{hi}iko pala fiʔfi aŋ*
 kants^{hi}-ko pala fiʔ-fi aŋ
 Kanchhi-GEN turn ask-PST REP
wako barka baiŋ
 wa-ko bar-ka bai-ŋeŋ
 3SG-GEN be.big-NMLZ elder.sister-DAT
 'Kanchi asked to her elder sisters.' (TBDFSW_57)
- c. *idoi rempa b^hagwanŋeŋ*
 idoi rempa b^hagwan-ŋeŋ
 this good god-DAT
 'For this good god...' (TBDFSW_142)
- d. *iŋko oŋjãŋeŋ seʔli kosis paŋi la*
 iŋko oŋjã-ŋeŋ seʔ-li kosis pa -fi la
 that horse-DAT kill-INF effort do-PST MIR
 '(They) might have tried to kill the horse.' (TBDFSW_471)

¹⁴In Bhujel a human noun patient is marked by dative case. In contrast, the inanimate and non-human patients are not case- marked. However, in order to signal the definite reference of the patient nouns the inanimate and non-human nouns are dative case-marked (Regmi 2012a: 55-56).

- e. *ela kunu ela puñjã naseñeñ tsumahi*
 ela ela puñjã na-señeñ tsuma-fi
 now now snake 2SG-DAT bring-PST
 'Now, the snake brought you (to some place).' (LBDFSW_59)

- f. *mako kid^hin^hemiñeñ te fiñ[?]fi-na*
 ma-ko kid^hin^hemi-ñeñ te fiñ[?]-fi-na
 NEG-be 1.DU-DAT TOP ask-PST-2
 'But, you asked both of us.' (TBDFSW_112)

In examples (16a-f), different animate NPs are marked with the dative case marker *-ñeñ*. In contrast, inanimate accusative/object nouns in Dhimal are not case-marked, as in (17):

- (17) a. *iñkoeñ b^hoiñeñ kalau lampoile tsafiñ leta atuisa*
 iñko-eñ b^hoi-teñ tsafiñ leta atuisa
 that-DAT break-SEQ IND below little
musar tsalai raili goik^he
 musar tsalai rai-li goi-k^he
 mushroom seed scatter-INF must-PRS
 'After having broken it up, first of all one must scatter the mushroom seeds on the ground.' (KRDMPW_83)
- b. *gottañ fiñja añañ tsafiñ doñ[?]k^he*
 gottañ fiñja añañ tsa-fiñ doñ[?]-k^he
 all fish fodder eat-PST say-PRS
wa te mamatsak^he
 wa te ma- ma- tsa-k^he
 3SG TOP NEG-NEG-eat-PRS
 'All the fish ate up the fodder (but) as for that, it does not eat at any cost.'
 (TBDFSW_298)

However, when definiteness is to be encoded, it is marked with the dative marker¹⁵ as in (18):

¹⁵ Givón (1979: 52) notes, "In terms of degree of presuppositionality, sentences with indefinite accusatives are obviously less marked than those with definite accusatives, at least with respect to the

- (18) a. *iŋkoeŋ buŋ rokt^ham kjansar^hieŋ buŋ*
 iŋko-eŋ bu-ŋ rokt^ham kjansar^h-ieŋ bu-ŋ
 that-DAT also-EMPH control cancer-DAT also-EMPH
rokt^ham pak^he doʔka p^hatr^hp^hatrikata kase^hieŋ
 rokt^ham pa-k^he doʔ-ka p^hatr^hp^hatrika-ta ka-se^hieŋ
 control do-PRS say-NMLZ newspapers-LOC 1SG-DAT
ʌd^hjʌn paka hiɡ^ha pʌdeka hiɡ^ha
 ʌd^hjʌn pa-ka hi-ɡ^ha pʌde-ka hi-ɡ^ha
 study do-NMLZ be-PST.1SG read-NMLZ be-PST.1SG
 'I had read in the newspapers that it controls even cancer.' (KRDMPW_27)
- b. *jase^hieŋ ide sar tsafĩ bimarigalai tsala buŋ*
 ja-se^hieŋ ide sar tsafĩ bimari-gelai tsa-la
 this-DAT this curry IND sick-PL eat-TEMP
swast^hjʌeŋ ramro
 bu-ŋ swast^hjʌ-eŋ ramro
 also-EMPH health-DAT good
 'As for this curry it is very good if eaten for the sick person's health.'
 (KRDMPW_20)

However, following examples show that the definite marking is not obligatory in cases of inanimate referents, as in (19):

- (19) a. *musar k^hetieŋ tsafĩ ʃaipali*
 musar k^heti-eŋ tsafĩ ʃaipali
 mushroom farming-DAT IND why
panu sa liʔta pak^he
 pa-nu sa liʔta pa-k^he
 do-COND house inside do-PRS
 'If said about this mushroom planting, it is done inside the
 house.' (KRDMPW_33)

degree to which the identity of the referents is presupposed by the speaker to be known to the hearer."

- b. *aroŋ ja musar k^heti tsafĩ ħisika panu*
 aro-ŋ ja musar k^heti tsafĩ ħisika
 again-EMPH this mushroom farming IND what.kind
sa liʔta jomteŋ kam paka
 pa-nu sa liʔta jom-teŋ kam pa-ka
 do-COND house inside sit-SEQ work do-NMLZ
 'Again, this mushroom planting is of a sort that it is done inside the
 house.' (KRDMPW_34)

In example (19a), *musar k^heti* 'mushroom farming' is marked with the dative whereas in (19b), the same NP is unmarked.

8.4.5 Definiteness and anaphoric reference

A nominal referent is coded as definite when the speaker assumes that it is identifiable or accessible to the hearer.¹⁶ Definiteness is thus a profoundly pragmatic affair from the beginning, having to do with the speaker's assessment of the hearer's current state of knowledge at a given point in the communication (Givón 2001a: 459). In terms of cross-linguistic distribution, however, the rise of definite articles out of demonstrative determiners is much more common (Diessel 1999 as cited in Givón 2001a: 470). Following are the examples:

- (20) a. *ka te tsandrΛ surdzjΛ k^hiniŋ dzeŋli ninako*
 ka te tsandrΛ surdzjΛ k^hiniŋ dzeŋ-li niŋ-ako
 1SG TOP moon sun only bear-INF get-OPT

k^hiniŋ doʔteŋ k^hiniŋ doʔk^he wako pala
 k^hiniŋ doʔ-teŋ k^hiniŋ doʔ-k^he wa-ko pala
 only say-SEQ only say-PRS 3SG-GEN turn
 'I wish I bear only moon and soon, she said only this much.'
 (TBDFSW_196)

In connected discourse, post-nominal definite articles are used as one of the several devices to mark referents that have been introduced earlier into the discourse and are now being re-introduced. In Dhimal, the function of post-nominal definite article is performed by demonstrative pronoun, as in (21):

¹⁶Definiteness is marking a topic which the speaker assumes the hearer recognizes distinctively, is familiar with, is within his file (or register) and thus accessible for quick retrieval (Givón 1983: 10).

- (21) a. *kaŋko sotsai iŋkoŋ fiɡ^hak^he*
 kaŋ-ko sotsai iŋko-ŋ fi-g^ha-k^he
 1SG.OBL-GEN thought that-EMPH be-IPFV-PRS
 'I had thought like that.' (TBDFSW_261)
- b. *iŋkoŋ dʌŋkiniŋeŋ taʔka t^hame ro*
 iŋko-ŋ dʌŋkini-ŋeŋ taʔ-ka t^hame ro
 that-EMPH witch-DAT keep-NMLZ place CONR
iŋko te iŋko doʔk^he aŋ
 iŋko te iŋko doʔ-k^he aŋ
 that TOP that say-PRS REP
 'Is not that the place where the witch was kept?' (TBDFSW_579)

In examples (21a, b) the distal demonstrative *iŋko* 'that' is used post-nominally to encode the definiteness.

Use of demonstrative distal pronoun to refer to human and non-human referents is a general strategy to encode definiteness. Examples in (22) further illustrate the phenomenon.

- (22) a. *hei maili naŋ t^hakur iŋko dzamal*
 hei maili naŋ t^hakur iŋko dzamal
 hey maili 2SG.OBL lord that child
sin^hupaŋ fiɡ^haŋinau
 si-n^hu-pa-aŋ fi-g^ha-fi-nau
 die-n^hu-CAUS-EMPH be-PPRFV-PST-3SG →2
 'Hey, Maili your lord the child came to be alive (to my surprise).'
- (TBDFSW_308)
- b. *iŋko fiʒa posedoŋk^he iŋkoŋeŋ*
 iŋko fiʒa pose-doŋ-k^he iŋko-ŋeŋ
 that fish rear-DUR-PRS that-DAT
 'That fish is rearing to that (child).'
- (TBDFSW_309)

Givón (2011: 167) asserts that referent-marking devices are not only sensitive to referential continuity, but also to thematic continuity.

When two topical referents have already been introduced into the discourse, for as long as the same referent continues, typically across a clause chain, zero-anaphora is the most common referential device used. When reference transfers to the other topical participant, most commonly the independent pronoun is used (Givón 2011: 168). Following is an example:

- (23) *gottaŋ fiʒa aɦar tsaɦi doʔkʰe*
 gottaŋ fiʒa aɦar tsa-ɦi doʔ-kʰe
 all fish fodder eat-PST say-PRS
wa te mamatsakʰe
 wa te ma-ma-tsa-kʰe
 3SG TOP NEG-NEG-eat-PRS
 'All the fish ate up the fodder (but) as for that, it does not eat at any cost.' (TBDFSW_298)

In example (23), there are two topical referents. The first is the nominal *fiʒa* 'fish' and the second is *wa* '3SG'. Commonly, the pronoun is considered to be co-referent with the preceding NP. However, in contrast, it indicates the situation of switch reference, i.e., being the co-referent of some other NP in the preceding discourse.

8.5 Summary

In this chapter, we analyzed the major devices of referential coherence in Dhimial. The grammar of pronouns and grammatical agreement are the morphological devices to encode referential coherence. Independent personal pronouns are used as arguments in a clause whereas pronominal affixes are attached to the verbal complex. Personal pronouns show three persons (first vs. second vs. third person) and three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural) distinction. In the eastern dialect, however, dual number in personal pronoun is totally absent. Honorificity in Dhimial has neutral vs. affinal contrast in the western variety. This feature is not exhibited in the eastern dialect. The bound pronouns are incorporated into verbal morphology as agreement affixes. Dhimial pronouns do not show inclusive/exclusive distinctions. The other pronouns in Dhimial include demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite which play a vital role in referential coherence. The topic coding devices found in Dhimial discourse are zero anaphora, unstressed/bound pronouns, grammatical agreement, stressed independent pronouns, R-dislocated DEF-NPs, Neutral ordered DEF-NPs, L-dislocated DEF-NPs,

Y-moved NPs, cleft-focus constructions and referential indefinite NPs. Dhimal exploits some discourse-pragmatic strategies to mark the definiteness of the referents. Dhimal does not possess the English like set of definite and indefinite articles. However, the numeral *eʔ-long* 'one-CLF' functions as indefinite reference marker. Definiteness, in contrast, is marked by the demonstrative pronouns. Dhimal also employs dative case marker for definiteness of animate (human and non-human) nouns. Generally, non-human nouns are not dative case marked, however, when they are to be coded as definite, the dative case marker is employed. In the discourse, post-nominal definite articles are used as one of several devices to mark referents that have been introduced previously into the discourse and are now being re-introduced. In Dhimal, the function of post-nominal definite article is performed by demonstrative definite marker. Use of demonstrative distal pronoun to refer to human and non-human referents is a common strategy to encode definiteness.

CHAPTER 9

NOUN PHRASES

9.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the structure and major functions of the noun phrase in Dhimal. It consists of three sections. In section 9.1, we deal with syntactically simplex noun phrases and their functions. Section 9.2 examines syntactically complex noun phrases and their functions in Dhimal. In section 9.3, we present the summary of the findings of this chapter.

9.1 Simplex noun phrases

Noun phrase may be characterized as the syntactic constituent that serve as arguments of verbs.¹ A noun phrase may take up a syntactic position where a noun or a pronoun can occupy. In this sub-section, we deal with the types of noun phrases, elements of noun phrases, linear order of constituents in noun phrase and dispersed/scattered NPs in Dhimal.

The noun phrases in Dhimal range from a single word (referential noun or personal pronoun) to syntactically complex noun phrases (conjoined nouns, relative clauses and nominalized clauses). A noun phrase may consist of a single pronoun in Dhimal, as in (1):

- (1) a. *na tərbar buŋ bʰiriteŋ lonʰa*
[na] tərbar bu-ŋ bʰiri-teŋ lo-fi-na
2SG sword also-EMPH hang-SEQ come-PST-2
'You happened to come hanging a sword as well.' (TBDFSW_495)
- b. *kelai te atuisa diɦẽ ɦanili madonʰaɦi*
[kelai] te atuisa diɦẽ ɦane-li ma-do-nʰa-ɦi
1PL TOP little west go-INF NEG-be.able-1PL-PST
'We could not be able to go a bit further west.' (TBDFSW_35)

In the examples (1a, b), the second person singular pronoun *na* and first person plural pronoun *kelai* have occupied the position of a noun phrase as a subject or agent of the

¹Givón (1993a: 247) notes that the noun phrases of different types occupy the characteristic syntactic positions - and case roles - of nouns. These syntactic positions are most typically those of subject, direct object, indirect object and nominal predicate.

predicate, respectively. The pronouns in Dhimal, being finite and referential, do not take any modifier. The first person singular pronoun and second person singular and plural pronouns trigger the pronominal agreement in Dhimal.²

A noun phrase, in Dhimal, may consist of a noun head with or without preceding modifiers. A bare noun head is illustrated in (3a) and a head noun with an attributive modifier is illustrated in (3b):

- (3) a. *dzamal sika dzeŋfi*
 [dzamal] si-ka dzeŋ-fi
 child die-NMLZ be-PST
 'The child was about to die.' (TBDFSW_410)
- b. *m^huika um dana pipahi aŋ*
 [m^huika um dana] pi-pa-fi aŋ
 small rice gain give-CAUS-PST REP
 '(He) brought and gave a small grain of rice, it is said.' (TBDFSW_451)

In example (3a), the noun head *dzamal* 'child' has occupied the position of the noun phrase whereas in (3b) the NP *um dana* 'grain of rice' is modified by a modifier *m^huika* 'small' to form a noun phrase.³

9.1.1 Elements of the noun phrase

The noun phrases in Dhimal may contain a number of different elements. They are presented in Table 9.1.

²We discussed this phenomenon in detail in Chapter 8.

³Noun phrases modified by other elements are treated in 9.1.2.

Table 9.1: Lexical elements of the noun phrase

Element	example	gloss	reference
Demonstrative	<i>[iŋko] musar tsalai</i>	'that mushroom seed'	KRDMPW_77
Genitive	<i>[wako] aba</i>	'his/her father'	LBDFSW_31
Number	<i>[nalon] tsamindi</i>	'five daughters'	LBDFSW_03
Relative clause	<i>[sikaŋ g^hali haneke] dyaŋ</i>	'an individual who went for hunting'	TBDFSW_214
Adjective	<i>[barka] darbar</i>	'big palace'	LBDFSW_31
Noun	<i>musar</i>	'mushroom'	KRDMPW_33
Compound noun	<i>musar tsalai</i>	'mushroom seed'	KRDMPW_79
Pronoun	<i>Obalai</i>	'they'	LBDFS_56

All the NP elements, except the head noun, shown in Table 9.1 are optional in Dhimial. Givón (2001b: 3) observes that the noun-headed NPs are relatively rare in natural communication, where the most common nominal referent is anaphoric, so are coded as a pronoun or zero. As noun phrases may be headless, even a bare noun need not necessarily become an obligatory element in a noun phrase in Dhimial. In case of headless noun phrases, the meaning is construed by the context.

Apart from the lexical elements of the noun phrases presented in Table 9.1, Dhimial noun phrases may also contain grammatical morphemes. They are presented in Table 9.2:

Table 9.2: Grammatical morphemes modifying a noun phrase

Element	Morpheme	Example	Meaning	Reference
Number marker	<i>-gelai/-galai/-lai</i>	<i>makra-gelai</i>	'spiders'	KRDMPW_117
Case markers (post- positions)	<i>-ta, -heŋ, -so</i> etc.	<i>bora-ta</i>	'in the sack'	KRDMPW_139
		<i>bai-heŋ</i>	'to elder. sister'	TBDFSW_57
		<i>pok^hari-so</i>	'from the pond'	TBDFSW_162

The grammatical morphemes presented in Table 9.2 follow the lexical elements they are attached to. In case of the order of the grammatical morphemes, the case marker always follows the number marker in Dhimal. The dual marking on nominal element confines only to pronouns; and dual pronouns are lexicalized in some way. The first and second person dual pronouns affect the agreement pattern.⁴

9.1.2 Linear order of constituents in the noun phrase

More than two modifiers may come in the same noun phrase; however, it is quite uncommon to occur in naturally occurring texts in Dhimal. Except for the number marker and case marker (grammatical modifiers), all the lexical modifiers presented in Table 9.1 normally precede the head noun in the noun phrase.

The most common order of the noun phrase elements in Dhimal is presented in (4):

(4)	NP→(Dem)-(Gen)-(Num)-(appositional phrase (AP))- Head
-----	--

Examples of noun phrases demonstrating the elements in (4) are presented in examples (5) through (14):

(5) **Demonstrative + noun**

iŋko anmane tsumateŋ lo

[iŋko anemone] tsuma-teŋ lo

That stuff bring-SEQ come.IMP

'Come, having taken those materials.' (TBDFSW_167)

(6) **Demonstrative +adjective +noun**

iŋko baipΛŋk^{hi} oŋjã

[iŋko] [baipΛŋk^{hi}] oŋjã

That flying horse

'The flying horse.' (TBDFSW_541)

⁴ This pronominal agreement pattern in Dhimal is discussed in Chapter 8.

(7) **Demonstrative+quantifier+noun**

iŋko dz^haraŋ tsamindigelaieŋ

iŋko dz^haraŋ tsamindi-gelai-eŋ

that all daughter-PL-DAT

'To all the daughters' (LBDFSW_04)

(8) **Genitive+noun**

te kants^{hi} kunu naŋko sotsai fia

te kants^{hi} kunu [naŋ-ko sotsai] fia

okay Kanchhi than 2SG.OBL-GEN thought what

'Okay, Kanchhi, what do you think, in fact?' (TBDFSW_195)

(9) **Numeral+noun**

na basar dzeŋli t^haleka fi

[na basar] dzeŋ-li t^hale-ka fi

five year be-INF start-NMLZ be

'It is about to be five years.' (KRDMPW_16)

(10) **Numeral+adjective+noun**

odoi taiseso eloŋ remka bedzan lok^{he}

odoi taisese [eʔ-loŋ rem-ka bedzan]

that cucumber-ABL one-CL be.good-NMLZ girl

lok^{he} saipik^{he} bifa um

lo-k^{he} sai-pi-k^{he} bifa um

come-PRS touch-BEN-PRS meat rice

'A pretty girl appears out of the cucumber and touches the meat and rice.'

(GMDFSW_33)

(11) **Adjectival phrase+noun**

are hisika reremka bedzalai

are [fisi-ka rerem-ka] bedzalai

oh what.sort-NMLZ good.PL-NMLZ girl.PL

'Oh! What sort of pretty girls!' (TBDFSW_86)

(12) **Relative clause+noun**

sikar g^hali ñanika djaŋ

[sikar	g ^h a-li	ñane-ka]	djaŋ
hunt	play-INF	go-NMLZ	person

'The person who went for hunting...' (TBDFSW_215)

(13) **Demonstrative+relative clause+noun+indicative**

iŋko musar taʔka t^hame tsafiĩ

[iŋko	musar	taʔ-ka	t ^h ame]	tsafiĩ
that	mushroom	keep-NMLZ	place	IND

'As for the place, where the mushroom is kept...' (KRDMPW_133)

(14) **Demonstrative+genitive+modifier+noun+indicative**

iŋko musarko k^has sidzʌn tsafiĩ

iŋko	musar-ko	k ^h as	sidzʌn	tsafiĩ
that	mushroom-GEN	special	season	IND

'The special season of the mushroom...' (KRDMPW_113)

Pronouns generally occur alone in noun phrases without modifiers in most of the languages (Dryer 2007c: 151). In Dhimal, constructions in which pronouns occur with modifiers, as in *kelai d^hemalai* 'we Dhimal people' *obalai paragelai* 'they, the hill people' are possible. However, they are not as common.

The constituents within the noun phrase violate their linear order for pragmatic purposes. This phenomenon is discussed as follows:

9.1.3 Scattered NPs

The most universal means of binding all NP constituents together is adjacency, a transparently iconic device that keeps together structurally what belongs together functionally (Givón 2001b: 13). Dhimal holds true in this regard. Basically, the elements of Dhimal NPs tend to occur together, however, in a language permitting flexible word order like Dhimal, scattered NPs are common. Hence, scattering of members of the noun phrase is allowed as illustrated in (15) through (18):

- (15) *jaseheŋ t^hame timpili gojaŋ*
 ja-seheŋ t^hame tiŋ-pi-li goi-aŋ
 this-DAT place see-BEN-INF must-EMPH
tsi amka doʔhi aŋ
 [tsi am-ka] doʔ-fi aŋ
 water drink-NMLZ say-PST REP
 'It must be shown the place to him, (the place) to drink water, he said.'
 (TBDFSW_27)

In example (15), the relativized noun *t^hame* 'place' is dislocated from its final position in the relative clause. The normal order of the clause would be *tsi am-ka t^hame* 'the place to drink water'. Following is another example of scattered NP constituents.

- (16) *lo marp^ha iŋko anemane tsumteŋ lo*
 lo marp^ha iŋko anemane tsuma-teŋ lo
 come.IMP fast that stuff bring-SEQ come.IMP
g^haka doʔk^he aŋ
 g^ha-ka doʔ-k^he aŋ
 play-NMLZ say-PRS QUOT
 'Come quickly, taking the materials to play (she said).' (TBDFSW_167)

In example (16), the nominalized verb *g^haka* 'play' is extraposed from its normal position between the demonstrative *iŋko* 'that' and relativized head noun *anemane* 'things'. Moreover, the normal order *iŋko g^haka anemane* 'those things for playing' is scattered which resulted in dislocation of the nominalized adjective after the head noun, as in (17):

- (17) *wadzan tsan baʔtā doʔteŋ remka*
 wadzan tsan baʔt-aŋ doʔ-teŋ rem-ka
 boy son carry.in.arm-FUT say-SEQ be.good-NMLZ
 'You wished you would carry a male child in your arm.' (TBDFSW_270)

In example (17), the adjective *remka* 'handsom' is extraposed to the final position of the proposition from its first place in the noun phrase. The adjective *remka* 'good' is placed in clause final position being the normal position as *remka wadzan tsan* 'handsome male child'

The adjective may be extraposed to the initial position, as in (18):

- (18) *salalaŋka eʔloŋ taise kalau tsumteŋ lofi doʔkʰe*
 salalaŋka eʔ-loŋ taise kalau tsum-teŋ lo-fi do-ʔkʰe
 straight one-CLF cucumber then bring-SEQ come-PST say-PRS
 '(S/he) came taking a straight cucumber, it is said.'(GMDFSW_16)

Exampels (15) through (18) exhibit that, Dhimal, being a relatively flexible word order language, also allows the scrambling of the constituent within the NPs.

9.2 Complex noun phrases

The complex noun phrases are used to further specify the description of referents, i.e., of subjects or objects. The strategies of such further specification may be used upon first introduction into the discourse. It may also be used upon subsequent re-introduction into the discourse to differentiate the referents from other referents. Givón (2001b: 15) notes that the sources of syntactic complexity in the NP are (a) relative clause (b) NP conjunction and (c) nominalization. Relative clauses in Dhimal are discussed in Chapter 11. We will deal here with the other two in order.

9.2.1 Noun phrase conjunction

The noun phrases in Dhimal are either juxtaposed or conjoined by *rʌ* 'and' and *kalau* 'then'. The conjoined nominal NPs take the finite verb in third person. In case of the involvement of first person, the number agreement results in the first person plural whereas the second and third person participants take the collective morpheme *-su* in second person finite verbal complex. Examples in (19a, b) illustrate the point.

- (19) a. *kelai rʌ obalai fianenʰakʰe*
 kelai rʌ obalai fiane-nʰa-kʰe
 1PL and 3PL go-1PL-PRS
 'We and they go.'
- b. *nelai rʌ obalai fianesukʰena*
 nelai rʌ obalai fiane-su-kʰe-na
 2PL and 3PL go-COL-PRS-2
 'You (all) and they go.'

In example (19a), the conjoined pronouns *kelai* 'we' and *obalai* 'they' agree with the first person plural finite verb. Similarly, in example (21), the second person plural and the third person plural NPs agree with the second person plural finite verb.

9.2.2 Joint participants in a single event

Dhimal does not agree in terms of person and number in the third person. Consequently, the joint participants (i.e., in the third person) in a single event are analogous to the single participant in a single event, as in (20a-c):

- (20) a. *sikar g^hali hianika djaŋ wako aba*
 sikar g^ha-li hane-ka djaŋ wa-ko
 hunting play-INF go-NMLZ person 3SG-GEN
ama tsafiĩ insa doʔk^he aŋ
 [aba ama] tsafiĩ insa doʔ-k^he aŋ
 father mother IND like.that say-PRS REP
 'One, who had been for hunting..., said his father and mother (it is said).' (TBDFSW_214)
- b. *kaŋo dada r^Λ wako bai*
 kaŋ-ko dada r^Λ wa-ko bai
 1SG.OBL-GEN elder brother and 3SG-GEN elder sister
hate haneŋi
 hate hane-fi
 market go-PST
 'His sister and my brother went to the market.'
- c. *odoi bistara daʔteŋ t^Λjar dzenŋeŋ*
 odoi bistara daʔ-teŋ t^Λjar dzenŋ-teŋ
 that bed stretch.bed-SEQ ready be-SEQ
hiŋi aŋ la dzet^hi r^Λ maili
 hi-fi aŋ la [dzet^hi r^Λ maili]
 sit-PST REP MIR Jethi and Maili
 'Having prepared the bed and getting ready, probably, Jethi and Maili sat over there.' (TBDFSW_174)

In Dhimal, two NPs are either juxtaposed without an overt conjunct, as in (20a) or are joined with the conjunct *r^Λ* 'and', as in (20b, c).

The collective/plural number marker *-galai* follows rightmost element in the conjoined NP construction, as in (21):

(21) *ã dzʌsto bisadi oseregalai iŋko makra*

ã	dzʌsto	[bisadi	osere-gelai]	iŋko	[makra
GF	like	pesticide	medicine-PL	that	spider

bʰusunagalai malagjako doʔteŋ

bʰusuna-gelai]	ma-lagi-ako	doʔ-teŋ
small.fly-PL	NEG-happen-OPT	say-SEQ

'In the hope that may the spiders and small flies (gnats) not affect
(the mushroom plant)....' (KRDMPW_146)

In the example (21), only the second NP of the conjoined NPs, *bisadi oseregalai* 'pesticides and medicines' and *makra bʰusunagalai* 'spiders and gnats' are pluralized.

Dhimal also employs a native conjunct *kalau* 'then/and' to conjoin two NPs, as in (22):⁵

(22) *penʈe doʔka eloŋ juwa kalau*

penʈe	doʔ-ka	e-loŋ	juwa	[kalau]
Pente	say-NMLZ	one-CLF	youth	and

kelaiko dai tsʌmpalal

kelaiko	dai	tsʌmpalal
1PL-GEN	brother	Champalal

'A youth called Pente and our brother Champalal...' (GMDWH_40)

In example (22), the two NPs *penʈe doʔka eloŋ juwa* and *kelaiko dai tsʌmpalal* are conjoined by the conjunct *kalau*.

9.2.3 Relative order of conjoined NPs

Dhimal follows the hierarchy of the relative order of conjoined NPs proposed by Cooper and Ross (1975, as quoted in Givón 2001b: 17). The natural order found in Dhimal is presented as follows:

a. Near >far

The spatial deictic words in Dhimal generally follow near>far order, as in (23):

⁵In most of the naturally occurring texts *kalau* is used in the meaning 'and then', however, sometimes it is found to be used to conjoin two NPs.

- (23) *ede desso ode desta tsumpu*
 [ede des-so ode des-ta] tsum-pu
 this country-ABL that country-LOC bring-AND.IMP
 'Take away (the horse) from this country to that one.'

b. Male>female

In terms of gender, the ordering of conjoined NPs is male>female, as in (24a-c):

- (24) a. *sikar g^hali fianika djaŋ wako aba*
 sikar g^ha-li fiane-ka djaŋ wa-ko [aba
 hunting play-INF go-NMLZ person 3SG-GEN father
ama tsafiĩ insa doʔk^he aŋ
 ama] tsafiĩ insa doʔ-k^he aŋ
 mother IND like.that say-PRS REP
 'The one, who went for hunting, said his father and mother (it is said).' (TBDFS_W_214)
- b. *warŋ beran dinan dud^he eʔten*
 [warŋ beran] dinan dud^he eʔ-ten
 old.man old.woman everyday milk milk-SEQ
got^halafien dud^he ampag^hak^he
 got^hala-fien dud^he am-pa-g^ha-k^he
 cow.boy-DAT milk drink-CAUS-IPFV-PRS
 'Having milked (the cattle) the old man and woman would make the
 cow boy drink milk.' (LBD2HSW_11)
- c. *dziskan kelaiko tsan tsamindi usikan*
 dziskan kelai-ko tsan tsamindi usikan
 like 1PL-GEN son daughter like that.EMPH
idoiko tsan tsamindi buŋ
 idoi-ko tsan tsamindi buŋ
 this-GEN son daughter also
 'Their (bird's) offspring are just like our son and daughter.'
 (MMD2MWW_251)

c. Adult>young

If the conjoined NPs differ in terms of age, the elder referent precedes the younger referent, as in (25):

- (25) a. *naŋko be iŋko dzeṭʰi rʌ maili*
 naŋ-ko be iŋko dzeṭʰi rʌ maili
 2SG.OBL-GEN wife that eldest and second
 mʌfiako dʌŋkini
 mʌfi-a-ko dʌŋkini
 big-GEN witch
 'Your wives the eldest and the second one are great witches.'
 (TBDFSW_610)
- b. *obalai sumloŋ bai one*
 obalai sum-loŋ bai one
 3PL three-CLF elder.sister younger.sibling
 'They are/were three sisters.'

However, in our texts data one example of the opposite order, i.e., young>adult is found, as in (26):

- (26) *itaso kalau tsan ama dzeŋfioi bʰeṭgʰaṭ*
 ita-so kalau tsan ama dzeŋ-fioi bʰeṭgʰaṭ
 here-ABL then son mother be-PFV meeting
 'The son and mother met (each other) hereafter.' (TBDFSW_627)

In example (26), the order of conjoined NPs is young>adult, i.e., *tsan* 'son' and *amai* 'mother'. The context in the story is that the son was lost for long and now he appeared unexpectedly.

d. Singular> plural

The singular number generally precedes the plural one, as in (27):

- (27) *kaseheŋ eʔloŋ nʰeloŋ kija pi-su au*
 ka-seheŋ eʔ-loŋ nʰe-loŋ kija pi-su au
 1SG-DAT one-CLF two-CLF fowl give-COL.IMP okay
 'Please give me one or two cocks, okay!'

e. Large>small

In terms of size the larger NP precedes the smaller NP, as in (28):

- (28) a. *ã dzʌsto bisadi oseregalai*
 $\tilde{a}$ dzʌsto bisadi osere-gelai
 GF like pesticides medicine-PL
 iŋko makra bʰusunagalai malagjako doʔten
 iŋko [makra bʰusuna-gelai] ma-lagi-ako doʔ-ten
 that spider small.fly-PL NEG-happen-OPT say-SEQ
 'In the hope that the small flies and spiders do not affect (the
 mushroom plant).' (KRDMPW_146)
- b. *ka odoŋ kʰwafĩã lokara ekdʌm*
 ka odoŋ kʰwafĩã lokara ekdʌm
 1SG that.EMPH tiger leopard complete
 sʌmdzʰʌna fi
 sʌmdzʰʌna fi
 remembrance be
 'I remember the tiger and leopard completely.' (GMDWH_67)

In example (28a), *makra* 'spider' precedes the *bʰusuna* 'small fly' in terms of their size whereas in (28b) the noun *kʰwafĩã* 'tiger' precedes the *lokara* 'leopard' being the larger and powerful than the later.

9.2.4 Placement of the conjunctive morpheme

In Dhimal, the conjunctive morpheme is placed between the two conjoined NPs. Givón (2001b: 22) notes "the conjunctive particle may also be suffixed to the second NP, a pattern most often found in OV languages." However, Dhimal, an OV language, does not exhibit this pattern. Moreover, the basic pattern of NP conjunction in Dhimal is simply juxtaposing the NPs. However, Dhimal employs *rʌ* (borrowed from Nepali) and *kalau* as the conjunctive particle, as in (29):

- (29) a. *ela dabja rΛ tsuppi sΛmet prΛjog pan^ha^{hi}*
 ela dabja rΛ tsuppi sΛmet prΛjog pa-n^ha-^{hi}
 now k^hukuri and knife including use do-1PL-PST
 'Now, we used even Khukuri and knife.' (CLDVFW_25)

- b. *penṭe doʔka eloŋ juwa kalau*
 penṭe doʔ-ka e-loŋ juwa [kalau]
 Pente say-NMLZ one-CLF youth and
kelaiko dai tsΛmpalal
 kelai-ko dai tsΛmpalal
 1PL-GEN brother Champalal
 'A youth called Pente and our brother Champalal...' (GMDWH_40)

We see that the position of the conjuncts *rΛ* in (29a) and *kalau* in (29b) is between the NPs conjoined by them.

9.2.5 Noun phrases derived by nominalization

Nominalization in Dhimal applies to lexical derivation as well as clausal derivation.⁶ For both the process the suffixe *-ka* is attached to the verbal base.⁷ The nominalizer in Chamling (Ebert 2003b: 545) is *-ko* whereas Belhare (Bickel 2003: 550) utilizes the morpheme *-k^hak* to perform the same function. We have discussed the process of lexical derivation, i.e., nouns and adjectives derived from verbs in Chapter 3. Here, we discuss syntactic nominalization.

Givón (2011: 207) defines nominalization as the process via which a finite verbal clause is converted into a noun phrase. Regarding Dhimal, King (2009: 50) notes that the most common method of creating a nominal is through the nominalizing suffix *-ka*, which is affixed to a verb stem to derive the participles, doers and abstract nouns, and adjectives. This productive affix is also widely used to derive the nominals with

⁶Genetti (2011: 1) notes, "the presence of nominalized clauses which are used in a range of syntactic structure is one of the most frequently noted syntactic characteristics of the Tibeto-Burman languages."

⁷In Limbu (van Driem 1987: 193), the nominalizer suffix is *-pa* which may be attached to a verbs stem to create a nominal which can be used adnominally as an adjective or independently as a noun taking case suffixes.

the meaning 'one who V/thing that V. Verbs negated by the prefix *ma-* are also free to undergo nominalization in Dhimal.

Nominalized verbs have virtually all the same properties as non-derived nominals. They may take the plural suffix and be marked for case, as in (30):

- (30) a. *hiŋkalaiŋeŋ sonako tise*
 hiŋ-ka-lai-ŋeŋ sona-ko ti:se
 listen-NMLZ-PL-DAT gold-GEN garland
kat^ha doʔkaheŋ l^heko ti:se
 kat^ha doʔ-ka-ŋeŋ l^he-ko ti:se
 story say-NMLZ-DAT flower-GEN garland
 'Garlands of gold to the listeners, garland of flower to the story teller.'
 (HLDSJW_87-88)

- b. *odoŋ b^hasiŋ hiŋkatsakalaiso buŋ*
 odo-ŋ b^hasiŋ hi-ka tsa-ka-lai-so buŋ
 that-EMPH for be-NMLZ eat-NMLZ-PL-ABL also
sat^h te niŋka te mant^hun^haŋi
 sat^h te niŋ-ka te mant^hu-n^ha-fi
 support TOP receive-NMLZ TOP NEG. be-1PL-PST
 'Therefore, we have't got support from those who are rich and
 prosperous.'(RMDLSW_203)

In example (30a), the nominalized verb *hiŋka* is undergone through the process of nominal morphology, i.e., the plural marking allomorph *-lai* is followed by the dative case marker. Similarly, in the same example, the nominalized verb *doʔka* is followed by the dative case marker *-ŋeŋ*. In example (30b), the conjoined nominalized verb *hiŋka tsaka* is followed by the plural marker *-ŋeŋ* and ablative case marker *-so*, respectively.

Nominalization in Dhimal is described in terms of the adjustment process from the prototype verbal clause to the prototype noun phrase.⁸ Some of the processes are as follows:

⁸Givón (2001b: 24) quotes Hopper and Thompson (1984) as "nominalization is best described in terms of the syntactic adjustments from the finite verbal-clause prototype to the nominal (NP) prototype."

a. Verb becoming a head noun

The nominalized verb in Dhimial functions as the head noun, thus resulting into the headless noun phrase, as in (31):

- (31) *hiŋkalaiheŋ sonako ti:se*
hiŋ-ka-lai-heŋ sona-ko ti:se
listen-NMLZ-PL-DAT gold-GEN garland
'Garlands of gold to the listeners.' (HLDSJW_87)

In example (35), the nominalized verb *hiŋka* has functioned at the head noun acquiring the nominal morphology of number and case.

b. Verb acquiring nominalizing morphology

As exemplified in (31), a verb once nominalized acquires all the properties of nominalized morphology, i.e., it is inflected for number and case. Following is an example:

- (32) *kat^ha doʔkaheŋ l^heko ti:se*
kat^ha doʔ-ka-heŋ l^he-ko ti:se
story say-NMLZ-DAT flower-GEN garland
'Garland of flower to the story teller.' (HLDSJW_88)

In example (32), the nominalized verb *doʔka* is followed by the dative case marker, which otherwise is the property of the nominals.

c. Loss of tense-aspect-modal morphology

Once a verb in Dhimial is nominalized, it loses the tense-aspect-modal morphology. Following are the examples:

- (33) a. **Finite clause**
wa kam padoŋg^hafi
wa kam pa-doŋ-g^ha-fi
3SG work do-DUR-IPFV-PST
'He used to be working.'

b. **Nominalized clause**

wako paka kam

wako paka kam

3SG do-NMLZ work

'The work he does/did...'

The finite verb *pa-don-g^ha-hi* in (33a) carries the aspectual (durative and imperfective in sequence) morphemes followed by the past tense marker whereas the same finite verb nominalized in (33b) loses all the tense-aspect markers. Thus, the nominalizer *-ka* in Dhimal replaces the tense-aspect-modal markers.

d. **Loss of pronominal agreement morphology**

When the finite verb in Dhimal is nominalized, it loses the pronominal agreement morphology. Let us compare the finite clause in (34a) and the nominalized clause in (34b):

(34) a. **Finite clause**

na miliŋ tsoik^hena

na miliŋ tsoi-k^he-na

2SG land plough-PRS -2

'You plough the land.'

b. **Nominalized clause**

na tsoika miliŋ

na tsoi-ka miliŋ

2SG plough-NMLZ land

'The land you plough/ploughed.'

The finite verb *tsoi-k^he-na* 'plough-PRS-2' in (34a) is characterized by the pronominal agreement. In contrast, the nominalized verb *tsoi-ka* 'plough-NMLZ' in (34b) loses the pronominal agreement morpheme.

e. **Subject acquiring genitive case-marking**

The subject NP of the finite clause acquires genitive case marking. However, it is not obligatory. In this case, either the subject NP retains its nominative case, as in (35a) or it is characterized by the genitive case marking. Compare the finite clause and its nominalized counterpart, as in (35a, b):

(35) a. **Finite clause**

ka um tsak^ha
ka um tsa-k^ha
1SG rice eat-PRS.1SG
'I eat rice.'

b. **Nominalized clause**

kaŋko tsaka um
kaŋ-ko tsa-ka um
1SG.OBL-GEN eat-NMLZ rice
'The rice I eat/ate/shall eat.'

In example (35a), the subject of the finite clause is in nominative case whereas when nominalized in (35b) it is marked by the genitive case marker.

f. **Conversion of adverbs into adjectives**

The manner adverbs in the finite clause are converted into adjectives in nominalized clause, as the finite clause in (36a) converted into nominalized clause in (36b):

(36) a. **Finite clause**

wa kam remp^ha pak^he
wa kam rem-p^ha pa-k^he
3SG work be.good-ADVLZ do-PRS
'He works well (lit. he work well does).'

b. **Nominalized clause**

wako paka remka kam
wa- pa-ka rem-ka kam
ko
3SG do-NMLZ be.good-NMLZ work
'The good work s/he did...'

We see that the adverb *remp^ha* 'well' in (36a) is converted into *remka* 'good' in (36b).

Thus, it is to be noted that the process of nominalization in Dhimal characterizes the syntactic adjustments from the finite verbal-clause prototype to the nominal (NP) prototype as described in Givón (2001b: 25).

9.2.6 Functional dimensions of nominalization

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages (Genetti 2011: 163), Dhimel exhibits an interesting composite of behavior in nominalized structures. In particular, Dhimel makes an extensive use of clausal nominalization (found in attributive phrases, complementation, relative clauses, and independent utterances), as well as derivational nominalization. Different functional dimensions of Dhimel nominalization is discussed as follows:

a. Attributive phrases

Attributive phrases in Dhimel are formed with the process of nominalization, as in (37):

- (37) *nab^handai wako dihẽ paña*
 nab^handai wa-ko dihẽ paña
 at.once 3SG-GEN west side
eloŋ barka pok^hari fiŋ^hak^he
 e-loŋ [bar-ka pok^hari] fi-g^ha-k^he
 one-CLF be.big-NMLZ pond be-IPFV-PRS
 'To (his) surprise, there was a pond to the west side.' (TBDFSW_23)

In example (37), the attributive adjective *barka* 'big' is formed through the suffixation of nominalizer *-ka* to the stative verb *bar* 'be.big'.

b. Complementation

Nominalized structures function as the complement of copula verb *dzeŋ* 'become', as in (38a, b) and *fi* 'be', as in (39 a,b):

- (38) a. *kalau narja ela m^hituka dzeŋfi*
 kalau narja ela m^hitu-ka dzeŋ-fi
 then elephant now be.hungry-NMLZ become-PST
 'Then the elephant became hungry now.' (TBDFSW_157)
- b. *dzamal sika dzeŋfi*
 dzamal si-ka dzeŋ-fi
 child die-NMLZ be-PST
 'The child was about to die.' (TBDFSW_410)

- (39) a. *enoŋ kurtsita jomteŋ hili ninako*
 e-long kurtsi-ta jom-teŋ hi-li niŋ-ako
 one-CLF chair-LOC sit-SEQ be-INF get-OPT
doʔka kaŋko sotsai
 doʔ-ka kaŋ-ko sotsai
 say-NMLZ 1SG.OBL-GEN thought
 'My thought is that I wish I would sit on the chair (happily).'

(TBDFSW_193)

- b. *pok^harita haja poseka hig^hak^he doʔk^he*
 pok^hari-ta haja pose-ka hi-g^ha-k^he doʔ-k^he
 pond-LOC fish rear-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS
 '(They) had reared fish in the pond (it is said).'

(TBDFSW_290)

In example (38a, b), the nominalized verb *m^hituka* and *sika* have functioned as the complement of the copula verb *dzeŋ* 'become' whereas in (39a, b) the nominalized verb *doʔka* and *poseka* have functioned as the complement of the copula verb *hi* 'be'.

c. Relative clauses

Nominalized verbs function as the relative clauses,⁹ as in (40):

- (40) a. *te n^hemi b^ho:l^hasi tsi*
 te n^he-mi b^ho:-l^ha-si [tsi
 okay two-HCLF search -INTENT-HORT.DU water
amka t^hame doʔk^he aŋ
 am-ka t^hame] doʔ-k^he aŋ
 drink-NMLZ place say-PRS REP
 'Okay, let's search around for the (source of) water to drink.'

(TBDFSW_42)

- b. *ka te barka dzagir tsaka habe*
 ka te bar-ka dzagir tsa-ka habe
 1SG TOP be.big-NMLZ job eat-NMLZ GF

⁹We will discuss the Dhimial relative clauses in Chapter 11.

djaŋ dop^ha k^hiniŋ hanã
 djaŋ dop^ha k^hiniŋ hane-ã
 person with only go-FUT

'I will go with a person who has got an attractive job.' (TBDFSW_106)

In example (40a), *tsi amka t^hame* 'the place to drink water' and in (40b) *barka dzagir tsaka* 'the one who has got a big job' are relative clauses. In relativization, the finite verb undergoes the process of nominalization.

d. Independent utterances

Nominalized verbs in Dhimel occupy a finite verb position in that a clause with a nominalized verb may stand as an independent utterance, as in (41):

(41) a. *ad^hjan pali tsafĩ mamañaneka wa*

ad^hjan pa-li tsafĩ ma-ma-hane-ka wa
 study do-INF IND NEG-NEG-go-NMLZ 3SG
 'He did not go to study at all.' (TBDFSW_04)

b. *k^hali ela derako djaŋ ela dinaŋ*

k^hali ela dera-ko dyaŋ ela dinaŋ
 only now village-GEN person now daily
sikar g^hateŋ um tsaka doʔk^he
 sikar g^ha-teŋ um tsa-ka doʔ-k^he
 hunt play-SEQ rice eat-NMLZ say-PRS
 'The people of that place used to earn their livelihood only
 by hunting, it is said.' (TBDFSW_05)

c. *ela k^hanepane gottaŋ lesrataŋ tsumgilka*

ela k^hanepane gottaŋ lesra-ta-ŋ tsum-gil-ka
 now edibles all back-LOC-EMPH grab-AMB-NMLZ
 '(They) were carrying the edibles with them.' (TBDFSW_78)

d. *e wako be mant^huka ela*

e wa-ko be mant^hu-ka ela
 yes 3SG-GEN wife NEG. be-NMLZ now
 'Yes, he did not have his wife now.' (TBDFSW_91)

In examples (41a-d), we see that the nominalized verbs function just like the finite verbs otherwise. Nominalized verbs that stand as the head of the independent utterances differ from the finite verb in that they lack tense-aspect-modal morphology as well as inflectional morphology.

9.3 Summary

In this chapter, we dealt with the structure and major functions of the noun phrase in Dhimal. The noun phrases in Dhimal range from a single word (personal noun and pronoun) to complex noun phrases (conjoined noun phrases, relative clauses and nominalized clauses). Demonstrative, genitive, numeral, adjective, relative clause, common noun, compound noun and pronoun are the elements of the noun phrase in Dhimal. It also possesses post-nominal modifiers. They include number marker and case marker. Some of the discourse particles like indicative and topic markers also modify the head noun. The linear order of the noun phrase element is NP→ (demonstrative)-(genitive)-(numeral)-(adjective phrase)-**head**-(number marker)-(case marker)-(indicative)-(topic marker). Dhimal also allows scattering of the elements of the noun phrase for different pragmatic purposes. Dhimal noun phrases are conjoined either simply juxtaposing the NPs or intermediated by the conjunctive morphemes. Dhimal follows the hierarchy of the relative order of conjoined NPs proposed by Ross (1975 as quoted in Givón 2001b: 17). Nominalization in Dhimal supports the adjustment process from the prototype verbal clause to the prototype noun phrase proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1984). Functionally, Dhimal makes an extensive use of clausal nominalization found in attributive phrases, complementation, relative clauses and independent utterances.

CHAPTER 10

VERBAL COMPLEMENTS, CLAUSE UNION AND DETRANSITIVE VOICES

10.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the verbal complements, clause union and detransitive voices in Dhimal. It is divided into four sections. In section 10.1, we discuss the verbs with clausal complements. Section 10.2 deals with the causative, applicative and the motion markers under the topic clause union. Section 10.3 deals with detransitive voices in Dhimal. In section 10.4, we summarize the findings of this chapter.

10.1 Verbs with clausal complements

Verbal complements are clauses that function as the subject or object arguments of the other clauses embedded in the main clause.¹ Verbal complements are structured by analogy with clausal subjects and objects (Givón 2001b: 39).² In this section we deal with different types of complement taking verbs in Dhimal. The three main types, namely, modality verbs, manipulation verbs and perception-cognition-utterance (P-C-U) verbs are important lexical classes in every human language (Givón 2001a: 149). The general semantic and syntactic classification of complement taking verbs has been given in Chapter 4. Here, we discuss the major semantic and syntactic sub-types of verbs with the verbal complements.

10.1.1 Modal-aspectual verbs

Semantically, this group includes the verbs that convey modal meanings such as volition, refusal, planning, ability, attempt, avoidance and success or failure to perform the action coded in the complement clause. It also includes verbs that convey aspectual meaning such as beginning, ending or continuing to perform the action (Givón 2011: 213). The group as a whole may be further divided into three semantic sub-types, i.e., implicative verbs, NEG-implicative verbs and non-implicative verbs.

¹However, not all embedded sentences can be considered complements: relative clauses, purpose and manner clauses, locative and temporal clauses etc. are not complements since they are not arguments of verbs (Noonan 2007: 53).

²Noonan (2007: 52) defines the term 'complementation' as 'when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate. A predication can be viewed as an argument of a predicate if it functions as the subject or object of that predicate.'

The modal-aspectual verbs in Dhimal are discussed below. Unlike in English, all the types of modal-aspectual verbs are not found in Dhimal ³. However, the following types of modal-aspectual verbs are attested in our data.

a. Implicative modal-aspectual verb

The implicative modal-aspectual verbs like *teŋ* 'begin' *t^hale* 'start' and *roke* 'stop' imply that the event coded in the complement clause did indeed occur. That is, the truth of the main clause implies the truth of the complement clause. To drive this point home, let's look at the examples in (1a-c).

- (1) a. *kalau wa tsafĩ wako tsamindigelaieŋ*
kalau wa tsafĩ wa-ko tsamindi-gelai-eŋ
then 3SG IND 3SG-GEN daughter-PL-DAT
doʔli teŋfi
doʔ-li teŋ-fi
say-INF begin-PST
'Then, as for him, he started to say to his daughters.' (LBDFSW_10)
- b. *kalau haja mampali t^halifi*
kalau haja maŋ-pa-li t^hale-fi
then fish fish -CAUS-INF start-PST
'Then (they) started to get the fish killed.' (TBDFSW_367)
- c. *obalai kam pali rokefi*
obalai kam pa-li roke-fi
they work do-INF stop-PST
'They stopped working.'

In example (1a), if *wa teŋfi* '(s/he/ they) began' is true, then *wa doʔfi* '(s/he/ they) said' is also true. Similarly, in (2a), if the assertion in the complement clause *t^halefi* '(s/he/ they) started' is true, then the main verb *haja mampali* '(s/he/they) killed fish' is also true. In example (3a), if the complement predicate *kam rokefi* '(s/he/they) stopped working' is true then *kam pali* '(s/he/they) worked' is also true.

³Noonan (2007: 54) asserts that some languages may have the same number of complement types as English, but may have different sorts of complements.

b. NEG-implicative modal-aspectual verbs

Similarly, the NEG-implicative verbs imply that the event coded in the complement clause did not occur. In Dhimal, NEG-implicative verbs are formed through the affixation of the negative prefix *ma-* to the implicative modal-aspectual verbs.⁴ Following are the examples:

- (2) a. *ela r^hai k^haŋli maŋfi la*
 ela r^hai k^haŋ-li ma-niŋ-fi la
 now face look-INF NEG-get-PST MIR
 'Now (she) did not get to see the face (of the baby).' (TBDFSW_238)
- b. *wa kalau siŋta n^hoʔli madok^he*
 wa kalau siŋ-ta n^hoʔ-li ma-do-k^he
 3SG than tree-LOC land-INF NEG-be.able-PRS
 'Then, he is not able to sit on the tree.' (GMDWH_16)

In example (2a), the implicative verb *niŋ* 'get' is negativized by *ma-* to create the NEG-implicative modality verb. Similarly, in (2b), the non-implicative modal verb *do* 'be.able' is negativized to create the NEG-implicative modality verb. Examples in (2a, b) imply that the negativized implicative modality verbs may function as the NEG-implicative modality verbs in Dhimal.

c. Non-implicative modal-aspectual verbs

The non-implicative verbs, such as *kiʔ* 'wish/want', *do* 'be.able' and *goi* 'must' imply neither occurrence nor non-occurrence of the complement clause states/ events, as in (3):

- (3) *wa [um tsali] kiʔk^he*
 wa um tsa-li kiʔ-k^he
 3SG rice eat-INF want-PRS
 'He wants to eat rice.'

The complex construction in example (3) possesses two separate clauses, each with its implicit event/state proposition and argument structure, as in (4):

⁴We did not find Neg-implicative modal-aspectual verbs coding the property inherently in our corpus.

- (4) a. Main clause: *wa.....kiʔkʰe* 'he wants'.
 b. Complement clause: *wa um tsakʰe* 'he eats rice.'
 c. Combination: *wa um tsaʔli kiʔkʰe* 'he wants to eat rice.'

The non-implicative modality verb *kiʔ* 'wish/want' implies neither occurrence nor non-occurrence of the event coded in the complement clause.

Some other examples of modality verb *kiʔ* 'want/wish' are given in (5):

- (5) a. *madzʰa dzʰarta ela tsi amli*
madzʰa dzʰar-ta ela tsi am-li
 mid jungle-LOC now water drink-INF
kiʔʰi doʔkʰe aŋ
kiʔ-ʰi doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 want-PST say-PRS REP
 '(They) wanted to drink water when (they were) in the middle of the forest.' (TBDFSW_14)
- b. *kalau odoi altsʰi koŋkor eʔni tsaʰĩ*
kalau odoi altsʰi koŋkor eʔ-ni tsaʰĩ
 then that lazy Konkar one-day IND
ekdəm taise tsali kiʔʰi doʔkʰe
ekdəm taise tsa-li kiʔ-ʰi do-ʔkʰe
 much cucumber eat-INF wish-PST say-PRS
 'Then, one day the lazy Konkar wished to eat cucumber, it is said.' (GMDFSW_12)

Another non-implicative modal-aspectual verb in Dhimal is *do* 'be.able', as in (6):

- (6) a. *wa kalau siŋta nʰoʔli dokʰe*
wa kalau siŋ-ta nʰoʔ-li do-kʰe
 3SG than tree-LOC land-INF be.able-PRS
 'Then, s/he is able sit on the tree.'

- b. *na idoi kam pali dok^hena*
 na idoi kam pa-li do-k^he-na
 2SG this work do-INF be.able-PRS-2
 'You are able to do this work.'

The non-implicative modal-aspectual verb *goi* 'must' is exemplified in (7):

- (7) a. *ela kelai um tsali goi*
 ela kelai um tsa-li goi
 now 1PL rice eat-INF must
 'Now, we must eat rice.'
- b. *pak^hri siŋ b^ho:li goika*
 pak^hri siŋ b^ho:-li goi-ka
 Pakhri tree search-INF must-NMLZ
pak^hri siŋko lasata iŋko
 pak^hri siŋ-ko lasa-ta iŋko
 Pak^hri tree-GEN glue-LOC that
dzihãheŋ de:pali goika
 dzihã-heŋ de:-pa-li goi-ka
 bird-DAT stuck-CAUS-INF must-NMLZ
 'Pakhri tree must be looked for (and) the bird must be stuck in the glue of the Pakhri tree.' (NLDD&LW_10)

In examples (7a, b) the non-implicative modality verb *goi* 'must', implies neither occurrence nor non-occurrence of the state/event coded in the complement clause.

10.1.2 Manipulation verbs

Semantically, the verbs in this group, according to Givón (2011: 88), "convey complex events in which the agent of the main clause manipulates another agent to perform the action or activity coded in the complement clause." His further observation is that the verbs in this group are characterized by an equi-object constraint syntactically, whereby the agent-subject of the complement clause is identical (co-referent) to the manipulee-object of the main clause, and is left unexpressed. Similar observation is made by Liljegren (2008: 286) as "the (human) agent subject of the main clause, headed by the manipulation verb manipulates the

behavior of the manipulee, the later being co-referential with the agent of the complement clause." Verbs in this class may be sub-divided into the same semantic sub groups just in case of the modal-aspectual verbs. In Dhimel, some borrowed verb roots nativized with tense/aspect markers in Dhimel are employed as manipulation verbs.⁵ They are discussed as follows:

a. Implicative manipulation verbs

Implicative manipulation verbs such as *pa* 'do', *lagai* 'employ' and *k^hatai* 'force to do' imply that the event coded in the complement clause did occur. The implicative manipulative verb *pa* 'do' is co-lexicalized⁶ to the main verb, as in (8):

- (8) a. *amai tsan^hetj um tsapafi*
 amai tsan-^hetj um tsa-pa-fi
 mother son-DAT rice eat-CAUS-PST
 'The mother fed rice to (her) son.'
- b. *kalau djaŋ su:ka g^haila banai-pa-fi*
 kalau djaŋ su:-ka g^haila banai-pa-fi
 then person adjust-NMLZ pitcher make-CAUS-PST
doʔk^he kumalgelai dera fianitej
 doʔ-k^he kumal-gelai dera fiane-teŋ
 say-PRS potter-PL village go-SEQ
 'Then they got to make a vessel to the size of a person having gone to the village of the potters (it is said).'(TBDFSW_230)
- c. *odoi odz^haeŋ kaipa-fi*
 odoi odz^ha-^hetj kai-pa-fi
 that shaman-DAT call-CAUS-PST
 Then (they) called the shaman. '(TBDFSW_369)

In example (8a), the manipulative verb *pa* 'do' is co-lexicalized with the main verb *tsa* 'eat' to create the causative verbal complex *tsapafi* 'fed'. Similarly, in (8b, c), the same process is employed with the main verb *banai* 'make' and *kai* 'call', respectively. The

⁵The verb roots in this group are borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages/sources.

⁶Givón (2011: 218) asserts "implicative manipulation verbs, chiefly 'cause', exhibit co-lexicalization of the two verbs into a complex single verb, and thus also the full clause union."

implication here is that the co-lexicalized *pa* 'do' implies that the event coded in the complement clause did occur.

b. NEG-implicative manipulation verbs

NEG-implicative manipulation verbs imply that the event coded in the complement clause did not occur. In Dhimal, the implicative manipulative verbs *roke* 'stop', borrowed from Nepali, implies that the event coded in the complement clause did not occur. Following are the examples:

- (9) *pulis k^huʔka djyaŋfiŋ k^huʔli rokefi*
 pulis k^huʔ-ka djyaŋ-fiŋ k^huʔ-li roke-fi
 Police steal-NMLZ person-DAT steal-INF stop-PST
 'The police prevented the thief from stealing.'

In example (9), the NEG-implicative verb *roke* 'stop' implies the non-occurrence of the event encoded in the main clause, i.e., if the police prevented the thief from stealing, the thief did not perform the act of stealing.

c. Non-implicative manipulation verbs

The non-implicative manipulation verbs like *doʔ* 'say/tell' and *arai* 'order' imply neither the occurrence nor non-occurrence of the event coded in their complements. Following are the examples:

- (10) a. *aba amaiŋfiŋ fiŋe fiŋeli doʔfi*
 aba amai-fiŋ fiŋe fiŋe-li doʔ-fi
 father mother-DAT market go-INF say-PST
 'The father said to mother to go to the market.'
- b. *siksjaŋ tsatijaŋgelaiŋfiŋ mareŋka kam*
 siksjaŋ tsatija-gelai-fiŋ ma-rem-ka kam
 teacher student-PL-DAT NEG-be.good-NMLZ work
mapali doʔk^he
 ma-pa-li do-ʔk^he
 NEG-do-INF say-PRS
 'The teacher says to the students not to do bad things.'

In examples (10a, b) the non-implicative manipulation verb *doʔ* 'say' does not say anything about the occurrence or non-occurrence of the events encoded in the complement clauses.

The complement clause of the manipulation verb *doʔ* 'say' may also be a finite clause, as in (11):

- (11) a. *wa naseŋ sikar buŋ remka*
 wa [na-seŋeŋ sikar buŋ rem-ka
 3SG na-DAT meal also be.good-NMLZ
 papjaŋka doʔhi
 pa-pi-aŋ-ka] doʔ-fi
 do-BEN-FUT-1SG say-PST
 'He said, "I will also manage some good meat for you".'
 (NLDD&LW_60)
- b. *kalau wako paramheŋ dzaigul*
 kalau wa-ko param-heŋ dzaigul
 than 3SG-GEN close friend-DAT crocodile
 gand^hita d^hol doʔhi
 [gand^hi-ta d^hol] doʔ-fi
 back-LOC climb.IMP say-PST
 'Than, the crocodile said to his friend, "climb up on the
 back."'(HLD.SJ.W_12)

In examples (11a, b), complement clauses of the manipulative verbs are full-fledged finite verbs. Even in such cases the non-implicative reading of the the verb *doʔ* 'say' remains intact.

Another non-implicative manipulation verb in Dhimal is *arai* 'order', a borrowed root from Nepali, as in (12):

- (12) *dada oneheŋ um tseʔli araihi*
 dada one-heŋ um tseʔ-li arai-fi
 brother younger.sibling-DAT paddy cut-INF order-PST
 'The brother ordered (his) younger brother to cut paddy.'

In example (12), the non-implicative manipulative verb *arai* 'order' does not imply the event of the complement clause in terms of its occurrence or non-occurrence.

10.1.3 Perception-cognition-utterance verbs

The subject/agent of the verbs in this group either perceives or cognizes a state or event, or utters a proposition concerning a state or event. The perceived, cognized or uttered proposition is coded in the complement clause (Givón 2001: 153).⁷

The subject of the P-C-U verbs, in Dhimál, perceives or cognizes a state or event, or utters a proposition concerning a state or event.⁸ The complement clause corresponds to what is perceived, cognized or uttered. Liljegren (2008: 287) observes that some such verbs are primarily used with a clausal complement, whereas a few of them display multiple memberships⁹.

In Dhimál, the P-C-U verbs take a verbal complement clause with no co-reference (equi-subject, equi-object) restrictions. Some of the P-C-U verbs attested in Dhimál are presented in (13):

(13) Perception-cognition-utterance (PCU) verbs in Dhimál

<i>kʰaŋ</i> 'look'	<i>giʔ</i> 'know'
<i>niʔ</i> 'forget'	<i>doʔ</i> 'say'
<i>hiŋ</i> 'listen'	<i>pʰompa</i> 'remember'
<i>budzʰe</i> 'understand'	<i>dʰir</i> 'learn'
<i>sotse</i> 'think'	

Givón (2011: 224) divides the verbs in this group into high certainty and low certainty types. The verbs like *giʔ* 'know', *pʰompa* 'remember', *niʔ* 'forget', *budzʰe* 'understand' *dʰir* 'learn' imply that their complements may be assumed to be more certain. On the other hand, the complement of the verbs of low certainty like *sotse* 'think' may be assumed to be uncertain. The proposition with the perception verb *kʰaŋ* 'look' is exemplified, as in (14):

⁷Givón (2001a: 445) maintains that the perception-cognition-utterance (P-C-U) verbs are also divided into three modal types: factive with *fact* modal scope (know), non-factive with *irrealis* modal scope (think), and NEG-factive with *negative* modal scope (lie).

⁸For Noonan (2007: 53), the predicates like remember, see, think, cause etc. that take subject or object complements are 'complement-taking predicates (CTPs)'.

⁹We have discussed the verbs with multiple membership in chapter 4.

- (14) *ela r^hai k^haŋli maŋiŋhi la*
 ela r^hai [k^haŋ-li] ma-niŋ-hi la
 now face look-INF NEG-get-PST MIR
 'Now (she) did not get to see the face (of the baby).' (TBDFSW_238)

Similarly, the proposition with the perception verb *nil* 'forget' is exemplified, as in (15):

- (15) *tsi pili nilhi la tɔbelako ofjãheŋ*
 tsi pi-li nil-hi la tɔbela-ko ofjã-heŋ
 water give-INF forget-PST MIR stable-GEN horse-DAT
 '(He) forgot to give water to the horse of the stable.' (TBDFSW_336)

The cognition verb *gi* 'know' is exemplified, as in (16):

- (16) *kelai derako tsələn g^hailata*
 kelai dera-ko tsələn g^haila-ta
 1PL village-GEN custom pitcher-LOC
puriŋ sulaili gili goik^he
 puriŋ sulai-li [gi-li] goi-k^he
 head thrust-INF know-INF must-PRS
 'The custom of our village is that you must know to thrust (your)
 head into a vessel.' (TBDFSW_228)

The clausal complements taken by the P-C-U verbs may be indicative clause, wh-question clause and direct quote complement clause. They are discussed as follows:

a. Indicative complements

The P-C-U verbs may take indicative clauses as their complements. Following are the examples:

- (17) a. *jaseheŋ t^hame timpili gojaŋ*
 ja-seheŋ [t^hame tiŋ-pi-li] goi-aŋ
 this-DAT place see-BEN-INF must-EMPH

tsi amka doʔhi aŋ

tsi am-ka] doʔ-fi aŋ
water drink-NMLZ say-PST REP

'It must be shown the place to him; (the place) to drink water,
he said.' (TBDFSW_27)

b. *maili bai wa barka dzagirta*

maili bai [bar-ka dzagir-ta
Maili elder.sister be.big-NMLZ job-LOC

hanã doʔg^hak^he

han-ã] doʔ-g^ha-k^he
han-FUT say-IPFV-PRS

'The second eldest sister said that she would go with a person
holding an attractive job.' (TBDFSW_253)

In examples (17a, b), the utterance verb *doʔ* 'say' has taken the indicative clauses as its complements.

b. Wh-question complements

Wh-questions may also appear as the complements of the P-C-U verbs.¹⁰ Following are the examples:

(18) a. *amai kaseheŋ na hai tsafi doʔhi*

amai ka-seheŋ [na hai tsa-fi] doʔ-fi
mother 1SG-DAT 2SG what eat-PST say-PST
'Mother asked me, "what did you eat?"'

b. *edəi t^hameta hai dzənwār tsumteŋ*

[edəi t^hame-ta hai dzənwār tsuma-teŋ
this place-LOC what animal bring-SEQ

hisoko mənusjə lofi doʔhi wa

hisoko-ko mənusjə lo-fi] doʔ-fi wa
where-GEN human.being come-PST say-SEQ 3SG

'He said, "who might be the person that came here and what
animal he has brought?"' (TBSFSW_25)

¹⁰Wh-questions as non-declarative speech-act will be discussed in Chapter 13.

In examples (18a, b), the utterance verb *do?* 'say' has taken the wh-question clauses (enclosed in square brackets) as its complement.

c. Direct quote complements

The utterance verbs may also take direct quotes as their complements (Givón 2001a: 155). In Dhimal, it is very common to take direct quote complement by the utterance verb *do?* 'say', as in (19):

- (19) a. *wa naseŋ sikar buŋ remka*
 wa [na-seŋeŋ sikar buŋ rem-ka
 3SG na-DAT meal also be.good-NMLZ
 papjaŋka do?hi
 pa-pi-aŋ-ka] do?-hi
 give-BEN-FUT-1SG say-PST
 'He said, "I will manage some good meat for you."' (NLDD&LW_60)
- b. *kalau wako paramheŋ dzaigul*
 kalau wa-ko param-heŋ dzaigul
 than 3SG-GEN friend-DAT crocodile
 gand^hita d^hol do?hi
 [gand^hi-ta d^hol] do?-hi
 back-LOC climb.IMP say-PST
 'Than, the crocodile said to his friend, "climb up on the back."
 (HLDSJW_12)

In examples (19a, b), full-fledged finite clauses (enclosed in square brackets) are the complement of the utterance verb *do?* 'say'.

Similarly, the utterance verb *hi?* 'ask' may take a direct quote complement, as in (20):

- (20) *e?ni tsafiŋ wako b^haudzi hi?hi do?k^he*
 e?-ni tsafiŋ wa-ko b^haudzi hi?-hi
 one-day IND 3SG sister-in-law ask-PST
 oe əlts^hja koŋkər na fiət^he diŋ
 [oe əlts^hja koŋkər na fiət^he diŋ
 hey lazy Koŋker 2SG how.much day

t^hekapa esa dzenana re

t^hekapa esa dzen-aŋ-na re]

GOAL like.this become-FUT-2 PART

'One day, his sister-in-law asked, hey, lazy Konker, how long will you stay in this way?' (GMDFSW_10)

Example (20) illustrates the direct quote complement of the utterance verb *hi?* 'ask'.

As in many other languages (Givón 2011: 228), direct-quote complements of utterance verbs in Dhimal are fully finite, so do not differ formally from the main clause.

d. Nominalized verb phrases as subjects

Nominalized verb phrase may occur as the subject of the main clause in Dhimal. Following are the examples:

(21) a. *hindz^haŋ por^heli remka*

hindz^haŋ por^he-li rem-ka

much study-INF be.good-NMLZ

'It's good to read much.'

b. *wako n^haka remka*

wa-ko n^ha-ka rem-ka

3SG-GEN dance-NMLZ be.good-NMLZ

'The way s/he danced is good.'

In example (21a), the infinitival clause is the clausal subject of the main clause. Similarly in (21b), the nominalized verb is the clausal subject of the main clause.

10. 2 Clause union

Clause union is the syntactic integration of the complement and main clause. As Givón (2001b: 59) suggests, syntactic devices used to code clause-union are: a. co-lexicalization (predicate-raising), b. case marking and grammaticalization, c. finite verb morphology and; d. inter-clausal gap¹¹. In terms of complementation scale, morphological or lexical causativization, with a co-lexicalized causative verb (or affix), occupies the top-most position (ibid, 75). In this sub-section, we deal only with

¹¹We have discussed this phenomenon, i.e., the separation of the main and subordinate clauses by subordinator morpheme or intonation break in Chapter 14.

the process of co-lexicalization of the predicates,¹² thus the causative and applicative constructions in Dhimal.

10.2. 1 Causativization

Dhimal encodes causative events morphologically as well as periphrastically. They are discussed as follows.

a. Morphological causative

The morpheme *-pa*, grammaticalized from the lexical verb *pa* 'do/make' can be affixed to any non-causative verb stem to create a causative stem (see Khatiwada 2014/15: 114).¹³ Causativization with the morpheme *-pa* is a productive process in Dhimal and can apply to all the verb classes. It may also be considered a lexical derivation process that creates new verbs with increased transitivity. Some of the causative stems derived from non-causative verbs in Dhimal are illustrated in (22):

(22) Transitive/intransitive	Causative
<i>amli</i> 'to drink'	<i>ampali</i> 'to feed liquid'
<i>bara?li</i> 'to become big/grow'	<i>bara?pali</i> 'to raise'
<i>bigirli</i> 'to be ruined'	<i>bigirpali</i> 'to ruin'
<i>borli</i> 'to be pulled/be dragged'	<i>borpali</i> 'to come pulling/drag'
<i>budz^heli</i> 'to understand'	<i>budz^hepali</i> 'to explain/make understandable'

When the causative morpheme is applied to an intransitive verb, it yields a simple transitive verb, as in (23) and (24):

- (23) a. *bedzan leŋfi*
 bedzan leŋ-fi
 girl laugh-PST
 'The girl laughed.'

¹²Co-lexicalization (also termed as predicate-raising) is a process of attaching the two verbs (main and complement) together to form a single phonological word (Givón 2001b: 59).

¹³Givón (2001b: 75) maintains "the affixal status of the causative morpheme is only the diachronic consequence of co-lexicalization of its precursor manipulative verb. Over time, such constructions eventually become lexical-derivational. The earlier lexical verb generally loses its independent lexical status, undergoes phonological reduction (bleaching) and becomes a causative affix on the erstwhile complement verb."

- b. *wadzan bedzanheŋ lempaɦi*
 wadzan bedzan-ɦeŋ leŋ-pa-ɦi
 boy girl-DAT laugh-CAUS-PST
 'The boy made the girl laugh.'

- (24) a. *ka tsiuk^{ɦa}*
 ka tsiu-k^{ɦa}
 1SG bathe-PRS.1SG
 'I bathe.'

- b. *amai kaseɦeŋ tsiupak^{ɦe}*
 amai ka-seɦeŋ tsiu-pa-k^{ɦe}
 mother 1SG-DAT bathe-CAUS-PRS
 'The mother makes me bathe.'

In example (23b) the intransitive verbs *leŋ* 'laugh' is causativized with the causative morpheme *-pa*. Similarly, in (24b) the intransitive verb *tsiu* 'bathe' is causativized through the same process.

An intransitive verb with an indirect object when causativized may be converted into a bi-transitive verb with direct and indirect object, as in (25):

- (25) a. *k^{ɦi}ja sa liʔta dulɦi*
 k^{ɦi}ja sa liʔta dul-ɦi
 dog house inside enter-PST
 'The dog entered the house.'
- b. *wadzan k^{ɦi}jaɦeŋ sa liʔta dul-pa-ɦi*
 wadzan k^{ɦi}ja-ɦeŋ sa liʔta dul-pa-ɦi
 boy dog-DAT house inside enter-CAUS-PST
 'The boy made the dog enter into the house.'

The intransitive verb with an indirect object *dul* 'enter' in (25a) is causativized with the morpheme *-pa* yeilding a bi-transitive verb with direct and indirect object.

Simple transitive verbs may be converted into bi-transitive verbs with both direct and indirect objects in Dhimal. Following are the examples:

- (26) a. *ka por^heli d^hiraŋka*
 ka por^he-li d^hir-aŋ-ka
 1SG study-INF learn-FUT-1SG
 'I will learn to study.'
- b. *d^hirli k^haŋfie panu lako*
 d^hir-li k^haŋ-fie pa-nu lo-ako
 learn-INF wish-HYP do-COND come-OPT
d^hirpã buŋ
 d^hir-pa-ã buŋ
 learn-CAUS-FUT.1SG also-EMPH
 'If (you) wish to learn, please come, I'll teach as well.' (KRDMPW_173)
- (27) a. *ela kelai ħaja maŋli gojaŋ*
 ela kelai ħaja maŋ-li goi-aŋ
 now 1PL fish fish-INF must-FUT
 'Now we must kill the fish.'
- b. *insa panu gond^higelaiħeŋ ħaja*
 insa pa-nu gond^hi-gelai-ħeŋ ħaja
 like.that do-COND fisherman-PL-DAT fish
mampali gojaŋ doʔk^he aŋ
 maŋ-pa-li goi-aŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 fish-CAUS-INF must-FUT say-PRS REP
 'If it is so, the fish should be killed by the fishermen.' (TBDFSW_334)
- (28) a. *obalai g^haila banaiħi*
 obalai g^haila banai-ħi
 3PL pitcher make-PST
 'They made a pitcher.'
- b. *djaŋ su:ka g^haila banaipaħi*
 djaŋ su:-ka g^haila banai-pa-ħi
 person adjust-NMLZ pitcher make-CAUS-PST

kumalgelai dera fianiteŋ

kumal-gelai dera fiane-teŋ

potter-PL village go-SEQ

'Then they got a pitcher made (by the potters) to the size of a person
having gone to the village of the potters.' (TBDFSW_230)

In example (26b), the transitive verb *dʰir* 'learn' is causativized to yield a di-transitive verb. Similarly, in example (27b), the transitive verbs *maŋ* 'fish' and in (28b) *banai* 'make' are causativized to yield the di-transitive verbs.

The inherently di-transitive verbs like *pi* 'give', however, may only be causativized periphrastically, i.e., by employing another verb *lagai* 'employ' as the finite verb, as in (29):

(29) a. *amai kaseheŋ paisa pihi*

amai ka-seheŋ paisa pi-fi

mother 1SG-DAT money give-PST

'The mother gave me money.'

b. *amai abahēŋ kaseheŋ paisa pili lagihi*

amai aba-heŋ ka-seheŋ paisa pi-li lagi-fi

mother father-DAT 1SG-DAT money give-INF employ-PST

'The mother made the father to give me money.'

In example (29b), the di-transitive clause with the verb *pi* 'give' is causativized by employing another lexical verb *lagai* 'employ'. The generalization is that Dhimal allows only the subject, direct object and indirect object as the core grammatical relations.

The only lexical causative attested in our text data so far is *seʔ* 'kill'. In this case, the intransitive verb *si* 'die' is replaced by its causative counterpart, as in (30):

(30) a. **Intransitive**

paja sihi

paja si-fi

'The pig died.'

b. **Causative**

aba paja seʔhi
 aba paja seʔ-hi
 father pig kill-PST
 'Father killed the pig.'

In example (30), the intransitive verb *si* 'die' is replaced by the transitive verb *seʔ* 'kill' to create a causative clause.

b. Periphrastic causative

The causative proposition may also be formed periphrastically in Dhimal. Such structure is constructed with the Indo-Aryan loan verb *lagai* 'employ' and is used with transitive verbal bases.¹⁴ Periphrastic causative strategy is employed either when inherently di-transitive verbs need to be causativized or when the action performed is only partially controlled by the agent of the clause.¹⁵ Following are the examples:

- (31) a. *na ama insaŋ lagaiteŋ hãḍi*
 na ama insa-ŋ lagai-teŋ hãḍi
 2SG mother like.that-EMPH employ-SEQ earthen.pot
liʔta puriŋ sulaili lagaihi
 liʔta puriŋ sulai-li lagai-hi
 inside head thrust-INF employ-PST
 'They compelled your mother to thrust her head into the big earthen pot.'
 (TBDFSW_522)

- b. *jaseheŋ bimar dʰorihi doʔteŋ*
 rog ja-seheŋ bimar dʰori-hi doʔ-teŋ
 disease this-DAT illness catch-PST say-SEQ

¹⁴King (2009: 197) states "causer induces the causee to perform an action. The periphrastic causative signals little physical involvement on the part of the causer and a degree of co-operation on the part of the causee. The sense of co-operation limits this construction to human causees. Responsibility lies with the causee to see that the action is carried out. The causee, when overt, is case-marked in the dative."

¹⁵Givón (2001b: 75) maintains that "if a language has both a periphrastic (syntactic) and a morphological (co-lexicalized) causative, the former is more likely to code weaker causation, with and agentive human manipulee, while the latter is more likely to code stronger causation, with a non-agentive inanimate manipulee."

oŋjã buŋ seʔli lagain^{ha}

oŋjã bu-ŋ seʔ-li lagai-fi-na

horse also-EMPH kill-INF employ-PST-2

'They said that illness caught the horse and ordered to get killed the horse.'

(TBDFSW_620)

In examples (31a, b), the causative event is expressed with the verb *lagai* 'employ' and the main verbs are in infinitival form.

10.2.2 Applicative

In Dhimel, co-lexicalization of two verbs, just like in morphological causative construction (see §10.2.1), yields applicative construction. Somewhat similar phenomenon is described as the process of verb serialization.¹⁶ However, verb serialization is more commonly found in the isolating languages where there is no verbal morphology (Payne 1997: 307). In case of Tibeto-Burman languages, Lapolla (2003: 33-34) describes similar phenomenon as applicative. Peterson (2003: 418) also describes similar situation in case of Hakha Lai (a T-B) language. Following the later pattern, we have discussed the applicative construction as follows:

Benefactive

The benefactive clauses are derived through the suffixation of the morpheme *-pi* to the main verb. This morpheme is derived from the verb *pi* 'give'.¹⁷ The benefactive indicates that the event is performed for someone else's benefit or to his/her detriment.¹⁸ The intransitive verb when marked with the benefactive becomes transitive and the transitive verb marked in this way becomes ditransitive. Some intransitive/transitive verbs with their benefactive counterparts are listed in (32):

¹⁶Givón (1991: 137) defines verb serialization as "an event/state that one language codes as a simple clause with a single verb, is coded in another language as a complex clause with two or more verbs."

¹⁷King (2009: 198) treats this phenomenon as directives and explains that the directive indicates an affected actant of the action predicated by the main verb and increases the valency or number of participants of the verb. The connotation of the directive may be benefactive or malefactive, depending on the inherent semantics of event.

¹⁸Kittilä and Zúñiga (2010: 7) presents the mechanisms languages employ for linguistic coding of benefaction and malefaction. It includes cases, adpositions, serial verb constructions and applicativization. It further notes (p. 9) that the most typical verb used for coding benefaction seems to be 'give' and in many cases 'give' has largely lost its original semantics and is best considered a semantically vacuous verb.

(32)	Transitive/intransitive	Benefactive
	<i>amli</i>	'to drink'
	<i>ampili</i>	'to drink for someone'
	<i>budz^heli</i>	'to understand'
	<i>budz^hepili</i>	'to explain to or for someone'
	<i>bho:li</i>	'to look for'
	<i>b^hopili</i>	'to look for someone'
	<i>tsali</i>	'eat'
	<i>tsapili</i>	'to eat for someone'
	<i>tša:li</i>	'to grab'
	<i>tša:pili</i>	'to grab for someone'

The benefactive morpheme attached to an intransitive verb increases the valency of the verb. However, generally the beneficiary is left unspecified, as in (33):

- (33) a. **Intransitive**
wa jom^hi
 wa jom-fi
 3SG sit-PST
 'S/he sat.'
- b. **Benefactive**
wa jompⁱi^hi
 wa jom-pi-fi
 3SG sit-BEN-PST
 'S/he sat (for someone else).'

- (34) a. **Intransitive**
ka lederg^ha
 ka leder-g^ha
 1SG be.ashamed-PST.1SG
 'I ashamed.'
- b. **Benefactive**
ka lederpig^ha
 ka leder-pi-g^ha
 1SG be.ashamed-BEN-PST.1SG
 'I ashamed (for others).'

Similarly, the benefactive morpheme affixed to the transitive verbs yields a detransitive scenario, as in (35):

- (35) a. *jaseheŋ t^hame timpili gojaŋ*
 ja-seheŋ t^hame tiŋ-pi-li goi-aŋ
 this-DAT place see-BEN-INF must-EMPH
tsi amka doʔfi aŋ
 tsi am-ka doʔ-fi aŋ
 water drink-NMLZ say-PST REP
 'It must be shown the place to him; (the place) to drink water, he said.'
 (TBDFSW_27)
- b. *b^hæb^hərko ud^himiko taka paisa*
 b^hæb^hər-ko ud^himi-ko taka paisa
 every.bit-GEN 3DU-GEN coin money
gottaŋ maripifi
 gottaŋ mari-pi-fi
 all win-BEN-PST
 '(She) won every bit of their money (to their detriment).' (TBDFSW_181)
- c. *k^hori k^hampisafi doʔk^he*
 k^hori k^haŋ -pi-sa-fi doʔ-k^he
 foretell look-BEN-APR-PST say-PRS
 '(He) pretended to foretell (for them).' (TBDFSW_370)

In examples (35a-c), the benefactive morpheme *-pi*, attached to the verbs *tiŋ* 'see', *mare* 'win' and *k^haŋ* 'look' yields in the increment of the valency of the verb.

10.2.3 Motion markers

a. Andative

The andative deixis is marked by the suffix *-pu* attached to the main verb in Dhimal.¹⁹ In it, the agent moves away from the deictic center in order perform some action. Literally, it may be rendered as 'be going to do something.' This phenomenon is

¹⁹ Bybee et al. (1994: 320) term such a phenomenon as andative and explain that such forms are often related to the verb 'to go' and also may have uses of intention and future.

described as distal-deictic morpheme in King (2009: 171).²⁰ The andative verbs may be derived from both transitive and intransitive verbs, as in (36):

(36)	Transitive/intransitive		Directive	
	<i>b^ho:li</i>	'to look for'	<i>b^hopuli</i>	'to go to look for'
	<i>tsolli</i>	'to buy'	<i>tsolpuli</i>	'to go to buy (for oneself)
	<i>k^harli</i>	'to cry/weep'	<i>k^harpuli</i>	'to go along crying'
	<i>raili</i>	'scatter'	<i>raipuli</i>	'to go along scattering'

The andative morpheme *-pu* attached to the main verb is illustrated in (37):

- (37) a. *pok^həri tsita t^halpu^hii doʔk^he iŋko*
 pok^həri tsi-ta t^hal-pu-fii doʔ-k^he iŋko
 pond water-LOC throw-AND-PST say-PRS that
tsəndrə surdze dzeŋka wadzan^hieŋ
 tsəndrə surdze dzeŋ-ka wadzan-^hieŋ
 moon sun bear-NMLZ boy-DAT
 '(They) threw away the moon and sun bearing boy into the water of the pond.' (TBDFSW_293)
- b. *te ka pipwaŋka*
 te ka pi-pu-aŋ-ka
 okay 1SG give-AND-FUT -1SG
 'Okay, I'll give it away (to you).' (TBDFSW_449)
- c. *wako tsan tsaf^hiĩ gund^hako*
 wa-ko tsan tsaf^hiĩ gund^ha-ko
 3SG-GEN son IND rice.chaff-GEN
d^herita sulaipu^hii
 d^heri-ta sulai-pu-fii
 stock-LOC thrust-AND-PST
 '(They) thrust her son into the stock of rice chafe.' (TBDFSW_283)

²⁰King defines that the distal morpheme *-pu* signifies motion away from a deictic referent. Derived from the verb *puli* meaning 'to go, set out'. For him, the distal indicates that the action encoded by the main verb is performed away from the reference point.

In examples (37a-c), the directive marker augments the meaning of the main verb as the object is directed away from the reference point.

b. Intentive

In intentive, the agent of the clause intends to carry out the action of the main verb (Bybee et al. 1994: 320). In Dhimal, the intentive morpheme *-l^ha* denotes movement away from the deictic reference point in order to perform an event encoded by the main verb. The verbs derived with the intentive morpheme are presented in (38).

(38) Transitive/intransitive Intentive

<i>b^ho:li</i>	'to look for'	<i>b^hol^hali</i>	'to go to look for'
<i>tsali</i>	'to eat'	<i>tsal^hali</i>	'to go to eat'
<i>tsiuli</i>	'to bathe'	<i>tsiul^hali</i>	'to go to take bathe'
<i>tsoili</i>	'to plough'	<i>tsoil^hali</i>	'to go to plough'
<i>tsolli</i>	'to buy'	<i>tsoll^hali</i>	'to go to buy'

Some sentences with the affixation of the intentive morpheme are illustrated in (39):

(39) a. *te n^hemi b^ho:l^hasi tsi*

te	n ^h e-mi	b ^h o:-l ^h a-si	tsi
okay	two-HCLF	search-INTENT-HORT.DU	water
<i>amka t^hame do?k^he aŋ</i>			
am-ka	t ^h ame	do?-k ^h e	aŋ
drink-NMLZ	place	say-PRS	REP
'Okay, let's search for the (source of) water to drink.' (TBDFSW_42)			

b. *kalau ela obalaiko keeŋ kaipil^hafi aŋ*

kalau	ela	obalai-ko	ke-eŋ	kai-pi-l ^h a-fii	aŋ
then	now	3PL-GEN	husband-DAT	call-BEN-INTENT-PST	REP
'Then their husband was to be called (for them).' (TBDFSW_265)					

c. *iŋko oŋjã tsi aml^hanasantaŋ*

iŋko	oŋjã	tsi	am-l ^h a-na-san-ta-aŋ
that	horse	water	drink-INTENT-IMP-APR-LOC-EMPH

fiija lofi doʔkʰe kalau bʰerpa

fiija lo-fi doʔ-kʰe kalau bʰerpa
fish come-PST say-PRS then near

nui gaʔgaʔpa

nui gaʔgaʔ-pa
mouth open.mouth-do

'As soon as the horse approached to drink water the fish came near
with its mouth wide opened.' (TBDFSW_343)

d. *ka aŋ bʰeʔ palʰaŋka doʔkʰe aŋ*

ka aŋ bʰeʔ pa-lʰa-aŋ-ka doʔ-kʰe aŋ
1SG EMPH visit do-INTENT-FUT-1SG say-PRS REP

'I'll go to visit her myself (he said).' (TBDFSW_589)

In examples (39a), the hortative proposition encodes the meaning of going away in search of drinking water. In (39b), the assertive proposition encodes the meaning of the plan to call their husband. In (39c), the horse went (to the pond) in order to drink water. Similarly in (39d), the first person singular agent has made a plan to go to visit (someone) immediately.

In perfective, the intentional verb encodes the meaning of the intention in the side of the agent/subject before the action was completed. Following is an example:

(40) *fiisa fiisa fiisapa tsəʔtə tsafiĩ*

fiisa fiisa fiisa-pa tsəʔtə tsafiĩ
how how how-do ONOM IND

tikarta tʰukalʰagʰa

tikar-ta tʰuka-lʰa-gʰa
hump-LOC reach-INTENT-PST.1SG

'Somehow, I reached at the hump in the river at once.' (CLDDRW_30)

In example (40), the agent/subject reaches at the hump (of the river) because he was trying to save himself from drowning.

However, the speakers of the eastern dialect of Dhimial view that this type of constructions are not used in their variety. Intuitively, they paraphrase the verbal complex like *tsal^haŋka* 'I go in order to eat' as *tsali haŋaŋka* 'I go to eat.'²¹

c. Ambulative

The ambulative marker *-gil*, derived from the verb *gilli* 'to chase', denotes motion occurring away from a deictic referent. King (2009: 177) describes this phenomenon as indeterminate motion. However, following Ebert (2003a: 512), we have termed it as ambulative since the later term seems to be more appropriate in terms of the semantics it encodes. The difference between intensive and ambulative is that in intensive the agent/subject's motion away from the deictic reference is intended to perform some function. On the other hand, in ambulative, the subject/agent's movement is not targeted to a specific goal/performance.²² Some verbs with the ambulative motion morpheme are illustrated in (41):

(41) Transitive/intransitive		Ambulative	
<i>tsumali</i>	'to bring away'	<i>tsumagilli</i>	'to go around bringing'
<i>tsareli</i>	'to graze'	<i>tsaregilli</i>	'to go around grazing'
<i>pali</i>	'to do'	<i>pagilli</i>	'to go around doing'
<i>amli</i>	'to drink'	<i>amgilli</i>	'to go around drinking'

In example (41), we see that different types of verbs may take the ambulative marker to encode the meaning of motion away from the deictic reference point.

Some verbs derived through the suffixation of the ambulative marker *-gil* are illustrated in (42):

(42) a. <i>ela k^hane pane gottan lesrataŋ tsumgilka</i>					
<i>ela</i>	<i>k^hane</i>	<i>pane</i>	<i>gottan</i>	<i>lesra-ta-ŋ</i>	<i>tsum-gil-ka</i>
now	edible	drink	all	back-LOC-EMPH	grab-AMB-NMLZ
'(They) were carrying all the edibles with them.' (TBDFSW_78)					

²¹Patra Dhimial, one of the speakers of the eastern dialect (personal communication).

²²This phenomenon is described as ambulative in case of Kirati languages. Ebert (2003a: 512) notes that most south-eastern Kirati languages have an ambulative, which indicates that something is done while moving around or 'all over the place'.

- b. *wa tsaregil^he aŋ iŋko haja*
 wa tsare-gil-k^he aŋ iŋko haja
 3SG graze-AMB-PRS REP that fish
 'The fish moves around (in search of edibles).' (TBDFSW_302)
- c. *tsan tsahĩ esa osa pagilk^he doʔk^he*
 tsan tsahĩ esa osa pa-gil-k^he
 son IND this.side that.side do-AMB-PRS
iŋko wadzan tsəndrə surdze tsahĩ
 doʔ-k^he iŋko wadzan tsəndrə surdze tsahĩ
 say-PRS that boy moon sun IND
 'As for his son, the sun and moon boy, walks hither and thither.'
 (TBDFSW_576)
- d. *inta iŋko wako desso bu auʔ*
 inta iŋko wa-ko des-so bu auʔ
 there that 3SG-GEN country-ABL also out
papigilhi ela waseheŋ ud^hin^hemiheŋ doŋ
 papi-gil-hi ela wa-seheŋ ud^hin^hemi-hieŋ doŋ
 sinner-AMB-PST now 3SG-DAT 3DU-DAT FOC
 'The (prince) exiled them (his two wives) from the country itself.'
 (TBDFSW_626)

In example (42a), the ambulative marker is attached to the verb *tsuma* 'bring away' to encode the meaning of motion away but not targeted to any goal. Similarly, in (42b), the verb *tsare* 'graze' augmented by *-l^ha* has added the meaning of the referent moving around. In (42c), the referent *tsan* 'son' walks around without any specific goal. In (42d), the object referents were exiled from the country, without any care wherever they go or stay.

d. Relinquitive

The relinquitive morpheme *-d^{hi}* encodes the notion of physical separation of two entities.²³ This separation involves the subject relinquishing or leaving something behind with transitive verbs and the subject being left behind with intransitive verbs.²⁴ The relinquitive morpheme is realized as *-d^{he}* in imperative constructions (see King 2009: 180).

When the relinquitive suffix occurs with a transitive verb, the subject relinquishes or leaves behind the object.²⁵ This object may be physical, notional or spatial (King 2009: 189). The relinquitive stems may be derived from both intransitive and transitive bases, as in (43):

(43) Transitive/intransitive		Relinquitive	
<i>amli</i>	'to drink'	<i>amd^{hi}ili</i>	'to drink and leave'
<i>dzimli</i>	'to sleep'	<i>dzimd^{hi}ili</i>	'to leave (someone) behind sleeping'
<i>pili</i>	'give'	<i>pid^{hi}ili</i>	'to give and leave behind'
<i>p^{he}ʔli</i>	'to beat'	<i>p^{he}ʔd^{hi}ili</i>	'To beat and leave'

In example (43), we see that the intransitive verbs like *dzim* 'sleep', transitive verbs like *t^{hal}* 'throw' and bi-transitive verbs like *pi* 'give' may take the relinquitive morpheme in Dhimal. The sentences with the relinquitive verbs are illustrated in (44):

(44) a. <i>b^{hi}itrib^{hi}itri b^{ho}:teŋ b^{ha}:teŋ edəi dz^{hoko} taka</i>					
<i>b^{hi}itrib^{hi}itri</i>	<i>b^{ho}:teŋ</i>	<i>b^{ha}:teŋ</i>	<i>edəi</i>	<i>dz^{hoko}</i>	<i>taka</i>
inside	search-SEQ	REDUP	this	much	coin
<i>pjaniŋ doʔteŋ waseheŋ kobol pad^{hi}ifi</i>					
<i>pi-aŋ-niŋ</i>	<i>doʔ-teŋ</i>	<i>wa-seheŋ</i>	<i>kobol</i>	[pa-d ^{hi} -fi]	
give-FUT-2DU	say-SEQ	3SG-DAT	promise	do-REL-PST	
'Having searched (the shaman) secretly, (they two) promised to give some amount of money and left behind him.' (TBDFSW_365)					

²³Hakha Lai, a Kuki-Chin language spoken in China, Burma and in adjacent areas of India and Bangladesh utilizes the morpheme *-taak* functions as relinquitive applicative marker (Peterson 2003: 419).

²⁴The relinquitive event in Limbu is encoded by the irregular verb *t^{hama}ʔ* which highlights the relinquishing of the patient at its place of destination (van Driem 1987: 121).

²⁵In Belhare (Bickel 2003: 561) the relinquitive morpheme *-ye-* encodes the meaning "to leave P where the action takes place."

b. *paisa buŋ pi-d^{hi}-fi*

paisa bu-ŋ pi-d^{hi}-fi
money also-EMPH give-REL-PST

'(They) also gave money and left (him) behind.' (TBDFSW_366)

c. *iŋko ofjã-heŋ na seʔ-teŋ saʔ-teŋ t^hal-d^{hi}-fi-na*

iŋko ofjã-heŋ na seʔ-teŋ saʔ-teŋ t^hal-d^{hi}-fi-na
that horse-DAT 2SG kill –SEQ redup throw-REL-PST-2

pateŋ doʔ-lau ei doʔ

pa-teŋ doʔ-lau ei doʔ
do-SEQ say-TEMP yes say.IMP

'When he asks you whether you killed and threw the (horse) away, you say, "yes".' (TBDFSW_499)

d. *lagam k^hai-fi k^hui-fi doʔ-k^he inta t^hal-pi-d^{hi}-fi*

lagam k^hai-fi k^hui-fi doʔ-k^he inta t^hal-pi-d^{hi}-fi
bridle untie-PST redup say-PRS there throw-BEN-REL-PST

'He untied the bridle (and) threw it away there.' (TBDFSW_511)

In example (44a), the relinquitive morpheme *-d^{hi}* attached to the main verb *pa* 'do' encodes the meaning that the agent promised to give some money. In (44b), some money was given to the recipient and was left behind. In example (44c), the object (horse) is thrown and left behind by the agent. Similarly in (44d), the covert third person agent (the stable boy) unties the bridle of the horse and throws it away.

10.3 Detransitive voices

In this section, we deal with the types of detransitive voice in Dhimal. It includes the reflexives, reciprocals, middle voice and passive voice constructions in Dhimal.

10.3.1 Reflexive construction

In reflexive constructions, the subject and object of the event or state, regardless of their semantic roles are co-referent (Givón 2001b: 95). To put the point in other way is to say that the subject acts upon (or relates to) itself.²⁶ Dixon (2010a: 175)

²⁶Reflexives may be treated as the intermediate status between intransitive (one argument) and transitive (two arguments) clauses. Hopper and Thompson (1980: 277) suggests "compared with one

maintains that a language generally uses one of the three techniques for dealing with the reflexives.²⁷ In Dhimal, the reflexive pronoun *tai*, generally followed by the human classifier *-mi* is employed to encode the reflexive semantics, thus is expressed periphrastically. Following are the examples:

(45) a. **Active-transitive**

wa waseheŋ danaihi

wa_i wa-seheŋ_j danai-hi

3SG 3SG-DAT beat-PST

'He beat him/her (different patient).'

b. **Reflexive**

wa taimiŋheŋ danaihi

wa_i tai-mi-ŋ-heŋ_i danai-hi

3SG self-HCLF-EMPH-DAT beat-PST

'S/he beat herself/himself.'

Example (45a) is the neutral active-transitive clause in which the subject and object are not co-referent. In contrast, in example (45b) the subject and object are co-referent; hence the object is represented by a reflexive pronoun.²⁸

10.3.2 Reciprocal construction

In reciprocal propositions, two or more similar events are coded by the very same verb and are represented jointly in a single clause, with the subject of the first being the object of the second, and vice versa.²⁹ The two participants are thus reciprocally co-referent. They act upon (or relate to) each other (Givón 2001b: 96). In Dhimal, the reciprocal events are marked by the morpheme *-su*, homophonous to the collective

argument clauses, they may be more transitive, compared with two-argument clauses, they typically display features associated with lower transitivity."

²⁷The techniques according to Dixon (2010a) are: a. "maintaining the transitivity of the clause and placing a reflexive pronoun in O slot", b. "deriving and intransitive stem", and c. "doing nothing at all, Just stating the A and O arguments in the normal way."

²⁸Givón (2001b: 95) asserts that reflexive events, even those involving semantically-transitive verbs are semantically lower in transitivity because the semantic definition of transitive event requires two highly distinct participants, an agent and a patient. Further, the reflexive clauses need not be transitive, neither semantically nor syntactically.

²⁹Dixon (2010a: 176) states "if the two clauses with the same two predicates interchanging A and O function, a reciprocal construction can be formed from them."

marker, attached to the verb stem and followed by TAM and agent/subject markers.³⁰ Some examples of the reciprocal verbs are exemplified in (46) together with their transitive/intransitive counterparts:

(46)	Transitive/intransitive	Reciprocal
	<i>k^homli</i> 'to hug/embrace'	<i>k^homsuli</i> 'to hug one another'
	<i>laʔli</i> 'to quite/leave/part'	<i>laʔsuli</i> 'to separate from one another'
	<i>nalli</i> 'to know someone/recognize'	<i>nalsuli</i> 'to know one another'
	<i>p^heʔli</i> 'to beat/strike'	<i>p^heʔsuli</i> 'to fight, beat one another'

However, the verb *dusu* 'meet' is inherently reciprocal in that the reciprocal morpheme is lexicalized to the root, as in (47):³¹

(47)	<i>odoi b^hasiŋ aroŋ loten lateŋ g^haiten</i>					
	odoi	b ^h asiŋ	aroŋ	lo-ten	lateŋ	g ^h ai-ten
	that	for	again	come-SEQ	REDUP	satisfy-SEQ
	<i>g^huiteŋ tsi amteŋ umteŋ wako paramheŋ</i>					
	g ^h uiteŋ	tsi	am-ten	umteŋ	wa-ko	
	REDUP	water	drink-SEQ	REDUP	3SG-GEN	
	<i>dusu^{hi} aroŋ doʔhi</i>					
	param-fien	[dusu-fi]	aroŋ	doʔ-fi		
	friend-DAT	meet-PST	again	say-PST		
	'For that (he) came again, satisfied, drank water, met his friend and said again.'					
	(HLDSJW_49)					

The following examples represent the reciprocal events in Dhimal.

³⁰In Limbu, the morpheme *-siŋ* signals both reflexivity and reciprocity (van Driem 1987: 86).

³¹van Driem (1987: 87) notes that in Limbu, a number of reflexive/reciprocal forms are lexicalized and their meaning can no longer be readily adduced in terms of merely a reflexive or reciprocal sense augmented to the meaning of the transitive verb involved.

- (48) a. *kuṭakuṭ buŋ istuŋ dzeŋfi*
 kuṭakuṭ buŋ istuŋ dzeŋ-fi
 fight also-EMPH much become-PST
danaisun^hafi buŋ pura danaisun^hafi
 danai-su-n^ha-fi bu-ŋ pura danai-su-n^ha-fi
 beat-RECP-1PL-PST also-EMPH complete beat-RECP-1PL-PST
 'The fight became too much, (we) beat each other to our full capacity.'
 (CLDVFW_22)

- b. *k^hurhoi k^hiniŋ mako paŋsimko laṭ^hihoi*
 k^hur-hoi k^hiniŋ ma-ko paŋsim-ko laṭ^hi-hoi
 hand-INS only NEG-be bamboo-GEN stick-INS
səmet kelai tsaḥĩ danaisun^hafi
 səmet kelai tsaḥĩ danai-su-n^ha-fi
 including 1PL IND beat-RECP-1PL-PST
 'We fought not only with our hands but also used the bamboo stick to
 beat each other.' (CLDVFW_23)

- c. *od^hin^hemi b^heṭ dzeŋteŋ param taʔsuhi*
 od^hin^hemi b^heṭ dzeŋ-teŋ param taʔ-su-fi
 3DU visit become-SEQ friendship keep-RECP-PST
 'Having visited, they two maintained bonded friendship.' (HLDSJW_05)

In examples (48a, b), the transitive verb *danai* 'beat' is changed into reciprocal verb with the suffixation of the morpheme *-su*. In (48c) the transitive verb *taʔ* 'keep' is converted into the reciprocal stem through the suffixation of the same morpheme.

The reciprocal verb may also be nominalized, as in (49):

- (49) *ela məfiako p^heʔsuka doʔk^he*
 ela məfi-a-ko p^heʔ-su-ka doʔ-k^he
 now big-GEN fight-RECP-NMLZ say-PRS
 'Now, there was a big fight, they say.' (MMD2MWW_28)

The homophonous morpheme *-su* functions as the collective marker. However, the occurrence of the reciprocal morpheme and the collective morpheme is determined by the distribution in the verbal complex. The reciprocal verb stem may be nominalized

as in (51), whereas the collective marker occurs only in the finite verbal complex. Moreover, the collective marker occurs only in the second person plural finite verb and imperative plural verb forms whereas the reciprocal morpheme may also occur in the first person plural finite verbal complex. The reciprocal morpheme is employed in eastern dialect as well. Following are the examples:

- (50) *osaŋ naisuk^{he} sərkəɾ dopa wa bu*
 osa-ŋ naisu-k^{he} sərkəɾ dopa wa bu
 like.that-EMPH quarrel.RECP-PRS government COM 3SG also
 'Like that he quarrels with the government as well.'(BDAPE_01)

Like the reciprocal verb *dusu* 'meet' in the western dialect, *naisu* 'quarrel' is inherently reciprocal verb in the eastern dialect of Dhimal.

10.3.3 Middle voice construction

Middle voice is a strategy to shift the semantic focus away from the agent (Givón 2001b: 116). Middle voice derivations change the active transitive verb into either non-agentive, stative or inchoative meanings.³² Lapolla (1996: 1942) notes "the languages having the middle voice include the semantic situation type like grooming actions, changes in body posture, emotions, cognitive actions, perception, spontaneous events and naturally reciprocal events." Further he notes that the middle marking can also be used for reciprocals and collectives. The middle voice is marked by the suffix *-n^ha* (homophonous to the first person plural marker) in Dhimal.³³ This morpheme is affixed immediately after the verb stem (intransitive or intransitive). Some verbs that allow the middle derivation are listed in (51):

(51)	Transitive/intransitive	Middle
	<i>ba:li</i> 'to prick/pierce'	<i>ban^hali</i> 'to be pricked'
	<i>bu:li</i> 'to scald'	<i>bun^hali</i> 'to be scalded'
	<i>bhoili</i> 'to crack/burst/break'	<i>b^hoin^hali</i> 'to crack'
	<i>tsemli</i> 'to curl up'	<i>tsemn^hali</i> 'to be curled up'
	<i>tse:li</i> 'to cut'	<i>tse:n^hali</i> 'to be cut', cut oneself'

³² (Givón 2001b: 121).

³³ In Limbu, voice is distinguished as active and middle on the basis of presence and absence of object in the verb form. "The verb in active agrees with both the agent and patient in its conjugation whereas the verb in the middle voice agrees only with the subject (Tumbahang 2011: 143)."

<i>tseʔli</i>	'to pinch/catch between two objects'	<i>tseʔnʰali</i>	'to be pinched, caught between two objects'
<i>tsi:li</i>	'to bite'	<i>tsinʰali</i>	'to be bitten'
<i>giʔli</i>	'to close'	<i>giʔnʰali</i>	'to close/lock'

The middle verbs listed in (51) encode the semantics of the event occurred without an active participation of an agent/subject to make it happen.

Some examples of the middle voice constructions in Dhimal are illustrated in (52):

- (52) a. *nirgʰata berenʰateŋ ʱabe utako dʰaʔka*

nirgʰa-ta bere-nʰa-teŋ ʱabe uta-ko dʰaʔ-ka
neck-LOC wind-MID-SEQ GF there-GEN run-NMLZ

'Having got wound (the creepers) on the neck those ran from that side.'

(GMDWH_57)

- b. *ḍʱukurpani tʰukalabelau nirgʰata ekdəm*

ḍʱukurpani tʰuka-labelau nirgʰa-ta ekdəm
Dhukurpani reach-TEMP neck-LOC complete

koi koi te laʱarata berenʰateŋ

koi koi te laʱara-ta bere-nʰa-teŋ
some some TOP creeper-LOC wind-MID-SEQ

loŋteŋ ʱai doʔtana

loŋ-teŋ ʱai doʔt-aŋ-na
fall.down-SEQ what doʔt-FUT- 2SG

'While they reached to Dhukurpani, some of them were wound with the creepers in their neck; what will you say!' (GMDWH_58-59)

- c. *lampʰa te dʰari rʰiʔka ʱigʰanʰakʰe*

lampʰa te dʰari rʰiʔ-ka ʱi-gʰa-nʰa-kʰe
before TOP loincloth wear-NMLZ be-IPFV-MID-PRS

'The people would wear (a kind of) loincloth in the past.' (GMDWH_64)

- d. *asa dʰolkeḍʱolkeka siŋgelai maŋla buŋ*

asa dʰolke-ḍʱolke-ka siŋ-gelai ma-ŋla buŋ
a.little bend-bend-NMLZ tree-PL NEG-get-TEMP also

daleŋ r^huta toin^hateŋ fi-li goi-k^he

dale-ŋ r^huta toi-n^ha-teŋ fi-li goi-k^he
branch-EMPH up hang-MID-SEQ sit-INF must-PRS

'One needs to hang up (onself) on the tree branch even if one does not
get trees a little bent.'(KLD3INSTW_04)

In example (52a, b), the transitive verb *bereli* 'to wind' is detransitivized by the middle voice morpheme *-n^ha* yielding the reflexive meaning. That is, the action happened by itself without any agent to perform the activity. Similarly, in (52c) the intransitive verb *fi* 'sit' is marked by the middle voice marker. In example (52d), the verb *toili* 'to hang' is reflexivized by the same marker.

10.3.4 Passive voice

Dhimal does not have a distinct marker for passive voice. However, the middle marker *-n^ha* is employed when a passive structure is given to translate from Nepali language.³⁴ King (2009: 193) describes, however with some doubt, the morpheme *-tsa*, as the passive marker.³⁵ In our data, the verbs marked by the morpheme *-tsa* is explained by the language consultants as the marker of affection/kindness. Example (55b) is an example of the passive construction with its active counterpart (53a) obtained through elicitation.

- (53) a. *ka intaso ra tik^ha*
ka ita-so ra tiŋ-k^ha
1SG here-ABL hill see-PRS. 1SG
'I see the hill from here.'
- b. *intaso ra tiŋ^hak^he*
ita-so ra tiŋ-n^ha-k^he
here-ABL hill see-PASS-PRS
'The hill is seen from here.'

The active clause in example (53a) is converted into passive (53b) through the suffixation of the morpheme *-n^ha* in Dhimal.

³⁴ Passive voice is valence decreasing strategy in Dhimal.

³⁵ King (2009: 192) notes, "the morpheme *-tsa* indicates a passive construction whereby the subject of the clause becomes the patient or undergoer semantically. One person also stated that it was *buḍa-buḍi-ko katha* 'old people's talk'."

10.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the verbal complements, causative and applicative constructions and detransitive voices in Dhimal. Verbs with clausal complements are of three types: modal-aspectual verbs, manipulation verbs and perception-cognition-utterance (P-C-U) verbs. The complement taking verbs in Dhimal may be further classified as implicative, NEG-implicative and non-implicative verbs. The implicative verbs imply that the event coded in the complement clause occurred in reality. The NEG-implicative verbs imply that the event coded in the complement clause did not occur. The non-implicative verbs imply neither occurrence nor non-occurrence of the complement clause state/event. The complement clauses of the P-C-U verbs may be indicative complements, wh-question complements and direct quote complements. Some of the Dhimal intransitive and transitive verbs may also have nominalized verb phrases as their subjects and/or objects. Causativization is mainly expressed morphologically. The causativizer *-pa* may be employed to causativize almost all the native verbs. Dhimal also employs, though not much productive, periphrastic causative construction using the borrowed (from I-A source) verb *lagai* 'employ'. Dhimal also exhibits applicative construction as benefactive. The andative, intensive, ambulative and relinquitive are the motion markers in Dhimal. The detransitive voices in Dhimal include reflexive, reciprocal, middle and passive constructions. The reflexive pronoun *tai* 'self' is employed to encode the reflexive semantics in Dhimal. The reciprocal event in Dhimal is marked by the morpheme *-su* which is homophonous to the collective marker. The middle voice is marked by the suffix *-n^ha* (homophonous to the first person plural marker) in Dhimal. The derivation to middle voice changes active transitive verbs into either non-agentive or stative/resultative verb. Passive construction is not separately marked; however, passive-like constructions are formed with the help of the middle marker.

CHAPTER 11

RELATIVE CLAUSES

11.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the functional and syntactic dimensions of the relative clauses in Dhimal. It is divided into four sections. In section 11.1, we discuss the functional dimension of relative clauses. Section 11.2 deals with the types of relative clauses in Dhimal. In section 11.3, we deal with the syntactic dimensions of relative clauses. In section 11.4, we present the summary of the findings of this chapter.

11.1 Functional dimensions of relative clause

Relative clause is a clause-size modifier embedded in the noun phrase. The relative clause takes part in the grammar of referential coherence, providing either anaphoric or cataphoric clues to the strategies of referential identification.¹ Semantically, a relative clause codes a state or event one of whose participants is co-referent with the head noun modified by the relative clause (Givón 2001b: 176).² The relative clause plays a vital role in the grammar of referential coherence, thus is a discourse-pragmatic entity. Functionally, a restrictive relative clause is employed in two distinct conditions: semantic and pragmatic. This condition does not exceed the bounds of the clause within which the relative clause is embedded. Furthermore, this condition applies to both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, and to all types of head nouns, regardless of definiteness or reference. In contrast, pragmatically, the relative clause grounds the referents to a much wider discourse context and also it pertains to the propositional modality, (i.e., the communicative intent) of the relative clause.

¹To differentiate between more than one referent, when there is a sort of ambiguity in accessing one, a restrictive relative clause is used (Givón 2005: 104).

²Syntactically, a relative clause is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the relative clause (Andrews 2007b: 206).

11.2 Types of relative clauses

The non-restrictive relative clauses abide by the semantic co-referent condition but not by the pragmatic condition, i.e., the head noun is co-referential with some participant in the state/event coded in the relative clause. But that state/event is not presupposed, but is rather asserted as new information. Givón (2001b: 179) notes "not all languages code non-restrictive clauses." In line with this observation, Dhimal possesses only restrictive types of relative clauses. So, the discussion in this chapter is devoted to the restrictive relative clauses in Dhimal.

In Dhimal, the restrictive relative clauses are formed in two ways. The first and widely used way is to put the verb of the relative clause in a participial/nominalized form. Second, due to the influence of the Indo-Aryan languages, Dhimal also marginally possesses co-relative types of relative clauses (King 2009: 277). In the following sub-section, we discussed both types of relative clauses in Dhimal.

11.2.1 Nominalized relative clauses

Basically, relative clauses in Dhimal are embedded through the process of nominalization. We call the embedded relative clause, hereafter, the nominalized relative clause. Nominalized relative clauses are subordinate clauses embedded as noun modifiers in the noun phrase. The dependency of the relative clause to the main clause is indicated by the missing argument in the relative clause which is co-referential with the head noun in the main clause (Givón 2001b: 180). Examples in (1) illustrate the nominalized relative clauses in Dhimal.

- (1) a. *andzi loka djangalai nani hanihi*
[andzi lo-ka] djaŋ-galai nani hane-hi
yesterday come-NMLZ person-PL today go-PST
'The people who came yesterday went today.'
- b. *ka hika sa barka hi*
[ka hi-ka] sa bar-ka hi
1SG sit-NMLZ house be.big-NMLZ be
'The house I live is big.'

In example (1a), the agentive head noun *djangalai* 'people' is outside the relative clause *andzi loka* 'who came yesterday'. Similarly, in (1b) the locative head noun *sa*

'house' is outside the scope of the relative clause *ka hika* 'where I live.' In both examples, relative clauses are formed through the process of nominalization of the verb in the relative clause.

Dhimal exhibits no difference in perfective and imperfective relative clauses, i.e., the same morpheme *-ka* is employed irrespective of realis/irrealis modal differences encoded in the main clause. Following are the examples:

(2) a. *andzi loka djaŋ nani hanihi*

andzi	lo-ka	djaŋ	nani	hane-fi
yesterday	come-NMLZ	person	today	go-PST

'The person who came yesterday went today.'

b. *dzumni loka djaŋ*

dzumni	lo-ka	djaŋ
tomorrow	come-NMLZ	person

itini hana wa

itini	hane-a	wa
day after tomorrow	go-FUT	DED

'The person who will come tomorrow will/might go day after tomorrow.'

In example (2a), the relative clause *andzi loka* is perfective which is clear from the past tense reference encoded in the main clause. Similarly, in (2b) the time reference of the relative clause is future which is clear from the future tense reference encoded in the main clause.

11.2.2 Co-relative relative clauses

In co-relative structures, the relative clause is not embedded in the noun phrase with the head noun. LaPolla (2008: 809) notes that in Tibeto-Burman languages such structures are found mainly in areas where the languages have close contact with the Indo-Aryan languages, and often involve a relative pronoun borrowed from the Indo-Aryan languages/sources.

In Dhimal, the Indo-Aryan-type relative clause constructions consist of a subordinate clause headed by an indefinite pronoun and the following main clause headed by a definite pronoun (see King 2009: 280). Structures of this type are reasonably termed 'co-relative' because they employ interrogative and indefinite pronouns to conjoin the

relative clause with the main clause. Co-relative relative clauses, being the later development due to the influence of the Indo-Aryan pattern, are marginally used compared to the internally headed (embedded) relative clauses in Dhimel. Examples in (3) are illustrative of the correlative relative clauses in Dhimel.

(3) a. *dzisika niŋ^he sikar insikaŋ*

[dzis-ka niŋ-k^he] sikar insika-aŋ
like-NMLZ get-PRS hunt like.that-EMPH

tsumag^ha ni la ka

tsuma-g^ha ni la ka
bring-PST.1SG PART MIR 1SG

'I brought whatever I got while hunting.' (TBDFSW_217)

b. *dzisikaŋ sotsika wako insikaŋ*

[dzisika-aŋ sotsi-ka] wa-ko insika-aŋ
as.like-EMPH think-NMLZ 3SG-GEN like.that-EMPH

pugihⁱ pugika te

pugi-fi pugi-ka te
come.true-PST come.true-NMLZ TOP

'As she had thought, exactly the same happened to be true.'

(TBDFSW_237)

c. *dzisikaŋ kelaiko tsan tsamindi uskaŋ idoiko*

[dziskaŋ kelai-ko] tsan tsamindi uskaŋ idoi-ko
like 1PL-GEN son daughter like this-GEN

tsan tsamindi buŋ doʔk^he aŋ m^ha

tsan tsamindi bu-ŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ m^ha
son daughter also-EMPH say-PRS REP TAG

'As our children, like their children (they said), isn't that?'

(MMD2MWW_251)

- d. *ka dzedon sotsig^hak^ha iŋkoŋ niŋhoika ela*
 [ka dzedon] sotsi-g^ha-k^ha iŋko-ŋ niŋ-ŋoi-ka ela
 1SG whatever think-IPFV-PRS.1SG that-EMPH get-PFV-1SG now
 'Whatever had I thought, might have received the same. (TBDFSW_594)
- e. *ka dzis-kaŋ sotsig^ha iŋkoŋ pugifi*
 [ka dziskaŋ] sotsi-g^ha iŋko-ŋ pugi-fi
 1SG as like think-PST.1SG that-EMPH come.true-PST
 'Whatever I had wished has come to be true.' (TBDFSW_599)

In examples (3a-e), we see that the co-relative relative clause (enclosed in the square brackets) occur before the main clause they modify. The relative-co-relative pronouns occur in pairs like *dzisika-insika*; *dzisika-iŋko*; *dzedon-iŋkoŋ* etc., in Dhimel co-relative relative clauses.

11.3 Syntactic dimensions of relative clause

Syntactically, a restrictive relative clause is a subordinate clause embedded as noun modifier in the NP. The dependency of a relative clause is that the relative clause misses one argument which is co-referential with the head noun. Following is an example:

- (4) *sa banaika djaŋ sihi*
 [sa banai-ka ϕ_i] djaŋi si-fi
 house make-NMLZ ϕ person die-PST
 'The person who made house died.'

In example (4) the missing argument is the subject of the relative clause. Because of the strict co-reference condition on relative clauses, the referential identity of the missing argument inside the relative clause is fully recoverable from the head noun itself. But the case-role of the missing argument cannot be likewise recovered, because the head noun bears its case-role, either semantic or grammatical, in the main clause. And the missing coreferential noun may have occupied any case-roles within the relative clause.

There are several parameters by which relative clauses can be typologized. The parameters to be discussed and exemplified here are (i) the position of the relative

clauses vis-à-vis its head, (ii) the mode of expression of the relative NP (case recoverability strategy) and (iii) the semantic role of the referent that may be relativized (noun phrase accessibility hierarchy) (Payne, 1997: 326; 2006: 302).

We discuss Dhimal relative clauses in terms of above mentioned typological parameters as follows:

11.3.1 Position of the occurrence of the head

The first typological parameter in terms of which relative clauses can vary is the position of the relative clause with respect to its head. Cross-linguistically, relative clauses can be pre-nominal (the clause occurs before the head), post-nominal (the clause occurs after the head), internally headed (the head occurs within the relative clause), or they may be headless (Payne 2006: 303).³ In Dhimal, as in Bhujel (Regmi 2007: 342), all the relative clauses precede the head noun. They are of three types: externally-headed, internally-headed and headless.

a. Externally-headed relative clauses

In externally headed relative clauses, the head is overtly present in the main clause. In Dhimal, the non-finite (nominalized) relative clause occurs before the head noun and the head noun occurs in the main clause. Following are the examples:

(5) a. *sa banaika djaŋ sihi*

[sa banai-ka] djaŋ si-fi
house make-NMLZ person die-PST
'The person who made house died.'

b. *kaɬʰ dzənmaika bebal tsəndrə surdze dzena wa*

[kaɬʰ dzənmai-ka] bebal tsəndrə surdze dzeŋ-aŋ- wa
wood bear-NMLZ woman moon sun bear-FUT- DED
'The woman giving birth to a wood bear moon and sun?' (TBDFSW_282)

In example (5a), the head noun is *djaŋ* 'person', and in (5b) the head noun is *bebal* 'woman'. The relative clauses modifying the heads (enclosed in square brackets) occur

³Subbarao (2012: 265-66) states that the South Asian languages exhibit three distinct patterns in terms of the position of occurrence of the head in a relative clause. They are: a. externally headed, b. the relative-correlative clauses and, c. the internally headed.

before the head noun. The relative clauses in both the examples are externally-headed because the head nouns of them occur outside the relative clause, i.e., they occur in the main clause.

b. Internally-headed relative clauses

In an internally headed relative clause, the head noun appears inside the modifying clause. Following are the examples:

- (6) a. *dzidoi tsidz b^hogilsuk^hena odoi tsidzko*
 [dzidoi tsidz] b^ho-gil-su-k^he-na odoi tsidz-ko
 whatever thing search-AMB-COL-PRS -2 that thing-GEN
miŋ ka doʔpjaŋka doʔfi aŋ
 miŋ ka doʔ-BEN-aŋ-ka doʔ-fi aŋ
 name 1SG say-give-FUT-1SG say-PST REP
 'Whatever thing you are looking around, I will say the name of
 the same thing, s/he said (it is said).' (MMD2MWW_266)
- b. *dziskaŋ kelaiko tsan tsamindi uskaŋ idoiko*
 [dziskaŋ kelaiko tsan tsamindi] uskaŋ idoiko-ko
 like 1PL-GEN son daughter like this-GEN
tsan tsamindi buŋ doʔk^he aŋ m^ha
 tsan tsamindi bu-ŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ m^ha
 son daughter also-EMPH say-PRS REP TAG
 'As our children, like their children (they said), isn't that?'
 (MMD2MWW_251)

In example (6a), the head noun *tsidz* 'thing' appears within the relative clause. The same head noun also occurs in the main clause. In example (6b), the head noun *tsan tsamindi* 'off-spring' appears within the relative clause. The same head noun also occurs in the main clause.

c. Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses are those clauses which themselves refer to the noun that they modify. The examples in (7a, b) are headless subject relative clause.

- (7) a. *taiko miliŋ mant^hukalai əilanita hik^he*
 tai-ko miliŋ mant^hu-ka-lai əilani-ta fi-k^he
 self-GEN land NEG. be-NMLZ-PL unregistered.land-LOC live-PRS
 'Those who do not have their own land, live in unregistered land.'
- b. *hikatsakalaiheŋ duk^hə mant^hu*
 fiika tsaka-lai-fieŋ duk^ha mant^hu
 be-NMLZ eat-NMLZ-PL-DAT sorrow NEG. be
 'Those who are rich are not in trouble.'

Examples (7a, b) illustrate the headless relative clauses in Dhimal.

Similarly, object relative clause may be headless, as in (8):

- (8) *k^hokoi mant^hukaheŋ na fiiska sjaŋar pana?*
 k^hokoi mant^hu-ka-fieŋ na fiiska sjaŋar pa-a-na
 leg NEG.be.NMLZ-DAT 2SG how care do-FUT-2
 'How will you care to those who have no legs?' (MMD2MWW_217)

The locative indirect object may also be headless, as in (9):

- (9) *hasu hasu dzagir tsakata hanik^he*
 hasu hasu dzagir tsa-ka-ta hane-k^he
 who who job eat-NMLZ-LOC go-PRS
 'Who (of you) go to a job holder?' (TBDFSW_178)

In example (9), the relative clause *dzagir tsakata* 'with one who is a job holder' is headless.

11.3. 2 Mode of expression of the relativized NP

The head noun bears its case-roles vis-à-vis the main clause but the relativized noun may realize a variety of case-roles within the clause (Givón 2001).

The case-role of the missing co-referent argument in an embedded relative-clause may be recovered without any morphological provision. That is, the coreferential argument may go missing (deleted) without leaving a trace. Givón (2001b: 184) notes that in recovering the case role of the missing argument under such conditions, the following information is presumably available to the hearer: a. "the lexical-semantic

case-frame of the subordinate verb", b. "the lexical identity of the missing argument"; and, c. "the case-roles of the other arguments in the relative clause, which are still present and case-marked in the normal way."

Because of the strict co-reference condition of REL-clauses, the referential identity of the missing argument inside the REL-clause is fully recoverable from the head noun itself. But the case-role of the missing argument cannot be likewise recovered, because the head noun bears its case-role, be it semantic or grammatical, in the main clause.⁴ And, the missing co-referent noun may have occupied any case-roles within the REL-clause (Givón 2001b: 181). This potential diversity of roles, coupled with the deletion under co-reference characteristics of relative clause, gives rise, at least in principle, to the case recoverability problem. The syntactic typology of relative clauses may be viewed as the typology of the various strategies employed by languages to solve this problem (Givón 2001b: 182) In Dhimal, the case role of the missing argument is recovered either by the gap-strategy or by the relative pronoun strategy.

a. Gap strategy

The main case recoverability strategy is referred to as the gap strategy. According to this the language simply puts the verb of the relative clause in a particular form and leaves a gap in the relative clause to indicate the position of the head noun.

In common with other Tibeto-Burman languages like Kaike (Regmi 2013: 225) and Bhujel (Regmi 2007: 341), Dhimal does not present the co-referential NP of the embedded clause overtly. To put the point in other way is to say that in externally headed relative clauses, the NP of the embedded clause co-referential to the head noun is not realized overtly, thus leaves a gap. The covert NP recovers its case role from the head noun which is overt in the main clause. The strategy which is used to recover the case of the covert NP in embedded clause is referred to as the gap strategy (Givón 2001b: 184).⁵ According to this strategy, a gap occurs in the non-finite (nominalized) embedded relative clauses, as in (10):

⁴Payne (2006: 305) states that languages may employ different strategies like leaving a gap, pronoun retention, use of relativizer or relative pronoun to recover the case role of the relativized element.

⁵The gap/zero relativization strategy is more likely to be used in languages that use zero anaphoric pronouns, such as Japanese and Chinese (Givón 2001a: 185).

- (10) *andzi loka ϕ djaŋ nani hanihi*
 [andzi lo-ka ϕ_i djaŋ_i nani hane-hi
 yesterday come-NMLZ GAP person today go-PST
 'The person who came yesterday, went today.'

In example (10), the gap for missing argument of the embedded clause is indicated by ϕ . In Dhimal, the referential identity of the missing argument inside the relative clause is fully recoverable from the head noun itself because the missing argument of the relative clause is obligatorily co-referent with the head noun.

b. Relative pronoun strategy

The relative pronoun strategy employed in case-recoverability of the relativized NP involves the use of case-marked pronouns, i.e., relative pronouns. (Givón 2001b: 187). In Dhimal, the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns may be employed to relativize an NP, as in (11):

- (11) a. *hasu-hen ka kitab pig^ha wa naŋko tsan*
 hasu-hen ka kitab pig^ha wa naŋko tsan
 who-DAT 1SG book give-PST 3SG 2SG-GEN son
 'It's to your son whom I gave the book to.'
- b. *dzedeta d^holteŋ ka kathmandu log^ha*
 dzedeta d^hol-teŋ ka kathmandu lo-g^ha
 which-LOC ride-SEQ 1SG Kathmandu come-1SG.PST
ode bəs remka hiig^hahi
 ode bəs rem-ka fi-g^ha-fi
 that bus be.good-NMLZ be-IPFV-PST

In example (11a), the relative pronoun *hasu* 'who' in the relative clause is dative case marked whereas in (11b), the relative pronoun *ode* is locative case-marked. The case marking on the relative pronoun help in accessing the semantice role of the NPs, i.e., dative and locative in examples (11a,b) respectively.

11.3.3 Accessibility of NPs for relativization

The accessibility of NPs for relativization is also known as the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy. The problem of accessibility arises because the missing

argument inside the relative clause may occupy different semantic roles: they may be subject, direct object or indirect objects/adjuncts.

In Dhimal, most of the semantic roles of the NP inside the relative clause, as in Bhujel (Regmi 2007: 343) and Koyee (Rai 2015: 268), can be relativized. In other words, the relative clause may be embedded in any noun phrase inside the main clause (Givón 2011: 278). Syntactic case roles modified by the relative clause are discussed in the following sub-section.

a. Subject relative clause

As noted earlier, the relative clauses in Dhimal are marked by the nominalizing suffix *-ka*, and in case of headless relative clause it may be pluralized by the plural suffix *-gelai*. Examples of subject relative clauses are illustrated in (12):

- (12) a. *bai ka te dz^haraŋ k^hanteŋ*
 elder.sister 1SG TOP all COMP
t^horəi dud^he amka djaŋ
 t^hor-əi dud^he am-ka djaŋ
 little-EMPH milk drink-NMLZ person
 'Sister! I'm the one who sucked (mother's) breast least of all.' (TBDFSW_116)
- b. *sikar g^hali fianika djaŋ*
 [sikar g^ha-li fian-ka] djaŋ
 hunt play-INF go-NMLZ person
djaŋ tsumteŋ lok^he be
 djaŋ tsuma-teŋ lo-k^he be
 person bring-SEQ come-PRS DUB
 '(It's doubtful that) the person who had gone for hunting came with a person (woman).' (TBDFSW_215)

In examples (12a, b), we see that the head nouns in subject position are relativized.

The head noun of the relative clause may be pluralized by suffixing the plural morpheme *-gelai/galai/lai*, as in (13):

- (13) *delib^həri hika djaŋlai kaɦĩ kaɬ^h dzənmaik^he*
 [delib^həri hi-ka] djaŋ-gelai kaɦĩ kaɬ^h dzənmai-k^he
 delivery be-NMLZ person-PL anywhere wood born-PRS
 'Do pregnant women give birth to a wood?' (TBDFSW_267)

In Dhimal, the same nominalizing suffix *-ka* is employed in perfective aspect, as in (13a) above and for potential aspects, as in (14a, b):

- (14) a. *dzumi ita loka djaŋ kaŋko sanaiti*
 dzumni ita lo-ka djaŋ kaŋko sanaiti
 tomorrow here come-NMLZ individual 1SG.OBL-GEN friend
 'The person who will come here tomorrow (is) my friend.'
- b. *ka te barka dzagir tsaka fiabe*
 ka te bar-ka dzagir tsa-ka fiabe
 1SG TOP be.big-NMLZ job eat-NMLZ GF
djaŋ dop^ha k^hiniŋ fiã
 djaŋ dop^ha k^hiniŋ fiã-ã
 person with only go-FUT
 'I will go only with a person who holds an attractive job.'
 (TBDFSW_106)

In examples (14a, b), the relative clauses encode the prospective aspect in Dhimal.

b. Object relative clause

Object relative clauses are those whose missing argument occupies the role of the direct object inside the relative clause (Givón 2011: 280). As in the subject relative clause, the direct object relative clause is also marked with the nominalizing suffix *-ka* and the subject, if overtly expressed, is marked in genitive, as in (15a, b):

- (15) a. *iŋkoŋ radzkumarkoŋ*
 [iŋko-ŋ radzkumar-ko-ŋ]
 that-EMPH prince-GEN-EMPH

d^holka bajupəŋk^{hi} g^hoḍa
 d^hol-ka] bajupəŋk^{hi} g^hoḍa
 ride-NMLZ flying horse
 'The flying horse which the prince rides....' (TBDFSW_360)

- b. *kelaiko d^hemalaiko tsaka musargalai*
 kelai-ko d^hemalai-ko tsa-ka musar-gelai
 1PL-GEN Dhimal.PL-GEN eat-NMLZ mushroom-PL
tsaḥĩ dz^harbariko bam musar
 tsaḥĩ dz^har-bari-ko bam musar
 IND jungle-ALL-GEN Bam mushroom
 'The mushroom we Dhimals eat is the wild mushroom called
Bam musar.' (KRDMPW_049)

In example (15a), the relativized noun *bajupəŋk^{hi} g^hoḍa* 'the flying horse' is in object position and the subject *radzkumar* 'prince' is marked with the genitive case marker *-ko*. Similarly, in (15b) the relativized noun *musar-gelai* 'mushroom-PL' is in object position and the subject *d^hemalai* 'the Dhimals' is marked with the genitive case marker.

c. Indirect object relative clause

Indirect object relative clause is marked by the same nominalizing suffix *-ka* as in cases of the subject or the direct object relative clauses. The subject of the indirect object relative clause is likewise marked as genitive, as in (16a, b):

- (16) a. *kaŋko paisa pika djaŋfiŋ kaik^he*
 kaŋ-ko paisa pi-ka djaŋ-fiŋ kai-k^he
 1SG-GEN money give-NMLZ individual-DAT call-PRS
 'S/he calls the person whom I gave/give money to.'
- b. *kã saikəl piʔka djaŋ derab^hari fiŋefi*
 kã saikəl piʔ-ka djaŋ dera-b^hari fiŋe-fi
 1SG.OBL cycle sell-NMLZ individual village-ALL go-PST
 'The person I sold the bicycle to went towards the village.'

In example (16a, b), the indirect object *djaŋ* is relativized.

The subject of the indirect object relative clause construction may be in nominative case optionally, as in (17):

- (17) *ka paisa kʰilli piʔka djaŋ dʰaʔfi*
 ka paisa kʰilli piʔ-ka djaŋ dʰaʔ-fi
 1SG money borrow give-NMLZ individual run-PST
 'The person whom I lend money ran away.'

In example (17), the subject *ka* '1SG' of the indirect object relative clause is in nominative case.

d. Instrument relative clause

The noun in instrumental case is also accessible to relativization in Dhimal. The nominalized verb preceding the modified instrumental noun is marked with *-ka*, as in (18a, b):

- (18) a. *kalau iŋko kʰorsani bo:ka kʰundi*
 [kalau iŋko kʰorsani bo:-ka kʰundi]
 then that chilli grind-NMLZ mortar
 ʰikʰe ru siŋko
 ʰi-kʰe ro siŋ-ko
 be-PRS CONR tree-GEN
 'Then, there was a wooden mortar used to grind pepper.' (TBDFSW_244)
- b. *um ga:teŋ tsaka karʰa tsumgilʰe mako*
 [um ga:-teŋ tsa-ka karʰa] tsum-gil-kʰe ma-ko
 rice cook-SEQ eat-NMLZ pan grab-AMB-PRS NEG-COP
 '(He/she) takes away the cooking pan used to cook rice, isn't it?'
 (MMD2MWW_128)

In example (18a), the instrumental noun *kʰundi* 'mortar' is relativized. Similarly in (18b), the instrumental noun *karʰa* 'pan' is nominalized.

e. Locative relative clause

The noun in locative case may also be accessible for relativization in Dhimal. Following are the examples:

- (19) a. *kelaiko purk^hako lamp^hako hika t^hame*
kelai-ko purk^ha-ko lamp^ha-ko hika t^hame
1PL-GEN ancestor-GEN before-GEN sit-NMLZ place
leṭaṅko bu d^himaldāḍā g^hosənapatrə paⁿhⁱ
leṭaṅko bu d^himal-dāḍā g^hosənapatrə pa-n^ha-hi
Letang-GEN also Dhimal-hill manifesto do-1PL-PST
'We declared Dhimaldanda manifesto at Letang, which is the original
place of our ancestors.' (RMDLSW_234)

- b. *odoi gund^ha taʔka koṭ^hataṅ gund^ha*
odoi gund^ha taʔka koṭ^ha -ta-ṅ gund^ha
that rice.chaff keep-NMLZ room-LOC-EMPH rice.chaff
liʔta g^husirpihi aṅ tsanheṅ
liʔta g^husir-pi-hi aṅ tsan-heṅ
inside thrust.into-BEN-PST REP son-DAT
'(They) thrust the baby into the room where the rice chaff is stocked.'
(TBDFSW_243)

In example (19a), the locative noun *t^hame* 'place' is relativized. Similarly, in (19b) the locative noun *koṭ^ha* 'room' is relativized.

f. Possessor relative clause

The possessive/genitive noun may also be relativized in Dhimal. Following are the examples:

- (20) a. *iṅko tsəndrə surja dzeṅli k^haṅka radzkumariko*
iṅko tsəndrə surja dzeṅ-li k^haṅka radzkumari-ko
that moon sun bear-INF look-NMLZ princess-GEN
mi d^huʔli tomhi aṅ
mi d^huʔ-li tom-hi aṅ
eye burst-INF be.about.to-PST REP
'The eyes of the princess, who wanted to bear moon and sun, were
about to burst.' (TBDFSW_287)

- b. *at^harə tsu pusuŋ fiika djaŋ*
 at^harə tsu pusuŋ fi-ka djaŋ
 eighteen hand.length hair be-NMLZ individual
fiisika wa la
 fiisika wa la
 what.kind DED MIR
 'What type of a person might be who has got his/her hair as long as
 eighteen span of (one's) hand?' (MMD2MWW_206)

In example (20a), the possessor noun *radzkumari* 'the princess', which is followed by the head noun *mi* 'eye', is modified by the relative clause *tsəndrə surja dzeŋli k^haŋka* 'the one wishing to give birth to moon and son'. In (20b) the head noun possessor *djaŋ* 'person' is modified by the relative clause *at^harə tsu pusuŋ fiika* 'the one who has got his/her hair as long as eighteen span of (one's) hands.'

g. Comitative relative clause

The head noun in comitative role may be relativized in Dhimal, as in (21a, b):

- (21) a. *ka te barka dzagir tsaka*
 ka te bar-ka dzagir tsa-ka
 1SG TOP be.big-NMLZ job eat-NMLZ
djaŋdop^ha k^hiniŋ haŋã
 djaŋ-dop^ha k^hiniŋ fiane-ã
 person-COM only go-FUT
 'I will go only with a person who has got an attractive job.'
 (TBDFSW_106)

- b. *kunu maili bai do?fi ka dz^hən*
 kunu maili bai do? -fi ka dz^hən
 than maili elder.sister say-PST 1SG even
barka dzagir tsakata haŋã
 bar-ka dzagir tsa-ka-ta fiane-ã
 be.big-NMLZ job eat-NMLZ-LOC go-FUT
 And, second eldest sister said, I will go with even a bigger job holder.'
 (TBDFSW_192)

In example (21a), the head noun *djaŋ* 'person', followed by the comitative case marker *dop^ha* 'with' is modified by the relative clause *barka dzagir tsaka* 'the one holding an attractive job'. Similarly in (21b), the headless relative clause is followed by the locative marker *-ta* which functions as the covert comitative head noun.

11.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the relative clauses in Dhimal. The relative clauses are formed in two ways. The first and widely used strategy is to put the verb of the relative clause in a participial/nominalized form. The participial clauses in Dhimal, as in many other languages, are embedded in the main clause through the process of nominalization. Nominalized relative clauses are subordinate clauses embedded as noun modifiers in the noun phrase. Secondly, Dhimal employs co-relative type of relative clause similar to that of the Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the area. Co-relative relative clauses are syntactically finite which are formed by employing relative pronouns. All the relative clauses in Dhimal precede their head nouns. They are of three types: externally headed, internally headed and headless. The main strategy employed in Dhimal to recover the case role of the relativized noun is generally referred to as gap strategy. Dhimal relative clauses are, basically, externally headed. However, internally headed and headless relative clauses are found in Dhimal. Most of the syntactic arguments such as subject, direct object, indirect object, locative instrumental and comitative NPs may be relativized in Dhimal.

CHAPTER 12

CONTRASTIVE FOCUS AND MARKED TOPIC CONSTRUCTIONS

12.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the contrastive focus and marked topic constructions in Dhimal. It is organized into three sections. In section 12.1, we analyze the contrastive focus constructions. Section 12.2 deals with the marked topic constructions. In section 12.3, we present the summary of this chapter.

12.1 Contrastive focus constructions

As in other languages, the contrastive focus constructions cover a range of communicative contexts in Dhimal. Cross-linguistically, different devices are utilized to encode the contrastive focus in pragmatically marked constructions.¹ They are intonation (focused elements tend to be stressed), constituent order (focused elements tend to be dislocated) and morphological affixes or discourse particles. These devices exhibit a considerable overlap among them.² In Dhimal, discourse particles play a vital role to contrast the focused element in the discourse as well as to mark the topic of the discourse. However, intonation and constituent order are also employed for the purpose. Basically, contrastive focus constructions cover the contexts of contrary belief or counter expectations.³ That is, the speaker's assertion either contradicts to what the hearer has previously said, or what the speaker assumes the hearer believes. The contrastive focus devices, discourse particles, intonation and constituent order in Dhimal are discussed as follows:

12.1.1 Focus and emphasis markers

a. Focus particle *doŋ*

The particle *doŋ* is used to establish a marked focus relation between a referent of a proposition and the proposition itself. The discourse environment in which *doŋ* is

¹Dixon (2010a: 174) contrasts topic with contrastive focus by saying 'topic is a discourse strategy, serving to link together successive clauses, focus involves one argument (or the predicate) being accorded prominence within a single clause.'

²Givón (2001b: 221) maintains that in the discussion of contrastive focus, a certain overlap with other domains of grammar is unavoidable. This is so partly because complex functional domains are bound to intersect. Thus for example, many contrastive devices overlap with the domain of 'topic'.

³Trask (1999: 91) defines the term 'focus' as singling out some particular element of a sentence or and utterance as representing the most important new information.

employed varies from assertions to counter-propositions. They are all clearly related and may be subsumed under the term assertive focus (King 2009: 260). Noun phrases, adverbial or verbal phrases, and postpositional phrases may all be placed in focus with the particle *doŋ* immediately following the focused constituent. Following are the examples:

- (1) a. *dzeṭʰi bai ke doŋ ma-niŋ-fi*
 dzeṭʰi bai ke doŋ ma- niŋ-fi
 the.eldest elder.sister husband FOC NEG-get-PST
 'My eldest sister did not get even a husband.' (TBDFSW 550-551)
- b. *dzʰeŋ madzʰeŋ doŋ fi-sika musapʰir*
 dzʰeŋ ma- dzʰeŋ doŋ fi-sika musapʰir
 light NEG- light FOC what.kind trespasser
 lo-fi doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 lo-fi doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 come-PST say-PRS REP
 'What sort of trespasser happened to come even before the dawn?'
 (TBDFSW_573)

In example (1a) the noun *ke* 'husband' followed by the particle *doŋ* is in focus. Similarly in (1b), the adverbial *dzʰeŋ madzʰeŋ* 'before dawn' followed by the same particle is in focus.

In some instances *doŋ* is used to code a proposition which is contrary to expectation (King 2009: 261). Following is an example:

- (2) *ela kaḷpaṇa ra saḷpaṇa eʔnoŋ doŋ doʔ-kʰe*
 ela kaḷpaṇa ra saḷpaṇa eʔ-noŋ doŋ doʔ-kʰe
 now imagination and dream one-CLF FOC say-PRS
 'Now the imagination and dream is said to be the same.' (CLDDRW_28)

In example (2), the speaker emphasize *kaḷpaṇa* 'imagination' and *saḷpaṇa* 'dream' to be of similar phenomena despite the fact that they are two different things.

This particle may follow the pronominal referent for the purpose of focusing, as in (3):

- (3) *inta iŋko wako desso bu auŋ*
 inta iŋko wa-ko des-so bu auŋ
 there that 3SG-GEN country-ABL also out
papigilhi la waseheŋ ud^hin^hemiheŋ doŋ
 papi-gil-hi la wa-seheŋ ud^hin^hemi-heŋ doŋ
 sinner-AMB-PST MIR 3SG-DAT 3DU-DAT FOC
 'The (prince) exiled them (his two wives) from (his) country.'
 (TBDFSW_626)

In example (3), the focus particle *doŋ* follows the pronominal referents for the purpose of focusing. It may also focus an incomplete action encoded in infinitive form of the verb, as in (4):

- (4) *paŋar taŋnu taŋli doŋ madoka*
 paŋar taŋ-nu taŋ-li doŋ ma-do-ka
 hill climb-COND climb-INF FOC NEG-be.able-NMLZ
 'To climb the hill it was difficult to climb on it.' (CLDDRW_22)

In example (4), the infinitive verb *taŋli* 'to climb' is in focus.

The focus particle *doŋ* also occurs in categorical propositions, primarily in the negative and with the interrogative or relative pronoun *hi* 'what'. Following are the examples:

- (5) a. *kalau hane-ka-ta-aŋ hane-ka-ta-aŋ*
 kalau hane-ka-ta-aŋ hane-ka-ta-aŋ
 then go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH
hanikataŋ hanikataŋ
 hane-ka-ta-aŋ hane-ka-ta-aŋ
 go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH
dziŋãdzuileŋ eloŋ hi doŋ mad^hi?ka
 dziŋã dzuileŋ e-loŋ hi doŋ ma-d^hi?-ka
 bird lizard one-CLF what FOC NEG-get-NMLZ

t^hameta t^hukal^hafi doʔk^he aŋ

t^hame-ta t^huka-l^ha-fi doʔ-k^he aŋ
place-LOC reach-INTENT-PST say-PRS REP

'Then going continuously, (they) reached to a place where even no birds were expected to reach, it is said.' (TBDFSW_13)

b. *bistara daʔ nani hai doŋ matsasiŋ*

bistara daʔ nani hai doŋ ma-tsa-siŋ
bed stretch.bed.IMP today what FOC NEG-eat-HORT.DU

'Prepare the bed! Let's not eat anything today.' (TBDFSW_152)

In example (5a, b) the interrogative pronoun *hai* 'what' followed by the focus particle *doŋ* imparts the sense of 'nothing' which is always followed by negativized finite or non-finite verbs.

b. Emphatic particle *aŋ*

The emphatic particle *aŋ*, homophonous to the future tense marker and reportative particle, has a wide distribution in terms of the grammatical elements it can be affixed to. In our texts, it follows primarily the adverbs, but it also follows other constituents like nouns, nominalized verbs and infinitives. Following examples in (6) illustrate the emphatic particle affixed to the adverbials in Dhimal.

(6) a. *dze tsaka antsaŋ tsaŋoiŋiŋ*

dze tsa-ka antsa **aŋ** tsa-ŋoi-niŋ
je eat-NMLZ already EMPH eat-PFV-2DU

'We (two) have already eaten whatever we had to (eat).' (TBDFSW_153)

b. *kalau insaŋ bistarata t^hapakkai*

kalau insa aŋ bistara-ta t^hapakkai
then like.that EMPH bed-LOC straight

d^halketeŋ fi doʔk^he

d^halkete-ŋ fi doʔ-k^he
lie-SEQ be say-PRS

'And (he) lies down on the bed instantly.' (TBDFSW_159)

In example (6a), the temporal adverb *antsa* 'before' is followed by the emphatic

marker. In (6b), manner adverb *insa* 'like this' is augmented by the same particle.

The emphatic particle following demonstrative/definite pronoun may replace the inclusive marker *buŋ* 'also' when it is to give more emphasis to the modified constituent. Compare the example in (7a) to (7b):

- (7) a. *iŋko buŋ badzi g^haine doʔfi aŋ*
 iŋko buŋ badzi g^ha-aine doʔ-fi aŋ
 that also wager play-HORT say-PST REP
 'Let's play that wager as well, she said, (it is said).' (TBDFSW_179)
- b. *iŋkoŋ badzi g^haine*
 iŋko-ŋ badzi g^ha-aine
 that-EMPH bet play-HORT
 '(She said) let's play the same wager.' (TBDFSW_176).'

In example (7a), the inclusion particle imparts the sense that the participants may play other games including wager. In contrast, in (7b), the emphatic marker following the demonstrative excludes other possibilities giving emphasis on the proposed game.

The emphatic particle may follow pronominal element while making strong request (in case of second person) or expressing strong commitment. Following are the examples:

- (8) a. *masaʔnu te na aŋ pipu dana*
 ma-saʔ-nu te na aŋ pipu dana
 NEG-believe-COND TOP 2SG EMPH give-AND.IMP fodder
 'It you do not believe (me) give the fodder to (the horse) yourself.'
 (TBDFSW_447)
- b. *naŋko tsan kaŋ doʔk^he aŋ*
 naŋ-ko tsan ka aŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 2SG.OBL-GEN son 1SG EMPH say-PRS REP
 'I'm (not other than) your son.' (TBDFSW_547)
- c. *kalau k^haŋlau te wa aŋ fi la*
 kalau k^haŋ-lau te wa aŋ fi la
 then look-TEMP TOP 3SG EMPH be MIR

dʰokata jomteŋ dwarta
 dʰoka-ta jom-teŋ dwar-ta
 door-LOC sit-SEQ door-LOC
 'When (he) sees, it's she (no one else at all) sitting
 there in the door.' (TBDFSW_581)

In example (8a), the emphatic particle is employed to express the request with emphasis. In example (8b), it is employed to express strong commitment. In example (8c), the same strategy is employed to express an utter surprise.

In some examples, the emphatic particle is also found on non-finite verbs, where strong argument is raging about what the referent did or did not do, as in (9):

- (9) *bʌndʌi makiʔka doʔkʰe wa*
 bʌndʌi ma-kiʔ-ka doʔ-kʰe wa
 not.at.all NEG-want-NMLZ say-PRS 3SG
 tʰʌlaso olʰeliŋ
 tʰʌla-so olʰe-li ŋ
 stable-ABL come.out-INF EMPH
 '(The horse) did not want to come out of the stable at all.' (TBDFSW_483)

In example (9) the emphatic particle follows the infinitive to emphasize the unwillingness of the horse to come out of the stable.

c. Exclusion and intensification

To exclude other possibilities from a proposition, the exclusive intensifier *kʰiniŋ* 'this much only' is employed in the western dialect. In the eastern dialect, the Indo-Aryan borrowed particle *kʰali* 'only' is used for the same purpose. Following are the examples:

- (10) a. *wa ekdʌm sanaiti bʰajagelai dopʰa*
 wa ekdʌm sanaiti bʰaya-gelai dopʰa
 3SG much friend brother-PL with
 kʰiniŋ morimeʔeka
 kʰiniŋ morimeʔe-ka
 only live or die-NMLZ
 'He used to be very fond only of his friends and relatives.' (TBDFSW_03)

- b. *ka te barka dzagir tsaka wadzan ta k^hiniŋ*
 ka te bar-ka dzagir tsa-ka wadzan-ta
 1SG TOP be.big-NMLZ job eat-NMLZ boy-LOC
k^hiniŋ hanaŋka ekdam dzagire dzjaŋka
 k^hiniŋ hane-aŋ-ka ekdam dzagire dzeŋ-ka
 only go-FUT-1SG complete job.holder be-NMLZ
 'As for me, I shall go only with a boy who has got a good job.'
 (TBDFSW_62)

In examples (10a), the intensifier particle *k^hiniŋ* is employed to intensify the meaning of the proposition.

In the eastern dialect, the particle *k^hali/k^hani* is employed for the same function, as in (11):

- (11) a. *taiko paŋibargelai k^hali kaŋko be rə tsamdi*
 tai-ko paŋibar-gelai k^hali kaŋ-ko be rə tsamdi
 self-GEN family-PL only 1SG-GEN wife and daughter
 'My family members (are) only two, my wife and a daughter.' (SBDE_41)
- b. *ela hasu buŋ mant^hu sita k^hani kam pali*
 ela hasu buŋ mant^hu si-ta k^hani kam pa-li
 now who also NEG.be house-LOC only work do-INF
 'Now there in no (work/job) (I) work at home only.' (BDAPE_15)

In example (11a, b), the function of *k^hiniŋ* 'only' in the western dialect is accomplished by *k^hali/k^hani* in the eastern dialect.

d. Contrary expectation/surprise marker *ki*

In Dhimal, the particle *ki* is employed to express contrary expectation/surprise. Following are the examples:

- (12) a. *edai ofjã ki poseka dzeŋfi doʔk^he aŋ*
 edai ofjã ki pose-ka dzeŋ-fii doʔ-k^he aŋ
 this horse PART rear-NMLZ be-PST say-PRS REP
 'The child was reared by this very horse (she said).' (TBDFSW_436)

b. *oso dana lagaipihī doʔkʰe d̥ũd̥ ta*

oso dana lagai-pi-fi doʔ-kʰe d̥ũd̥-ta
that.side fodder employ-BEN-PST say-PRS fodder.carrier-LOC

ohjã esa ki ghurihi aŋ

ohjã esa ki ghuri-fi aŋ
horse like.this PART turn-PST REP

'(He) put the fodder in the fodder carrier. (But) the horse turned its head instead.' (TBDFSW_457-458)

c. *iŋko hika tʰameta te iŋko dzʰupʌdi*

iŋko fi-ka tʰame-ta te iŋko dzʰupʌdi
that be-NMLZ place-LOC TOP that hut

mantʰu dʌrbar ki bʌnihi

te mantʰu dʌrbar ki bʌni-fi
TOP NEG.be palace PART make-PST

ro doʔkʰe aŋ

ro doʔ-kʰe aŋ
CONR say-PRS REP

'There is not the hut where she used to live there. A palace is made there, instead (it is said)' (TBDFSW_571-72)

In example (12a), the discourse context is that a human child is reared by a horse which is in fact beyond the expectation of the hearer. In (12b), someone provides fodder to the horse but surprisingly the horse turns its head somewhere else unexpectedly. Similarly in (12c), it was utmost surprising that there stood a palace in place of a hut overnight.

e. Contrary expectation particle *ro*

In Dhimal, the particle *ro/ru* is employed to express contrary expectation from the side of the speaker. Following are the examples:

(13) a. *ela ʌntimko din ro nʰe ni te bitihoi*

ela ʌntim-ko din ro nʰe ni te biti-hoi
now last-GEN day CONR two day TOP pass-PFV

'This is the last day, two days had already passed.' (TBDFSW_137)

- b. *ãd^hjargelaiñeñ nokar tsak^hargelaiñeñ*
 ãd^hjar-gelai-ñeñ nokar tsak^har-gelai-ñeñ
 shareholder-PL-DAT servant and.so-PL-DAT
ar^haili ninako do?teñ te udinisoy
 ar^hai-li niñ-ako do?-teñ te udini-so-ñ
 order-INF get-OPT say-SEQ TOP before.two.days-ABL-EMPH
do?k^ha ro ka do?k^he añ
 do?-k^ha ro ka do?-k^he añ
 say-PRS.1SG CONR 1SG say-PRS REP
 'I have been saying since day before that I wish I would order the
 shareholders and servants.' (TBDFSW_191)
- c. *na te bedzalai ki b^ho:li ñanen^ha ro*
 na te bedzalai ki b^ho:-li ñane-n^ha ro
 2SG TOP girl.PL PART search-INF go-PST.2 CONR
do?k^he añ
 do?-k^he añ
 say-PRS REP
 'In fact, you had gone in search of girls! They said '
 (TBDFSW_216)

In example (13a), the use of the particle *ro* imparts the sense that the speaker expresses surprise that two days were already gone so easily. In (13b), the speaker expresses that the people listening to her/him were found to be forgotten what they were said earlier. In Example (13c), the speaker expresses contrary expectation as one expected to have gone for hunting came with a wife.

This particle has also been realized as *ru* in natural conversation, as in (14):

- (14) a. *n^he dziuko dzeñteñ ela n^hu mainata k^halas*
 n^he dziu-ko dzeñ-teñ ela n^hu maina-ta k^halas
 two body-GEN be-SEQ Now nine month-LOC clear

dzeŋk^{he} ru delib^hari

dzeŋ-k^{he} ru delib^hari
be-PRS –CONR PART delivery

'After nine months it was inevitable to deliver a baby.'

(TBDFSW_223)

b. *ela buŋ te kat^ha kaŋani fi-doŋ-fi ru*

ela bu-ŋ te kat^ha kaŋani fi-doŋ-fi ro
now also-EMPH TOP story tale be-dur-PST CONR

'Even today there exists such a story.' (TBDFSW_227)

c. *kalau iŋko k^horsani bo:ka*

kalau iŋko k^horsani bo:-ka
then that chilli grind-NMLZ

k^hundi fi-k^{he} ru siŋko

k^hundi fi-k^{he} ro siŋ-ko
mortar be-PRS CONR tree-GEN

'Than, there was a wooden mortar used to grind pepper.' (TBDFSW_244)

Examples in (14a-c), exhibit that the surprise/contrary expectation particle *ro* is also realized as *ru* in natural discourse in Dhimal.

f. Exclusive particle *b^huruŋ*

In Dhimal, the exclusive particle *b^huruŋ* is employed in the sense of 'instead' in English. Following are the examples:

(15) a. *kaŋ n^henoŋ bai b^huruŋ maniŋfi*

kaŋ n^he-loŋ bai b^huruŋ ma-niŋ-fi
1SG.OBL two-CLF elder.sister instead NEG-get-PST

'Both of my elder sisters, instead, did not get fulfilled (their wishes).'

(TBDFSW_255)

b. *kaŋ bai b^huruŋ dzet^hi bai insikata wako*

kaŋ bai b^huruŋ dzet^hi bai insika-ta
1SG.OBL elder.sister instead Jethi elder.sister like.that-LOC

b^hag madzurika fiɡ^hak^he

wa-ko	b ^h ag	ma-dzuri-ka	fi-ɡ ^h a-k ^h e
3SG-GEN	luck	NEG-be.available-NMLZ	be-IPFV-PRS

'My eldest sister had been unlucky to get such a thing instead.' (TBDFSW_251)

In example (15a-b), *b^huruŋ* imparts the sense as 'instead' functions in English.

g. Adhortative particle *au*

The adhortative particle *au* occurs in sentence final position in imperative speech act.⁴ This particle is uttered with the rising tone. It is employed to draw the hearer's attention to the fact that the speaker wants a question answered. Further, this particle suggests that the speaker expects an affirmative response or the request be accepted. King (2009: 285) notes it as an allomorph of *aŋ*. But, in our data *aŋ* is found in sentence final position only to report heresay. Examples in (16a-c) illustrate the adhortative use of the particle *au*.

(16) a. *k^haŋ au r^hai k^haŋli maniŋfi la*

k ^h aŋ	au	r ^h ai	k ^h aŋ-li	ma-niŋ-fi	la
look.IMP	PART	face	look-INF	NEG-get-PST	MIR

'(You see, (she) did not get to look (the child's) face.' (TBDFSW_239)

b. *boso magil au boso magil*

boso	ma-gil	au	boso	ma-gil
other way	NEG-walk	PART	other way	NEG-walk

'Please do not walk around, stay at home.' (KLD1.INST.W_31)

c. *te na eʔloŋ meʔsa ma-pi taɾa*

te	na	eʔ-loŋ	meʔsa	ma-pi	taɾa
okay	2SG	one-CLF	goat	NEG-give.IMP	but

⁴Watters (2002: 187) deals similar phenomenon as confirmation strategy in Kham. This, according to him, appeals to the hearer for some kind of affirmation – a grunt, a nod or some kind of indication that the speaker's words have registered in the hearer's mind.

kid^himiko kat^ha na mado? au

kid^himi-ko kat^ha na ma-do? au
2DU matter 2SG NEG-say PART

'Okay, you do not give even a single goat but please do not tell our matter (to anybody) right!' (MMD2MW_w.35)

In examples (16a-c), the adhortative particle *au* is employed to request the hearer to accept the proposal or to believe the proposition.

The adhortative particle is also used in non-imperative propositions. In this case, it attracts the hearer's attention to the fact expressed by the speaker. Following are the examples:

(17) a. *te kaŋko fianeka bela dzeŋk^hoi au*

te kaŋ-ko fiane-ka bela dzeŋ-k^hoi au
TOP 1SG.OBL-GEN go-NMLZ time be-INC PART

'Okay, it's time for us to go, right!' (TBDFSW_185)

b. *ela kat^ha t^horefi au ela nani*

ela kat^ha t^hore-fi au ela nani
now story finish-PST PART now dear

'Now the story ended, you know, dear!' (MMD2MW_w.310)

In example (17 a-b), the adhortative particle *au* is employed to attract the hearer's attention towards the proposition.

h. Non-reflexive *tai*

The reflexive morpheme *tai* 'self' is employed in non-reflexive sense to serve as an intensifier that emphasizes the notion that the implicit subject or agent of the clause or the preceding noun phrase takes part in the event itself.⁵ This emphasis on one participant implies the exclusion of other possibilities. Following are the examples:

(18) a. *obalai tripasa taimiŋ tsumteŋ*

obalai tripasa taimi-ŋ tsuma-teŋ
3PL Tripasa self-EMPH bring-SEQ

⁵In Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009: 312) the Nepali loan *appi* (<*ap^hɪ*>) 'self' serves as an explicit exclusive marker.

olehi doʔkʰe bas

ole-fi doʔ-kʰe bas
emerge-PST say-PRS that's all

'They emerged out taking Tripasa themselves, that's all.' (TBDFSW_95)

b. *dziu taimiŋ aram dzenaŋ*

dziu taimi-ŋ aram dzeŋ-aŋ
body self-EMPH rest be-FUT

'(Her) body will recover itself.' (TBDFSW_397)

In example (18a, b), the reflexive pronoun *tai*, followed by the emphatic marker is employed to intensify the action.

In Dhimal, the Nepali borrowing *apʰaĩ* is also found to be used by the speaker in our recorded text, as in (19):

- (19) *radzkumar apʰaĩ tsuma-teŋ lo-fi doʔkʰe kalau*
radzkumar apʰaĩ tsuma-teŋ lo-fi doʔ-kʰe kalau
prince self bring-SEQ come-PST say-PRS then
'Having taken (the things) the prince came himself then.'
(TBDFSW_450)

In example (19), the Nepali morpheme *apʰaĩ* is employed in place of Dhimal *tai* 'self'.

Interestingly, a borrowed morpheme *apseap*⁶ 'oneself' and native morpheme *tai* are found to be used in the same clause, as in (20):

- (20) *kalau wako mi apseap taimiŋ*
kalau wa-ko mi apseap taimi-ŋ
then 3SG-GEN eye itself self-EMPH
sammjʌ dzeŋfi doʔkʰe kalau
sammjʌ dzeŋ-fi doʔ-kʰe kalau
settle be-PST say-PRS then
'Then her eyes became normal by themselves.' (TBDFSW_565)

In example (20), *apseap* 'oneself' and *taimiŋ* 'self' are used, however tautologous, for the same function.

⁶In Hindi *apne ap* 'oneself' and in Nepali *apʰseapʰ* are found to be used.

When a speaker wishes to emphasize reflexive semantics, an analytic constructions with the morpheme *tai* is employed. The morpheme *tai* is used contrastively or emphatically, indicating that the reference indicates to a particular participant as opposed to some other one. The reflexive also has a reduplicated form *tatai* with distributive meaning.⁷ Following are the examples:

- (21) a. *te fianaine ela tataiko fiabe kot^hata*
 te fi-ane-aine ela tatai-ko fiabe kot^ha-ta
 okay go-HORT now self.self-GEN GF room-LOC
 'Okay, let's go now to our respective rooms.' (TBDFSW_121)

- b. *dz^haraŋ tataiko kose tsumteŋ*
 dz^haraŋ tatai-ko kose tsuma-teŋ
 all self.self-GEN fodder.fig bring-SEQ
 sita lofi
 si-ta lo-fi
 house-LOC come-PST
 'All the others came to their homes having their own fig.fodder fruit.'
 (LBDFSW_22)

In example (21a), the reduplicated form *tatai* followed by the genitive marker *-ko* imparts non-reflexive distributive sense. Similarly, in (21b), the same strategy is employed to modify the noun *kose* 'fodder fig' to impart non-reflexive distributive sense.

The contrastive focus marked by intonation (emphasis) and pragmatically motivated constituent order are discussed as follows:

12.1.2 Intonation as contrastive focus

In Dhimal, two intonational devices are found to be used for contrastive focus. They are stress-focus and cleft constructions. They are discussed as follows:

a. Stress-focus construction

In stress-focus construction, a particular element of a clause is uttered with a raised tone, i.e., stressed. It applies not only to nouns, but also to adjectives, verbs and adverbs. Following are the examples:

⁷ King (2009: 73) explains such constructions as intensive marking strategies in Dhimal.

(22) a. **Neutral**

aba nani r^hima hale tsolli hanehi

aba nani r^hima hale tsol-li hane-hi

father today morning plough buy-INF go-PST

'Father went to buy the plough this morning.'

b. **Subject focused**

aba nani r^hima hale tsolli hanehi

aba nani r^hima hale tsol-li hane-hi

father today morning plough buy-INF go-PST

'FATHER went to buy the plough this morning (not somebody else).'

c. **Object focused**

aba nani r^hima hale tsolli hanehi

aba nani r^hima **hale** tsol-li hane-hi

father today morning plough buy-INF go-PST

'Father went to buy THE PLOUGH today morning (not to buy something else).'

d. **Finite verb focused**

aba nani r^hima hale tsolli hanehi

aba nani r^hima hale tsol-li **hane-hi**

father today morning plough buy-INF go-PST

'Father WENT to buy the plough this morning (who says he did not go?).'

e. **Adverb focused**

aba nani r^hima hale tsolli hanehi

aba **nani** r^hima hale tsol-li hane-hi

father today morning plough buy-INF go-PST

'Father went to buy the plough TODAY morning (not yesterday).'

f. **Non-finite verb focused**

aba nani r^hima hale tsolli hanehi

aba nani r^hima hale **tsol-li** hane-fi

father today morning plough buy-INF go-PST

'Father went TO BUY the plough today morning (no to borrow).'

In examples (22b-f), stress focus is applied to different constituents of the major constituents of the clause in (22a). The subject in (22b), the object in (22c), the finite verb in (22d), the adverb in (22e) and the non-finite verb in (22f) with stress focus have resulted in differing in their contrastive semantics. From these examples it may be said that the stress-focus device is the least constrained to apply to any major constituent of a clause in Dhimal.

b. Cleft-focus construction

Givón (2011: 294) notes, "in the cleft-focus construction, the event/state depicted in the proposition is assumed by the speaker to be familiar (accessible) to the hearer. The speaker is challenging only one small part of the hearer's presumed belief, the element that falls under the contrastive focus." In addition to assigning stress to the focused constituent, Dhimal may employ focus particles following the stressed constituent. Following are the examples:

(23) a. **Corresponding simple clause**

bebal biha kutifi

bebal biha kuti-fi

woman meat cut-PST

'The woman cut the meat (into pieces).'

b. **Subject cleft**

biha kutika bebal doŋ

biha kuti-ka bebal doŋ

meat cut-NMLZ woman FOC

'It's the WOMAN who cut the meat (not someone else).'

c. **Direct object cleft**

bebal kutika bifa doŋ

bebal kuti-ka bifa doŋ

woman cut-NMLZ meat FOC

'It's the MEAT that the woman cut (not something else).'

The event depicted in the proposition (23a) is assumed by the speaker to be familiar (accessible) to the hearer. However, the speaker is challenging only one part of the hearer's presumed belief, i.e., the subject in (23b), and the direct object in (23c). The elements with cleft focus fall under the contrastive focus. (see Givón 2011: 294).

In addition to assigning stress to the focused constituent, Dhimal may employ focus particles following the stressed constituent. Following are the examples:

(24) a. **Subject**

meʔsa seʔka djaŋ wa aŋ

meʔsa seʔ-ka djaŋ wa aŋ

goat kill-NMLZ person 3SG EMPH

'It was the MAN who killed the goat.'

b. **Direct object**

djaŋ seʔka meʔsa doŋ

djaŋ seʔ-ka meʔsa doŋ

person kill-NMLZ goat FOC

'It was the GOAT that the man killed (not something else).'

c. **Indirect object**

bebal kam paka miliŋtaŋ

bebal kam pa-ka miliŋ-ta aŋ

woman work do-NMLZ land-LOC EMPH

'It's the LAND where the woman worked in (not in her home).'

In example (24a), the subject *djaŋ* is contrastively focused. In (24b), the focused element is direct object whereas in (24c), locative indirect object *miliŋ* is contrastively focused. It is to be noted that apart from the stressed assigned to the contrastively focused constituent, Dhimal employs emphatic particles following the contrasted

element. In (5a, c), the emphatic marker *aŋ~ŋ* is employed to assign contrastive strength whereas in (5c), another focus marker *doŋ* is employed for the same purpose.

For the purpose of contrast, Dhimal employs focus marker *doŋ* following the clefted constituent, as in (25-26):

- (25) *gai eʔka həri doŋ*
 gai eʔ-ka **həri** doŋ
 cow milk-NMLZ Hari FOC
 'It's HARI who milked/milks/will milk the cow (not someone else).'

- (26) *həri dud^he eʔka gai doŋ*
 həri dud^he eʔ-ka **gai** doŋ
 Hari milk milk-NMLZ cow FOC
 'It's the COW that Hari milked/milks/will milk (not a goat).'

In example (25), the cleft focused constituents, subject/agent *Hari* in (26) and object/patient constituent *gai* 'cow', are followed by the focus marker *doŋ*.

12.2 Marked topic constructions

By marked topic-coding constructions one means constructions that code referents of relatively low accessibility. Their low accessibility as Givón (2001b: 254) notes, "may be due to being new in the discourse, i.e., being introduced for the first time. It may also be due to their being re-introduced into the discourse after a considerable gap of absence. Or it may be due to referential competition or contrast."⁸ The topic-coding constructions share a common theme; it is the pragmatic use of word order. Other coding devices like discourse particles and intonation are also involved to mark a topic in languages. We discuss, in the light of Givón (2001b: 253), different devices employed in marked topic constructions in Dhimal as follows:

12.2.1 Discourse particles

Dhimal employs different discourse particles to encode topical, focused and emphatic constructions. They can be used to mark emphasis or highlight a specific phrase in contrast to others. The precise meaning of each particle depends in part on its distribution (Willis 2007: 469). Discourse particles are those elements in the

⁸Languages employ constituent order, special particle or clitic, bound pronouns or classifiers for marking an argument as topic (Dixon 2010a: 174).

proposition that do not have a grammatical function in the sense that the sentence or clause syntax is dependent on them or directly impacts these particles (Doornenbal 2009: 302). Basically, different discourse particles in Dhimal are employed for focusing, intensifying and contrasting the constituents they mark. Different discourse particles found in Dhimal are discussed as follows:

a. Topic marker *te*

The topic marker *te* (TOP) highlights given information which has already come up in the context of the narrative and is present in the mind of the audience.⁹ The topic marked constituent is brought to prominence and the information contained in the rest of the sentence revolves around it.¹⁰ The use of this particle does not interfere with the grammatical structure at sentence level but is employed to structure the information flow. It occurs to the last word of the phrase that is marked. In narrative, the particle *te* may be used to indicate a topic shift or the new coding of a referent as the topic. The topic particle *te* establishes a pragmatic relation between a referent and a proposition. In Dhimal, the topicalizer codes an active or accessible referent as a marked topic expression (see King 2009: 255). In English, the topicalized referents may be rendered as 'as for'. Generally, *te* follows noun phrases, which can be case marked, but it is also found following temporal and spatial adverbs, nominalized verbs and infinitive forms of verbs. Look at examples in (27) where *te* follows pronominal agents.

- (27) a. *kelai te atuisa dihẽ ñanili madon^hafi*
kelai te atuisa dihẽ ñane-li ma-do-n^ha-fi
1PL TOP little west go-INF NEG-be.able-1PL-PST
'As for us, we could not be able to go a bit west.' (TBDFSW_35)
- b. *ka te ekdam kampali magoika ekdam*
ka te ekdam kam-pa -li ma-goi-ka
1SG TOP complete work-CAUS-INF NEG-must-NMLZ

⁹In Kham the particle *te* is employed to mark contrastive focus (Watters 2002: 183).

¹⁰In Thulung (Lahaussais 2002: 83) *ne* is employed to highlight the given information.

dʰʌni sita hanaŋka
ekdʌm dʰʌni si-ta hane-aŋ-ka
complete rich house-LOC go-FUT-1SG
dʰʌni pariwar
dʰʌni pariwar
rich family
'As for me, I will marry to a rich where no work is to be done.'
(TBDFSW_59)

Because of the pronominalization/subject verb agreement encoded in the finite verb, there is no doubt that we are dealing with the first person plural in (27a) and first person singular in (27b). However, the speaker chooses to mark the independent subject pronouns with the topic marker to show the prominence of them in the discourse.

The topicalizer *te* follows the noun phrase with post-position/case marker, as in (28):

- (28) *ela mʰumʰuika puŋjãheŋ te sodzʰaŋ*
ela mʰumʰui-ka puŋjã-heŋ te sodzʰa-aŋ
now tiny-NMLZ snake-DAT TOP straight-EMPH
niʔkʰe insika ɖʰõðe sõðeheŋ te
niʔ-kʰe insika ɖʰõðe sõðe-heŋ te
swallow-PRS like that kind of snake REDUP -DAT TOP
'It swallows the small snakes and also the Dhode snakes directly.'
(TBDFSW_317)

In example (28), the topicalizer *te* follows the noun phrase *mʰumʰuika puŋjãheŋ* 'to the small snakes'.

The topicalizer *te* may extend its scope to topicalize an NP, as in (29):

- (29) a. *kaŋko sotsai te haidoŋ mantʰu bai*
kaŋ-ko sotsai te haidoŋ mantʰu bai
1SG.OBL-GEN thought TOP anything NEG.be elder.sister
'As for my thought, I have nothing special, (my) sister!' (TBDFSW_99)

- b. *kaŋko b^haudzi te menaŋ remka*
 kaŋ-ko b^haudzi te menaŋ rem-ka
 1SG.OBL-GEN sister-in-law TOP much be. good-NMLZ
um pipu^{hi}
 um pi-pu-^{hi}
 rice give-AND-PST
 'As for my sister-in-law, she brought much tasty rice.' (GMD.FS.W_21)

In example (29a), the noun phrase *kaŋko sotsai* and in (29b) *kaŋko b^haudzi* are topicalized with the topic marker *te*.

The topic marker *te* may follow the spatial and temporal adverbs, as in (30):

- (30) a. *oi one ede t^hameta te iska*
 oi one ede t^hame-ta te iska
 VOC younger.sibling this place-LOC TOP this.kind
iska ki ^{hi} ro
 iska ki ^{hi} ro
 this.kind PART be CONR
 'Hello brother, things are of these different kinds in this place.'
 (TBDFSW_33)
- b. *iŋko tsarbaŋota te enoŋ ma^{hi}ko duk^hjani*
 iŋko tsarbaŋo-ta te elong ma^{hi}a-ko
 that crossroads-LOC TOP one-CLF big-GEN
fi^gak^he ru inta
 duk^hjani fi-g^ha-k^he ro inta
 poor.woman be-IPFV-PRS CONR there
 'There lived one of the poorest women at the crossroads.' (TBDFSW_570)
- c. *r^hima te k^haŋk^he doʔk^he wa*
 r^hima te k^haŋ-k^he doʔ-k^he wa
 morning TOP look-PRS say-PRS 3SG
 'He looks at it in the morning.' (TBDFSW_569)

In example (30a, b), the topic marker follows the spatial adverbs *t^hame-ta* 'place-LOC' and *tsarbato-ta* 'crossroad-LOC' whereas in (30c) the temporal adverb *r^hima* 'morning' is followed by the topicalizer.

This particle is used with finite verbs to highlight or foreground information, unexpected event or contrary expectations, as in (31):

- (31) *kalau insaŋ fiikataŋ fiikataŋ*
kalau insa-ŋ fi-ka-ta-ŋ fi-ka-ta-ŋ
then like.that-EMPH sit-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH sit-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH
fiikataŋ dzab^Λ bar^Λ badze rat
fi-ka-ta-ŋ dzab^Λ bar^Λ badze rat
be-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH when twelve hour night
dzeŋg^hak^he te olefi aŋ
dzeŋ-g^ha-k^he te ole-fi aŋ
be-IPFV-PRS TOP emerge-PST REP
'Sitting long like this when it happened twelve at night (they) emerged out unexpectedly.' (TBDFSW_93)

In example (31), the topicalizer *te* follows the finite verb *dzeŋg^hak^he* to encode the event as unexpected.

The particle *te* has two distinct functions. As a topic marker it topicalizes the constituents (referents, predicates) of a proposition for the pragmatic purposes. It also functions as an assertive marker. The example of the particle used in different function in the same proposition is illustrated in (32):

- (32) *kalau te dzet^hi bai na te insa doʔn^ha*
kalau te dzet^hi bai na te insa doʔ-fi-na
then okay jethi elder.sister 2SG TOP like.that say-PST-2
'Then, eldest sister! You said like this.' (TBDFSW_104)

In example (32), the first use of the particle *te* imparts the supportive sense. To put it in another way, this particle is used by the speaker to support the preceding proposition and to extend her/his statement further. The second use of the particle topicalizes the referent *na* 'you' to contrast it from some other referent activated in the stage (here, another participant *maili* 'the second sister').

The topicalizer particle *te* is also employed to indicate the switch reference (different subject), as in (33):

- (33) a. *barka bwali haja u tʰalnasantaŋ*
 bar-ka bwali haja u tʰal-na-san-ta-ŋ
 be.big-NMLZ Bwali fish PART throw-IMPL-APR-LOC-EMPH
kʰwappɿ niʔhi doʔkʰe niʔhi la
 kʰwappɿ niʔ-hi doʔ-kʰe niʔ-hi la
 hurriedly swallow-PST say-PRS swallow-PST MIR
 'A big Bwali fish swallowed the (boy) as soon as they threw it (in the pond). It swallowed.' (TBDFSW_297)
- b. *gottaŋ haja ahar tsahi doʔkʰe*
 gottaŋ haja ahar tsa-hi doʔ-kʰe
 all fish fodder eat-PST say-PRS
wa te mamatsakʰe
 wa **te** ma- ma- tsa-kʰe
 3SG TOP NEG-NEG-eat-PRS
 'All the fish ate up the fodder (but) that one does not eat at any cost.'
 (TBDFSW_298)

In example (33a) the subject is *barka bwali haja* 'big Bwali fish' whereas in (33b) there are two subjects (bold faced). The pronominal subject in second proposition is anaphoric to *bwali haja* 'Bwali fish' in (33b). Here, to indicate the switch in the reference, the topicalizer *te* follows the anaphoric pronoun *wa*.

b. Individuative particle *tsahiĩ*

The individuating particle *tsahiĩ* (IND), a loan particle from Nepali, functions like the topicalizer *te*, however, its distribution is limited to nominal constituents in the proposition.¹¹ Semantically, this particle individuates one element from different possibilities, as in (34):

¹¹Mazaudon notes that in Tamang a contrastive topic is marked by the tonal particle *tsa*, possibly a loanword from Nepali *tsahiĩ* (2003: 311).

- (34) a. *kalau utaso iŋko radzkumar tsafiĩ ekdam wa*
kalau uta-so iŋko radzkumar tsafiĩ ekdam
then there-ABL that prince IND consistently
madzimsiŋ rhumteŋ hi^{he} aŋ
wa ma-dzim-siŋ r^hum-teŋ fi-k^{he} aŋ
3SG NEG-sleep-PURP r^hum-SEQ sit-PRS REP
'And the prince sits waiting not even sleeping from onward.'
(TBDFSW_85)
- b. *kalau doʔka doʔk^{he} dzet^{hi} tsafiĩ ka te*
kalau doʔ-ka doʔ-k^{he} dzet^{hi} tsafiĩ ka te
then say-NMLZ say-PRS jethi IND ISG TOP
barka d^honi sita hanã
bar-ka d^honi si-ta fi^hane-ã
be.big-NMLZ rich house-LOC go-FUT
'Then jethi said, 'I'll go to a rich house.' (TBDFSW_102)
- c. *hi^hikaŋ tsakataŋ hi^hikaŋ*
fi-ka-ta-aŋ tsa-ka-ta-aŋ fi-ka-ta-aŋ
be-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH eat-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH be-NMLZ -LOC-EMPH
t^hjakk^h iŋko kants^{hi} tsafiĩ n^{he} dziuko
t^hjakk^h iŋko kants^{hi} tsafiĩ
exactly that Kanchhi IND
dzeŋfi doʔk^{he}
n^{he} dziu-ko dzeŋ-fi doʔ-k^{he}
two body-GEN be-PST say-PRS
'In course of time Kanchhi conceived a baby.' (TBDFSW_221)

In example (34a), the referent *radzkumar* 'prince' is individuated to topicalize it as an important referent. In example (34b), *dzet^{hi}* 'the eldest sister' is individuated from the group of three. Similarly in (34c), *kants^{hi}* 'the youngest' is individuated from the same set, as in (34b).

Sometimes, the individuating particle replaces the case marker, as in (35):

- (35) *wako tsan tsafĩ gund^hako d^herita sulaipufi*
 wa-ko tsan tsafĩ gund^ha-ko d^heri-ta sulai-pu-fii
 3SG-GEN son IND rice.chaff-GEN stock-LOC thrust-AND-PST
 '(They) thrust her son into the stock of rice chaff.' (TBDFS_W_283)

In example (35), the noun *tsan* 'son' is human noun in patient role, thus to be coded by dative case marker *-fi*, however, the individuating particle *tsafĩ* replaces it.

The individuating particle may also be used to contrast the adverbials, as in (36):

- (36) a. *kalau aroŋ musar tsalai ali*
 kalau aro-ŋ musar tsalai ali
 then again-EMPH mushroom seed side
ali taʔli goik^he madz^hata tsafĩ
 ali taʔ-li goi-k^he madz^ha-ta tsafĩ
 side keep-INF must-PRS mid-LOC IND
patlapa taʔli goik^he
 patla-pa taʔ-li goi-k^he
 thin-do keep-INF must-PRS
 'Then again, the seeds of the mushroom should be kept on the sides. However, as in the mid, the layer should be thin.'
 (KRDMPW_87-88)
- b. *fiisa fiisa fiisapa tsattʌ tsafĩ*
 fiisa fiisa fiisa-pa tsattʌ tsafĩ
 how how how-do ONOM IND
tikarta t^hukal^hag^ha
 tikar-ta t^huka-l^ha-g^ha
 hump-LOC reach-INTENT-PST.1SG
 'Somehow, I reached at the hump in the river at once.' (CLDDR_W_30)

In example (36a), the particle *tsafĩ* is employed to contrast the two locative adverbials *ali ali* 'side side' and *madz^hata* 'in the middle'. Similarly, in example (36b), the onomatopoeic manner adverb *tsattʌ* is followed by the particle *tsafĩ*.

The individuating particle may follow noun phrases, as in (37):

- (37) a. *kaŋko umer tsahĩ ela unsaṭʰi basar*
 kaŋ-ko umer tsahĩ ela unsaṭʰi basar
 1SG.OBL-GEN age IND now fifty-nine year
taŋli ka hiḡʰa
 taŋ-li ka hi-gʰa
 climb-INF 1SG be-PST.1SG
- b. *rΛ kaŋko bjΛwasajΛ tsahĩ kʰeti mukʰjΛ kʰeti*
 rΛ kaŋ-ko bjΛwasajΛ tsahĩ kʰeti mukʰjΛ kʰeti
 and 1SG.OBL-GEN business IND farming main farming
 'As for my age, I'am about to be fifty-nine now. As for my main
 occupation, it is farming.' (KRDMPW_4-5)

It may also follow a nominalized NP, as in (38):

- (38) *rΛ musar kʰeti paka tsahĩ dja basar dzeŋfi*
 rΛ musar kʰeti pa-ka tsahĩ dja basar dzeŋ-fi
 and mushroom farming do-NMLZ IND four year be-PST
 'And it has been four years for me farming mushroom.' (KRDMPW_7)

In example (38) the particle *tsahĩ* follows the nominalized NP *kʰeti paka*.

This particle is sometimes employed as gap filler by the speaker. In such case, the particle does not add any specific discourse semantics, as in (39):

- (39) *rΛ iŋkoŋ bʰasi iŋko atuisa*
 rΛ iŋko-ŋ bʰasi iŋko atuisa
 and that-EMPH for that little
musar kʰeti tsahĩ swastʰjΛko lagi
 musar kʰeti tsahĩ swastʰjΛ-ko lagi
 mushroom farming IND health-GEN for
- tsahĩ remka doʔteŋ budzʰiteŋ tsahĩ*
 tsahĩ rem-ka doʔ-teŋ budzʰi-teŋ tsahĩ
 IND be.good-NMLZ say-SEQ understand-SEQ IND

ka ede musar k^heti pali t^haleg^ha

ka ede musar k^heti pa-li t^hale-g^ha
1SG this mushroom farming do-INF start-PST.1SG

'And having understood that the mushroom farming is good for health,
I started this mushroom planing.' (KRDMPW_12-13)

In example (39), the individuating particle occurs three times. Here, the use of this particle is not employed for individuating purposes. It rather seems that the speaker uses it as gap filler.

c. Inclusive marker *bu*

The particle *bu* functions as an inclusive marker with the meaning 'also/too'. It is generally followed by the emphatic particle *aŋ* reduced to *ŋ*. It functions as an indefiniteness marker 'ever' in combination with the question words.¹² This particle is commonly used in opposition to the topic marker *te* and the individuating particle *tsaŋi*. This particle may be attached to constituents of any type. It signals either contrary to expectation or in an emphatic function in line with expectations, the marked constituent should be included in the proposition.¹³ Following are the examples:

(40) a. *ud^hin^himiko buŋ eŋnoŋ eŋnoŋpa*

ud^hin^himi-ko bu-ŋ e-loŋ e-loŋ-pa
3DU-GEN also-EMPH one-CLF one-CLF-ADVLZ

tsan ŋig^hak^he doŋk^he

tsan ŋi-g^ha-k^he doŋ-k^he
son be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS

'They (two) also had one son each.' (TBDFSW_272)

b. *oso dzamal buŋ barapufi doŋk^he*

oso dzamal bu-ŋ bara-pu-fi doŋ-k^he
that.side child also-EMPH be.grown-AND-PST say-PRS

'The child also grew day by day.' (TBDFSW_288)

¹²Doornenbal (2009: 310 fn. 9) notes that the double function of the inclusive marker is apparently universal, as it is also found in Nepali *pani* and Dutch *ook*.

¹³In Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009: 310) *c^ha* functions in similar situation.

c. *in̩ko h̩aja buŋ k̩amsek̩am n^he basar*

in̩ko	h̩aja	bu-ŋ	k̩amsek̩am	n ^h e	basar
that	fish	also-EMPH	at.least	two	year

dz^hoko posihi doʔk^he

dz ^h oko	pose-fi	doʔ-k ^h e
much	rear-PST	say-PRS

'The fish preserved the boy for at least upto two years.' (TBDFSW_303)

In example (40a) the enclusive particle reveals the fact that the third person dual participants had also one son each. In (40b), the particle has to do more with emphasis rather than inclusion. In (40c), the function of *buŋ* can be rendered as 'in addition to.'

The inclusive particle *buŋ* may be used to include different nominals, as in (41):

(41) *naŋko ofjã b̩and̩a dana buŋ matsak^he*

naŋ-ko	ofjã	b̩and̩a	dana	bu-ŋ	ma-tsa-k ^h e
2SG.OBL-GEN	horse	at.all	fodder	also-EMPH	NEG-eat-PRS

tsi buŋ maamk^he

tsi	bu-ŋ	ma-am-k ^h e
water	also-EMPH	NEG-drink-PRS

"Your horse does not eat the fodder at all neither does it drink water.'

(TBDFSW_444-45)

In example (41), the inclusive particle *buŋ* 'also' is used to encode two different NPs.

This particle imparts the sense of assertion when used following a finite verb, as in (42):

(42) *d^hirli k^haŋfie panu lako*

d ^h ir-li	k ^h aŋ-fie	pa-nu	lo-ako
learn-INF	wish-HYP	do-COND	come-OPT

d^hirpã buŋ

d ^h ir-pa-ã	bu-ŋ
learn-CAUS-FUT.1SG	also-EMPH

'If (you) wish to learn I'll teach as well.' (KRDMPW_173)

In concessive and negative contexts, the particle *buŋ* imparts the sense of 'even', as in (43):

- (43) *doʔlau buŋ mamaneɦi*
doʔ-lau buŋ ma-mane-ɦi
say-TEMP also NEG-obey-PST
'Even said, s/he did not obey'.

In example (43) the particle *buŋ* is used to encode the concessive situation.

The particle *bu/buŋ* is also a lexicalized part of the following standardized expressions like *kalau buŋ/kola bu* 'even though' or nevertheless, as in (44):

- (44) a. *kalau buŋ kelaiko dʰemalaiɦeŋ*
kalau buŋ kelai-ko dʰemalai-ɦeŋ
then also 1PL Dhimal.PL-ACC
remka tʰame pika mantʰu
rem-ka tʰame pi-ka mantʰu
be.good-NMLZ place give-NMLZ NEG.be
'Nevertheless, we Dhimals are not given proper place.' (RMDLSW_74)
- b. *ka kola bu eʔ tʰane ɦali madoŋgʰa*
ka kola buŋ eʔ tʰane ɦa-li ma-do-gʰa
1SG then also one place go-INF NEG-be.able-PST-1SG
'Even though I could not go to one place.' (SLDE_shamanism_60)

Example (44a) is from the western dialect where *kalau buŋ* is employed to encode the meaning 'nevertheless'. In (44b), similar function is performed by the combined expression *kola buŋ*.

12.2.2 Constituent order

Permutation of the constituents from the basic order also plays an important role in topicalizing the reference in discourse. They are discussed as follows:

a. Existential-presentative constructions

Givón (2001b: 255) notes that the "existential-presentatives, also known as indefinite subject constructions (hereafter EPCs) are typically used to introduce important new referents into the discourse."¹⁴ In Dhimal, indefinite referents are coded by the

¹⁴Givón (2001a: 193) notes, "the weaker subjecthood of the locative 'subject' of existential-presentative clauses is not surprising, given that the prototypical subject of neutral clauses is overwhelmingly definite, anaphoric, recurrent and topical. The subject of existential-presentative

numeral *eʔ-loŋ* 'one-CLF' used as an indefinite article. Consider the examples in (45) from the very beginning of a narrative text entitled 'Three sisters'.

- (45) a. *eloŋ desta fiŋgʰakʰe doʔkʰe eloŋ radza*
 e-loŋ des-ta fi-gʰa-kʰe doʔ-kʰe e-loŋ radza
 one-CLF country-LOC be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS one-CLF king
 'There was a king in a country.' (TBDFSW_01)
- b. *iŋko radza dinaŋ wako sita wa jubak*
 iŋko radza dinaŋ wa-ko si-ta wa jubak
 that king daily 3SG-GEN house-LOC 3SG lad
doʔkʰe radzkumar
 doʔ-kʰe radzkumar
 say-PRS prince
 'Everyday the king..., he had a prince in his house (palace).'
- (TBDFSW_02)

In example (45a), the referent *radza* 'king' is brought to the stage applying the existential-presentative construction introduced by the numeral *eʔ-loŋ* 'one-CLF'. Similarly, in (45b), another important new referent *radzkumar* 'prince' is introduced as a discontinuous topic with the help of the full NP.

In Dhimal, as common to the most of the languages (Givón 2001b: 255), the verb is EPCs is existential *fi* 'be' which is overt in example (45a), In example (45b), there is no overt existential verb, however, it is clear from the context that there was a prince of the king.

Further, in the same narrative, a new inanimate referent *bənduk* 'gun' is brought to the stage applying the existential presentative construction, as in (46):

- (46) *ela wako sata fiatiyar fiŋgʰakʰe doʔkʰe bənduk*
 ela wa-ko sa-ta fiatiyar fi-gʰa-kʰe doʔ-kʰe bənduk
 now 3SG-GEN house-LOC weapon be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS gun
 'Now there was a weapon called gun in his house.' (TBDFSW_07)

clauses, on the other hand, is an indefinite non-anaphoric referent that is being introduced into the discourse for the first time".

In example (46), the referent *hatijar* 'weapon' is brought on the stage as a generic referent and further it is specified by the specific type of the weapon *bənduk* 'gun'. Another observation that can be made from the word order of the existential presentative constructions in Dhimal is that the indefinite subject brought on the stage for the first time breaks the basic SOV order yielding SVO order, as in (47):

- (47) a. *edzi hīg^hak^he sjaile rə dzaigul*
 edzi hī-g^ha-k^he sjaile rə dzaigul
 once be-IPFV-PRS jackle and crocodile
- b. *od^hin^hemi b^het dzeŋteŋ param taʔsufi*
 od^hin^hemi b^het dzeŋ-teŋ param taʔ-su-fi
 3DU meet become-SEQ friendship keep-RECP-PST
 'Once (there) were a jackle and a crocodile. They (two) maintained
 friendship, when they met each other.' (HLD.SJ.W_05)

In example (47a), the indefinite temporal adverbial *edzi* 'once' is employed to indicate the time of the event. Also in this example, the existential verb *hīg^hak^he* and the subject referents *sjaile rə dzaigul* 'jackal and crocodile' have stipulated from their normal SOV order.

b. Y-movement

Functionally, Y-movement (i.e., contrastive topicalization) is used typically when a referent is contrasted with another referent of roughly the same semantic class. The first referent creates certain expectations, which the Y-moved referent then counters (Givón 2001b: 262). In addition to being contrastive, Y-moved referents also tend to be typically topical and anaphorical. Like other anaphoric topicalizing constructions, they tend to be overwhelmingly definite or generic, but not REF-indefinite. Their anaphoric predictability is also underscored by their characteristic low anaphoric distance. Typically, their discourse antecedent is found within the preceding 2-3 clauses. Consider the example in (48):

- (48) *odoi bistara daʔteŋ tɔjar dzeŋteŋ*
 ϕ odoi bistara daʔ-teŋ tɔjar dzeŋ-teŋ
 that bed stretch.bed-SEQ ready be-SEQ

fi aŋ la dzet^{hi} rΛ maili

fi aŋ la dzet^{hi} rΛ maili

be REP MIR Jethi and Maili

'The first and second eldest sisters prepared bed, got ready and stayed on the bed there.'(TBDFSW_174)

In example (48), the referents *dzet^{hi} rΛ maili* are Y-moved for the purpose of topicalization. The discourse context is that there are three sisters, *dzet^{hi}* 'eldest', *maili* 'second' and *kants^{hi}* 'youngest'. The anaphoric pronoun *obalai* 'they' refers back to all the three on the stage. But, the narrator remembers that those sitting on the bed were only two (*dzet^{hi}* and *maili*) and makes the context clear applying the Y-moved construction to clear out the confusion.

c. L-dislocation

Givón (2001b: 265) introduces L-dislocation as a device which is employed to mark topical referent, most commonly definite and anaphoric one, which has been out of the focus of attention for a while and is being brought back into the discourse.¹⁵ He further notes "the L-dislocated referent must be anaphorically topical is attested by the fact that it may be either definite or generic but never REF-indefinite."

The anaphoric distance (AD) of L-dislocated referents, following Givón, is one of the highest of all referent-coding devices (Givón 2001b: 265). Examples in (49) are illustrative of the left dislocation strategy employed in Dhimal.

(49) a. *mako ka te salaen ka fiiska sotsika*

ma-ko ka te sala-en ka fiiska
NEG-be 1SG TOP damn-DAT 1SG of.what.sort

fiig^hak^ha kaŋ bai n^henon

sotsi -ka fi-g^ha-k^ha kaŋ bai n^he-loŋ
think-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS.1SG 1SG.OBL elder.sister two-CLF

'Damn, what I had thought (while) I was with my two elder sisters!'

(TBDFSW_248)

¹⁵Payne (1997: 273) states "dislocation (left and right) refers to the placing of a clause element outside the syntactic boundaries of the clause. Sometimes dislocation is referred to as extraposition. Left-dislocation is sometimes referred to as pre-posing and right dislocation as post-posing."

b. *dzʌstaŋ dzetʰi bai kaŋko*

dzʌsto-aŋ dzetʰi bai kaŋ-ko
like-EMPH Jethi elder.sister 1SG.OBL-GEN

barka dʰani sita ʰanaŋka

bar-ka dʰani si-ta ʰane-aŋ-ka
be.big-NMLZ rich house-LOC go-FUT –NMLZ

ra ka maɖzaso giroko jomteŋ

ra ka maɖza-so giroko jom-teŋ
and 1SG pleasure-ABL cross.legged sit-SEQ

tsaŋka amaŋka

tʰa-aŋ-ka am-aŋ-ka
eat-FUT-1SG drink-FUT-1SG

'As my eldest sister said, she would go to a rich house and eat and drink sitting in pleasure.' (TBDFSW_249)

c. *kaŋko ʰabe dzʌstʌi ẽdʰijarʰeŋ nokartsakʌrʰeŋ*

kaŋ-ko ʰabe dzʌstʌi ẽdʰijar-ʰeŋ nokartsakʌr-ʰeŋ
1SG.OBL –GEN GF like sharer-DAT servant and so -DAT

arajã doʔteŋ sotsika ʰigʰakʰe

araj-ã doʔ-teŋ sotsi-ka ʰi-gʰa-kʰe
order-FUT say-SEQ think-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS

'She had thought that she will order and employ the farmers and servants.' (TBDFSW_250)

d. *kaŋ bai bʰuruŋ dzetʰi bai insikata wako*

kaŋ bai bʰuruŋ dzetʰi bai insika-ta
1SG.OBL elder.sister instead jethi elder.sister like.that-LOC

bʰag madzurika ʰigʰakʰe

wa-ko bʰag ma-dzuri-ka ʰi-gʰa-kʰe
3SG-GEN luck NEG-be.available-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS

'My eldest sister had been unlucky to get such a thing instead.' (TBDFSW_251)

- e. *wa eklaŋko eklaŋ dzori madzeŋfi*
 wa ekla-aŋ-ko ekla-aŋ dzori ma-dzeŋ-fi
 3SG alone-EMPH-GEN alone-EMPH pair NEG-be-PST
 'She remained all alone, (she) did not get spouse.' (TBDFSW_252)
- f. *maili bai wa barka dzagirta*
 maili bai wa bar-ka dzagir-ta
 Maili elder.sister 3SG be.big-NMLZ job-LOC
hanã doʔgʰakʰe
 han-ã doʔ-gʰa-kʰe
 han-FUT say-IPFV-PRS
 'As for THE SECOND ELDEST SISTER, she said that she would go with a person having an attractive job.' (TBDFSW_253)

In example (49a), the speakers talk about her two elder sisters. In (49b-c) she talks about her eldest sister's future plans. In (49d-e), she reveals that her elder sister's wish remained unfulfilled. Now, in (49f), she brings back her second sister in the stage by applying the narrative strategy of left dislocation.

Similarly, another example of left dislocation can be seen in (50):

- (50) a. *radzkumar apʰaĩ tsumteŋ lofi doʔkʰe kalau*
 radzkumar apʰaĩ tsuma-teŋ lo-fi doʔ-kʰe kalau
 prince self bring-SEQ come-PST say-PRS then
 Having taken (the things) the prince came himself then.' (TBDFSW_450)
- b. *mʰuika um dana pipaŋi aŋ*
 mʰuika um dana pi-pa-fi aŋ
 small rice fodder give-CAUS-PST REP
 '(He) gave small rice grains (it is said).' (TBDFSW_451)
- c. *ela dzamalko kaŋã samma tʰamili*
 ela dzamal-ko kaŋã samma tʰami-li
 now child-GEN where upto support-INF
 'Now, how long to support the child?' (TBDFSW_452)

- d. *muskil dzeŋhoi la dzamal bara-hoi*
 muskil dzeŋ-hoi la dzamal bara-hoi
 difficult be-PFV MIR child be.grown-PFV
 '(It) became difficult; the child is grown up (now).' (TBDFSW_453)
- e. *kamsekam barΛ terΛ basarko umer dzeŋhoi*
 kamsekam barΛ terΛ basar-ko umer dzeŋ -hoi
 at.least twelve thirteen year-GEN age be-PFV
 'At least (the child) became twelve or thirteen (years old).' (TBDFSW_454)
- f. *b^hari bodz^h p^hu:li goika uta*
 b^hari bodz^h p^hu:-li goi-ka uta
 heavy weight carry.on.back-INF must-NMLZ there
 'Heavy weight was to carry over there.' (TBDFSW_455)
- g. *hesa tsawa la dana*
 hesa tsa wa la dana
 how eat DED MIR fodder
 'How (the horse) might eat the fodder.' (TBDFSW_456)
- h. *oso dana lagaipihī doʔk^he dūḍ ta*
 oso dana lagai-pi-hi doʔ-k^he dūḍ-ta
 that.side fodder employ-BEN-PST say-PRS fodder.carrier-LOC
 '(He) put the fodder in the fodder carrier.' (TBDFSW_457)
- i. *ohjã esa ki g^hurihi aŋ*
 ohjã esa ki g^huri-hi aŋ
 horse like.this PART turn-PST REP
 'The horse turned its head instead.' (TBDFSW_458)
- j. *ʔ^hik edΛi raniko doʔka ʔ^hikkΛ rΛc^hΛ doʔk^he aŋ*
 ʔ^hik edΛi rani-ko doʔ-ka ʔ^hikkΛ rΛts^hΛ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 be.fine this queen-GEN say-NMLZ exact be say-PRS REP
 'Right, it was absolutely right what the queen said.' (TBDFSW_459)

k. *ja bimari dzeŋhoi ja*

ja bimari dzeŋ -hoi ja
or sick be-PFV this
'Or, is it sick?' (TBDFSW_460)

l. *fiēde k^halko bimar wa la be doʔk^he aŋ*

fiēde k^hal-ko bimar wa la be doʔ-k^he aŋ
Which type-GEN illness DED MIR DUB say-PRS REP
'What sort of sickness it might be!' (TBDFSW_461)

m. *iŋko sotsai dzeŋfi la wako*

Iŋko sotsai dzeŋ-fi la wa-ko
that thought be-PST MIR 3SG-GEN
ekdam patjaro dzeŋfi
ekdam patjaro dzeŋ-fi
complete trust be-PST

'He might have thought like that. Now the prince believed it completely.'
(TBDFSW_462-63)

n. *ela radzkumar wa pipulabelau dana*

ela radzkumar wa pi-pu-labelau dana
now prince 3SG give-AND-TEMP fodder
matsana b^haīso wako b^hari bodz^h fi

ma-tsa-na b^hai-so wa-ko b^hari bodz^h fi
NEG-eat-IMPL seem-ABL 3SG-GEN heavy weight be

'Now, the prince, while he brings and gives the fodder but, since (the horse) did not eat it (because) of its heavy body.' (TBDFSW_464)

The topic/agent of the discourse appears in (50a) in this chunk of the narrative. In (50d), another referent *dzamal* 'child' comes into the stage. In (50i), *oŋjã* 'horse' appears as another referent. Again in (50f), the prince talks about *rani* 'the queen' as another possible referent. At last, in example (50n), after a considerable gap, the narrator brings the prince back into the discourse topicalizing it through L-dislocation strategy.

d. Right dislocation

Givón (2001b: 267) notes "right-dislocation is used when the speaker assumes that the referent is highly accessible, thus to be coded as anaphoric pronoun but then after a brief reflection (represented by a pause) decided that may be the referent was not quite as accessible, and so was better recoded as full NP."

In Dhimal, Right-dislocation strategy is employed in exactly the same situation, as in (51):

- (51) a. *kalau wa ela nindrataŋ fi*
kalau wa ela nindra-ta-aŋ fi
then 3SG now sleep-LOC-EMPH be
'Then he is in the sleep now.' (TBDFSW_30)
- b. *tsi amli kiʔteŋ wakul dzeŋteŋ*
tsi am-li kiʔ-teŋ wakul dzeŋ-teŋ
water drink-INF want-SEQ unrest be-SEQ
esaŋ dzimfi
(ϕ) esa-ŋ dzim-fi
(he) like.this-EMPH sleep-PST
'Having wished to drink water being unrest (he) slept like this.'
(TBDFSW-31)
- c. *mako doʔkʰe aŋ naŋgaʔfi doʔkʰe*
ma-ko doʔ-kʰe aŋ naŋgaʔ-fi doʔ-kʰe
NEG-be say-PRS REP be.awaken-PST say-PRS
iŋko radzkumar
iŋko radzkumar
That prince
'No, he said, he awakened, THE PRINCE.' (TBDFSW_32)

The topical referent in the discourse in example (51a-c) is *radzkumar* 'the prince'. In example (51a), it is encoded by the pronoun *wa* 'he' whereas in (51b), the referentiality is indicated by zero anaphora. In (51c), however, the proposition ends up with the reportative marker *doʔkʰe* 'it is said' which most commonly happens to be the final constituent of a clause. In this point, the speaker guesses that the listeners may not track the indicated referent because there are two referents in the discourse.

They are the prince and his servant (the herder of the elephant). In this context, the speaker employs the Right-dislocation device and disambiguates the propositional information.

Right-dislocation is found to be commonly employed strategy. Examples in (52) further illustrate this phenomenon.

(52) a. *ja edoŋ oɦjǎ kʰaʔteŋ pokʰarita*

ja	edoi-ŋ	oɦjǎ	kʰaʔ-teŋ	pokʰari-ta
this	this-EMPH	horse	escape-SEQ	pond-LOC

tsi amlʰateŋ edʌi pokʰariko ɦaja

tsi	am-lʰa-teŋ	edʌi	pokʰari-ko	ɦaja
water	drink-INTENT-SEQ	this	pond-GEN	fish

bekar seʔnʰaɦi kelai

bekar	seʔ-nʰa-ɦi	kelai
in.vain	kill-1PL-PST	1PL

'The same horse went to the pond to drink water, we killed the fish in vein.' (TBDFSW_432)

b. *kalau tikarta oʔteŋ taʔɦi doʔkʰe*

kalau	tikar-ta	oʔ-teŋ	taʔ-ɦi	doʔ-kʰe
then	hump-LOC	vomit-SEQ	keep-PST	say-PRS

iŋko dzamalɦeŋ

iŋko	dzamal-ɦeŋ
that	child-DAT

'Then (the fish) vomitted the child and kept on a hump.' (TBDFSW_301)

c. *wa tsaregilkʰe aŋ iŋko ɦaja*

wa	tsare-gil-kʰe	aŋ	iŋko	ɦaja
3SG	graze-AMB-PRS	REP	that	fish

'It walks around grazing it is said, THE FISH.' (TBDFSW_302)

In example (52a), the first person plural pronoun *kelai* is right dislocated. Similarly in (52b), the object noun *dzamal* 'boy' and in (52c) the noun *ɦaja* 'fish' is right dislocated. In examples (52a) and (52b) the referents might be tracked from the discourse context. So, in (52c) the anaphoric pronoun *wa* '3SG' could be enough to

track the referent. But, the strategy of right dislocation is employed since the speaker thinks that there could be a sort of confusion in tracking the intended referent by the listener.

e. Dative shifting

In Dhimal, the dative shifting is another device to topicalize a participant for some pragmatic purposes. Givón (1993b: 216) notes that in dative shifting (promotion to direct object), the bi-transitive (two object) clauses, "the direct object tends to be more topical than the indirect object." The basis order of a ditransitive clause in Dhimal is: S- IO- DO-V. In contrast, while employed the dative shifting strategy, the referent in dative case occurs either in sentence initial position or in the sentence final position. Examples of the dative marked reference occurred in sentence initial position is presented, as in (53).

- (53) a. *kaŋko kərmə hai iska*
 kaŋ-ko kərmə hai iska
 1SG.OBL-GEN fate what this.kind
 kaseheŋ bʰəgwan haipali satʰ mapifi kaseheŋ
 ka-seheŋ bʰəgwan haipali satʰ ma-pi -fi ka-seheŋ
 1SG-DAT god why support NEG-give -PST 1SG-DAT
 'What a fate I have!' Why the god did not grace upon me?'(TBDFSW_259)
- b. *kalau seʔli gojaŋ*
 kalau seʔ-li goi-aŋ
 then kill-INF must-FUT
 jaseheŋ haja tsa wa doʔkʰe aŋ
 ja-seheŋ haja tsa wa doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 this-DAT fish eat DED say-IPFV REP
 'Then it must be killed (otherwise) the fish might eat it (they said).
 '(TBDFSW_291)

In example (53a), the dative-marked pronoun *ka-seheŋ* '1SG-DAT' is fronted to the clause initial position for the purpose of topicalization. Similarly in (53b), the third person singular dative-marked pronoun is topicalized for the pragmatic purpose.

The dative-marked referent may also be right dislocated to create some special pragmatic effect in the discourse, as in (54):

- (54) *hətəpəttə niʔhi doʔk^{he} iŋko haja*
hətəpəttə niʔ-fii doʔ-k^{he} iŋko haja
 quickly swallow-PST say-IPFV that fish
aroŋ iŋko dzamaleŋ
aro-ŋ iŋko dzamal-fieŋ
 again-EMPH that child-DAT
 'The fish swallowed (the child) at once. It swallowed the child again
 instantly.'(TBDFSW_320-321)

In example (54), the dative-marked referent is shifted to to clause final position to create some special effect on the event described.

12.3 Summary

In this chapter, we analyzed the contrastive and marked topic constructions in Dhimal. Different devices like discourse particles, intonation and constituent order may be utilized for focus and topicalization purposes. In Dhimal, the constituents of the clause may be freely dislocated within the clause to a great extent to topicalize, focus, contrast, emphasize and intensify the meaning of a constituent. Dhimal makes use of a number of discourse particles to modify the propositions in naturally occurring texts. The topic marker in Dhimal is *te*, which may be employed to topicalize personal pronouns, noun phrases, spatial and temporal adverbs and finite and non-finite verbs. To individuate a nominal element, a loan particle *tsaɦĩ* is used in abundance imparting different nuances of meaning. The individuating particle may also be employed to contrast a particular adverbial from other alternates. The inclusive particle *buŋ<bu* 'also' functions for the meaning 'also/too' in Dhimal. It also functions as an indefiniteness marker while co-occurred with the question word *hai* 'what'. Another very productive particle in Dhimal is the emphatic marker *aŋ~ŋ*. It has the widest distribution in terms of the elements it may modify to. In our text, it is found following nouns, pronouns (personal, demonstrative), nominalized verbs, infinitives and adverbs. To exclude a referent from other possible alternates Dhimal employs *k^{hini}ŋ* in the western dialect whereas the same function is performed by a borrowed particle *k^{hali}* in the eastern dialect. The focus particle *doŋ* is used to establish a marked focus relation between a referent of a proposition and the proposition itself. In some instances, *doŋ* is used to code a proposition which is contrary to expectation.

The notion of contrary expectation in Dhimal is imparted by the particles *ki* and *ro*. Another particle *b^huruŋ* is used in the sense of 'instead' in English. The adhortative particle *au* is used when the speaker expects an affirmative response or when wishes the request be accepted. Apart from the extensive use of discourse particles, different strategies are employed to mark a topic in terms of constituent order. Dhimal uses existential presentative constructions, Y-movement, Left-dislocation and right-dislocation. Dhimal also utilizes the dative-shifting strategy to topicalize a referent in pragmatically marked propositions.

CHAPTER 13

NON-DECLARATIVE SPEECH ACTS

13.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the non-declarative speech acts in Dhimal. It is divided into four sections. In section 13.1, we deal with the interrogative speech acts. Section 13.2 examines the different types of manipulative speech acts. In section 13.3, we discuss the process of negativization in Dhimal. Section 13.4 presents the summary of this chapter.

13.1 Interrogative speech acts

There are three types of speech act prototypes: declarative, interrogative and manipulative. In the preceding chapters, our discussion was concentrated mostly on the declarative speech act, in which the communicative goal of the speaker is to impart information (Watters 2002: 301). Therefore, it will not be dealt here, except when it needs to be distinguished the non-declarative speech acts from their declarative counterparts.¹

There are two main types of interrogative speech acts: yes/no-questions (polar questions) and wh-questions (constituent questions) in Dhimal.² They are discussed as follows.

13.1.1 Yes/no questions

The fundamental characteristic of yes/no question is that the question is neutral with respect to the expected answer: positive or negative. Givón (2011: 322) provides a logical condition for yes/no question, as in (1):

(1) Given proposition P, tell me, it is true or false?

However, the fact about languages is that the speakers do not ask yes/no-questions only with neutral expectations. Rather, they ask such questions with some bias

¹In Dhimal, as in Qiang (LaPolla 2003: 583), the unmarked clause is assumed to represent knowledge that the speaker is sure of, like a direct evidential.

²Yes-no questions are also referred to as "closed questions," because the set of possible answers is closed, containing just two members (yes and no). Content questions are referred to as "open questions," because the set of possible answers is open, with (theoretically) no limit to the number of potential responses (Kroeger 2005: 203).

towards either the affirmative or negative response. Moreover, the speaker's different initial biases can be coded by subtle variations in the grammatical form of yes/no question (Givón 2011: 312).

Cross-linguistically, as Givón (2001b: 294-95) notes "languages may use intonation, morphology and word order to code yes/no-questions."³ Of the three, according to Givón, intonation is probably the most universal. Morphology and word order, either separately or together, are added to intonation in some languages. Intonation alone can distinguish a yes/no question from its declarative counterpart in Dhimal. In line with this, Ebert (2003b: 543) notes that yes-no questions are marked only by intonation in Chamling (Rai-Kirati) language.

Basically yes-no questions in Dhimal are formed by means of a slightly raised intonation on a sentence⁴ whose grammatical form is the same as of the corresponding declarative proposition, as in (1):

- (1) a. *amai na ede puhjã dop^ha biñu pana*
 amai na ede puhjã dop^ha biñu **pa-a-na**
 mother.VOC 2SG this snake with marriage do-FUT-2
 'Dear, will you marry with this snake?' (LBDFSW_11)
- b. *na ñate ñanek^hena*
 na ñate **ñane-k^he-na**
 2SG market go-PRS-2
 'Do you go to market?'

In examples (1a, b), yes/no-questions are equivalent to their declarative counterparts except the slightly raised intonation assigned to the finite verbs (indicated in boldface). Thus, the basic pattern of marking the neutral yes/no question in Dhimal is the assignment of rising intonation to the questioned constituent of a sentence. However, in terms of the speaker's epistemic bias toward either the affirmative or negative response Yes/no questions in Dhimal may be further divided as follows:

³Kroeger (2005: 203) lists the most commonly used devices for marking Yes-No questions in descending order as: a. intonation, b. clitics or particles, c. verbal affix (interrogative mood) and, d. change in word order.

⁴Similar phenomenon is found in Tamang, however, a particle *wa* may follow a focalized word, phrase, or clause in a yes-no question (Mazaudon 2003: 310).

a. Focused yes/no question

Focused yes/no question is employed when the state/event is assumed to have occurred, but a particular component element whether the subject, object, verb or adverb, is not fully known to the speaker. This element is thus "the crux of a focused yes/no question" (Givón, 2001b: 293).

Dhimal uses only intonation to mark the constituent of focused yes/no question. Yes/no questions are most usually marked by slightly raised intonation only. Following are the examples:

(2) a. **Yes/no-question neutral (or verb focus)**

wa naseheŋ paɪsa pihi

wa *na-seheŋ* *paɪsa* ***pi-hi***
3SG 2SG-DAT money give-PST
'Did he GIVE you money?'

b. **Yes/no question (subject focus)**

wa naseheŋ paɪsa pihi

wa *na-seheŋ* *paɪsa* *pi-hi*
3SG 2SG-DAT money give-PST
'Did HE give you money?'

c. **Yes/no question (dative focus)**

wa naseheŋ paɪsa pihi

wa ***na-seheŋ*** *paɪsa* *pi-hi*
3SG 2SG-DAT money give-PST
'Did he give YOU money?'

d. **Yes/no question (patient focus)**

wa naseheŋ paɪsa pihi

wa *na-seheŋ* ***paɪsa*** *pi-hi*
3SG 2SG-DAT money give-PST
'Did he give you MONEY?'

e. **Yes/no question (adjunct focus)**

andzi wa naseheŋ paisa pihi

andzi wa na-seheŋ paisa pi-fi
 yesterday 3SG 2SG-DAT money give-PST
 'Did he give you money YESTERDAY?'

In example (2a), the questioned part of the proposition is the verb. Similarly, in (2b-e) different constituents (boldfaced) of the sentence are questioned with slightly raised intonation.

b. **Alternative question**

In alternative question, "both the affirmative and negative, or even a longer list of alternatives, are overtly expressed" (Givón 2001b: 292). In Dhimal, the questioned alternatives are simply juxtaposed to each other, as in (3):

(3) *ela naseŋ pər^heli niŋnu dzend^haŋ*

ela na-seheŋ pər^he-li niŋ-nu dzeŋ-d^ha-aŋ
 now 2SG-DAT study-INF get-COND become-CFC-FUT
b^haika lagik^he malagik^he
 b^haika **la-gi-k^he** **ma-lagi-k^he**
 like feel-PRS NEG-feel-PRS

'Now, do you feel like if you were educated (or) do not you feel like that?'

In example (3), the alternatives *lagik^he* and *malagik^he* (indicated in boldface) are simply juxtaposed to each other.

Alternatively, the conjunction *na* 'or' is used to mark alternative choice in yes/no-questions, as in (4):

(4) a. *k^haŋ naŋko oŋjã edoi dzjaŋ*

k^haŋ naŋ-ko oŋjã edoi dzeŋ-aŋ
 look.IMP 2SG.OBL-GEN horse this be-FUT
na madzjaŋ
 na ma-dzeŋ-aŋ
 PART NEG be-FUT

'Look, is that your own horse or is not that?' (TBDFSW_622)

b. *na gora amana na maamana*

na gora am-a-na na ma-am-a-na
 2SG alcohol drink-FUT-2 PART NEG-drink-FUT-2

'Will you drink liquor or not?

In examples (4a, b), the alternative particle *na* 'or' is employed to provide the option of the alternative choices between the alternates.

13.1.2 Wh-questions

Wh-questions or constituent questions are used typically when the speaker presupposes that the hearer shares with him the knowledge of a state/event, but the speaker still misses one element of that state/event. That missing element may be then the focus of the wh-question, the rest is its presupposed portion. The focus element of the wh-question may be the subject, object, indirect object, predicate or adverb (time, place, manner, reason etc).⁵ Dhimel employs the interrogative question words to encode different types of wh-questions, as in (5):

(5) Interrogative question words

<i>hai</i>	'what'	<i>hasu</i>	'who'
<i>het^{he}</i>	'how much/many'	<i>helau</i>	'when'
<i>hiso</i>	'where'	<i>heta</i>	'where'
<i>hidi</i>	'which'	<i>hisika</i>	'what kind/sort'

The interrogative question words in (5) are employed to seek the intended information. The interrogative question word, like in many other Tibeto-Burman languages (Dryer 2003: 50), remains in the position of the questioned constituent,⁶ as in (6):

⁵Givón (2001b: 300) asserts, "in principle, any case role --nominal, oblique or adverbial-- specified by the grammar may be placed under wh-focus. In many but not by any means all languages, the verb may also be placed under wh-focus."

⁶In terms of the position of a question word in the sentence, most languages use one of the two basic strategies: either the question word appears at the beginning of the sentence which is often called "wh-fronting" or the question word appears in the place where the constituent which it replaces would normally occur in a declarative sentence. This strategy is said that the question word remains *in situ* (Kroeger 2005: 206).

- (6) a. *hai k^harli goina u*
 hai k^har-li goi-na u
 what weep-INF must-2 PART
 'Why do you need to cry?' (TBDFSW_491)
- b. *k^han to inta hasu fi*
 k^han to inta hasu fi
 look.IMP PART there who be
 'See, who is there?' (TBDFSW_578)
- c. *hasu la do?k^he an*
 hasu la do?-k^he an
 who MIR say-PRS REP
 'Who might be (he says).' (TBDFSW_583)
- d. *radzahen hai do?*
 radza-hen hai do?
 king-DAT what say.IMP
 'What (you) say to the king is...' (TBDFSW_498)
- e. *wa hesapa idoi kam pahi*
 wa hesa-pa idoi kam pa-fi
 3SG how-ADVLZ this work do-PST
 'How did he do this work?'
- f. *wa he?lau lofi*
 wa he?lau lo-fi
 3SG when come-PST
 'When did he come?'
- g. *wa hiso hanifi*
 wa hiso hane-fi
 3SG where go-PST
 'Where did he go?'

- h. *hã kunu kã ama hai pahi*
 hã kunu kaŋ ama hai pa-fi
 yes than 1SG.OBL mother what do-PST
 'Really, then what did my mother do?' (TBDFSW_528)
- i. *na haipali lon^ha*
 na haipali lo-fi-na
 2SG why come-PST-2
 'Why did you come?'
- j. *na hasuko sa?ta fianek^hena*
 na hasu-ko sa?-ta fiane-k^he-na
 2SG who-GEN house-LOC go-PRS -2
 'Whose house do you go to?'

In examples (6a), (6d) and (6h) *hai* 'what' is employed to seek the missing information from the proposition. Similarly, in (6b) and (6c) *hasu* 'who'; in (6e) *hesapa* 'how'; in (6f) *he?lau* 'when'; in (6g) *hiso* 'where'; in (6i) *haipali* 'why' and in (6j) *hasuko* 'whose' are employed to seek the missing information from the proposition.

a. Multiple wh-questions

The most common strategy in wh-question is to presuppose the entire clause except for one element and then question that focused element. However, at least, in some languages, it is possible to formulate multiple wh-questions (Givón 2001b: 305). In Dhimal, more than one focused elements can be questioned, as in (7):

- (7) a. *naseheŋ hasu hai do?hi?*
 na-seheŋ hasu hai do?-fi
 2SG-DAT who what say-PST
 'Who said what to you?'
- b. *hasu hasu hede podta habe malikta hanik^he*
 hasu hasu hede pod-ta habe malik-ta fiane-k^he
 who who which position-LOC GF master-LOC go-PRS
 'Who goes to what post, umm, to what kind of master?' (TBDFSW_177)

- c. *edəi t^hameta hai dzənwər tsumteŋ hisoko*
 edəi t^hame-ta hai dzənwər tsuma-teŋ hiso-ko
 this place-LOC what animal bring-SEQ where-GEN
mənuʃə lofi
 mənuʃə lo-fi
 human being come-PST
 'Who might be the person that came here and what animal he brought?'
 (TBDFSW_25)

In example (7a), *hasu* 'who' and *hai* 'what' are employed to form multiple wh-questions. Similarly, in (7b), *hasu* 'who' and *hede* 'which' and in (7c) *hai* 'what' and *hiso* 'where' are employed to form multiple wh-questions.

b. Plurality in wh-question

Generally, the interrogative question words are not pluralized, i.e., they do not take the plural marking morpheme *-gelai*. To encode the plurality of the questioned element, the question word is repeated, as in (8):

- (8) a. *hasu hasu hede podta habe malikta hanik^{he}*
 [hasu hasu] hede pod-ta habe malik-ta hane-k^{he}
 who who which position-LOC GF master-LOC go-PRS
 'Who goes to what post, umm, to what kind of master?' (TBDFSW_177)
- b. *hasu hasu dzagir tsakata hanik^{he}*
 [hasu hasu] dzagir tsa-ka-ta hane-k^{he}
 who who job eat-NMLZ-LOC go-PRS
 'Who goes with a job holder?' (TBDFSW_178)
- c. *te kunu ela hai hai pali goika*
 te kunu ela [hai hai] pa-li goi-ka
 okay than now what what do-INF must-NMLZ
 'Okay then, now what different things should be done?' (TBDFSW_120)

In examples (8a, b), the repeated question word *hasu* 'who' encodes the sense of plurality. Similarly in (8c) the question word *hai* 'what' is repeated to encode the same.

13.1.3 Negative polarity indefinites

In many languages of the area, including Nepali, the most common way to say 'no one', nothing, never etc. is to use an interrogative word followed by the intensifier 'also/even' (Mazaudon 2003: 310). In line with this areal feature, Dhimal employs *buŋ* 'also' or *doŋ* 'emphatic marker', as in (9). Negative polarity indefinites may also be used in question.

- (9) a. *ita hasu buŋ malohi*
ita hasu buŋ ma-lo-fi
here who also NEG-come-PST
'Nobody came here?'
- b. *wa haidoŋ matsahi*
wa hai doŋ ma-tsa-fi
3SG what EMPH NEG-eat-PST
'He ate nothing at all'

In example (9a) the particle *buŋ* 'also' is employed to intensify the non-occurrence of the event. Similarly in (9b) the emphatic marker *doŋ* is employed for the similar function. We have discussed the discourse-pragmatic differences of *buŋ* and *doŋ* in Chapter 12.

13.2 Manipulative speech acts

Manipulative speech acts are the verbal acts by which the speaker attempts to get the hearer to act (Givón 2001b: 311). The imperative, hortative, optative and imperious are manipulative speech acts found in Dhimal. They are discussed as follows.

13.2.1 Imperative

In Dhimal, the bare stem form of the verb serves as the basis of imperative speech act. The implied subject manipulee of imperative is always the second person singular. The manipulee, in general, is not overtly expressed. If the subject manipulee is dual, the bare stem is followed by the dual marker *-se* whereas if it is plural the collective marker *-su* is employed to encode the subject-verb agreement.

a. Singular subject

In case of the singular subject, the bare-stem form of the verb serves as the imperative speech act, as in (10):

(10) a. *um tsa*

um tsa
rice eat.IMP
'Eat rice!'

b. *na edəi dzamaleŋ tʰəpəkkəi tsumpu pose*

na edəi dzamal-eŋ tʰəpəkkəi tsuma-pu pose
2SG this child-DAT immediately bring-AND.IMP rear.IMP
'You take this child instantly and take care of it.' (TBDFSW_355)

We may see in examples (10a, b) that the bare-stem form of the verb serves as the imperative speech act in Dhimal.

When the speaker shows kindness/affection towards the manipulee, the morpheme *-tsa* follows the bare-stem form of the verb, as in (11):

(11) *te kunu fiane-tsa doʔhi doʔkʰe*

te kunu fiane-tsa doʔ-hi doʔ-kʰe
okay than go.IMP-AFF say-PST say-PRS
'Okay, go now, he said (affectionately).' (TBDFSW_510)

In example (11), the morpheme *-tsa* is employed to encode the kindness/affection towards the manipulee.

Sometimes, the manipulee reference marker follows the affection marker, as in (12):

(12) *te fiane-tsana doʔkʰe aŋ*

te fiane-tsa-na doʔ-kʰe aŋ
okay go.IMP-AFF-2 say-PRS REP
'Okay, go dear (he says), it is said.' (TBDFSW_512)

In example (12), the morpheme *-tsa* encodes the sense of affection/kindness expressed by the speaker towards the manipulee.

b. Dual subject

The dual subject marker in imperative verbal complex is *-se* which is directly attached to the bare-verb stem, as in (13):

- (13) a. *um tsase*
 um [tsa-se]
 rice eat-IMP.DU
 'Eat (you two) rice!'
- b. *ei kants^{hi} marp^{ha} lo te te te inta*
 ei kants^{hi} marp^{ha} lo te te te inta
 hey Kanchhi quickly come.IMP okay okay okay there
bistaragelai daʔse
 bistara-gelai [daʔ-se]
 bed-PL stretch.bed-IMP.DU
 'Hey kanchhi come fast, okay stretch (you two) the bed there.' (TBDFSW_170)
- c. *intaŋ bistara daʔteŋ tajar*
 inta-ŋ bistara daʔ-teŋ tajar
 there-EMPH bed stretch.bed-SEQ ready
dzenteŋ hiise doʔk^{he} aŋ
 dzeŋ-teŋ [hi-se] doʔ-k^{he} aŋ
 be-SEQ sit-IMP.DU say-PRS REP
 'Make the bed and sit there after getting ready.' (TBDFSW_173)

In examples (13a-c) the dual number marker *-se* is attached to the imperative verbal complex to encode the duality of the manipulee.

c. Plural subject

The plural subject of the imperative speech act is encoded by the collective marker *-su* which is directly attached to the bare-verb stem, as in (14):

- (14) a. *um tsasu*
 um [tsa-su]
 rice eat-IMP.COL
 'Eat (you all) rice!'

- b. *nelai bitsar pasu to*
 nelai bitsar [pa-su] to
 2PL thought do-IMP.COL PART
 'You (all) contemplate over (it).' (MMD1HRW_47)
- c. *nelai kaŋ kat^ha doʔka ma doʔsu au*
 nelai kaŋ kat^ha doʔ-ka [ma-doʔ-su] au
 2PL 1SG.OBL story say-NMLZ NEG-say-IMP.COL PART
 'Please you (all) do not say that I told you the story.' (MMD2MWW_61)
- d. *misiŋ tsumasu meʔ d^ho:su*
 misiŋ tsuma-su meʔ [d^ho:-su]
 firewood bring-IMP.COL fire light-IMP.COL
 'Bring the firewood, light the fire.' (MMD2MWW_64)

In examples (14a-d) the collective marker *-su* is attached to the imperative verbal complex to encode the plurality of the manipulee.

d. Imperative with in laws

Dhimal possesses special honorific verbal suffix to encode the in-laws relation between/among the speech act participants. Hence, the imperative verbs are marked by the suffix *-du* to encode this relation irrespective of number of the referents, as in (15):

- (15) *um tsadu*
 um tsa-du
 rice eat-IMP.HON
 'Please, eat rice (honorific)!'

In example (15), the morpheme *-du* is employed to encode the honorificity expressed by the speaker towards the manipulee with in-law relation.

The imperative speech acts have covert second person subjects in general. However, for the purpose of emphasis or strong persuasion, the subject is overtly realized, as in (16):

- (16) *na kosom tsa*
 na kosom tsa
 2SG oath eat.IMP
 'You take an oath.' (TBDFSW_500)

The discourse context in example (16) is that a horse requests to its human servant to lie to the king for the sake of saving the horse's own life.

e. Negative imperative

Negative imperative in Dhimal is formed through the prefixation of the negative morpheme *ma-* to the imperative form of verb. Following are the examples:

(17) a. **Singular subject**

um matsa
 um ma-tsa
 rice NEG-eat.IMP
 'Do not eat rice.'

b. **Dual subject**

um matsase
 um ma-tsa-se
 rice NEG-eat-IMP .DU
 '(You two) do not eat rice.'

c. **Plural subject**

um matsasu
 um ma-tsa-su
 rice NEG-eat-IMP.COL
 '(You all) do not eat rice!'

In examples (17a-c), the imperative predicates are negativized through the prefixation of the negative morpheme *ma-*.

f. Politeness in unmarked imperative

Persuasive particle *ni* follows the imperative verbal complex to encode politeness in unmarked imperative Dhimal, as in (18). This particle resembles to the particle *ni* employed for the same function in Nepali.

- (18) a. *jom ni*
 jom ni
 sit.IMP PART
 'Have a sit please.'
- b. *kaŋko saʔta losu ni*
 kaŋ-ko saʔ-ta lo-su ni
 ISG.OBL-GEN home-LOC come-IMP.COL PART
 'Please come (you all) to my home!'

In examples (18a, b), the politeness towards the manipulee is expressed through the help of the particle *ni*.

13.2.2 Hortative

In the hortative (manipulative) speech-act, the speaker invites a second person manipulee to join them in performing action (Givón 2011: 307). In Dhimal, the suffix *-siŋ* and *-aine* are attached to the bare verb root for dual and plural referents respectively. Hortative speech acts in Dhimal are described as follows:

a. Dual hortative

The suffix *-siŋ* is attached to the verb root to encode the situation when the speaker invites the second person singular speech act participant to join with her/him in action/event/state, as in (19):

- (19) a. *ela səntosta pasin*
 ela səntos-ta [pa-sin]
 now satisfaction-LOC do-HORT.DU
 'Now let's (two) get satisfied.' (TBDFSW_154)
- b. *bistara daʔ nani ʃaidonj matsasiŋ*
 bistara daʔ nani ʃaidonj [ma-tsa-sin]
 bed stretch.bed.IMP today anything NEG-eat-HORT.DU
 'Prepare the bed, let's (two) do not eat anything today.' (TBDFSW_152)
- c. *kalau te n^he basa te dzeŋʃoi*
 kalau te n^he basa te dzeŋ-ʃoi
 then okay two night.stay TOP become-PFV

aroŋ eʔ basa hisiŋ

aro-ŋ eʔ basa [hi-siŋ]

again-EMPH one night.stay sit-HORT.DU

'Now, it has been two day's stay, let's (two) stay one more day.' (TBDFSW_131)

d. *enoŋ kei mako kei pateŋ*

e-long kei ma-ko kei pa-ten

one-CLF some NEG-be some do-SEQ

hianisiŋ doʔhi doʔkʰe

[hane-siŋ] doʔ-fi doʔ-kʰe

go-HORT.DU say-PST say-PRS

'Let's go back having done something at least.' (TBDFSW_131)

In examples (19a-d), the dual hortative suffix *-siŋ* is attached to the verbal bases to encode the hortative dual speech act.

b. Plural hortative

The suffix *-aine* is attached to the verb root to encode the situation when the speaker invites more than two speech act participants to join her/him in an action/event/state, as in (20):

(20) a. *iŋko buŋ badzi gʰaine doʔhi aŋ*

iŋko bu-ŋ badzi [gʰa-aine] doʔ-fi aŋ

that also-EMPH wager play-HORT.PL say-PST REP

'Let's play that wager as well.' (TBDFSW_179)

b. *tsarbaʔota inta dzʰupədi banaiten*

tsarbaʔo-ta inta dzʰupədi banai-ten

crossroads-LOC there hot make-SEQ

wasefiŋ inta taʔtaine

wa-sefiŋ inta [taʔt-aine]

3SG-DAT there keep-HORT.PL

'Let's make a hot at the cross-roads and keep her there.' (TBDFSW_277)

- c. *iŋko bridzabəŋko dz^harta sikar g^hali ɦanaine*
 iŋko bridzabəŋ-ko dz^har-ta sikar g^ha-li [ɦane-aine]
 that big.jungle-GEN jungle-LOC hunt play-INF go-HORT.PL
 'Let's go for hunting to the big jungle'. (TBDFSW_11)
- d. *te ɦanaine ela tataiko ɦabe*
 te [ɦane-aine] ela tatai-ko ɦabe
 okay go-HORT.PL now self.self-GEN GF
kot^hata doʔk^he aŋ
 kot^ha-ta doʔ-k^he aŋ
 room-LOC say-PRS REP
 'Okay, let's go now into our respective rooms.' (TBDFSW_121)
- e. *kelai um tsaine*
 kelai um [tsa-aine]
 1PL rice eat-HORT.PL
 'Let's eat rice.'

In examples (20a-e), the plural hortative morpheme *-aine* is attached to the verb root to encode hortative plural sense.

c. Negative hortative

The negative hortative are formed through the prefixation of negative morpheme *ma-* to the verbal complex that encodes the hortative speech act, as in (21):

- (21) a. *maremka kam mapaine*
 ma-rem-ka kam [ma-pa-aine]
 NEG-be.good-NMLZ work NEG-do-HORT.PL
 'Let's not do improper work.'
- b. *nani kid^hin^hemi maɦanesiŋ*
 nani kid^hin^hemi [ma-ɦane-siŋ]
 today 1.DU NEG-go-HORT.DU
 'Let's not do improper work.'

In example (21a), the hortative plural verbal complex is negativized through the negative prefix *ma-*. Similarly, in (21b) the hortative dual verbal complex is negativized through the same process.

In Dhimal, the hortative speech act is also found to be expressed with a particle *ti*. According to one of our language consultants, the hortative particle *ti* is employed when the speech act participants want the action be completed immediately. Following are the examples:

- (22) a. *ti g^huraili f^haidon ma niŋlau buŋ*
 ti g^hurai-li f^haidon ma-niŋ-lau bu-ŋ
 let's go stroll-INF anything NEG-get-TEMP also-EMPH
liʔpaŋ g^huraisiŋ g^haraisiŋ aroŋ itaŋ
 liʔpaŋ g^hurai-siŋ g^haraisiŋ aro-ŋ ita-ŋ
 whole.day stroll-HORT.DU REDUP again-EMPH here-EMPH
losiŋ doʔk^he aŋ moʃotjaʃeŋ
 lo-siŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ moʃotja-ʃeŋ
 come-HORT.DU say-PRS REP elephant.herder-DAT
 'Let's go immediately to stroll, even if we will not get anything strolling around we will be back, he said to the herder' (TBDFSW_144)
- b. *fĩ insa panu ti*
 fĩ insa pa-nu ti
 yes! like.that do-cond let's go
 'Oh, if it's so, let's go immediately.' (TBDFSW_532)
- c. *ti kunu doʔk^he aŋ*
 ti kunu doʔ-k^he aŋ
 let's go then say-PRS REP
 'Let's go immediately then (he says).' (TBDFSW_537)

In examples (22a-c), the hortative particle *ti* is employed to encode the proposal be accepted by the speech act participants immediately.

13.2.3 Optative

Optative mood codes a proposition that predicates something the speaker hopes for or wishes would be true. In Dhimal, the optative mood is morphologically marked by the suffix *-ako*. The suffix is directly attached to the verb root, as in (23):

- (23) a. *madzdzaso giroko jomteŋ*
 madzdz-a-so giro-ko jom-teŋ
 pleasure-ABL cross.legged-GEN sit-SEQ
tsali amli ninako
 tsa-li am-li niŋ-ako
 eat-INF drink-INF get-OPT
 'May I get eating and drinking sitting cross-legged happily!' (TBDFSW_190)
- b. *enoŋ kurtsita jomteŋ fiili ninako*
 e-long kurtsi-ta jom-teŋ fi-li niŋ-ako
 one-CLF chair-LOC sit-SEQ be-INF get-OPT
 'May I keep on sitting on a chair!' (TBDFSW_193)
- c. *edəi kat^ha bəikun^hə hanako*
 edəi kat^ha bəikun^hə hane-ako
 this story heaven go-OPT
 'May this story go to the heaven!' (TBDFSW_630)
- d. *kana dzo ki inta liʔta buŋ*
 kana dzo ki inta liʔta bu-ŋ
 hole jo that there inside also-EMPH
fiawa b^herma tsafĩ dulako
 fiawa b^herma tsafĩ [dul-ako]
 wind wind IND enter-OPT
musarko iŋko fiabe liʔta b^herma dulako
 musar-ko iŋko fiabe liʔta b^herma [dul-ako]
 mushroom-GEN that GF inside wind enter-OPT
 'May the air get up to the mushroom seeds through the hole.' (KRDMPW_93)

e. *te to eloŋ narja h̥jako*
 te to e-loŋ narja [fi-ako]
 okay PART one-CLF elephant sit-OPT
 'May an elephant sit!'(TBDFSW_41)

f. *nelaiko kam səpʰəl dzenako*
 nelai-ko kam səpʰəl [dzeŋ-ako]
 2PL-GEN work success become-OPT
 'May your work be successful!'

In examples (23a-f), we see that in case of optative speech act, the suffix *-ako* is employed irrespective of the number of participants in the subject position.

a. Negative optative

As in case of the hortative, the negative optative is formed through the prefixation of the negative morpheme *ma-* to the optative verbal complex, as in (24):

(24) a. *oripəri tsafĩ tsi gaʔ-pi-kʰa rə osere*
 oripəri tsafĩ tsi gaʔ-pi-kʰa rə osere
 around IND water spray-AND-PRS.1SG and medicine
ǽ iŋko bʰusuna malagjako doʔteŋ
 ǽ iŋko bʰusuna [ma-lagi-ako] doʔ-teŋ
 umm that small.fly NEG-happen-OPT say-SEQ
 'Having said that the small flies do not affect, I sprinkle water and pesticide around.' (KRDMPW_143)

b. *naŋko sotseka səpʰəl madzenako*
 naŋ-ko sotse-ka səpʰəl ma-dzeŋ-ako
 2SG.OBL-GEN think-NMLZ success NEG-become-OPT
 'May your wish not fulfilled!'

In example (24a), the verb *lage* 'happen' followed by the optative marker *-ako* is prefixed with *ma-* to form the negative optative. Similarly, in (24b) the optative verbal complex *dzenako* 'may become' is prefixed with *ma-* to form negative optative.

13.2.4 Imperious speech act

Imperious mood in Dhimial marks the speaker's subjective judgment towards a proposition and its possible impact on the addressee.⁷ King (2002: 6-7) maintains that the western dialect has two constructions involving a singular subject and a second person objects that index a marked transitive relation between the participants in contrast to the subject agreement seen in the nominative system. He further notes "the first person indexes a 1SG→2 scenario, while the second indexes a 3SG→2 scenario." The imperious moods in Dhimial are discussed as follows:

a. Imperious 1SG→2

The 1SG→2 scenario, marked by the suffix *-niŋ* attached to the verb, encodes the marked transitive relation between a first person singular subject and second person object in the imperious mood, as in (25):

- (25) *naŋko tsamindi kaŋko dop^ha biŋu*
naŋ-ko tsamindi kaŋ-ko dop^ha biŋu
2SG.OBL-GEN daughter 1SG.OBL-GEN with marriage
papina panu naseheŋ laʔpjaniŋ
pa-pi-na pa-nu na-seheŋ [laʔ-pi-aŋ-niŋ]
do-AND-2 do-COND 2SG-DAT leave-BEN-FUT-1SG→2
ma papina panu naseheŋ tso:teŋ seʔtaniŋ
ma-pa-pi-na pa-nu na-seheŋ tso:-teŋ [seʔt-aŋ-niŋ]
NEG-do-BEN-2SG do-COND 2SG-DAT bite-SEQ kill-FUT-1SG→2
'If you are ready to get your daughter married with me I'll leave you alive,
otherwise I'll bite you to death.' (LBDFSW_09)

In example (25), the verbal complexes *laʔpjaniŋ* and *seʔtaniŋ* encode the imperious mood of first person singular subject acting upon the second person.

b. Imperious 3SG→2

The 3SG→2 scenario, the marked transitive relation between a third person singular subject and a second person object is marked through the suffixation of the morpheme

⁷Comrie and Smith (1977) describes similar phenomenon as "monitory (warning)" (LDQ 2.1.3.4.11).

-*nau*. Such constructions are employed when someone suggests the second person speech act participant about possible threat from the third person, as in (26):⁸

- (26) a. *makunu naŋko inta lokara k^huwa*
 makunu naŋ-ko inta lokara k^huwa
 otherwise 2SG.OBL-GEN there leopard tiger
fiinu te sodz^haŋ dz^hamritanau ro
 fi-nu te sodz^ha-ŋ [dz^hamriʔt-aŋ-nau ro
 be-COND TOP direct-EMPH attack-FUT-3SG→2 PART
 'Otherwise, if there will be any tiger or leopard, it will attach you directly.'
 (KLD3INSTW_08)

- b. *naseheŋ otaŋ b^hetjanau bakkapanau*
 na-seheŋ ota-ŋ [b^hete-aŋ-nau] [bakka-pa-nau]
 2SG-DAT there-EMPH catch-FUT-3SG→2 fall.down-CAUS-3SG→2
 '(It) will catch you right away there and make you fall down.'
 (KLD3INSTW_08)

In examples (26a, b), the verbal complexes *dz^hamritanau*, *b^hetjanau* and *bakkapanau* encode the imperious mood of third person singular subject acting upon second person.

13.3 Negation

The negation (phrasal and clausal) in Dhimial is marked by the prefix *ma-*.⁹ Prefixation of the morpheme *ma-* is the only way of negativization in Dhimial.¹⁰ Both the non-finite and finite verbs are negativized through the prefixation of the same morpheme. The finite verbal complex in Dhimial is negated by the prefix *ma-*, as in (27):

⁸ See (King 2002) for detail.

⁹ In Kham, the negative and the Yes-no interrogative make use of the same verbal prefix *ma-* (Watters 2003: 697).

¹⁰ In Kirati languages, verbs are negated by a negative prefix (mostly *ma(n)-*, *mi-*), in SE languages also by a negative suffix or by both. (Ebert 2003a: 513).

- (27) a. *ei maili marp^ha malana samae*
 ei maili marp^ha ma-lo-aŋ-na samae
 hey maili fast NEG-come-FUT-2 time
bitik^hoi doʔk^he aŋ
 biti-k^hoi doʔ-k^he aŋ
 pass-INC say-PRS REP
 'Hey Maili, the time is running out, will not you come fast?' (TBDFSW_163)
- b. *radzkumarfiŋ nindra malofii doʔk^he*
 radzkumar-fiŋ nindra ma-lo-fii doʔ-k^he
 prince-DAT sleep NEG-come-PST say-PRS
 'The prince could not fall asleep (it is said).' (TBDFSW_72)
- c. *naŋko oŋjã bɒnda dana buŋ matsak^he*
 naŋ-ko oŋjã bɒnda dana bu-ŋ ma-tsa-k^he
 2SG.OBL-GEN horse at.all fodder also-EMPH NEG-eat-PRS
tsi buŋ maamk^he
 tsi bu-ŋ ma-am-k^he
 water also-EMPH NEG-drink-PRS
 'Neither your horse eats fodder nor does it drink water.' (TBDFSW_444 - 445)

In example (27a), the finite verb in future tense is negated by the prefix *ma-*. Similarly, in (27b) and (27c) the finite verbs in past tense and present tense are negated by the same process.¹¹

The non-finite/nominalized verb is negated as shown in the examples (28):

- (28) a. *kalau fiŋanikataŋ fiŋanikataŋ*
 kalau fiŋane-ka-ta-aŋ fiŋane-ka-ta-aŋ
 then go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH

¹¹Unlike in Dhimal, Kirati languages often lack tense markers when negativized (Ebert 2003a: 513).

hanikataŋ hanikataŋ

hane-ka-ta-aŋ hane-ka-ta-aŋ
go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH

dzihãdzuileŋ eloŋ haidoŋ mad^{hi}?ka

dzifã dzuileŋ e-loŋ haidoŋ ma-d^{hi}?-ka
bird lizard one-CLF anything NEG-get-NMLZ

t^hameta t^hukal^haŋi do?k^he aŋ

t^hame-ta t^huka-l^ha-fi do?-k^he aŋ
place-LOC reach-INTENT-PST say-PRS REP

'Then, going continuously, (they) reached to a place where even no birds were available, it is said.' (TBDFSW_13)

b. *kalau utaso iŋko radzkumar tsafĩ*

kalau uta-so iŋko radzkumar tsafĩ
then there-ABL that prince IND

ekdam wa madzimsiŋ r^humteŋ hik^he aŋ

ekdam wa ma-dzim-siŋ r^hum-teŋ fi-k^he aŋ
consistently 3SG NEG-sleep-PURP r^hum-SEQ sit-PRS REP

'And the prince sits waiting not even sleeping from onward.'

(TBDFSW_85)

c. *masa?nu te naŋ pipu*

ma-sa?-nu te na-aŋ pi-pu
NEG-believe-COND TOP 2SG-EMPH give-AND.IMP

dana do?k^he aŋ

dana do?-k^he aŋ
fodder say-PRS REP

'It you do not believe me give the fodder to (the horse) yourself.'

TBDFSW_447)

In example (28a), the nominalized verb of the relative clause is negativized through the negative prefix. Similarly, in (28b), the non-finite verb of the purposive clause is negativized through the same process. In (28c) the conditional clause is also negativized by the negative prefix.

Absolute negative propositions are formed by the repetition of the negative prefix, as in (29):

- (29) a. *ad^hjan pali tsafĩ mamañaneka wa*
 ad^hjan pa-li tsafĩ ma-ma-ñane-ka wa
 study do-INF IND NEG-NEG-go-NMLZ 3SG
 'He did not go to study at all.' (TBDFSW_04)
- b. *ka ela t^hekapa buŋ mamamagik^ha*
 ka ela t^hekapa bu-ŋ ma-ma-ma-gi-g^ha
 1SG now up to also-EMPH NEG-NEG-NEG-know-PRS.1SG
 'I do not know at all even up to now.' (CLDDRW_27)

In examples (29a-b), the absolute negative proposition is formed through the reduplication of the negative prefix *ma-*.

The copula verb *-ko* is negated by the prefix *ma-*, as in (30):

- (30) *mako doʔk^he aŋ naŋgaʔfi*
 ma-ko doʔ-k^he aŋ naŋgaʔ-fi
 NEG-COP say-PRS REP be.awaken-PST
doʔk^he iŋko radzkumar
 doʔ-k^he iŋko radzkumar
 say-PRS that prince
 'No, he said, the prince awakened (it is said).' (TBDFSW_32)

The modal/aspectual verbs may also be negated by the same process, as in (31):

- (31) a. *kelai te atuisa diñẽ ñanili madon^hañi*
 kelai te atuisa diñẽ ñane-li ma-do-n^ha-ñi
 1PL TOP little west go-INF NEG-be.able-1PL-PST
 'We could not be able to go a bit west. (TBDFSW_35)
- b. *ka te ekdam kampali magoika ekdam*
 ka te ekdam kam-pa-li ma-go-i-ka
 1SG TOP complete work-CAUS-INF NEG-must-NMLZ

dʰʌni sita ʃanaŋka dʰʌni pariwar

ekdʌm	dʰʌni	si-ta	ʃane-aŋ-ka	dʰʌni	pariwar
complete	rich	house-	go-FUT-1SG	rich	family

LOC

'As for me, I will marry in a rich house where no work is to be done.'

(TBDFSW_59)

The non-declarative speech acts like hortative, imperative and optative are likewise negated by the prefix *ma-*, as in (32):

(32) a. *bistara daʔ nani ʃaidoŋ matsasiŋ*

bistara	daʔ	nani	ʃaidoŋ	ma-tsa-siŋ
bed	stretch.bed.IMP	today	anything	NEG-eat-HORT.DU

'Prepare the bed, let's not eat anything today.' (TBDFSW_152)

b. *ʔ dzʌsto bisadi oseregəlai iŋko makra*

dzʌsto	bisadi	osere-gelai	iŋko	makra
like	pesticides	medicine-PL	that	spider

bʰusunagalai malagjako doʔteŋ

bʰusuna-gelai	ma-lagi-ako	doʔ-teŋ
small.fly-PL	NEG-happen-OPT	say-SEQ

'In the hope that the small flies and spiders do not affect.'

(KRDMPW_146)

In example (32a), the hortative verb is negated by the prefix *ma-*. Similarly, in (32b) the optative verb is also negativized through the same process.

13.4 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the various types of non-declarative speech acts formed by employing various morphosyntactic strategies in Dhimal. The non-declarative speech acts in Dhimal include interrogative, imperative, optative, hortative and imperious constructions. Polar questions in Dhimal are constructed simply through the slightly raised intonation added to the questioned part of its declarative counterpart. Alternative questions are made either simply juxtaposing the alternates or mediated by alternative marker *-na*. The constituent questions (wh-questions) in Dhimal are formed with the help of different interrogative pronouns. Wh-questions

have the same word order as of the declarative sentences with the interrogative words *in situ*. Multiple wh-questions are formed with the help of different wh-questions placed in the same proposition. Imperative constructions are made by bare verb stem in case of singular subject whereas dual and plural referents are marked in the verbal complex by *-se* and *-su*, respectively. Dhimal employs honorific marker for the people with in-law relation. The morpheme *-du* added to the verb root indicates the relationship between the speech act participants, i.e., being in in-law relation. The optative construction does not agree with the number of participants wished for. Consequently the morpheme *-ako*, invariably indicates the optative mood. Hortative mood is marked by *-siŋ* in case of dual subject whereas plurality in the part of subject is marked by the suffix *-aine*. The imperious moods are marked by *-niŋ* and *-nau* in Dhimal. In case of imperious, if the first person is acting upon the second person the morpheme *-niŋ* follows the verb stem. In case of the third person acting upon the second person, the morpheme *-nau* follows the verb stem. Negation is invariably marked by the negative prefix *ma-* in Dhimal.

CHAPTER 14

INTER-CLAUSAL COHERENCE

14.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the inter-clausal coherence in Dhimal. It consists of four sections. In section 14.1, we deal with different types of finite and non-finite subordinate clauses in Dhimal. Section 14.2 looks at the participial clauses in Dhimal. In section 14.3, we deal with the types of coordinate clauses. Section 14.4 presents the summary of this chapter.

14.1 Adverbial subordinate clauses

Following Givón (2011: 357), adverbial clauses can be viewed from two perspectives. From the "narrower perspective", we look at the various types of adverbial clauses according to "their semantic link to the adjacent main clause". In contrast, viewed from the broader perspective, "adverbial clauses perform an important communicative function, helping establish discourse coherence at the chain, paragraph or episode level." We focus mainly on the types of adverbial clauses and their semantic link to the main clause. However, we also take account of the discourse coherence of the adverbial clauses in Dhimal.¹

Dhimal employs two devices for making subordinate clauses. They are subordinating morphemes and special verb forms.² A special verb form is one which is not used in independent clauses. In languages with subject-verb agreement, the special verb form may be a non-finite form which lacks one or more agreement categories. Different types of subordinate clauses in Dhimal are discussed in terms of syntactic and semantic properties as follows:

¹The subordinate clauses like clausal subjects and objects (nominal clauses), verbal complements inside the VP (Chapter 10) and relative clauses inside the NP (Chapter 11) are already described. In this chapter, we deal with the subordinate adverbial clauses and coordinate chained clauses.

²Noonan (1999: 401) states that the Chhantyal, one of the TB languages of the Tamangic group spoken in Nepal, does not utilize finite subordinate clauses, coordination, or clause chaining to accomplish clause linkage. But it only employs non-finite subordinate clauses for this purpose.

14.1.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses specify the temporal relation of an adverbial clause to its main clause (Givón 2001b: 330). The local link between a temporal adverbial clause and its adjacent main clause involves the temporal relation between two events/states. Whaley (1997: 251) states that the adverbial structures can function to provide information about the relative temporal ordering of two events, and the tense of the adverbial construction is only determinable by its relation to the main clause. It carries no independent marking for tense. Local temporal links of adverbial clauses may be distinguished as follows:

a. Precedence

The time of the state/event encoded in the subordinate clause precedes the time of the main clause. Temporal precedence in Dhimal is encoded by the sequential form of the verb *kʰaŋ* 'see' grammaticalized as *kʰanteŋ* followed by a temporal adverbial *lampʰa* 'before', as in (1):

- (1) a. *ka um tsaka kʰanteŋ lampʰa*
ka um tsa-ka [kʰaŋ-teŋ lampʰa]
1SG rice eat-NMLZ see-SEQ before
wa haneka hiŋgʰakʰe
wa hane-ka hi-gʰa-hi
3SG go-NMLZ be-IPFV-PST
'He had gone before I ate rice.'
- b. *um miŋka kʰanteŋ lampʰaŋ dzihã tsaŋhi*
um miŋ-ka [kʰaŋ-teŋ lampʰa-aŋ] dzihã tsa-hi
rice ripen-NMLZ see-SEQ before-EMPH bird eat-PST
'The bird ate up the rice before it ripened.'

In examples (1a, b), we see that the temporal precedence in Dhimal is expressed through the sequential verbal form followed by the time adverbial *lampʰa* 'before'.

b. Subsequence

The time of the state/event encoded in the subordinate clause follows the time of the main clause. Longacre (2007: 380) defines the succession as an underlying *and then*

relation. Temporal subsequence in Dhimal is encoded by the sequential converb or nominalized verb followed by time adverbial *n^huso* 'after' as in, (2):

- (2) a. *bifū dzetɛŋ n^huso tsamindi sa ɦaniɦi*
 bifū dzeŋ-ten n^huso tsamindi sa ɦane-fi
 marriage become-SEQ after daughter home go-PST
 'After getting married, the daughter went to (her husband's) home.'
- b. *ka loka n^huso wa um tsafi*
 ka lo-ka n^huso wa um tsa-fi
 1SG come-NMLZ after 3SG rice eat-PST
 'He ate rice, after I came (lit. I came after he ate rice).'

In example (2a), we see that the temporal succession in Dhimal is expressed through the sequential verbal complex followed by the time adverbial *n^huso* 'after'. Alternately, the position of the sequential converb may be occupied by the nominalized verb, as in (2b). However, the nominalizing strategy seems to be the periphrastic way to encode the subsequent events.

c. Simultaneity

The time of the state/event encoded in the subordinate clause is simultaneous to the time of the main clause. Longacre (2007: 379) refers to simultaneity as overlap and states that the overlap encodes underlying *meanwhile* and *at the same time* relations. They are coterminous in that two actions are considered to start and stop at roughly the same time. Temporal simultaneity in Dhimal is mainly encoded by the temporal converbal suffix *-lau*, as in (3):

- (3) a. *imblai su mi lolau te dz^hagm^hag*
 imblai su-mi lo-lau te
 3PL three-HCLF come-TEMP TOP
 dzeŋg^hak^he doʔk^he
 dz^hagm^hag dzeŋ-g^ha-k^he doʔ-k^he
 flash.out be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS
 'When three of them came, it flashed bright.'(TBDFSW_124)

b. *fiate hanelau wasehenj dusug^ha*

fiate hane-lau wa-sehenj dusu-g^ha
 market go-TEMP 3SG-DAT meet-PST.1SG
 'I met him while going to the market.'

c. *kalau k^han^hlau te wa an^h fi la*

kalau k^han^h-lau te wa an^h fi la
 then look-TEMP TOP 3SG EMPH be MIR

d^hokata jomtenj dwarta

d^hoka-ta jom-tenj dwar-ta
 door-LOC sit-SEQ door-LOC

'When (he) sees, she (nobody else) is sitting there in the door.'
 (TBDFSW_581)

The morpheme *-lau* in the examples (3a-c), encodes the temporal sense in general.³ When one needs to encode the exact simultaneity, the verb in the dependent clause remains in iterative form, and is followed by the temporal suffix *-lau* attached to the verb *pa* 'do', as in (4):

(4) *ka um tsakatan^h palau wa lofi*

ka um tsa-ka-ta-an^h pa-lau wa lo-fi
 1SG rice eat-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH do-TEMP 3SG come-PST
 'He came when I was eating rice.'

In example (4), the iterative form of the main verb followed by the verb *pa* marked with the temporal suffix encodes the semantics of the exact simultaneity.

Furthermore, the temporal morpheme *-lau* is followed by a lexeme *bela* 'time', mostly realized as *-belau*, in naturally occurring texts, as in (5):

(5) a. *d^helib^hari dzen^hlabelau sutkeri*

d^helib^hari [dzen^h-labelau] sutkeri dzen^h-li
 delivery be-TEMP delivery be-INF

³In Tamang, temporal simultaneity is expressed by the suffix *-ma* 'while' (Mazaudon 2003: 306).

tomlabelau hãḍita puruŋ g^huserteŋ dzeŋli

tom-la-belau hãḍi-ta puriŋ g^huser-teŋ
be.about. to-TEMP earthen.pot-LOC head thrust-SEQ

dzeŋli goika doʔka sistam fi doʔfi

dzeŋ-li goi-ka doʔ-ka sistam fi doʔ-fi
be-INF must-NMLZ say-NMLZ system be say-PST

'(They) said that there is a system of thrusting the head (of the woman delivering a child) while she is about to give birth to a child.' (TBDFSW_614)

b. *kaŋ bai n^henoŋ fiʔlabelau*

kaŋ bai n^he-loŋ [fiʔ-labelau]
1SG.OBL elder.sister two-CLF ask-TEMP

na fi ai dzenana doʔlau tsandrɔ surdze

na fi ai dzeŋ-aŋ-na [doʔ-lau] tsandrɔ surdze
2SG what be-FUT-2 say-TEMP moon sun

dzeŋli ninako doʔg^ha

dzeŋ-li niŋ-ako doʔ-g^ha
be-INF get-OPT say-PST.1SG

'When my two sisters asked me "what you want to be?" I said "may I want to give birth to the sun and moon."' (TBDFSW_596)

In examples (5a), the temporal morpheme *-labelau* occurs in *dzeŋlabelau* 'while being', *tomlabelau* 'while to be about to' and *fiʔlabelau* 'while asked' whereas in (5b) only *-lau* occurs with the verb *doʔ* resulting *doʔlau* 'while saying'. However, both the morphemes encode analogous simultaneous temporal senses.

Temporal simultaneity is also expressed through the iterative construction, as in (6):

(6) *biskut tsakataŋ aro tsi*

biskut tsa-ka-ta-aŋ aro tsi

biscuit eat-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH and water

amkataŋ kid^hin^hemi bat marekataŋ

am-ka-ta-aŋ kid^hin^hemi bat mare-ka-ta-aŋ

drink-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH 2DU talk do-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH

hiɡ^hak^hiniŋ

hi-g^ha-k^he-niŋ

sit-IPFV-PRS-DU

'Eating biscuit, drinking water and gossiping, we sat over there.'

In example (6), the iterative constructions *tsakataŋ*, *amkataŋ* and *bat marekataŋ* are applied to express the simultaneous adverbial semantics.

d. Terminal boundary

Terminal boundary in Dhimal encodes the temporal situation where the time expressed in the subordinate clause encodes the time reference analogous to the time encoded in the main clause. Givón (2002b: 330) exemplifies this situation with an English example '*till she left, he worked steady*'. In such situation, the time points in both clauses coincide in some way, as in (7):

(7) *wa hiika b^har ka kam pag^ha*

wa hi-ka b^har ka kam pa-g^ha

3SG sit-NMLZ until 1SG work do-PST.1SG

'I worked until he sat (over here).'

In example (7), the adverbial *hiika b^har* encodes the terminal boundary of the two events.

Another strategy employed to encode the temporal boundary in Dhimal is adding the adverbializer suffix *-pa*, followed by emphatic marker *-aŋ* to the verb stem, as in (8):

(8) *wa hiipaŋ ka kam pag^ha*

wa hi-pa-ŋ ka kam pa-g^ha

3SG be-ADVLZ-EMPH 1SG work do-PST.1SG

'I worked until he sat.'

In example (8) the adverbial *hiipa* followed by the emphatic morpheme encodes the temporal boundary of the two events/states.

This structure is analogous to the *undzel/indzel* structure in Nepali which is applied to code the temporal boundary.

e. Point coincidence

The point coincidence adverbial clause encodes the semantics that two events/states occur almost at the same time; however, there is a narrow interval between the two. Givón (2001b: 330) exemplifies point coincidence with an English example '*when he opened the door, she shot him.*' In Dhimal, this situation is encoded as the temporal suffix followed by *-sa* 'after' and locative marker *-ta* further followed by emphatic marker *-aŋ*, as in (9):

- (9) *kalau hani lausantaŋ eloŋ atuika g^hara b^heti fi*
kalau hane-lau-sa-aŋ-ta-ŋ e-loŋ atuika g^hara b^heti-fi
then go-TEMP-after-EMPH-LOC-EMPH one-CLF small hole get-PST
'As soon as they went they got a small hole.'(LBDFSW_24)

In example (9), there is quite narrow margin between the preceding action encoded in the adverbial clause and the subsequent action encoded in the main clause.

Point coincidence may be encoded with the implicational morpheme *-na* followed by *-sa* 'after'. To emphasize immediacy of the two events/states, emphatic marker follows the time morpheme, as in (10):

- (10) *kaseheŋ tiŋnasaŋ wa k^haʔhi*
ka-seheŋ tiŋ-na-sa-aŋ wa k^haʔ-fi
1SG-DAT see-IMPL-after-EMPH 3SG run-PST
'He ran away as soon as he saw me.'

In example (10), point coincidence is encoded with the suffixal combination of implicational-temporal-emphatic morphemes.

This structure resembles the adverbial marked with *-nasat^h* 'as soon as' in Nepali.⁴

f. Iterativity

Iterativity in Dhimal is expressed through the nominalized verb followed by the locative marker. Suffixation of the emphatic marker *-aŋ* to the locative marker is almost obligatory in such constructions. Iterativity is applied to both stative and action verbs, as in (11):

⁴In Dolakha Newar (Genetti 2007: 461) the morpheme *-sat* is employed to encode the immediate/temporal (as soon as) sense.

- (11) a. *kalau insaŋ hikatəŋ hikatəŋ*
kalau insa-ŋ fi-ka-ta-ŋ fi-ka-ta-ŋ
then like.that-EMPH sit-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH sit-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH
hikatəŋ dzabʌ barʌ bʌdze rat
fi-ka-ta-ŋ dzabʌ barʌ bʌdze rat
sit-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH when twelve hour night
dzeŋgʰakʰe te olefi aŋ
dzeŋ-gʰa-kʰe te ole-fi aŋ
be-IPFV-PRS TOP emerge-PST REP
'(They sat over there for long and when it was twelve at midnight
(they) emerged out (it is said). (TBDFSW_93)

- b. *ela hane-kataŋ hane-kataŋ*
ela [hane-ka-ta-aŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
now go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH
hane-kataŋ odoi dzʰar ali
hane-ka-ta-ŋ] odoi dzʰar ali
go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH that jungle side
tʰukaʔlabelau doʔfi aŋ
tʰukaʔ-labelau doʔ-fi aŋ
reach-TEMP say-PST REP
'Now going continuously when (they) reached to the side of the forest
(he) said.' (TBDFSW_506)

- c. *hikatəŋ tsakataŋ hikatəŋ*
fi-ka-ta-aŋ [tsa-ka-ta-aŋ] fi-ka-ta-aŋ
be-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH eat-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH be-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH
iŋko kantsʰi tsafiŋ nʰe dziuko
iŋko kantsʰi tsafiŋ nʰe dziu-ko
that Kanchhi IND two body-GEN

dzeŋfi doʔkʰe

dzeŋ-fi doʔ-kʰe

be-PST say-PRS

'After sitting and eating for long, as for Kanchhi, she conceived a baby
(it is said).'

 (TBDFSW_221)

In example (11a), the stative verb *fi* 'sit' is encoded with the iterative adverbial morphology, whereas in (11b) the motion verb *fi* 'go' is encoded with the same. Similarly, in example (11c) the action verb *tsa* 'eat' has encoded the iterative sense. The iterative verbs may be expressed a number of times based on the emphasis given to the state/event by the story teller, as in (12):

(12) a. *ela fi* *fi* *fi*

ela fi-ka-ta-aŋ fi-ka-ta-aŋ
now go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH
fi *odoi dzʰar ali*
fi-ka-ta-aŋ odoi dzʰar ali
go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH that jungle side

tʰukaʔlabelau doʔfi aŋ

tʰukaʔ-labelau doʔ-fi aŋ
reach-TEMP say-PST REP

'Now going continuously, when (they) reached to the side of the forest
(he) said.'

 (TBFSW_494)

b. *kalau dʰaʔkatak dʰaʔkatak*

kalau dʰaʔ-ka-ta-aŋ dʰaʔ-ka-ta-aŋ
then run-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH run-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH

dʰaʔkatak dʰaʔkatak

dʰaʔ-ka-ta-aŋ dʰaʔ-ka-ta-aŋ
run-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH run-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH

isika tʰameta tʰukalʰagʰa

isika tʰame-ta tʰuka-lʰa-gʰa
like.this place-LOC reach-INTENT-PST.1SG

'While running continuously, I reached to such a place.'

 (CLDDRW_19)

In example (12a), the iterative verb *hanekataŋ* is repeated three times whereas in (12b) *d^haʔkataŋ* is repeated four times.

14.1.2 Conditional clauses

The conditional adverbial clauses may be divided into two main types. They are: irrealis conditionals and counter-fact conditionals (Givón 2001b: 330-31). Thompson et al. (2007: 255) states that the semantic distinction between types of conditional which is signaled by most of the languages is the distinction between reality conditionals and unreality conditionals. Reality conditionals are those which refer to 'real' present, 'habitual/generic', or past situations.

Thompson et al. (2007: 255) further defines the term unreality conditionals as it is used for conditionals which refer to 'unreal' situations. There are two types of unreal situations. Those in which we imagine what might be or what might have been, and those in which we predict what will be. We can label these two types of unreality imaginative and predictive respectively.

a. Irrealis conditionals

Givón (2001b: 331) states that irrealis conditional clauses fall under the scope of non-fact modality, i.e., having no truth value. In fact, their truth value depends on the truth value of their associated main clause, which most typically is also under irrealis scope and thus has no truth value either (2001b: 331).

Typically, irrealis conditionals have an implied futurity; with the main clause itself marked by future, modal or some other irrealis operator.

Dhimal irrealis conditional adverbial clauses, invariably, index the morpheme *-nu* following the bare verb form of the subordinate clause whereas the main clause is marked by the future tense marker *-aŋ~ã*, as in (13):

- (13) a. *dzar bantsenu dzihãdzuilen*
 [dzar bantse-nu] dzihã-dzuilen
 jungle survive-COND bird-lizard
 aro gupusgelai bantsjawa
 aro gupus-gelai bantse-aŋ-wa
 and animal-PL survive-FUT-DED
 'If the forest is safe the birds and animals may survive.'

- b. *kaseheŋ seʔnu maʔapap lagjana na*
 ka-seheŋ [seʔ-nu] maʔa pap lagi-aŋ-na na
 1SG-DAT kill-COND big sin feel-FUT-2 PART
 'If you kill me you will commit a great sin, you know!' (TBDFSW_504)

- c. *edai ofjãheŋ seʔnu kʰiniŋ edai*
 edai ofjã-heŋ [seʔ-nu] kʰiniŋ edai
 this horse-DAT kill-COND only this
dzamal buŋ sjaŋ doʔkʰe aŋ
 dzamal bu-ŋ si-aŋ doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 child also-EMPH die-FUT say-PRS REP
 'Only if the horse is killed the child will die.' (TBDFSW_442)

In examples (13a-c), the bare verb has indexed the conditional suffix *-nu* in the subordinate clauses and the finite verb of the main clause is marked by the future tense marker *-aŋ*. Participant reference for the second person follows the tense marker in example (13c).

The verb in conditional clause may also be finite. In this case, conditional linker *panu* follows the finite verb of the conditional clauses, as in (14):

- (14) *naŋko tsamindi kaŋko dopʰa biŋu*
 naŋ-ko tsamindi kaŋ-ko dopʰa biŋu
 2SG.OBL-GEN daughter 1SG.OBL-GEN with marriage
papina panu naseheŋ laʔpjaniŋ
 pa-pi-na pa-nu na-seheŋ laʔ-pi-aŋ-niŋ
 do-AND-2 do-COND 2SG-DAT leave-give-FUT-1SG→2
ma papina panu naseheŋ tso:teŋ seʔtaniŋ
 ma-pa-pi-na pa-nu na-seheŋ tso:-teŋ seʔt-aŋ-niŋ
 NEG-do- AND-2 do-COND 2SG-DAT bite-SEQ kill-FUT-1SG→2
 'If you are ready to get your daughter married with me I'll leave you alive otherwise I'll bite you to death.' (LBDFSW_09)

In example (14), the conditional clause is encoded by the conditional linker *panu* following the main verb.

Interestingly, the conditional marker is also found to be attached to the nominal root to encode the conditional meaning,⁵ as in (15):

- (15) *morda nu te ka bihu paŋka*
 morda-nu te ka bihu pa-aŋ-ka
 male-COND TOP 1SG marriage do-FUT-1SG
istri nu te ka param taswaŋka
 istri-nu te ka param taʔ-su-aŋ-ka
 female-COND TOP 1SG friend keep-COL-FUT-1SG
pateŋ doʔhi aŋ
 pa-teŋ doʔ-fi aŋ
 do-SEQ say-PST REP
 'If you are male, I will marry you (and) if you are female, I will maintain
 bonded friendship (with) you.' (MMD2MWW_207)

In example (15), the noun *morda* 'male' is followed by the conditional marker *-nu* to encode the conditional sense.

b. Hypothetical conditional

The irrealis conditional and hypothetical conditional differ in that the main verb in the later takes hypothetical marker *-fie* whereas the conditional marker *-nu* is attached to the verb *pa* 'do' grammaticalized as a subordinator. This is a sort of periphrastic way to encode the irrealis conditional, as in (16):

- (16) *kid^hin^hemi ede dzamal bara^hie panu kid^hin^hemiko*
 kid^hin^hemi ede dzamal bara^h-fie pa-nu kid^hin^hemi-ko
 1.DU this child be.grown-HYP do-COND 1.DU-GEN
te pura kal dzenaŋ doʔk^he aŋ
 te pura kal dzeŋ-aŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 TOP complete death be-FUT say-PRS REP
 'If this child will grow big it will be the cause for our death.'
 (TBDFSW_311)

⁵King (2009: 227) explains that the Dhimel may exhibit a clause marked with *-nu* to introduce a referent or topic into the discourse, which can be commented on its subsequent propositions. Referring to Haiman (1978) and Longacre and Thompson (1985), King states that the development of conditionals into topic markers is a recurrent process in many languages.

In example (16), the hypothetical conditional proposition is encoded by the hypothetical morpheme *-hie* affixed to the main verb and the conditional morpheme *-nu* attached to the verb *pa* 'do'.

Hypothetical conditional proposition encodes less probability of the state/event encoded in the subordinate clause to be true. The irrealis time encoded in the main clause is not affected by the adverbial situation.

c. Counter-fact conditionals

Unlike irrealis conditionals, whose truth value is pending, counter-fact conditionals fall under the firmer, negative epistemic scope of non-fact. This condition type involves proposition that could, would or should have been true if other propositions were also true. But since the other propositions turned out to be false, the conditionally marked proposition is also false (Givón 2001b: 332).

The counter-fact conditional in Dhimal is encoded with the suffix *-d^ha*, followed by the future tense marker *-aŋ~ã* in the main clause. The subordinate clause is marked by *-nu* as in the irrealis conditional. Following are the examples:

- (17) a. *kaseheŋ buŋ hiŋpanu kabuŋ hanið^hã ni*
 ka-seheŋ buŋ hiŋ-pa-nu ka buŋ hane-d^hã ni
 1SG-DAT also listen-CAUS-COND 1SG also go-CFC PART
 'If you had made me listen, I would also have gone.'
- b. *na buŋ idoi t^hameta hiŋu*
 na buŋ idoi t^hame-ta hi-nu
 2SG also this plac-LOC be-COND
 remka dzend^haŋ
 rem-ka dzeŋ-d^ha-aŋ
 be.good.NMLZ become-CFC-FUT
 'If you also had been in this place it would have been better.'
- c. *ela naseŋ pa^rheli niŋnu dzend^haŋ*
 ela na-seheŋ pa^rh^e-li niŋ-nu dzeŋ-d^ha-aŋ
 now 2SG-DAT study-INF get-COND become-CFC-FUT

b^haika lagik^he malagik^he

b ^h aika	la-gi-k ^h e	ma-lagi-k ^h e
like	feel-PRS	neg-feel-PRS

'Now, do you feel like you had got education (or) do not you feel like this?'

In examples (17a-c), *hianed^hã* 'I would have gone' and *dzend^haŋ* 'it would have been' express the counter-fact conditional situation in Dhimal.

d. Negative conditional

Many languages have a morpheme to signal a negative condition (Thompson et al. 2007: 260). In case of Dhimal negative conditional is simply signaled by the negative prefix attached to the conditional verb, as in (18):

- (18) *masa?nu kaipjãka*
 ma-sa?-nu kai-pi-aŋ-ka
 NEG-believe-COND call-AND-FUT-1SG
 'If you do not believe, I'll call (him).' (TBDFSW_602)

In example (18), the negative condition is simply marked with the negative morpheme prefixed to the conditional verb.

In cases where conditional as well as main proposition are negative, both the verbs are negated by the same process, as in (19):

- (19) *iŋko p^huru p^huru mapanu te*
 iŋko p^huru p^huru ma-pa-nu te
 that p^huru p^huru NEG-do-COND TOP
magid^haŋ wa la
 ma-gi-d^ha-aŋ wa la
 NEG-know-CFC-FUT DED MIR
 'If (the horse) had not produced the hissing sound, (they) might not have noticed.' (TBDFSW_428)

In example (19), both the conditional clause and the finite (main) clauses are negated by the same process, i.e., through the negative prefix *ma-* in Dhimal.

14.1.3 Cause and reason adverbial clauses

In structuring discourse, it is often desirable to indicate the causes or motivations behind the occurrence of some event. The causal proposition in Dhimial is marked by the complex subordinators such as *haipali panu* 'because' and *odoi b^hasiŋ* 'therefore', as in (20a, b):

- (20) a. *kaseheŋ musar k^heti ramro lagika fi*
 ka-seheŋ musar k^heti ramro lagi-ka fi
 1SG-DAT mushroom farming good feel-NMLZ be
haipali panu musar k^hetiko bisAja^Λta
 [haipali pa-nu] musar k^heti-ko bisAja^Λ-ta
 why do-COND mushroom farming-GEN subject-LOC
tsaŋi ka atutuipa krisi
 tsaŋi ka atutui-pa krisi
 IND 1SG a.little-ADVLZ agro
prabid^hikgalaiso d^hirka fiŋ^ha
 prabid^hik-gelai-so d^hir-ka fi-ŋ^ha
 technician-PL-ABL learn-NMLZ be-PST.1SG
 'I have realized that mushroom farming is good because I have learnt a
 little bit about the mushroom farming from the agro-technicians.'
 (KRDMPW_09-10)
- b. *...odoi b^hasiŋ ela musar k^hetiso tsaŋi ba^Λdo*
 [odoi b^hasi-ŋ] ela musar k^heti-so tsaŋi ba^Λdo
 that for-EMPH now mushroom farming-ABL IND big
kaseheŋ ramro tiŋka fiŋ^ha
 ka-seheŋ ramro tiŋ-ka fi-ŋ^ha
 1SG-DAT good see-NMLZ be-PST.1SG
 'Because of that I have seen the mushroom planting profitable.' (KRDMPW_41)

In example (20a) the causal proposition in Dhimial is marked by the complex subordinator *haipali panu* 'because'. In (20b) the complex subordinator *odoi b^hasiŋ* 'therefore' encodes similar situation.

In Dhimal, the subordinate clause indicating the cause of the main clause is sometimes juxtaposed to the main clause without any subordinating morpheme, as in (21):

- (21) *nani sjaŋ kʰadza pani fiabe*
 nani si-aŋ kʰadza pani fiabe
 today die-FUT snack water GF
kʰadza te fi tsi mantʰu
 kʰadza te fi tsi mantʰu
 snacks TOP be water NEG-EXT
 'We may die today (because) as for snacks we have
 it, but we do not have water.' (TBDFSW_20)

In example (21), the reason of the interlocutors' possible death is that they did not have water to drink, even though they have snakes to eat.

Moreover, the cause may be encoded in the converb clause, as in (22):

- (22) *wa istuŋ kam pateŋ paisa kamaikʰe*
 wa istuŋ kam pa-teŋ paisa kamaikʰe
 3SG much work do-SEQ money earn-PRS
 'S/he earns a lot of money because s/he works hard.'

In example (22), the reason for earning enough money is expressed with the help of sequential converb.

14.1.4 Concessive adverbial clauses

Concessive adverbial clauses supply the unexpected or less-likely event or state which involve a presupposed contrast or counter-expectancy whereas the main clause supplies the unexpected or less likely event or state (Givón 2001b: 336). Concessive clauses reflect a contrast of some sort between the main and subordinate clauses (Whaley 1997: 254). In Dhimal, the concessive clause is formed with the negative temporal verb followed by the emphatic particle *buŋ* 'also', as in (23):

- (23) *tai mi porʰeli maŋɭau buŋ kaŋko*
 tai-mi porʰe-li [ma-niŋ-lau buŋ] kaŋ-ko
 self-HCLF study-INF NEG-get-TEMP also 1SG.OBL-GEN

tsantsamindi por^hedonk^he ni
 tsan-tsamindi por^he-don-k^he ni
 son-daughter study-PROG-PRS PART
 'Even though I did not get the chance to study, my kids are studying,
 anyway.'

In example (23), the concessive clause is formed with the negative temporal verb followed by the emphatic particle *buŋ* 'also'.

The concessive adverbial conjunct *ɸunu* followed by the topicalizer *te* is also employed to form concessive clause in Dhimal, as in (24a, b):

- (24) a. *ɸunu te sata buŋ iŋko radzkumarko*
 [ɸunu te] sa-ta bu-ŋ iŋko radzkumar-ko
 though TOP house-LOC also-EMPH that prince-GEN
te be ɸig^hak^he doʔk^he
 te be ɸi-g^ha-k^he doʔ-k^he
 TOP wife be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS
 'Even if the prince had a wife in his home (it is said).....' (TBDFSW_132)

- b. *naŋko aba maɸiako ɸunu te*
 naŋ-ko aba maɸiako [ɸunu te]
 2SG.OBL-GEN father big-GEN though TOP
naŋko aba remkaŋ
 naŋ-ko aba rem-ka-ŋ
 2SG.OBL-GEN father be.good-NMLZ –EMPH
naŋko sauteni ama tsafĩ n^hemi
 naŋ-ko sauteni ama tsafĩ n^he-mi
 2SG.OBL-GEN step mother IND two-HCLF
maɸiako ɸaŋkini
 maɸiako ɸaŋkini
 big-GEN witch
 'Your father is of different sort, even though, your father is pretty good,
 as for your step mothers, they are great witches. (TBDFSW_517-18)

In examples (24a, b), concessive condition is expressed through the conjunct *ɸunu* followed by the topicalizer *te*. Formally, this conjunct resembles *ɸuna ta* 'even though'

in Nepali.

14.1.5 Purpose adverbial clauses

Purpose clauses signal the purpose of the agent for acting as they did in the event coded by the main clause. The subject of the purpose clause is mostly co-referential with that of the main clause (Givón 2001b: 337). Purpose clauses express a motivating event which must be unrealized at the time of the main event.

The purpose clauses in Dhimal are coded by the infinitival *-li* attached to the verb stem in the dependent clause, as in (25):

- (25) a. *iŋko oŋjãŋeŋ seʔli kosis paŋi la*
iŋko oŋjã-ŋeŋ seʔ-li kosis pa-ŋi la
that horse-DAT kill-INF effort do-PST MIR
'(They) might have tried to kill the horse.' (TBDFSW_471)
- b. *ad^hjan pa-li tsafĩ ma-ma-ŋane-ka wa*
ad^hjan pa-li tsafĩ ma-ma-ŋane-ka wa
study do-INF IND NEG-NEG-go-NMLZ 3SG
'He did not go to study at all.' (TBDFSW_04)

In examples (25a, b), we see that the infinitival *-li* is employed to encode the purposive relation of the subordinate clause to the main clause.

The infinitive marker is optionally followed by the genitive postposition *-ko*, which is further followed by the postposition *-b^hasi* 'for'.⁶ Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007: 251) note that the case markers 'to' or 'for' are used for purpose clauses in a number of languages. Example in (26) illustrates the point.

- (26) *kaŋko tsanŋeŋ seʔli b^hasi ɸai ma-pa-ŋi*
kaŋ-ko tsan-ŋeŋ [seʔ-li b^hasi] ɸai ma-pa-ŋi
1SG.OBL-GEN son-DAT kill-INF for what NEG-do-PST
'What did they not do to kill my son?' (TBDFSW_611)

In example (26), the infinitive marker followed by the genitive postposition *-ko* and further followed by the postposition *-b^hasi* 'for' encodes the purpose clause.

⁶Dhakal (2014: 150) notes the similar function of *lai* 'for' in Majhi, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Nepal.

Very often the benefactive marker *b^hasi* 'for' is replaced by a Nepali loan morpheme *-lagi* 'for' for the same purpose, as in (27a, b):

- (27) a. *aba naseheŋ bantsepaliko lagi ka*
 aba na-seheŋ [bantse-pa-li-ko lagi] ka
 father 2SG-DAT survive-CAUS-INF-GEN for 1SG
pufjã dop^ha biŋu paŋka doʔfi
 pufjã dop^ha biŋu pa-aŋ-ka doʔ-fi
 snake with marriage do-FUT-1SG say-PST
 '(Dear) father, I'm ready to marry with the snake in order to save your life.' (LBDFSW_19)
- b. *kalau iŋko kose pe:li:ko lagi*
 kalau iŋko kose pe:-li-ko lagi
 then that fodder.fig pluck-INF-GEN for
wako aba siŋ r^huta taŋfi
 wa-ko aba siŋ r^huta taŋ-fi
 3SG-GEN father tree up climb-PST
 'Then, her father climbed up the tree in order to pluck the fodder fig.'
 (LBDFSW_06)

In examples (27a, b), the purpose adverbial clauses are marked by the infinitive verb followed by the genitive and benefactive postpositions in sequence.

14.2 Participial adverbial clauses

Participial adverbial clauses are tightly integrated with their main verb. They tend to have the same subject as their main clause. In terms of temporal coherence, participial adverbial clauses tend to exhibit rigid tense-aspect-modal restrictions vis-à-vis their main clause (Givón 2001b: 341). Participial Adverbial clauses in Dhimal are of two types: Sequential and simultaneous. They are discussed below.

14.2.1 Sequential participial clause

Sequential subordinate clause in Dhimal is marked by the morpheme *-teŋ* suffixed to one or more non-final verbs (King 2009: 217). This morpheme indicates a temporal sequence in clause chains. Sequential clauses indicate the time the event occurred of before the time of the main verb, as in (28a, b):

- (28) a. *kalau musar tsalai raiten*
kalau musar tsalai rai-ten
then mushroom seed sow-SEQ
kalau nara daʔli goik^he
kalau nara daʔ-li goi-k^he
then straw spread.out-INF must-PRS
'Then, having sowed the mushroom seeds, one must spread out
the straw.' (KRDMPW_84)

- b. *ẽ eloŋ ɦabeta mandal banaiten*
ẽ e-loŋ ɦabe-ta mandal [banai-ten]
GF one-CLF GF-LOC beam make-SEQ
t^hameta taʔten dzin^hten b^harta
t^hame-ta [taʔ-ten] [dzin^h-ten] b^har-ta
place-LOC keep-SEQ fasten-SEQ carrier-LOC
taʔten sita tsumaɦi
[taʔ-ten] si-ta tsuma-ɦi
keep-SEQ house-LOC bring-PST
'Having made a wooden beam and having kept and fastened (him) in
the carrier, (they) brought him to the house. (GMDWH_65)

In example (28a), the participial/converb *raiten* 'having sowed' and in (28b) *banaiten* 'having made', *taʔten* 'having kept' and *dzin^hten* 'having fastened' are sequential non-finite verbs that indicate something happened before the main verb in the past tense *tsuma-ɦi* 'brought.' In this case the sequential clauses have the past tense reading.

Similarly, the sequential clause may have a future reading when the main clause is encoded in irrealis, as in (29):

- (29) *odɿi desta tsumputeŋ seʔten lo doʔk^he aŋ*
odoi des-ta tsuma-pu-ten seʔ-ten lo doʔk^h-e aŋ
that country-LOC bring-AND-SEQ kill-SEQ come.IMP say-PRS REP
'Take it to that country and come after having killed it.' (TBDFSW_480)

In example (29), someone (a king) is ordering his servant to take (a horse) to another country (village) and return having killed it there.

The sequential morpheme *-teŋ* may co-occur with the morpheme *sa* 'after' followed by the emphatic morpheme *-aŋ*, which means the time frame of the main verb as beginning directly upon the completion of the sequential clause (King 2009: 221), as in (30):

- (30) *wa kaseŋeŋ sotsiteŋsaŋ maŋta*
 wa ka-seŋeŋ [sotsi-teŋ-sa-aŋ] maŋ-ta
 3SG 1SG-DAT think-SEQ-after-EMPH mind-LOC
taʔteŋsaŋ tsumaka narjata ladaiteŋ
 [taʔ-teŋ-sa-aŋ] tsuma-ka narja-ta ladai-teŋ
 keep-SEQ-after-EMPH bring-NMLZ elephant-LOC load-SEQ
bits dz^harso bindrabanko dz^harso
 bits dz^har-so bindraban-ko dz^har-so
 mid jungle-ABL Brindawan-GEN jungle-ABL
 'Having thought about me and liked he brought me from the mid of the
 big forest (called Brindawan) carrying on an elephant.' (TBDFSW_607)

Sequential marker may also be found in stative-resultative clause while indexed with the stative verbs, as in (31a, b):

- (31) a. *kalau k^haŋlau te wa aŋ fi la*
 kalau k^haŋ-lau te wa aŋ fi la
 then look-TEMP TOP 3SG EMPH be MIR
ɖ^hokata jomteŋ dwarta
 ɖ^hoka-ta [jom-teŋ] dwar-ta
 door-LOC sit-SEQ door-LOC
 'While (he) sees, she is sitting there in the door.' (TBDFSW_581)
- b. *loten k^haŋk^he doʔk^he te b^hare te*
 lo-teŋ k^haŋ-k^he doʔ-k^he te b^hare te
 come-SEQ look-PRS say-PRS TOP b^hare TOP
in^hkoŋ radzkumariŋ fi jomteŋ ɖ^hokata
 in^hko-ŋ radzkumari-ŋ fi [jom-teŋ] ɖ^hoka-ta
 that-EMPH princess-EMPH be sit-SEQ door-LOC
 'When he comes and looks at (the place) the same princess is sitting
 there by the door.' (TBDFSW_575)

In examples (31a, b), the stative verbs like *jom* 'sit' and *dzim* 'sleep' followed by the sequential morpheme indicate the pefective stative-resultative relation instead of the sequence of events, respectively.

14.2.2 Simultaneous participial clause

A simultaneous participial clause is marked with the temporal suffix *-lau* to the verb in subordinate clause, as in (32a, b):

- (32) a. *imbalai su mi lolau te dz^hΛgmaΛg*
 imbalai su-mi lo-lau te dz^hΛgmaΛg
 3PL three-HCLF come-TEMP TOP flash.out
 dzenɡ^hak^he doʔk^he
 dzen-ɡ^ha-k^he doʔ-k^he
 be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS
 'When three of them came, it flashed out bright.' (TBDFSW_124)
- b. *fiate fianelau waseheŋ dusuɡ^ha*
 fiate fiane-lau wa-seheŋ dusu-ɡ^ha
 market go-TEMP 3SG-DAT meet-PST.1SG
 'I met him while going to the market.'

In example (32a, b) the the temporal suffix *-lau* is employed to encode the simultaneous participial clause in Dhimal.⁷

14.3 Conjoined clauses

Conjoined or coordinated complex sentences are discussed in this section. Coordination is distinct from subordination in that in subordination, one clause is grammatically dependent on the other (Payne 1996: 336). Regarding the traditional dependent-independent dichotomy between the subordinate and co-ordinate clauses, Givón (2001b: 348) argues "the traditional clear-cut dichotomy between 'independent' and 'dependent' clauses is unrealistic both functionally and syntactically." He further postulates "while the different types of conjoined clauses may vary among themselves in the degree and type of their connectivity, their pragmatic links tend to be local (narrow scoped). In this, they contrast with pre-posed adverbials but resemble the

⁷We have discussed this phenomenon in 14.1.1, in detail.

post-posed ones" (Givón 2001b: 348). Haspelmath (2007: 34) defines the term 'coordination' as syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements. Based on the theoretical postulations in mind, we deal with the types of conjoined clause in Dhimal.

14.3.1 Conjunction

Conjunction is primarily a logical relationship between propositions. If the conjunction of two propositions is true then each of the component propositions is true. By this definition, nearly any two propositions in discourse could be considered conjoined (Payne 1997: 339).

The most common means of indicating conjunction is merely juxtaposing two or more independent clauses in Dhimal, as in (33a-e):

- (33) a. *dzabʌ imblai sumi hanihi dzʰjappʌi dzeŋfi*
 dzabʌ imblai su-mi [hane-fi] [dzʰjapp-ʌi dzeŋ-fi]
 when 3PL three-HCLF go-PST black.out-EMPH be-PST
 'When three of them went away, it darkened at once.' (TBDFSW_125)
- b. *kalau ela lohi bai one dopʰa bʰeʈihi*
 kalau ela [lo-fi] [bai one dopʰa bʰeʈi-fi]
 then now come-PST elder.sister y.sibling with meet-PST
 'Then, (they) came (and) met with (their) siblings.' (LBDFSW_45)
- c. *dzʰaraŋ dopʰa leŋfi gʰahi tsaʰi amʰi*
 dzʰaraŋ dopʰa [leŋ-fi] [gʰa-fi] [tsa-fi] [am-fi]
 all with laugh-PST play-PST eat-PST drink-PST
 'They laughed, played, ate and drank with all.' (LBDFSW_46)
- d. *madzdzaso giroko jomteŋ tsali amli ninako*
 madzdzas-o giro-ko jom-teŋ tsa-li am-li niŋ-ako
 pleasure-ABL cross.legged-GEN sit-SEQ eat-INF drink-INF get-OPT
 'May I get to eat and drink sitting cross-legged happily!' (TBDFSW_190)

- e. *ela maili bimari dzeṇka dzeṇfi*
 ela maili bimari dzeṇ-ka dzeṇ-fi
 now maili sick be-NOM be-PST
dzeṭʰi odzʰa kailʰaka dzeṇfi
 dzeṭʰi odzʰa kai-lʰa-ka dzeṇ-fi
 dzethi shaman call-INTENT-NMLZ be-PST
 'Then Maili got ready to be sick and Jethi prepared to go to call a
 shaman.' (TBDFSW_330)

In examples (33a-e), different clauses with finite verbs are juxtaposed to conjoin them. Interestingly, in (33c) four finite verbs *leṇfi* 'laughed', *gʰaṇi* 'played', *tsaṇi* 'ate' and *amṇi* 'drank' are juxtaposed in a single complex structure.

In addition to the declarative finite verbs juxtaposed to each other above, imperative verbs are also juxtaposed without any intervening conjunction, as in (34):

- (34) *na edʌi dzamaleṇ tʰʌpʌkkʌi tsumpu pose*
 na edʌi dzamal-eṇ tʰʌpʌkkʌi tsuma-pu pose
 2SG this child-DAT immediately bring-AND.IMP rear.IMP
 'You take this child instantly and take care of it.' (TBDFSW_355)

In addition to the juxtaposition of two or more finite verbs, Dhimal employs some native or borrowed conjuncts to conjoin the independent clauses. The coordinator *kalau* 'then' is employed to show the conjunctive relationship between the corodinands, as in (35):

- (35) *intaso kaseṇ ninda loṇi kalau ka dzimḡa*
 inta-so ka-seṇ ninda lo-fi [kalau] ka dzim-gʰa
 there-ABL 1SG-DAT sleep come-PST then 1SG sleep-1SG.PST
 'Thereafter, I felt drowsy and then I slept.'

In example (35), the conjunct *kalau* 'then/and then' is employed to conjoin two clauses. Another coordinator *aro* 'and' is employed to conjoin two clauses, as in (36):

- (36) *ela mobailso redijoko kam banal ṇiṇka*
 ela mobail-so redijo-ko kam banal ṇiṇ-ka
 now mobile-ABL radio-GEN work news listen-NMLZ

aro le fiŋli buŋ sʌdzilo dzeŋkʰe

[aro] le fiŋ-li buŋ sʌdzilo dzeŋ-kʰe
and song listen-INF also easy be-PRS

'Now mobile can be easily used in place of Radio to listen to news and songs.'

In example (36), the coordinator *aro* 'and' is employed to conjoin two clauses.

The conjunct *aro* 'and' may also be employed to conjoin phrasal coordinands, as in (37):

(37) *intaso katʰmanduko gotaŋ tʰame*

inta-so katʰmandu-ko gotaŋ tʰame
there-ABL Kathmandu-GEN all place

aro babarka sagalai tiŋli dokʰe

[aro] babar-ka sa-galai tiŋ-li do-kʰe
and be.big-NMLZ house-PL see-INF be.able-PRS

'All the places and big houses of Kathmandu, can be seen from there.'

In example (37) the conjunct *aro* 'and' is employed to conjoin the phrasal coordinands *gotaŋ tʰame* 'all the places' and *babarka sagalai* 'big houses'.

The coordinator *aro* 'and' is employed where *and* and *ra* are used in English and Nepali respectively. However, juxtaposition is preferred to the use of this conjunction.

14.3.2 Disjunction

Disjunction, like conjunction, is a logical disjunctive relationship between propositions. If the logical disjunction of two proposition is true, then one or both of the component propositions can be true. The disjunctive relationship between the proposition is expressed through the disjunctive marker *makunu* 'otherwise', as in (38a, b):

(38) a. *malis pali gojaŋ kalau kʰiniŋ*

malis pa-li goi-aŋ kalau kʰiniŋ
massage do-INF must-FUT then only

elaŋ makunu maelaŋ

el-aŋ [makunu] ma-el-aŋ

be.good-FUT otherwise NEG-be.good-FUT

'It should be massaged only then (she) will be good

otherwise (she) will not.' (TBDFSW_373-74)

b. *oso tsumputeŋ seʔdʰili gojaŋ*

oso tsuma-pu-teŋ seʔ-dʰi-li goi-aŋ

that.side bring-AND-SEQ kill-REL-INF must-EMPH

makunu odoi desta buŋ

[makunu] odoi des-ta bu-ŋ

otherwise that country-LOC also-EMPH

ja dʰoka pjaŋ doʔkʰe aŋ

ja dʰoka pi-aŋ doʔ-kʰe aŋ

this deceit give-FUT say-PRS REP

'Having taken there (the horse) must be killed, otherwise (the horse) will

deceive us either in this country or in that country.' (TBDFSW_474-75)

In examples (38a, b), the disjunctive coordinator *makunu* is employed to cojoin the propositions with disjunctive relations.

14.3.3 Adversative coordination

Dhimal lacks a marker as such for adversative coordination. However, this phenomenon is expressed through the juxtaposition of the positive and negative propositions, as in (39):

(39) *ohjãheŋ dana pili fiabe danagelai piŋi*

ohjã-heŋ dana pi-li fiabe dana-gelai pi-fi

horse-DAT fodder give-INF GF fodder-PL give-PST

tsi pili nilfi

tsi pi-li nil-fi

water give-INF forget-PST

'(He) gave fodder to the horse but forgot to give water.' (TBDFSW_337)

In example (39), the propositions in adversative relation are simply juxtaposed to each other.

However, as in Bhujel (Regmi 2012: 146) and Majhi (Dhakal 2014: 134), the adversative coordinator *taɾa* 'but' (directly borrowed from Nepali) is used for the purpose, as in (40):

- (40) *kaŋko tsanko bʰabisjaŋko lagi*
 kaŋ-ko tsan-ko bʰabisjaŋ-ko lagi
 1SG.OBL-GEN son-GEN future-GEN for
tsandra surdze sotsika fiḡakʰa ka
 tsandra surdze sotsi-ka fi-gʰa-kʰa ka
 moon sun think-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS.1SG 1SG
taɾa kaseŋeŋ antimta delibʰari dzeŋlabelau
 [taɾa] ka-seŋeŋ antim-ta delibʰari dzeŋ-labelau
 but 1SG-DAT last-LOC delivery be-TEMP
paida dzeŋlabelau kaʔʰko ʔukra taʔpihi
 paida dzeŋ-labelau kaʔʰ-ko ʔukra taʔ-pi-fi
 delivery bear-TEMP wood-GEN piece keep-BEN-PST
 I had thought for my child's future and chose the sun and moon. But, at
 last, when I was giving birth to a child (they) kept a piece of wood there
 (in stead of my child). (TBDFSW_556-557)

In example (40), the borrowed adversative conjunct *taɾa* is employed to conjoin the clauses, however, the two clauses with adversative relations are also simply juxtaposed as in (39) in Dhimal.

14.3.4 Rejection

Negative coordination of the *neither...nor* type in English may be described as rejection. In Dhimal, the negative conjunctive pairs *na...na* are employed to encode rejection. This type of structure may also be said negative disjunction. Following are the examples:

- (41) *...ka paɽi gʰali te na sapnata*
 ka paɽi gʰa-li te na sapna-ta
 1SG swimming play-INF TOP neither dream-LOC

gik^ha na bip^hanataŋ gik^ha

gi-k^ha na bip^hana-ta-ŋ gi-k^ha
know-PRS.1SG nor waking.moment-LOC-EMPH know-PRS.1SG

'As for swimming, neither do I know to swim in the dream nor do I swim in reality.' (CLDDRW_26)'

In example (41), the negative coordination is encoded with the negative conjunctive pair *na...na* in Dhimal.

14.4 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the inter-clausal coherence in Dhimal. The adverbial subordinate clauses in Dhimal are either marked through the subordinating morphemes attached to the dependent clause or through the special non-finite verb forms. Temporal adverbial clauses in Dhimal include precedence, subsequence, simultaneous and temporal relation with terminal boundary, point coincidence and iterativity. Dhimal conditional clauses are reality conditional (hypothetical) and counter-fact conditional. Reality conditional situation is marked only in the dependent clause whereas the counter-fact situation is encoded in the dependent clause as well as in the main clause. Dhimal also exhibits cause and reason adverbial clauses, concessive adverbial clauses and purpose adverbial clauses. Participial adverbial clauses in Dhimal encode the sequential and simultaneous temporal senses. The sequential adverbial clause indicates a temporal sequence in clause chains. Coordinated or conjoined clauses in Dhimal exhibit conjunctive, disjunctive and adversative relationships among the conjoined clauses. The concept of rejection is also found to be conjoined in Dhimal.

CHAPTER 15

SUMMARY AND TYPOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

15.0 Outline

This chapter presents the summary and the typological implications of the study. It consists of three sections. In section 15.1, we present the summary of the major features of the language. Section 15.2 explores the typological implications of the study. Section 15.3 summarizes the conclusion of the typological implications of the study.

15.1 Summary

In this section we present the summary of the major features of the language within the domains conceptual lexicon, propositional information and multi-propositional discourse.

15.1.1 Lexical features

The lexical items in Dhimal have been divided into major and minor word classes. The major word class includes both the highly prototypical and less prototypical members. They exhibit different semantic, syntactic and morphological properties. Dhimal nouns are viewed in terms of durability, complexity, concreteness, compactness and individuation in terms of their semantics. Syntactically, they are found as occupying the subject, direct object, indirect object, and nominal predicate positions. Dhimal lacks grammatical gender; however, human/animate nouns are marked lexically to distinguish the sex of the referent. Dhimal employs only two classifiers: *-mi* (restricted to human referents) and *-loŋ* (used in generic sense). There is a three-way distinction in pronominal agreement in Dhimal. Honorificity in Dhimal exhibits neutral vs. affinal contrast in the western dialect. However, this feature is absent in the eastern dialect. The personal pronouns take different case markers. As in many other Rai Kirati languages spoken in Nepal (Pokharel 2012: 112), the bound pronouns in Dhimal are incorporated into verbal morphology as agreement suffixes. In the third person, there is no pronominal agreement. Dhimal pronouns do not show inclusive/exclusive distinction. Plurality in Dhimal nominals is indicated by the suffix *-gelai~galai~lai*. Most of the adjectives/modifiers in Dhimal are derived largely by the suffixation of the nominalizing morpheme *-ka* to a verb stem. Semantically, the

adjectives are classified in terms of size, color, age, value, physical property and human propensity. Syntactically, adjectives function like verbs as the head of an intransitive predicate or they may modify a noun which is the head of an NP. Verb is the core among all the major lexical word classes in that nouns, adjectives and adverbs are derived through the suffixation of an appropriate morpheme attached to the verbal root. The verb normally occurs clause-finally and functions as the main predicate of the clause. Semantically, verbs contrast with nouns and adjectives in that they typically code the state-of affairs of changes rather than of states. The prototype verbs code rapid changes in the state, condition or spatial location of some noun-coded entity. Dhimal exhibits a rich inflectional morphology. The verb registers three person and three numbers (in first and second person). These forms combine with a complex system of tense, aspect and modality. In terms of stem alternation, Adverbs in Dhimal are broadly categorized as basic and derived. Basic adverbs are limited in number whereas derived adverbs are formed by adding the adverbializer suffix *-pa/-p^ha*, which is suffixed to the verbal, nominal or adverbial roots. Semantically, Dhimal adverbs are classified in terms of manner, time, aspectuality, reason and place. Minor word classes include post-positions, determiners, pronouns (independent and possessive), inter-clausal connectives (conjunctions and subordinators), interjections and discourse particles. Discourse particles play very important role in information structuring in Dhimal.

15.1.2 Propositional features

The noun phrases in Dhimal, as in many other languages, range from a single word (personal noun and pronoun) to complex noun phrases (conjoined noun phrases, relative clauses and nominalized clauses). Demonstratives, genitives, numeral, adjective, relative clause, common noun, compound noun and pronoun are the elements of the noun phrase in Dhimal. The linear order of the noun phrase element is NP→(demonstrative)-(genitive)-(numeral)-(adjective phrase)-**head**-(number marker)-(case marker)-(indicative)-(topic marker). The post-nominal modifiers include number marker and case marker. Nominalization supports the adjustment process from the prototype verbal clause to the prototype noun phrase. Functionally, Dhimal makes an extensive use of clausal nominalization found in the attributive phrases, complement clauses, relative clauses and independent utterances. In terms of the argument structure, Dhimal verbs are classified in different groups. The non-verbal

predicates are nominal predicates, adjectival predicates and locative predicates. The nominal predicates generally occur without an overt copula in present tense whereas in case of the time reference other than the present, the copula verb is employed. The adjectival and locative copular clauses take the copula *hi* 'be' inflected to encode tense, aspect and participant reference marking morphemes. The verbal predicates in Dhimal are divided in terms of transitivity. Basic differences are found in intransitive predicates and transitive predicates. Both of these types are divided as encoding indirect objects. Further, modality verbs, manipulation verbs and perception-cognition-utterance (P-C-U) verbs in Dhimal are characterized by clausal complements of different types. Some predicates in Dhimal exhibit multiple membership. Dhimal predicates also take clauses as their subjects and objects. Dhimal is an SOV order language. Most of the implications of the SOV constituent order hold true in Dhimal. Adjectives, demonstratives, genitives and numerals in Dhimal precede the head noun they modify. Dhimal exhibits morphologically marked past, present and future tenses by the suffixes *-hi*, *-k^he* and *-aŋ* respectively. Dhimal verbs are classified into four groups in terms of their inherent aspectuality. They are: compact/achievement verbs, accomplishment verbs, activity (process) verbs and stative verbs. Morphological aspects in Dhimal are broadly categorized into perfective and imperfective. The perfective aspect includes the past perfective, past perfect, present perfect and completive. Similarly, the imperfective aspect includes imperfective, non-past durative, past durative and habitual aspects. Modality in Dhimal is divided into epistemic and deontic types. The probability, certainty, dubitative, deductive and evidentiality fall under epistemic modality. Similarly, ability and obligation fall under deontic modality. Most of the adverbial clauses in Dhimal precede the main clause except the cause and the reason adverbial clauses that follow the main clause. The complement clauses in Dhimal occupy the slot between the subject and the main verb. All the affixal elements, except the negative prefix, follow their heads. In a finite verbal complex, aspect markers precede the tense marker. The negative prefix in Dhimal is reduplicated to create an absolute negative sense. Causativization is mainly expressed morphologically, however, Dhimal also employs periphrastic causative construction using a borrowed (from I-A source) verb *lagai* 'employ'. The causativizer *-pa*, the grammaticalized form of the lexical verb *pa* 'do' may be employed to causativize almost all the native verbs. Dhimal utilizes the

applicative morpheme as benefactive. Motion markers in Dhimal are andative, intentive, ambulative and relinquitive. The detransitive voices in Dhimal include reflexive, reciprocal and middle constructions. The reflexive pronoun *tai* 'self' is employed to encode the reflexive semantics in Dhimal. The derivation to middle voice changes active transitive verbs into either non-agentive or stative/resultative verb. Passive construction is not found in Dhimal, however, the function of the passive-like constructions are performed with the help of the middle marker. The relative clauses are formed in two ways. The first and widely used way is to put the verb of the relative clause in a participial/nominalized form. Secondly, Dhimal employs co-relative type of relative clause similar to that of the Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the area. All the relative clauses in Dhimal precede the head noun. The main strategy employed in Dhimal to recover the case role of the relativized noun is the gap strategy. Most of the syntactic arguments such as subject, direct object, indirect object, locative, instrumental and comitative are relativized in Dhimal. The non-declarative speech acts in Dhimal include interrogative, imperative, optative, hortative and imperious moods. Polar questions are constructed simply through the slightly raised intonation added to the questioned part of its declarative counterpart. Alternative questions are made either simply by juxtaposition or by employing the alternatives mediated by an alternative marker *-na*. The constituent questions (wh-questions) in Dhimal are formed with the help of different interrogative pronouns. Wh-questions have the same word order as that of the declarative sentences placed the interrogative word *in situ*. Multiple wh-questions are formed with the help of different wh-questions placed in the same proposition. Imperative constructions are made by bare verb stem in case of singular subject whereas dual and plural referents are marked in the verbal complex by the morphemes *-se* and *-su*, respectively. Dhimal possesses honorific marker for the people with in-law relation. The morpheme *-du* added to the verb root indicates the relationship between the speech act participants with in-law relation. The morpheme *-ako*, invariably indicates the optative mood. Hortative mood is marked by *-siŋ* in case of the dual subject whereas plurality in the part of subject is marked by the suffix *-aine*. The imperious moods are marked by *-niŋ* and *-nau* in Dhimal. Negation is invariably marked by the negative prefix *ma-* in Dhimal.

15.1.3 Discourse-pragmatic features

The grammatical relations play a vital role not only in the grammar of simple clauses but also in major syntactic processes. The overt coding properties of grammatical relations in Dhimal are: nominal morphology and verb agreement. The main 'adaptive-imperative' of case marking in Dhimal is to code the pragmatically-oriented (nominative-accusative) scheme. The accusative (if necessary) and dative cases are marked by the same marker. Dhimal has adopted the dative subject construction under the influence of the language of wider communication viz., Nepali. Dhimal allows flexibility of the constituents to mark pragmatic context.

The adverbial subordinate clauses in Dhimal are either marked through the subordinating morphemes attached to the dependent clause or through the special non-finite verb forms. Temporal adverbial clauses in Dhimal include precedence, subsequence, simultaneous and temporal relation with terminal boundary, point coincidence and iterativity. Dhimal conditional clauses are reality conditional and counter-fact conditional. Reality conditional situation is marked only in the dependent clause whereas the counter-fact situation is encoded in the dependent clause as well as in the main clause. Dhimal also exhibits cause and reason adverbial clauses, concessive adverbial clauses and purpose adverbial clauses. Participial adverbial clauses encode the sequential and simultaneous temporal senses. The sequential adverbial clause indicates a temporal sequence in clause chains. Coordinated or conjoined clauses in Dhimal, exhibit the conjunctive, disjunctive and adversative relationship among the conjoined clauses. The concept of rejection is also found to be conjoined in Dhimal.

The grammar of pronominal agreement is the morphological device employed to encode referential coherence in Dhimal. The demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns play a vital role in the grammar of referential coherence. The topic coding devices found in Dhimal discourse are zero anaphora, unstressed/bound pronouns, grammatical agreement, stressed independent pronouns, R-dislocated DEF-NPs, Neutral ordered DEF-NPs, L-dislocated DEF-NPs, Y-moved NPs, cleft-focus constructions and referential indefinite NPs. Zero anaphora or anaphoric zero is used in the context of maximal referential continuity in Dhimal. Like anaphoric zero, the unstressed anaphoric pronouns are also found in the context of maximal referential

continuity. In contrast, the stressed independent pronouns are employed in the contexts of referential discontinuity. The stressed independent pronouns are used when there is potential ambiguity because of the occurrence of two or more competing referents of equal rank. Dhimal exploits different discourse-pragmatic strategies to mark the definiteness of the referents. Dhimal does not possess the English like set of definite and indefinite articles. However, the numeral *eʔ-long* 'one-CLF' functions as indefinite reference marker. It reveals the fact that the referent is being introduced into the discourse for the first time, with the speaker making no assumption about familiarity or accessibility of the referent to the hearer. Definiteness, in contrast, is marked by the demonstrative pronouns. Use of demonstrative distal pronoun to refer to human and non-human referents is a common strategy to encode the definiteness. Dhimal also employs dative/accusative case marker for definiteness of animate (human and non-human) nouns. Generally, non-human nouns are not dative/accusative case-marked; however, when they are to be coded as definite, the dative/accusative case marker is employed. In the discourse, post-nominal definite articles are used as one of several devices to mark referents that have been introduced previously into the discourse and are now being re-introduced. In Dhimal, the function of post-nominal definite article is performed by demonstrative pronoun. Some of the discourse particles also modify the head noun. Dhimal also allows scattering of the elements of the noun phrase for different pragmatic purposes. Noun phrases in Dhimal are conjoined either simply juxtaposing the NPs or intermediated by the conjunctive morphemes. Different devices like discourse particles, intonation and constituent order are utilized for the contrastive focus and topic marking purposes in Dhimal. The constituents of the clause are freely permuted within the clause to topicalize, focus, contrast, emphasize and intensify the meaning of a constituent. In Dhimal, three discourse pragmatic strategies (i.e., discourse particles, intonation and word order) are utilized for the purpose of contrastive focus. The intonation strategy includes stress focus and cleft focus. It applies not only to nouns, but also to adjectives, verbs and adverbs. In the cleft-focus construction, the event/state depicted in the proposition is assumed by the speaker to be familiar to the hearer. The speaker, however, challenges only one small part of the hearer's presumed belief. In addition to assign strong stress to the focused constituent, Dhimal employs the focus marking particles following the stressed constituents. Dhimal makes use of a

number of discourse particles to modify the propositions in naturally occurring texts. The topic marker in Dhimal is *te*, which topicalizes of the constituent to which it is attached. However, the use of this particle does not interfere with the grammatical structure at sentence level but is employed to structure the information flow. The topic marker in Dhimal is employed to topicalize personal pronouns, noun phrases, spatial and temporal adverbs and finite and non-finite verbs. To individuate a nominal element, a loan particle *tsahĩ* is used in abundance to encode different nuances of meaning. The primary function of this particle is to individuate, thus topicalize a single referent, noun phrase or nominalized clause from a set of possible alternates. The individuating particle is also employed to contrast a particular adverbial from other alternates. This particle is also used only as the gap filler in natural discourse. The inclusive particle *buŋ<bu* 'also' functions for the meaning 'also/too' in Dhimal. It also functions as an indefiniteness marker while co-occurred with the question word *hiai* 'what'. This particle is also lexicalized with the morpheme *kalau/kola* 'then' to impart the concessive sense which may be rendered into English as 'even though' or 'nevertheless.' Another very productive particle in Dhimal is the emphatic marker *aŋ*. It has the widest distribution in terms of the elements it may modify to. In our text, it is found following nouns, pronouns (personal, demonstrative), nominalized verbs, infinitives and adverbs. While employed, this particle intensifies the meaning of the constituent it follows. To exclude a referent from other possible alternates, Dhimal employs *k^hiniŋ* in the western dialect whereas the same function is performed by a borrowed particle *k^hali* in the eastern dialect. The focus particle *doŋ* is used to establish a marked focus relation between a referent of a proposition and the proposition itself. The discourse environment in which *doŋ* is employed varies from assertion to counter-propositions. In some instances, *doŋ* is used to code a proposition which is contrary to expectation. The notion of contrary expectation is also indicated by the particles *ki* or *ro*. Another particle *b^huruŋ* is used in the sense of 'instead' in English. The particle *au* is used when the speaker expects an affirmative response or when wishes that the request be accepted. Most commonly, this particle occurs in utterance final position in an imperative proposition. However, it is found to be used in non-imperative propositions as well. In this case, it attracts the hearer's attention to the fact expressed by the speaker. Dhimal also employs the reflexive pronoun *tai* in non-reflexive senses. In this case, it serves as an intensifier that emphasizes the notion

that the implicit subject/agent of the clause or the preceding noun phrase takes part in the event itself. The reflexive also has a reduplicated form *tatai* which is used to encode the non-reflexive self-distributive meaning. Apart from the extensive use of the discourse particles, other strategies are also found to be employed to mark a topic in terms of the constituent order. Dhimal uses existential-presentative constructions, Y-movement, Left-dislocation and right-dislocation. The existential-presentative constructions are typically used to introduce an important new referent into the discourse. Y-movement is used when a referent is to be contrasted with another referent of the same semantic class. In contrast, when a referent is being brought back into the discourse after a considerable gap of absence, the strategy called left-dislocation is employed in Dhimal. Another strategy to mark a topic is right-dislocation. It is used when the speaker assumes that the referent is accessible, hence codes it first as an anaphoric pronoun, however, later on with some doubt about its accessibility, s/he re-codes the same referent as full-NP. Dhimal also utilizes the dative-shifting strategy to topicalize a referent in pragmatically marked propositions.

15. 2 Typological implications

The Tibeto-Burman languages are typologically diverse. Matisoff (2003: 6) notes that TB languages are highly tonal, monosyllabic and morphologically analytic. They are also marginally tonal or atonal with complex system of verbal agreement. This diversity creates difficulty in indicating which features are common in the Tibeto-Burman language family. Based on the morphological paradigm and migration history, LaPolla (2003a: 31-33) divides the Tibeto-Burman languages into seven groups, namely, a. the Bodic group b. the Qiangic group c. the Rung group d. the Karenic group e. the Kuki-Chin group f. the Tani group g. the Bodo-Konyak-Jingpaw group.

The TB languages spoken in Nepal fall under the Bodic. The Bodic languages are further classified into Bodish and Himalayish. These two groups differ considerably in terms of their grammatical system (Noonan 2003a). As stated in Chapter 1, Dhimal is tentatively clustered under the SAL group of the T-B languages spoken basically in the North-East India. However, the exact genetic affiliation of the Dhimal language is not yet determined strongly. In this situation, we compare the morphosyntactic features of the Dhimal language based on some of the major typological features of

the Tibeto-Burman languages in general and compare those features with the features of the Bodish and Himalayish languages spoken in Nepal. We also compare Dhimal with the general features of the North-Eastern languages of India in cases where the existing literature provides information on the phenomenon.

a. Affixation

According to Noonan (2003a: 7), the Himalayish languages are prefixing. In contrast, the Bodish languages, with a few exceptions, particularly, excluding the negative morpheme, do not use prefixes. The North-East Indian languages are divided in terms of preferring suffixation or prefixation (Burling 2003a). From the perspective of morphological typology, Dhimal is a synthetic language. In line with the Bodish languages, Dhimal is a suffixing language with an exception of the negative prefix *ma-*. Masica (1976) notes the absence of the prefixes as an areal feature.

b. Person/number marking on verb

There is no person/number agreement on verbs in Bodish (Noonan 2003a: 7). In the Himalayish group, according to Noonan, especially the Hayu-Chepeng group, Kham, and the Kiranti languages have person/number agreement with multiple arguments. Unlike in Himalayish group (the Kirati cluster), in Dhimal, the first person and second person singular pronouns (*ka* and *na* respectively) are suffixed to the verb and exhibit the agreement only with the agent/subject. An interesting feature of Dhimal pronominal agreement is the use of honorific independent pronoun to refer to the speech act participants with affinal kin relation and marking of the relation even in the verbal complex. The Dhimal person marking strategy patterns to Tangut or Rung pattern. LaPolla (2003a: 32) notes that the marking develops from copies of the free pronouns becoming prefixed or suffixed to the verb. The pattern discussed most often is that of the Rung group, because of its wide geographic distribution. He further maintains "this pattern has been associated with the Tangut pattern, but it is not clear whether the Rung pattern developed out of the simpler Tangut pattern (1sg **-ŋa*, 2sg *-na* (the same forms as for the free pronouns), first and second person plural *-ni*)."

c. Word order

Like most other Tibeto-Burman languages, Dhimal exhibits SOV basic constituent order in simple/unmarked/main clauses. The most frequent order of a transitive clause is subject-indirect object direct-object-verb. Masica (1976: 190) claims that the SOV

order is not only the characteristic feature of the TB languages but also a South Asian areal feature. Dhimal maintains the implicational universals associated with the basic SOV ordered languages. Dhimal is head final, post-positional language with the modifier-modified, genitive-head, numeral-noun and relative clause-head noun order. Dhimal conforms in most respect to the pattern established by Greenberg (1963/1966) for an SOV language. However, there is a great freedom in dislocating the arguments for pragmatic purposes (see Chapter 6 for detail).

d. Nominative-accusative case marking system

Most of the Tibeto-Burman languages follow the transitivity oriented ergative-absolutive case marking scheme. In contrast, Dhimal, like Tani (Sun 2003: 462); Garo (Burling 2003b: 396) and Hakha Lai, a Kuki-Chin language (Peterson 2003: 414) follows the pragmatically oriented nominative-accusative pattern (see Chapter 5 for further details).

e. Reflexives and reciprocals

Tibeto-Burman languages exhibit three different patterns in regard to the reflexive constructions: a. expressing reflexives as part of the verbal word, a common pattern found in Himalayish languages (Noonan 2003a: 7); b. expressing reflexives with a distinct reflexive pronoun (a feature of Bodish languages), and, c. Employing ordinary personal pronouns to express reflexive senses when ambiguity would arise (as in Chhantyal, Noonan 2003b: 324). In Dhimal, the reflexive is formed with distinct reflexive pronoun *tai*, which necessarily refers back to the subject/agent of the clause.¹ The reflexive pronoun may be repeated to encode a distributive sense. In contrast, the reciprocal event, as in Qiang², is a part of the verbal word in that the reciprocal morpheme *-su*, followed by the tenses/aspect/person-number markers encodes the reciprocal event in Dhimal (see Chapter 10 for detail).

f. Classifiers

LaPolla (2003a: 27) notes that the classifiers were not the part of the Proto-Sino-Tibetan (PST), but have been developed individually in many of the languages in the

¹Genetti (2003c: 363) observes similar pattern in of Dolakha Newar.

²Regarding the Qiang, a language belonging to the Qiangic branch of the Tibeto-Burman, LaPolla (2003b: 580) notes " there is marking of the reciprocal on the verb, there is no marking of reflexives on the verb, and also no middle voice or passive constructions."

family. Burling (2003a: 169) presents an overview of the Tibeto-Burman languages of North-Eastern India and maintains that many of the languages have numeral classifiers, however, the complexity of the classifier systems appear to be quite variable (Burling 2003a: 173). Unlike in Dolakha Newar, which has at least twenty-two classifiers (Genetti 2003: 358), Dhimal classifiers as in Kirati languages Ebert (2003a) distinguish human and non-human nouns. The humans are classified with *-mi* whereas non-human noun and generic nouns are classified with *-loŋ*.

g. Morphological valence increasing strategies

As in many TB languages, Dhimal possesses lexical causatives. Almost every verb can be causativized with the suffix *-pa* which is grammaticalized form of the main verb *pa* 'do'. So, causativization in Dhimal is a sort of verb concatenation. Matisoff (2003: 219) notes that the oldest way of forming causative verbs in the Tibeto-Burman was by an **s*-prefix. Furthermore, *-pi* related to the main verb *pi* 'give' is used in a benefactive meaning (see Chapter 10 for further details).

h. Dative subject construction

Dative subject construction is not the basic characteristic of the Bodish as well as of the Himalayish languages (Regmi 2013: 271). Ebert (2003b: 543) maintains that dative subjects are totally absent in Chamling. However, Masica (1976: 190) notes that it is an areal feature of South Asia. In Dhimal, the experiencer subjects may have nominative or dative case marking. Thus, it may be said that dative subject construction is a borrowed feature of Dhimal. Givón (2001a: 205) notes that dative subjects are commonly found in many if not most of the nominative languages. To follow him, the dative subject feature of Dhimal may also be interpreted as one of the typologically implicative features (see Chapter. 4 for further detail).

i. Converbal constructions

The converbal constructions are described as the conjunctive participial clauses by Masica (1976: 189). Dhimal exhibits two types of converbal constructions: simultaneous and sequential. This feature is not only one of the characteristic features of the Tibeto-Burman languages but also an areal feature (see Chapter 14 for further detail).

j. Nominalization

The nominalizing suffix in Dhimal is used for a number of functions as does the nominalizing prefix in Baram (Dhakal 2015: 10). The functions covered by the nominalizing suffix in Dhimal include deriving adjectives from verb roots, relativization and complementation. Konneth (2009: 72) notes that the prefix/*gV*- is found in some of the eastern Kirati languages of Nepal. In Chamling, the nominalizer suffix is *-ko*. Athpariya (Neupane 2002: 147) has a homophonous nominalizing prefix *ka*- similar to that of the Dhimal nominalizing suffix *-ka*. (see § 9.2.5 for detail on nominalization in Dhimal).

Table 15.1 presents the morpho-syntactic comparison of Dhimal with reference to the Bodish, Himalayish and SAL group of languages:

Table 15.1: Comparison of the morphosyntactic features of Dhimal with Bodish, Himalayish and SAL languages

	Morphosyntactic features	Bodish (Noonan 2003a)	Himalayish (Noonan 2003a)	North-East Indian (Burling 2003a)	Dhimal
1.	Affixation	suffixing except the negative morpheme (Noonan 2003: 8)	prefixing as a group feature (Noonan 2003a: 8)	suffixing (Burling 2003a: 173); many languages have a number of noun and adjective 'prefixes' (Burling 2003a: 173)	suffixing except the negative morpheme
2.	Person marking/number marking	no person/number agreement on verbs	the Hayu-Chepeng group, Kham, and the Kiranti languages have person/number agreement with multiple arguments (Noonan 2003a: 8)	sporadic; examples of verb agreement can be found, but many languages lack verb agreement entirely. (Burling 2003a: 173)	simple (1 st and 2 nd person subject/agent only)
3.	reflexive	expressing reflexives with a distinct reflexive form or ordinary personal pronoun (Noonan 2003a)	Himalayish typology would express reflexives as part of their verbal word (Noonan 2003a)	both morphological and analytic	analytically expressed with a special reflexive word

4.	Reciprocal	morphological/ syntactic	morphological/sy ntactic	morpholo gical/ syntactic	morphologic al
5.	Classifiers	basic distinction human and generic nouns	distinguish human and non-human nouns (Ebert, (2003a)	Many, though not all, of the language s have numeral classifier s, but the complexi ty of the classifier systems appear to be quite variable	basic distinction between human and generic nouns
6.	Adjectival word order	NA (AN also is possible)	AN	AN	AN
7.	Demonstrat ive+ noun order	N+Dem in Tibetan complex, Dem N elsewhere		Dem+N	Dem+N
8.	Numeral+N oun order	N Num	Num N	N+Num	Num N
9.	vertical/ directional verbs	absent	present	found in some language s	absent
10.	Case marking	ergative- absolutive	ergative- absolutive	follow both the patterns (Thurgoo d, 2003)	nominative- accusative
11.	Antidative marking	absent (Noonan 2003a)	present sporadically	present sporadica lly	present
12.	Morphologi cal causative	present	present	present	present
13.	evidentialit y	expressed in verb complex by verbals in the Tibetan Complex, but not elsewhere	absent	found sporadica lly	expressed by discourse particle

14.	honorific verb and noun stems	present	absent	absent	presence of the honorific pronouns and verbal suffix to indicate the affinal kin relations
15.	Verbal with nominal and adjective function	present	present	present	present
16.	Finite subordinate clauses	absent	present in Kiranti and Hayu-Chebang; absent elsewhere	found sporadically	present
17.	Dative subject construction	it is not a basic feature (Regmi 2013a)	it is not a basic feature (Regmi 2013a)	found sporadically	both the nominative and dative subjects are found
18.	Converbal construction	present	present	present	present

15.3 Conclusion

Dhimal reveals a number of features which may be typologically interesting. It is a suffixing language with an exception of the negative prefix *ma-*. The first person and second person singular pronouns are suffixed to the verb and exhibit the agreement only with the agent/subject. An interesting feature of Dhimal pronominal agreement is the use of honorific independent pronoun to refer to the speech act participants with affinal kin relation which is encoded even in the verbal complex. Dhimal, a language with SOV basic word order, follows the pragmatically oriented (nominative-accusative) case marking scheme. Dhimal classifiers distinguish human and non-human nouns. Reflexive is marked periphrastically whereas reciprocity is encoded in the verbal complex. Dhimal basically possesses morphological causatives. In Dhimal, the experiencer subjects are either nominative or dative case marked. Dhimal exhibits two types of converbal constructions: simultaneous and sequential. The functions covered by the nominalizing suffix in Dhimal include deriving adjectives from verb roots, relativization and complementation.

Annexes

Annex A: Sample of analyzed texts

Folk story 'three Sisters' as told by Tek Bahadur dhimal (Damak-6, Dapgachhi, Jhapa) (CODE: TBDFSW)

- (01) *elon destā hīgʰakʰe doʔkʰe elon radza*
 e-lon des-ta fi-gʰa-kʰe doʔ-kʰe e-lon radza
 one-CLF country-LOC be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS one-CLF king
 'There was a king in a country.'
- (02) *iŋko radza dinaŋ wako sita*
 iŋko radza dinaŋ wa-ko si-ta
 that king daily 3SG-GEN house-LOC
wa jubak doʔkʰe radzkumar
 wa jubak doʔ-kʰe radzkumar
 3SG lad say-PRS prince
 'Everyday the king..., he had a prince in his house (palace).'
- (03) *wa ekdam sanaiti bʰajagelai dopʰaŋ*
 wa ekdam sanaiti bʰaja-gelai dopʰa-ŋ
 3SG consistently friend brother-PL with-EMPH
kʰiniŋ morimeṭeka
 kʰiniŋ morimeṭe-ka
 only live or die-NMLZ
 'He used to be very fond only of his friends and relatives.'
- (04) *adʰjan pali tsafiṅ mamaḥaneka wa*
 adʰjan pa-li tsafiṅ ma-ma-ḥane-ka wa
 study do-INF IND NEG-NEG-go-NMLZ 3SG
 'As for his studies, he did not go at all.'
- (05) *kʰali ela derako djaŋ ela dinaŋ*
 kʰali ela dera-ko djaŋ ela dinaŋ
 only now village-GEN person now daily
sikar gʰateŋ um tsaka doʔkʰe
 sikar gʰa-teŋ um tsa-ka doʔ-kʰe
 hunt play-SEQ cooked.rice eat-NMLZ say-PRS
 'The people of that village used to earn their livelihood only by hunting, it is said.'
- (06) *wa buŋ ekdamai raḥar paḥi aŋ*
 wa bu-ŋ ekdam-ai raḥar pa-ḥi aŋ
 3SG also-EMPH very-EMPH interest do-PST REP
 'He (the prince) also showed much interest (for hunting).'
- (07) *ela wako sata ḥatijar hīgʰakʰe doʔkʰe baṇduk*
 ela wa-ko sa-ta ḥatijar fi-gʰa-kʰe doʔ-kʰe baṇduk
 now 3SG-GEN house-LOC weapon be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS gun
 'Now there was a weapon called gun in his house.'

- (08) *kalau fiet doʔkʰe aŋ*
 kalau fiet doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 then uh-huh say-PRS REP
 'Then he says uh-huh! (It is said)'
- (09) *te pʰalna narja kose nani fianili gojaŋ*
 te pʰalna narja kose nani fiane-li goi-aŋ
 okay man elephant tighten.IMP today go-INF must-FUT
 'Okay man, you prepare the elephant (we) must go today.'
- (10) *dzastoŋ ki lampʰa te ela brinzabʌn doʔkʰe ru*
 dzʌsto-ŋ ki lampʰa te ela brinzabʌn doʔ-kʰe ro
 like-EMPH PART before TOP now big.jungle say-PRS CONR
 'It is like before, it is said Brinzaban.'
- (11) *iŋko brinzabʌnko dzʰarta sikar gʰali fianaine*
 iŋko brinzabʌn-ko dzʰar-ta sikar gʰa-li fiane-aine
 that big.jungle-GEN jungle-LOC hunting play-INF go-HORT
 'Let's go for hunting to the jungle of Brijaban forest'.
- (12) *fai niŋkʰe sikar doʔteŋ narja sadzʰepaʰi doʔkʰe*
 fai niŋ-kʰe sikar doʔ-teŋ narja sadzʰe-pa-fi doʔ-kʰe
 what get-PRS hunting say-SEQ elephant decorate-CAUS-PST say-PRS
 'Having asked what hunting is available (he) prepared the elephant, it is said.'
- (13) *kalau fianikataŋ fianikataŋ*
 kalau fiane-ka-ta-aŋ fiane-ka-ta-aŋ
 then go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH
fianikataŋ fianikataŋ
 fiane-ka-ta-aŋ fiane-ka-ta-aŋ
 go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH
dziʰãdzuileŋ eloŋ faiduŋ madʰiʔka
 dziʰã dzuileŋ e-loŋ faiduŋ ma-dʰiʔ-ka
 bird lizard one-CLF anything NEG-get-NMLZ
tʰameta tʰukalʰafi doʔkʰe aŋ
 tʰame-ta tʰuka-lʰa-fi doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 place-LOC reach-INTENT-PST say-PRS REP
 'Then going continuously, (they) reached to a place where even no birds and lizard were available, it is said.'
- (14) *madzʰa dzʰarta ela tsi amli kiʔʰi doʔkʰe aŋ*
 madzʰa dzʰar-ta ela tsi am-li kiʔ-fi doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 mid jungle-LOC now water drink-INF want-PST say-PRS REP
 '(They) wanted to drink water when (they were) in the middle of the forest.'
- (15) *kalau fie bʰagwan doʔkʰe aŋ fiiso buŋ ela*
 kalau fie bʰagwan doʔ-kʰe aŋ fiiso bu-ŋ ela
 then oh god say-PRS REP where also-EMPH now

dz^horadz^hori mant^hu
 dz^hora-dz^hori mant^hu
 river-REDUP NEG. be
 'Then they exclaimed, oh my god, there are no water streams at all.'

- (16) *tsi ela fiesa am-aŋ*
 tsi ela fiesa am-aŋ
 water now how drink-FUT
 'Now how will we drink water?'

- (17) *rΛ kelai fiesapateŋ paran bantsepaŋ nani el-aŋ*
 rΛ kelai fiesapa-teŋ paran bantse-pa-aŋ nani el-aŋ
 and 1PL how-SEQ life survive-CAUS-FUT today be.good-FUT
 'And now, how will we save our life and remain well today?'

- (18) *ãd^hjaro rat dzeŋfioi*
 ãd^hjaro rat dzeŋ-fioi
 dark night become-PFV
 'It became dark night.'

- (19) *nani sjaŋ wa la kelai doʔk^he aŋ*
 nani si-aŋ wa la kelai doʔ-k^he aŋ
 today die-FUT DED MIR 1PL say-PRS REP
narjako moɦotijaɦeŋ
 narja-ko moɦotija-ɦeŋ
 elephant-GEN herder-DAT
 'We may die today, (he) said to the elephant herder.'

- (20) *nani sjaŋ k^hadza pani fiabe*
 nani si-aŋ k^hadza pani fiabe
 today die-FUT snack water GF
k^hadza te fi tsi mant^hu
 k^hadza te fi tsi mant^hu
 snack TOP be water NEG. be
 'We may die today (because) as for snacks we have it, but the water, we do not have.'

- (21) *ɦai amteŋ bantsjaŋ doʔk^he aŋ*
 ɦai am-teŋ bantse-aŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 what drink-SEQ survive-FUT say-PRS REP
 'What to drink to survive? He said.'

- (22) *te etaŋ ɦjaŋ*
 te eta-ŋ fi-aŋ
 okay here-EMPH sit-FUT
 'Okay (we'll) stay here itself.'

- (23) *nab^handai wako dihẽ paña eloŋ*
 nab^handai wa-ko dihẽ paña e-loŋ
 at.once 3SG-GEN west side one-CLF
barka pok^hari hig^hak^he
 bar-ka pok^hari hi-g^ha-k^he
 be.big-NMLZ pond be-IPFV-PRS
 'To (their) surprise, there was a pond to the west side.'
- (24) *te odoi pok^hariko fiabe sopond^hara lofi doʔk^he ela*
 te odoi pok^hari-ko fiabe sopond^hara lo-fi doʔ-k^he ela
 okay that pond-GEN GF dream come-PST say-PRS now
 'Okay, the pond came in the dream now, it is said.'
- (25) *edai t^hameta hai dzanwar tsumteŋ*
 edai t^hame-ta hai dzanwar tsuma-teŋ
 this place-LOC what animal bring-SEQ
hisoko manusja lofi doʔteŋ wa ekdam
 hiso-ko manusja lo-fi doʔ-teŋ wa
 where-GEN human.being come-PST say-SEQ 3SG
parits^hjan paŋi aŋ
 ekdam parits^hjan pa-fi aŋ
 consistently observation do-PST REP
 'Having said who might be the person that came here and what animal he has brought, (he) observed minutely.'
- (26) *kalau ja kalau apsosta parika fi*
 kalau ja kalau apsos-ta pari-ka fi
 then this then surprise-LOC be.fall-NMLZ be
 'Then he happened to fall in surprise.'
- (27) *jaseheŋ t^hame timpili gojaŋ*
 ja-seheŋ t^hame tiŋ-pi-li goi-aŋ
 this-DAT place see-BEN-INF must-FUT
tsi amka doʔfi aŋ
 tsi am-ka doʔ-fi aŋ
 water drink-NMLZ say-PST REP
 'It must be shown the place to him; (the place) to drink water, he said.'
- (28) *kalau sopona lofi doʔk^he*
 kalau sopon-ta lo-fi doʔ-k^he
 then dream-LOC come-PST say-PRS
 'Then, it came in (his) dream (it is said).'
- (29) *e manusja na hiso abaiten*
 e manusja na hiso abai-teŋ
 VOC human.being 2SG where confuse-SEQ

lon^ha iŋko djaŋ

lo-fii-na iŋko djaŋ
come-PST-2 that person

'Hey man! How did you confuse to come here? That person (said)

- (30) *kalau wa ela nindrataŋ fi*

kalau wa ela nindra-ta-aŋ fi
then 3SG now sleep-LOC-EMPH be

'Then he is in the sleep now.'

- (31) *tsi amli kiʔteŋ wakul dzeŋteŋ*

tsi am-li kiʔ-teŋ wakul dzeŋ-teŋ
water drink-INF want-SEQ unrest be-SEQ

esaŋ dzimfi

esa-ŋ dzim-fi
like.this-EMPH sleep-PST

'Having wished to drink water and being unrest (he) slept like this.'

- (32) *mako doʔk^he aŋ naŋgaʔfi doʔk^he*

ma-ko doʔ-k^he aŋ naŋgaʔ-fi doʔ-k^he
NEG-be say-PRS REP be.awaken-PST say-PRS

iŋko radzkumar

iŋko radzkumar
that prince

'No, he said, the prince awakend.'

- (33) *oi one ede t^hameta te iska*

oi one ede t^hame-ta te iska
hey younger.sibling this place-LOC TOP this.kind

iska ki fi ro

iska ki fi ro
this.kind PART be CONR

'Hello brother, things are of different sort in this place.'

- (34) *kaseheŋ fiʔli lofi*

ka-seheŋ fiʔ-li lo-fi
ISG-DAT ask-INF come-PST

'(He) came to ask me.'

- (35) *kelai te atuisa dihẽ hanili madon^hafi*

kelai te atuisa dihẽ hane-li ma-do-n^ha-fi
1PL TOP little west go-INF NEG-be.able-1PL-PST

'As for us, we could not be able to go a bit west.'

- (36) *iŋko t^hameta te k^hulla fi doʔk^he tsaur*

iŋko t^hame-ta te k^hulla fi doʔ-k^he tsaur
that place-LOC TOP wide.open be say-PRS meadow

'There is a meadow wide open (they say).'

- (37) *inta iŋko tsaurta barka pok^hari fi doʔk^he*
 inta iŋko tsaur-ta bar-ka pok^hari fi doʔ-k^he
 there that meadow-LOC be.big-NMLZ pond be say-PRS
 'There is a big pond in the meadow (it is said).'
- (38) *kalau dz^has^hŋg^hai biũdz^hi fi doʔk^he k^haŋ fi doʔk^he*
 kalau dz^has^hŋg-ai biũdz^hi-fi doʔ-k^he k^haŋ-fi doʔ-k^he
 then at.once-EMPH awaken-PST say-PRS look-PST say-PRS
 'Then (he) awakened at once and looked around (it is said).'
- (39) *ud^hi^himi k^hiniŋ ela dzimten narja d^heuten*
 ud^hi^himi k^hiniŋ ela dzim-ten narja d^heu-ten
 3DU only now sleep-SEQ elephant tether-SEQ
taʔka fi doʔk^he siŋta
 taʔ-ka fi doʔ-k^he siŋ-ta
 keep-NMLZ be say-PRS tree-LOC
 'They (two) have slept having the elephant kept tied in the tree.'
- (40) *kalau -d^hat doʔk^he aŋ*
 kalau d^hat doʔ-k^he aŋ
 then shit say-PRS REP
 'Shit!' (He) exclaimed then.'
- (41) *te to eloŋ narja hiako*
 te to e-loŋ narja hi-ako
 okay PART one-CLF elephant sit-OPT
 'May an elephant be seated!'
- (42) *te n^hemihoi b^ho:l^hasi tsi*
 te n^he-mi b^ho:-l^ha-siŋ tsi
 okay two-CLF search-INTENT-HORT.DU water
amka t^hame doʔk^he aŋ
 am-ka t^hame doʔ-k^he aŋ
 drink-NMLZ place say-PRS REP
 'Okey, let's go in search of the (source of) water to drink.'
- (43) *atuisa dihiẽ hanihi doʔk^he aŋ barka*
 atuisa dihiẽ hane-fi doʔ-k^he aŋ bar-ka
 little west go-PST say-PRS REP be.big-NMLZ
pok^hari hiŋg^hak^he aŋ
 pok^hari fi-g^ha-k^he aŋ
 pond be-IPFV-PRS REP
 '(They went a little bit westward; there was a big pond (it is said)).'
- (44) *kalau inta mi d^hu fi d^hafi doʔk^he*
 kalau inta mi d^hu-fi d^hafi doʔ-k^he
 then there eye wash-PST REDUP say-PRS
 'Then (they) washed up their faces there.'

- (45) *kalau n^hewa tsi am^{hi} doʔk^he*
kalau n^he wa tsi am-fi doʔ-k^he
then two handful water drink-PST say-PRS
'Then, (they) drank water two times.'
- (46) *kalau santosta dzeⁿfi aⁿ*
kalau Santos-ta dzeⁿ-fi aⁿ
then satisfaction-LOC become-PST REP
'Then (they) became satisfied.'
- (47) *ela tsaf^{hi} bantseniⁿ doʔk^he aⁿ*
ela tsaf^{hi} bantse-niⁿ doʔ-k^he aⁿ
now IND survive-2DU say-PRS REP
'Now (we) will survive (they said).'
- (48) *kalau insaⁿ doʔteⁿ te ela doʔk^he aⁿ*
kalau insa-aⁿ doʔ-teⁿ te ela doʔ-k^he aⁿ
then like.that-EMPH say-SEQ TOP now say-PRS REP
'So, having said this 'okay now' (he) says.'
- (49) *iⁿko narja buⁿ n^hana herteⁿ*
iⁿko narja bu-ⁿ n^ha-na hieⁿ-teⁿ
that elephant also-EMPH bring-2 pull-SEQ
tsuma doʔk^he aⁿ
tsum-ã doʔ-k^he aⁿ
bring-FUT say-PRS REP
'Bring the elephant as well, pulling (he says).'
- (50) *kalau istu to^{hi} doʔk^he*
kalau istu to-fi doʔ-k^he
then much dig-PST say-PRS
'Then (he) digged deep, it is said.'
- (51) *ela saⁿli te istu toteⁿ tateⁿ liʔpiteⁿ*
ela saⁿli te istu to-teⁿ tateⁿ liʔ-pi-teⁿ
now chain TOP much dig-SEQ REDUP bury-BEN-SEQ
fiabe nu k^hãdaipinu ela uʔli
fiabe-nu k^hãdai-pi-nu ela uʔ-li
GF-COND press.down-BEN-COND now uproot-INF
madok^he sand^haika sand^haiteⁿ d^heuka
ma-do-k^he sand^hai-ka sand^hai-teⁿ d^heu-ka
NEG-be.able-PRS fix-NMLZ fix-SEQ tether-NMLZ
'Now, the chain is fixed (on the ground) so that it cannot uproot it, now is tethered strongly.'
- (52) *kalau dilima iⁿko narjako gadita ela anemone*
kalau dilima iⁿko narja-ko gadi-ta ela anemane
then evening that elephant-GEN saddle-LOC now materials

tsumpuka hig^hak^he

tsuma-pu-ka fi-g^ha-k^he
bring-AND-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS

'Then, things were carried in the saddle of the elephant in the evening.'

- (53) *kalau bistara lagai^hfi doʔk^he t^hʌpʌkkʌ dzim^hfi*

kalau bistara lagai-fi doʔ-k^he t^hʌpʌkkʌ dzim-fi
then bed set-PST say-PRS instantly sleep-PST

'Then (they) set the bed and slept in right away.'

- (54) *kalau mʌdd^he ratta iŋko pok^hʌri^hso*

kalau mʌdd^he rat-ta iŋko pok^hʌri-so
then mid night-LOC that pond-ABL

sumloŋ bedzan ole^hfi aŋ

sum-loŋ bedzan ole-fi aŋ
three-CLF girl emerge-PST REP

'Then three girls came out of the pond in the midnight '.

- (55) *sumloŋ bedzan ole^hfi doʔk^he*

sum-loŋ bedzan ole-fi doʔ-k^he
three-CLF girl emerge-PST say-PRS

'Three girls emerged out (it is said).'

- (56) *obalai g^ha^hfi doʔk^he ekdʌm fiabe tripasa*

obalai g^ha-fi doʔ-k^he ekdʌm fiabe tripasa
3PL play-PST say-PRS consistently GF tripasa

g^ha^hfi g^ha^hfi g^ha^hfi g^ha^hfi doʔk^he

g^ha-fi g^ha-fi g^ha-fi g^ha-fi doʔ-k^he
play-PST play-PST play-PST play-PST say-PRS

'They played the Tripasa continuously.'

- (57) *kants^hi^hko pala fi^hi^h aŋ wako barka bai^heŋ*

kants^hi-ko pala fi^hi-fi aŋ wa-ko bar-ka bai-fieŋ
Kanchhi-GEN turn ask-PST REP 3SG-GEN be.big-NMLZ elder.sister-DAT

'Kanchi asked to her elder sisters.'

- (58) *dzet^hi bai na fiisikata fianana doʔk^he aŋ*

dzet^hi bai na fiisika-ta fiane-aŋ-na doʔ-k^he aŋ
jethi elder.sister 2SG what.kind-LOC go-FUT-2 say-PRS REP

'Eldest sister! What sort of person do you marry with (she said).'

- (59) *ka te ekdʌm kam pali magoika ekdʌm*

ka te ekdʌm kam pa-li ma-goi-ka ekdʌm
1SG TOP complete work do- INF NEG-must-NMLZ complete

d^hʌni sita fianan^hka d^hʌni pariwar

d^hʌni si-ta fiane-aŋ-ka d^hʌni pariwar
rich house-LOC go-FUT-1SG rich family

'As for me, I will marry to a rich where no work is to be done.'

- (60) *ka malikni dzeŋteŋ hjaŋka doʔkʰe kantsʰi*
 ka malikni dzeŋ-teŋ fi-aŋ-ka doʔ-kʰe kantsʰi
 1SG mistress become-SEQ sit-FUT-1SG say-PRS Kanchhi
habe dzetʰi tsafĩ kantsʰi-heŋ uttar pi-fi
 habe dzetʰi tsafĩ kantsʰi-heŋ uttar pi-fi
 GF jethi IND Kanchhi-DAT answer give-PST
 'I will live as a mistress (of the house), Kanchhi...umm... Jethi answerd to Kanchhi's query.'
- (61) *kalau maili bai na hisikata hanana*
 kalau maili bai na hisika-ta hane-aŋ-na
 then maili elder.sister 2SG what.kind-LOC go-FUT-2
 'Then, second eldest sister, what sort of person will you marry with?'
- (62) *ka te barka dzagir tsaka wadzan ta kʰiniŋ*
 ka te bar-ka dzagir tsa-ka wadzan-ta kʰiniŋ
 1SG TOP be.big-NMLZ job eat-NMLZ boy-LOC only
hananʰka ekdam dzagire dzjaŋka
 hane-aŋ-ka ekdam dzagire dzeŋ-ka
 go-FUT-1SG complete job.holder be-NMLZ
 'As for me, I shall go only with one who has got a good job.'
- (63) *ka maɖdzasonʰ kursita jomteŋ hjaŋhũ paŋka*
 ka maɖdzas-o-ŋ kursi-ta jom-teŋ hjaŋhũ pa-aŋ-ka
 1SG relaxing-ABL-EMPH chair-LOC sit-SEQ ONOM do-FUT-1SG
 'I will relax in a chair and order (my servants)'
- (64) *taiko pale paɦareheŋ arajã kʰatajã doʔkʰe aŋ*
 taiko pale paɦare-heŋ arai-aŋ kʰataj-aŋ doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 self-GEN peon guard-DAT order-FUT employ-FUT say-PRS REP
 'I will order and employ my peons and guards (she said).'
- (65) *te kidʰinʰimi te hiʔhoika*
 te kidʰinʰimi te hiʔ-ɦoi-na
 okay 1DU TOP ask-PFV-2
 'Okay, as for we (two), you already asked.'
- (66) *kantsʰi na hisikata hanana*
 kantsʰi na hisika-ta hane-aŋ-na
 kanchhi 2SG what.kind-LOC go-FUT-2
 'Kanchhi, what sorts of (person) will you go with?'
- (67) *ka te haidonʰ marodzjaŋka sirip tsandra ɾa surja*
 ka te haidonʰ ma-rodze-aŋ-ka sirip tsandra ɾa surja
 1SG TOP anything NEG-select-FUT-1SG only moon and sun
kʰiniŋ dzeŋli ninako doʔhi aŋ wa
 kʰiniŋ dzeŋ-li niŋ-ako doʔ-fi aŋ wa
 only bear-INF get-OPT say-PST REP 3SG
 'As for me, I will not ask for anything else but may I be able to give birth to a sun and a moon, she said.'

- (68) *insaŋ doʔhi daʔhi kalau tsʌpljak tsupluk*
 insa-ŋ doʔ-fi daʔhi kalau tsʌpljak tsupluk
 like.that-EMPH say-PST REDUP then ONOM REDUP
pokʰarita dʰaʔsihi sumi doŋ
 pokʰari-ta dʰaʔsi-fi su-mi doŋ
 pond-LOC jump-PST three-HCLF FOC
 '(They said) like that and all the three jumped into the pond at once.'
- (69) *ei sumi doŋ dʰaʔsihi*
 ei su-mi doŋ dʰaʔsi-fi
 yes three-HCLF FOC jump-PST
 'Yes, jumped all the three.'
- (70) *kalau dzʰjappʌi kitikitihi doʔkʰe*
 kalau dzʰjapp-ʌi kitikiti-fi doʔ-kʰe
 then at.once-EMPH be.dark-PST say-PRS
 'Then, suddenly it darkened.'
- (71) *e ni nʰe ni te ʌnjolta porihī aŋ*
 e ni nʰe ni te ʌnjol-ta pori-fi aŋ
 one day two day TOP confusion-LOC befall-PST REP
 'It created confusion for one or two days.'
- (72) *radzkumarʰeŋ nindra maloʰi doʔkʰe*
 radzkumar-ʰeŋ nindra ma-lo-fi doʔ-kʰe
 prince-DAT sleep NEG-come-PST say-PRS
 'The prince could not fall asleep (it is said).'
- (73) *pokʰari bʰerpa lonasantaŋ*
 pokʰari bʰerpa lo-na-sa-aŋ-ta-aŋ
 pond near come-IMPL-APPR-EMPH-LOC-EMPH
kalau tʰʌpʌkkʌi insaŋ
 kalau tʰʌpʌkkʌi insa-ŋ
 then immediately like.that-EMPH
kʰur baʔteŋ dzʰeŋpaʰi doʔkʰe
 kʰur baʔ-teŋ dzʰeŋ-pa-fi doʔ-kʰe
 hand bind-SEQ light-CAUS-PST say-PRS
 'As soon as they came near the pond, they sat there until down (it is said).'
- (74) *dzʰeŋpaʰi kalau doʔkʰe aŋ*
 dzʰeŋ-pa-fi kalau doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 light-CAUS-PST then say-PRS REP
 '(They) stayed until dawn and (he) says.'
- (75) *e pʰʌlna doʔkʰe aŋ narja koʔse*
 e pʰʌlna doʔ-kʰe aŋ narja koʔse
 VOC man say-PRS REP elephant prepare.IMP
 'Hey man! Prepare the elephant, he says.'

- (76) *liʔpaŋ gʰuraiteŋ gʰaraiteŋ itaŋ basa fiili*
 liʔpaŋ gʰurai-teŋ gʰaraiteŋ ita-aŋ basa fi-li
 whole.day stroll-SEQ REDUP here-EMPH night.stay sit-INF
loli gojaŋ doʔkʰe aŋ aroŋ
 lo-li goi-aŋ doʔ-kʰe aŋ aro-ŋ
 come-INF must-FUT say-PRS REP again-EMPH
 'Strolling around the whole day (we) must come to stay here again.'
- (77) *ela fiianihi doʔkʰe kalau narja koʔsefi kaʔsefi*
 ela fi-ane-fi doʔ-kʰe kalau narja koʔse-fi kaʔsefi
 now go-PST say-PRS then elephant prepare-PST REDUP
 'Now (they) prepared the elephant and went.'
- (78) *ela kʰane pane gottaŋ lesrataŋ tsumgilka*
 ela kʰane pane gottaŋ lesra-ta-ŋ tsum-gil-ka
 now edible drink all back-LOC-EMPH grab-AMB-NMLZ
 '(They) were carrying the edibles with them.'
- (79) *kalau tsaka amka lesrata tsumgilnʰa*
 kalau tsa-ka am-ka lesra-ta tsum-gil-fi-na
 then eat-NMLZ drink-NMLZ back-LOC bring-AMB-PST-2S
bʰaizo tsaŋi amfi doʔkʰe
 bʰai-so tsa-fi am-fi doʔ-kʰe
 seem-ABL eat-PST drink-PST say-PRS
 'Since they had carried the edibles with them, (they) ate and drank up, it is said.'
- (80) *iŋko pokʰarita mi dʰuteŋ dʰateŋ tsaŋi*
 iŋko pokʰari-ta mi dʰu-teŋ dʰateŋ tsa-fi
 that pond-LOC eye wash-SEQ REDUP eat-PST
amfi umfi fiianihi sikar gʰali dzʰarbari
 am-fi umfi fi-ane-fi sikar gʰa-li dzʰar-bari
 drink-PST REDUP go-PST hunt play-INF jungle-ALL
 'They washed up in the pond, ate and drank and went to the jungle for hunting.'
- (81) *liʔpaŋ gʰuraihi gʰuraihi gʰuraihi doʔkʰe*
 liʔpaŋ gʰurai-fi gʰurai-fi gʰurai-fi doʔ-kʰe
 whole.day stroll-PST stroll-PST stroll-PST say-PRS
fiidoŋ maneŋfi intaŋ basa
 fiidoŋ ma-neŋ-fi inta-ŋ basa
 anything NEG-get-PST there-EMPH night.stay
fiili lofi aroŋ
 fi-li lo-fi aro-ŋ
 sit-INF come-PST again-EMPH
 'They strolled around but did not get anything and came to stay there again.'
- (82) *intaŋ basa fiili lofi*
 inta-ŋ basa fi-li lo-fi
 there-EMPH night.stay sit-INF come-PST
 '(They) came to stay therein.'

- (83) *kalau dilima buŋ nani tsafĩ ekdam tsehwapali*
kalau dilima bu-ŋ nani tsafĩ ekdam
Then evening also-EMPH today IND consistently
gojaŋ doʔkʰe aŋ
tsefiwa pa-li goi-aŋ doʔ-kʰe aŋ
peep do-INF must-FUT say-PRS REP
'And, (we) must peep out this evening as well, he says.'
- (84) *mʰaʔ doʔkʰe aŋ kalau*
mʰaʔ doʔ-kʰe aŋ kalau
wait say-PRS REP then
'Then (he) says, wait!'
- (85) *kalau utaso iŋko radzkumar tsafĩ ekdam wa*
kalau uta-so iŋko radzkumar tsafĩ ekdam wa
then there-ABL that prince IND consistently 3SG
madzimsiŋ rʰumteŋ fiikʰe aŋ
ma-dzim-siŋ rʰum-teŋ fi-kʰe aŋ
NEG-sleep-PURP rʰum-SEQ sit-PRS REP
'And the prince sits waiting for (the girls); he does not even sleep thereafter.'
- (86) *are fiisika reremka bedzalai olekʰe eta*
are fiisika reremka bedzalai ole-kʰe eta
oh what.kind good.PL girl.PL emerge-PRS here
'Oh, What pretty girls emerge out here?'
- (87) *idoi dʰani sita hanaŋka doʔka*
idoi dʰani si-ta hane-aŋ-ka doʔ-ka
this rich house-LOC go-FUT-1SG say-NMLZ
barka dzagir tsaka dopʰa hanaŋka
bar-ka dzagir tsa-ka dopʰa hane-aŋ-ka
be.big-NMLZ job eat-NMLZ with go-FUT-1SG
doʔka kʰanteŋ nuiteŋ kantsʰi te
doʔ-ka kʰaŋ-teŋ nui-teŋ kantsʰi te
say-NMLZ look-SEQ speak-SEQ Kanchhi TOP
menaŋ remka fi
menaŋ rem-ka fi
enough be.good-NMLZ be
'Kanchhi is prettier than those who want to marry a rich person or who want to marry with a job holder.'
- (88) *ja te tsandrʌ surja dzeŋli kʰaŋkʰe*
ja te tsandrʌ surja dzeŋ-li kʰaŋ-kʰe
this TOP moon sun bear-INF wish-PRS
'She wishes only to bear moon and sun.'
- (89) *iŋko ʌrtʰʌ fai wa la be doʔkʰe aŋ*
iŋko ʌrtʰʌ fai wa la be doʔ-kʰe aŋ
that meaning what DED MIR DUB say-PRS REP
'What might that mean in fact?'

- (90) *iŋko k^hiniŋ ʌp^hsos ta fi doʔk^he ela radzkumar*
 iŋko k^hiniŋ ʌp^hsos-ta fi doʔ-k^he ela radzkumar
 that only sorrow-LOC be say-PRS now prince
 'Due to that the prince is sad.'
- (91) *e wako be mant^huka ela*
 e wa-ko be mant^hu-ka ela
 eh 3SG-GEN wife NEG. be-NMLZ now
 'In fact, he didnot have his wife now.'
- (92) *kalau wako b^hʌnai tsafĩ idoiko ʌrt^hʌ fai*
 kalau wa-ko b^hʌnai tsafĩ idoi-ko ʌrt^hʌ fai
 then 3SG-GEN say IND this-GEN meaning what
wa la be doʔk^he aŋ
 wa la be doʔ-k^he aŋ
 DED MIR DUB say-PRS REP
 'As for her statement, what it might mean in fact?'
- (93) *kalau insaŋ fiikataŋ fiikataŋ*
 kalau insa-ŋ fi-ka-ta-ŋ fi-ka-ta-ŋ
 then like.that-EMPH sit-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH sit-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH
fiikataŋ dzʌbʌ barʌ bʌdze rat
 fi-ka-ta-ŋ dzʌbʌ barʌ bʌdze rat
 be-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH when twelve hour night
dzeŋg^hak^he te olefi aŋ
 dzeŋ-g^ha-k^he te ole-fi aŋ
 be-IPFV-PRS TOP emerge-PST REP
 'Sitting long like this when it happened twelve at night (they) emerged out unexpectedly.'
- (94) *aroŋ sumloŋ bedzan olefi doʔk^he*
 aro-ŋ sum-loŋ bedzan ole-fi doʔ-k^he
 again-EMPH three-CLF girl emerge-PST say-PRS
 'Again three girls emerged out (it is said).'
- (95) *obalai tripasa taimiŋ tsumteŋ olefi doʔk^he bas*
 obalai tripasa taimi-ŋ tsuma-teŋ ole-fi doʔ-k^he bas
 3PL tripasa self-EMPH bring-SEQ emerge-PST say-PRS that's all
 'They emerged out taking Tripasa themselves, that's all.'
- (96) *tsʌttʌ bistara daʔfi sumi sum kona*
 tsʌttʌ bistara daʔ-fi su-mi sum kona
 ONOM bed stretch.bed-PST three-HCLF three corner
jomteŋ lagig^hak^he aŋ tirpasa
 jom-teŋ lagi-g^ha-k^he aŋ tirpasa
 sit-SEQ feel-IPFV-PRS REP Tripasa
 'Having stretched the bed and sitting at the three corners (they) started playing Tripasa.'

- (97) *kants^{hi} na gottan t^hokso dzitik^hena*
 kants^{hi} na gottan t^hok-so dziti-k^he-na
 kanchhi 2SG all thing-ABL win-PRS-2
tirpasa g^hali bu nan kelaiko
 tirpasa g^ha-li bu na an kelai-ko
 tripasa play-INF also 2SG EMPH 1PL-GEN
paisa gottan sor^haik^hena
 paisa gottan sor^hai-k^he-na
 money all collect-PRS-2
 'Kanchhi, you win (us) in everything, you win all our money even while playing Tripasa.'
- (98) *nan ko sotsai hai hi ko*
 nan-ko sotsai hai hi ko
 2SG.OBL-GEN thought what be PART
 'What do you think of, in fact?'
- (99) *kan ko sotsai te haidon mant^hu bai*
 kan-ko sotsai te haidon mant^hu bai
 1SG.OBL-GEN thought TOP anything NEG. be elder.sister
 'As for my thought, I have nothing special, (my) sister!'
- (100) *nid^hin^hemiko sotsai baru hai*
 nid^hin^hemi-ko sotsai baru hai
 2DU-GEN thought rather what
 'Rather, what do you think of?'
- (101) *te bai na hisikata hanana*
 te bai na hisika-ta hane-an-na
 okay elder.sister 2SG what.kind-LOC go-FUT-2
 'Okay sister, what sort of person will you marry with?'
- (102) *kalau do?ka do?k^he dzet^hi tsafĩ ka te*
 kalau do?-ka do?-k^he dzet^hi tsafĩ ka te
 then say-NMLZ say-PRS jethi IND ISG TOP
barka d^honi sita hanã
 bar-ka d^honi si-ta hane-ã
 be.big-NMLZ rich house-LOC go-FUT
 'Then jethi said, I have already told that I would go to a rich house.'
- (103) *ka malikni dzen ten taiko lainlaskargelaihen*
 ka malikni dzen ten taiko lainlaskar-gelai-hen
 1SG mistress be-SEQ self servant-PL-DAT
araili k^hataili k^hiniñ ninako do?ka
 arai-li k^hatai-li k^hiniñ niñ-ako do?-ka
 order-INF employ-INF only get-OPT say-NMLZ

wa sotsai fi aŋ

wa sotsai fi aŋ
3SG thought be REP

'I think of being a house owner and order and employ may servants, her thought is (like that).'

- (104) *kalau te dzet^{hi} bai na te insa doʔn^{ha}*

kalau te dzet^{hi} bai na te insa doʔ-fi-na
then TOP jethi elder.sister 2SG TOP like.that say-PST-2
'Then, eldest sister, you said like this.'

- (105) *maili bai^{ko} sotsai fi^{ai}*

maili bai-ko sotsai fi^{ai}
maili elder.sister-GEN thought what
'What do you think second eldest sister?'

- (106) *ka te barka dzagir tsaka fi^{abe}*

ka te bar-ka dzagir tsa-ka fi^{abe}
1SG TOP be.big-NMLZ job eat-NMLZ GF
djaŋ dop^{ha} k^hiniŋ fi^{anã}
djaŋ dop^{ha} k^hiniŋ fi^{ane-ã}
person with only go-FUT
'I will go with a person who has got an attractive job.'

- (107) *ka kurtsita jomteŋ ã kal^{am} tsalaiteŋ*

ka kurtsi-ta jom-teŋ ã kal^{am} tsalai-teŋ
1SG chair-LOC sit-SEQ GF pen calai-SEQ
g^huraipali k^hiniŋ niⁿako
g^hurai-pa-li k^hiniŋ niŋ-ako
turn-CAUS-INF only get-OPT
'I wish I would handle pen being seated in a chair.'

- (108) *kalau insika dzeŋli niⁿako ʌru tʌ fi^{aidon} mant^{hu}*

kalau insika dzeŋ-li niŋ-ako ʌru tʌ fi^{aidon} mant^{hu}
then like.that become-INF get-OPT other PART anything NEG.be
'And I wish to be like that, I have nothing else (to be).'

- (109) *iŋko dz^hoko nu kasefi^{en} Santos doʔteŋ doʔk^{he} aŋ*

iŋko dz^hoko-nu ka-sefi^{en} Santos doʔ-teŋ doʔ-k^{he} aŋ
that amount-COND 1SG-DAT satisfaction say-SEQ say-PRS REP
'That much is enough to satisfy me (she said).'

- (110) *te ni^din^hemiko sotsai te iŋko fi*

te ni^din^hemi-ko sotsai te iŋko fi
okay 2DU-GEN thought TOP that be
'Okay, you (two) have such an idea!'

- (111) *te kunu ela hai paŋ*
 te kunu ela hai pa-aŋ
 okay then now what do-FUT
 'Okay then, what shall we do now?'
- (112) *mako kid^hin^hemi^hieŋ te fi[?]n^ha*
 ma-ko kid^hin^hemi^h-ieŋ te fi[?]-fi-na
 NEG-be 1.DU-DAT TOP ask-PST-2
 'But, you asked to both of us.'
- (113) *ela ka fi[?]taŋka*
 ela ka fi[?]-ta-aŋ-ka
 now 1SG ask-LOC-FUT-1SG
 'Now, I shall ask you.'
- (114) *kunu kants^hi na fiisikataŋ hanaana*
 kunu kants^hi na fiisika-ta-aŋ hane-aŋ-na
 then Kanchhi 2SG what.kind-LOC-EMPH go-FUT-2
 'And (our) youngest sister, what sort of person do you go with?'
- (115) *ka te k^hoi ko nid^hin^hemi b^haika*
 ka te k^hoi ko nid^hin^hemi b^haika
 1SG TOP DM AUX 2DU like
budd^hi mant^hu kaŋko
 budd^hi mant^hu kaŋ-ko
 intelligence NEG.be 1SG.OBL-GEN
 'I am uncertain because I am not as intelligent as you (two) are.'
- (116) *bai ka te dz^haraŋ k^hanteŋ t^hor^Λi*
 bai ka te dz^haraŋ k^hanteŋ t^hor-^Λi
 elder.sister 1SG TOP all COMP little-EMPH
dud^he amka djaŋ
 dud^he am-ka djaŋ
 milk drink-NMLZ person
 'Sister, as for me, I'm the one who sucked (mother's) breast least of all.'
- (117) *ka matr^Λi tsandr^Λ surdze dzeŋli k^hiniŋ ninako*
 ka matr^Λi tsandr^Λ surdze dzeŋ-li k^hiniŋ niŋ-ako
 1SG only moon sun bear-INF only get-OPT
 'I wish I would only bear moon and sun.'
- (118) *kunu iŋkoŋ dz^hoko naŋko b^hanai*
 kunu iŋko-ŋ dz^hoko naŋ-ko b^hanai
 then that-EMPH much 2SG.OBL-GEN say
 'Then, you say only that much?'
- (119) *iŋkoŋ dz^hoko bai kaŋko te*
 iŋko-ŋ dz^hoko bai kaŋ-ko te
 that-EMPH much elder.sister 1SG.OBL-GEN TOP
 'As of mine, only that much.'

- (120) *te kunu ela hai hai pali goika*
 te kunu ela hai hai pa-li goi-ka
 okay then now what what do-INF must-NMLZ
 'Okay then, now what different things must be done?'
- (121) *te hanaine ela tataiko habe kot^hata doʔk^he aŋ*
 te hane-aine ela tatai-ko habe kot^ha-ta doʔ-k^he aŋ
 okay go-HORT now self.self-GEN GF room-LOC say-PRS REP
 'Okay, let's go now to our respective rooms.'
- (122) *gaŋjamgurumpa tsita d^hasefi doʔk^he*
 gaŋjamgurum-pa tsi-ta d^hase-fi doʔ-k^he
 ONOM-do water-LOC disappear-PST say-PRS
 'They jumped into the water at once.'
- (123) *aroŋ dz^hjappaŋi kitikitiŋi*
 aro-ŋ dz^hjapp-ŋi kitikiti-fi
 again-EMPH at.once-EMPH be.dark-PST
 'Again it became dark completely.'
- (124) *imblai su mi lolau te dz^hagmΛg*
 imblai su mi lo-lau te
 3PL three eye come-TEMP TOP
dzeŋg^hak^he doʔk^he
 dz^hagmΛg dzeŋ-g^ha-k^he doʔ-k^he
 flash.out be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS
 'When three of them came, it had flashed bright.'
- (125) *dzΛbΛ imblai sumi hanifi dz^hjappaŋi dzeŋfi*
 dzΛbΛ imblai su-mi hane-fi dz^hjapp-ŋi dzeŋ-fi
 when 3PL three-HCLF go-PST at.once-EMPH be-PST
 'When three of them went away it darkened completely.'
- (126) *ela ãd^hjari ãd^hjari rat dzeŋfi aŋ*
 ela ãd^hjari ãd^hjari rat dzeŋ-fi aŋ
 now dark dark night become-PST REP
 'Now, it became a little dark, it's is said.'
- (127) *t^hukka doʔk^he aŋ baba ja te nitimaŋ*
 t^hukka doʔ-k^he aŋ baba ja te nitima-aŋ
 shit say-PRS REP my god this TOP day-EMPH
buŋ ãd^hjaro b^haiŋi
 bu-ŋ ãd^hjaro b^hai-fi
 also-EMPH dark seem-PST
 'Shit! (He) said my god! It seemed dark even in broad daylight.'
- (128) *antsa nitimaŋ fiŋg^hak^he dzeŋteŋ ela te*
 antsa nitima-aŋ fi-g^ha-k^he dzeŋ-teŋ ela te
 before day-EMPH be-IPFV-PRS be-SEQ now TOP

ǎd^hjare ki dzeŋfi ekdam rat dzeŋfi

ǎd^hjare ki dzeŋ-fi ekdam rat dzeŋ-fi
 ǎd^hyare PART be-PST complete night be-PST
 'It seems that it was sunny day earlier but now it became dark, dead dark.'

- (129) *isika ki r^Λ kid^himi te soponta*

isika ki r^Λ kid^himi te sopon-ta
 like.this PART PART 1DU TOP dream-LOC
fi^hinaŋ b^hai k^hiniŋ r^Λ doʔk^he aŋ
 fi^h-niŋ b^hai k^hiniŋ r^Λ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 be-FUT.1DU seem only PART say-PRS REP
mako doʔk^he aŋ
 ma-ko doʔ-k^he aŋ
 NEG-be say-PRS REP
 'It is like this, as if it was a dream for us, isn't it?'

- (130) *insaŋ ga^ph pateŋ man man ta ga^ph*

insa-ŋ ga^ph pa-teŋ man man-ta ga^ph
 like.that-EMPH talk do-SEQ mind mind-LOC talk
pateŋ pateŋ dz^heŋpa^hi doʔk^he la
 pa-teŋ pa-teŋ dz^heŋ-pa-fi doʔ-k^he la
 do-SEQ do-SEQ light-CAUS-PST say-PRS MIR
ud^hin^hemi dz^heŋpa^hi
 ud^hin^hemi dz^heŋ-pa-fi
 3DU light-CAUS-PST
 'Chatting like this and thinking they (two) spent the whole night,
 (then) it became morning.'

- (131) *kalau te n^he basa te dzeŋfioi aroŋ*

kalau te n^he basa te dzeŋ-fioi
 then okay two night.stay TOP become-PFV
e basa fi^hisiŋ enoŋ kei mako
 aro-ŋ e basa fi^h-siŋ e-long kei ma-ko
 again-EMPH one night.stay sit-HORT.DU one-CLF some NEG-be
kei pateŋ fi^haniŋ doʔfi doʔk^he
 kei pa-teŋ fi^hane-siŋ doʔ-fi doʔ-k^he
 some do-SEQ go-HORT.DU say-PST say-PRS
 'Now, it has already been two day's stay, let's stay one more day and go back after
 having done something at least.'

- (132) *fi^hunu te sata buŋ iŋko radzkumarko*

fi^hunu te sa-ta bu-ŋ iŋko radzkumar-ko
 though TOP house-LOC also-EMPH that prince-GEN
te be fi^hg^hak^he doʔk^he
 te be fi^h-g^ha-k^he doʔ-k^he
 TOP wife be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS
 'Even though the prince had a wife at home, it is said.'

- (133) *wa be mant^huna b^haipa laparbafi pagilka*
 wa be mant^hu-na b^hai-pa laparbafi pa-gil-ka
 3SG wife NEG.be -IMPL seem-do negligence do-AMB-NMLZ
 'He acted negligently as if he had no wife.'
- (134) *kalau aroŋ r^hima dzeŋfi doʔk^he*
 kalau aro-ŋ r^hima dzeŋ-fi doʔ-k^he
 then again-EMPH morning become-PST say-PRS
 'Then again it became morning (it is said).'
- (135) *iŋkoŋ pok^harita mi d^husafi d^hasafi*
 iŋko-ŋ pok^hari-ta mi d^hu-sa-fi d^hasafi
 that-EMPH pond-LOC eye wash-APPR-PST REDUP
doʔk^he seu^hpafi saupafi
 doʔ-k^he seu-pa-fi saupafi
 say-PRS greet-CAUS-PST REDUP
 '(They) seemed to wash their faces in that pond and greeted.'
- (136) *sadai din etaŋ seu^hpali ninako doʔteŋ*
 sadai din eta-ŋ seu-pa-li niŋ-ako doʔ-teŋ
 always day here-EMPH greet-CAUS-INF get-OPT say-SEQ
ekdam seu^hpasafi aŋ n^hu dina te
 ekdam seu-pa-sa-fi aŋ n^hu dina te
 consistently greet-CAUS-APPR-PST REP next day TOP
 'The next day, he greeted wishing that he gets the opportunity to greet here.'
- (137) *ela antimko din ro n^he ni te bitihoi n^huʔso te*
 ela antim-ko din ro n^he ni te bitihoi n^huʔso te
 now last-GEN day CONR two day TOP pass-PFV afterward TOP
 'This is the last day, two days had already passed.'
- (138) *iŋko antimko din tsafi ekdam seu^hpasafi aŋ*
 iŋko antim-ko din tsafi ekdam seu-pa-sa-fi aŋ
 that last-GEN day IND consistently greet-CAUS-APPR-PST REP
 'He seemed greeting well the last day.'
- (139) *e b^hagwan doʔk^he aŋ*
 e b^hagwan doʔ-k^he aŋ
 VOC god say-PRS REP
 'Oh my god, (he) says.'
- (140) *sada din idoi fiabe seba pali ninako*
 sada din idoi fiabe seba pa-li niŋ-ako
 daily day this GF service do-INF get-OPT
 'May (I) always offer the service in this (pond).'

- (141) *idoi pok^haritaŋ doʔteŋ seu-pasa-hi aŋ*
 idoi pok^hari-ta-ŋ doʔ-teŋ seu-pa-sa-hi aŋ
 this pond-LOC-EMPH say-SEQ greet-CAUS-APPR-PST REP
 '(He) greeted and said in this very pond.'
- (142) *idoi rempa b^hagwan-hieŋ*
 idoi rempa b^hagwan-hieŋ
 this good god-DAT
 'For this good god...'
- (143) *mi d^huteŋ d^hateŋ kalau t^hap^hakkai lotelateŋ*
 mi d^hu-teŋ d^hateŋ kalau t^hap^hakkai lo-teŋ lateŋ
 eye wash-SEQ redup then immediately come-SEQ REDUP
eʔ mut^hipa dzolpan tsa-hi doʔk^he
 eʔ mut^hi-pa dzolpan tsa-hi doʔ-k^he
 one handful-do snack eat-PST say-PRS
 'Having washed (his) face, he came and ate up a handful of snacks.'
- (144) *ti g^huraili haidoŋ ma niŋlau buŋ*
 ti g^hurai-li haidoŋ ma-niŋ-lau bu-ŋ
 let's go stroll-INF anything NEG-get-TEMP also-EMPH
liʔpaŋ g^huraisiŋ g^haraisiŋ aroŋ itaŋ
 liʔpaŋ g^hurai-siŋ g^haraisiŋ aro-ŋ ita-ŋ
 whole.day stroll-HORT.DU REDUP again-EMPH here-EMPH
losiŋ doʔk^he aŋ moɦotja-hieŋ
 lo-siŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ moɦotja-hieŋ
 come-HORT.DU say-PRS REP elephant.rider-DAT
 'Let's go to stroll, even if we will not get anything strolling around we will be back.'
- (145) *kalau eʔ mut^hipa dzolpan tsa-hi tsufi doʔk^he*
 kalau eʔ mut^hi-pa dzolpan tsa-hi tsufi doʔ-k^he
 then one handful-ADV LZ snack eat-PST REDUP say-PRS
 'Then each of them ate up a handful of snacks.'
- (146) *g^huraili hanihi ela narja koseteŋ*
 g^hurai-li hane-hi ela narja kose-teŋ
 stroll-INF go-PST now elephant tighten-SEQ
narja narja r^hutaŋ
 narja narja r^huta-aŋ
 elephant elephant up-EMPH
 'Now (they) went to roam sitting on the back of the elephant.'
- (147) *anmane te niŋk^he wa la ni sotsa-hi*
 anemone te niŋ-k^he wa la ni sotsa-hi
 materials TOP get-PRS DED MIR PART think-PST

inikotaŋ hi wa la

in-ko-ta-ŋ hi wa la
that-LOC-EMPH be 3SG MIR

'They thought, probably the materials will be available, it might be there.'

- (148) *wako waseheŋ te aroŋ be*

wa-ko wa-seheŋ te aro-ŋ be
3SG-GEN 3SG-DAT TOP again-EMPH wife

goika remka be

goi-ka rem-ka be
need-NMLZ be.good-NMLZ wife

'He needed another wife; a prettier wife.'

- (149) *kalau li?paŋ g^huraihi g^huraihi do?k^{he}*

kalau li?paŋ g^hurai-hi g^hurai-hi do?-k^{he}
then whole.day stroll-PST stroll-PST say-PRS

'Then (they) strolled the whole day around.'

- (150) *aroŋ intaŋ lohi aŋ basa*

aro-ŋ inta-ŋ lo-hi aŋ basa
again-EMPH there-EMPH come-PST REP night.stay

hili inkoŋ pok^hari b^herpaŋ

hi-li in-ko-ŋ pok^hari b^herpa-aŋ
sit-INF that-EMPH pond near-EMPH

'Again (they) came to stay near the same pond there.'

- (151) *te p^halna do?k^{he} aŋ*

te p^halna do?-k^{he} aŋ
okay guy say-PRS REP

'Okay guy! (He) said.'

- (152) *bistara da? nani haidoŋ matsasiŋ*

bistara da? nani haidoŋ ma-tsa-siŋ
bed stretch.bed.IMP today anything NEG-eat-HORT.DU

'Prepare the bed!' Let's not eat anything today.'

- (153) *dze tsaka antsaŋ tsa^hoiŋiŋ*

dze tsa-ka antsa-aŋ tsa-^hoi-niŋ
je eat-NMLZ already-EMPH eat-PFV-2DU

'We (two) have already eaten whatever we had to (eat).'

- (154) *ela santosta pasiŋ*

ela saⁿtos-ta pa-siŋ
now satisfaction-LOC do-HORT.DU

'Now let's get satisfied.'

- (155) *narja tsahiĩ ka do?nasantaŋ koseteŋ*

narja tsahiĩ ka do?-na-sa-aŋ-ta-ŋ kose-teŋ
elephant IND 1SG say-IMPL-after-EMPH-LOC-EMPH tighten-SEQ

taʔ idoi barʌ bʌdze ratta doʔkʰe aŋ
 taʔ idoi barʌ bʌdze rat-ta doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 keep this twelve hour night-LOC say-PRS REP
 'Please get the elephant ready as soon as I say, even in the midnight.'

- (156) *te doʔkʰe aŋ*
 te doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 okay say-PRS REP
 'Okay, he says (it is said).'

- (157) *kalau narja ela mʰituka dzeŋfi*
 kalau narja ela mʰitu-ka dzeŋ-fi
 then elephant now be.hungry-NMLZ become-PST
 'Then the elephant now became hungry.'

- (158) *dana tsali maninʒka ʌu kʰali*
 dana tsa-li ma-ninʒ-ka ʌu kʰali
 fodder eat-INF NEG-receive-NMLZ PART only
odoi dale gʰasi kʰiniŋ
 odoi dale gʰasi kʰiniŋ
 that branch grass only
 '(The elephant) has not got fodder, gets only the grass of tree branches instead.'

- (159) *kalau insaŋ bistarata tʰʌpʌkkʌi dʰʌlketenʒ fi doʔkʰe*
 kalau insa-ŋ bistara-ta tʰʌpʌkkʌi dʰʌlke-tenʒ fi doʔ-kʰe
 then like.that-EMPH bed-LOC immediately lie-SEQ be say-PRS
 'And (the prince) lies down on the bed instantly.'

- (160) *koko dina pʌtlaka dzʰuna bʰaika dʰaba tʌnna*
 koko dina pʌtla-ka dzʰuna bʰaika dʰaba tʌnna
 that.same day thin-NMLZ jhuna like cloth bed.sheet
guʔtenʒ fi aŋ radzkumar
 guʔ-tenʒ fi aŋ radzkumar
 cover-SEQ be REP prince
 'That day the prince covered himself with a thin bed sheet and sat (it is said).'

- (161) *kalau dzʌbʌ hikatana hikatana*
 kalau dzʌbʌ fi-ka-ta-aŋ fi-ka-ta-aŋ
 then when sit-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH sit-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH
hikatana mʌddʰe rat dzeŋfi doʔkʰe
 sit-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH mʌddʰe rat dzeŋ-fi doʔ-kʰe
 hi-ka-ta-aŋ mid night be-PST say-PRS
 'Then sitting continuously when it became the midnight...'

- (162) *barʌ bʌdze ratta tsʌttʌi pokʰʌri-so*
 barʌ bʌdze rat-ta tsʌtt-ʌi pokʰʌri-so
 twelve hour night-LOC at.once-EMPH pond-ABL

bedzan olefi doʔkʰe aŋ

bedzan ole-fi doʔ-kʰe aŋ
girl emerge-PST say-PRS REP

'At twelve o'clock in the midnight the girl emerged out from the pond at once.'

- (163) *ei maili mapʰa malana sʌmʌe bitikʰoi doʔkʰe aŋ*

ei maili mapʰa ma-lo-aŋ-na sʌmʌe bitikʰoi doʔ-kʰe aŋ
hey maili fast NEG-come-FUT-2 time pass-INC say-PRS REP

'Hey Maili, the time is about to pass, will you not come fast?'

- (164) *sʌdʌĩ insa madoʔka doʔkʰe*

sʌdʌĩ insa ma-doʔ-ka doʔ-kʰe
always like.that NEG-say-NMLZ say-PRS

'(She) did not say like this usually.'

- (165) *maginu kaseheŋ tʰa doŋ madzeŋkʰe*

ma-gi-nu ka-seheŋ tʰa doŋ ma-dzeŋ-kʰe
NEG-know-COND 1SG-DAT knowledge FOC NEG-be-PRS

'If I did not know, I do not even notice.'

- (166) *ei dzetʰi insaŋ rʰikafi doʔkʰe*

ei dzetʰi insa-ŋ rʰikai-fi doʔ-kʰe
hey dzethi like.that-EMPH call.out-PST say-PRS

sʌmʌe bitikʰoi kelaiko tsʰoto

sʌmʌe bitikʰoi kelai-ko tsʰoto
time pass-INC 1PL-GEN short

sʌmʌe fi doʔkʰe aŋ

sʌmʌe fi doʔ-kʰe aŋ
time be say-PRS REP

'Hey Jethi, (she) yelled like this. It is getting late, we have limited time, she said.'

- (167) *lo marpʰa iŋko anmane tsumteŋ lo*

lo marpʰa iŋko anemone tsuma-teŋ lo
come.IMP fast that materials bring-SEQ come.IMP

gʰaka doʔkʰe aŋ

gʰa-ka doʔ-kʰe aŋ
play-NMLZ say-PRS REP

'Come quickly, having the materials of playing (she said).'

- (168) *kalau maili buŋ lofi tsumanʰa la doʔkʰe aŋ*

kalau maili bu-ŋ lo-fi tsuma-fi-na la doʔ-kʰe aŋ
then maili also-EMPH come-PST bring-PST-2 MIR say-PRS REP

'Then maili also came. Did you bring (it) (she asked).'

- (169) *kantsʰi tsumali kʰaŋgʰakʰe rʌ doʔkʰe aŋ*

kantsʰi tsum-li kʰaŋ-gʰa-kʰe and doʔ-kʰe aŋ
Kanchhi bring-INF want-IPFV-PRS say-PRS REP

'Kanchhi was trying to bring and she said.'

- (170) *ei kants^{hi} marp^{ha} lo te te te inta*
 ei kants^{hi} marp^{ha} lo te te te inta
 hey kanchhi quickly come.IMP okay okay okay there
bistaragelai da?se
 bistara-gelai da?-se
 bed-PL stretch.bed-IMP.DU
 'Hey kanchhi come fast, okay stretch the bed there.'
- (171) *ka tsumteŋ lã tirpasa do?k^{he} aŋ*
 ka tsuma-teŋ lo-aŋ tirpasa do?-k^{he} aŋ
 1SG bring-SEQ come-FUT tripasa say-PRS REP
 'I will come having taken the Tripasa (she said).'
- (172) *ka gotteŋ anmane tsumteŋ laŋka*
 ka gotteŋ anemone tsuma-teŋ lo-aŋ-ka
 1SG all materials bring-SEQ come-FUT-1SG
 'I will come back having taken all the stuffs.'
- (173) *intaŋ bistara da?teŋ tɔjar*
 inta-ŋ bistara da?-teŋ tɔjar
 there-EMPH bed stretch.bed-SEQ ready
dzen-teŋ fi-se do?k^{he} aŋ
 dzeŋ-teŋ fi-se do?-k^{he} aŋ
 be-SEQ sit-IMP.DU say-PRS REP
 'Prepare the bed and sit (you two) there as you get ready.'
- (174) *odoi bistara da?teŋ tɔjar dzen-teŋ fi aŋ la*
 odoi bistara da?-teŋ tɔjar dzeŋ-teŋ fi aŋ la
 that bed stretch.bed-SEQ ready be-SEQ be REP MIR
dzet^{hi} rɔ maili
 dzet^{hi} rɔ maili
 Jethi and Maili
 'Having the bed prepared and getting ready, the first and second eldest sisters stayed on the bed there.'
- (175) *kants^{hi}ko pala t^hɔpɔkkɔ lo-fi do?k^{he} te fi ai g^{ha}aŋ*
 kants^{hi}-ko pala t^hɔpɔkkɔ lo-fi do?-k^{he} te fi ai g^{ha}-aŋ
 Kanchhi-GEN turn instantly come-PST say-PRS okay what play-FUT
 'It was Kanchhi's turn who came instantly and said, okay what will (we) play?'
- (176) *iŋkoŋ badzi g^{ha}aine*
 iŋko-ŋ badzi g^{ha}-aine
 that-EMPH bet play-HORT
 'Let's play the same wager.'
- (177) *fi asu fi asu fi de podta fi be malikta fi anik^{he}*
 fi asu fi asu fi de pod-ta fi be malik-ta fi ane-k^{he}
 who who which position-LOC GF master-LOC go-PRS
 'Who goes to what post, umm, to what kind of master?'

- (178) *hasu hasu dzagir tsakata hanik^{he}*
 hasu hasu dzagir tsa-ka-ta hane-k^{he}
 who who job eat-NMLZ-LOC go-PRS
 'Who goes (marries) to a job holder?'
- (179) *in^{ko} bu^η badzi g^ha-aine do[?]fiⁱ a^η*
 in^{ko} bu-^η badzi g^ha-aine do[?]-fiⁱ a^η
 that also-EMPH wager play-HORT say-PST REP
 'Let's play that wager as well.'
- (180) *kalau g^ha^{fi} g^ha^{fi} g^ha^{fi} do[?]k^{he}*
 kalau g^ha-fi g^ha-fi g^ha-fi do[?]-k^{he}
 then play-PST play-PST play-PST say-PRS
aro^η kants^{hi} dziti^{fi}
 aro-^η kants^{hi} dziti-fi
 again-EMPH Kanchhi win-PST
 'Then (they) played continuously (and) again kanchhi won (the wager).'
- (181) *b^hΛeb^hΛrko ud^himiko taka paisa gottan^η mari^{pi}fiⁱ*
 b^hΛeb^hΛr-ko ud^himi-ko taka paisa gottan^η mari-pi-fiⁱ
 every.bit-GEN 3DU-GEN coin money all win-give-PST
 '(She) won all of the money they (two) had.'
- (182) *te kants^{hi} na^ηko dop^ha*
 te kants^{hi} na^η-ko dop^ha
 okay Kanchhi 2SG.OBL-GEN with
madan^η la kelai do[?]k^{he} a^η
 ma-do-a^η la kelai do[?]-k^{he} a^η
 NEG-be.able-FUT MIR 1PL say-PRS REP
 'Okay, Kanchhi, we might not be able (to win) you (they said).'
- (183) *kid^himi bai one madani^η*
 kid^himi bai one ma-do-a^η-ni^η
 1DU elder.sister y.sibling NEG-be.able-FUT-2DU
 'We (two) sisters will not (win) you.'
- (184) *b^hΛeb^hΛrko kid^himiko fiabe taka paisa gottan^η mari^{foi}ina*
 b^hΛeb^hΛr-ko kid^himi-ko fiabe taka paisa gottan^η mari-foi-na
 every.bit-GEN 1DU-GEN GF coin money all win-PFV-2
 'You have won every penny that we had.'
- (185) *te ka^ηko fi^{ane}ka bela dze^ηk^hoi au*
 te ka^η-ko fi^{ane}-ka bela dze^η-k^hoi au
 okay 1SG.OBL-GEN go-NMLZ time be-INC PART
 'Okay, it's time for us to go.'
- (186) *kants^{hi} fi^{ai} fiⁱ?li goika fi*
 kants^{hi} fi^{ai} fiⁱ?-li goi-ka fi
 kanchhi what ask-INF must-NMLZ be
 'What have you got to ask kanchhi?'

- (187) *te marp^ha doʔ doʔk^he aŋ*
 te marp^ha doʔ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 okay quickly say.IMP say-PRS REP
 'Okay, say quickly (they said).'
- (188) *kunu dzet^hi bai na fiiska-ta fiane-aŋ-na*
 kunu dzet^hi bai na fiiska-ta fiane-aŋ-na
 then jethi elder.sister 2SG of.what.sort-LOC go-FUT-2
 'Okay, eldest sister, what sort (of person) will you go with?'
- (189) *ka te udinisoŋ doʔka*
 ka te udini-so-ŋ doʔ-ka
 1SG TOP before.two.days-ABL-EMPH say-NMLZ
barka d^hani sita fiã
 bar-ka d^hani si-ta fiã
 be.big-NMLZ rich house-LOC go-FUT
 'I said two days earlier that I will go to a wealthy person.'
- (190) *madzdzaso giroko jomteŋ tsali amlī ninako*
 madzda-so giro-ko jom-teŋ tsa-li am-li niŋ-ako
 pleasure-ABL cross.legged-GEN sit-SEQ eat-INF drink-INF get-OPT
 'May I get eating and drinking sitting cross-legged in pleasure!'
- (191) *ãd^hjargelaiheŋ nokar tsakargelaiheŋ*
 ãd^hjar-gelai-heŋ nokar tsakar-gelai-heŋ
 shareholder-PL-DAT servant and.so-PL-DAT
ar^haili ninako doʔteŋ te
 ar^hai-li niŋ-ako doʔ-teŋ te udini-so-ŋ
 order-INF get-OPT say-SEQ TOP before.two.days-ABL-EMPH
udinisoŋ doʔk^ha ro ka doʔk^he aŋ
 doʔ-k^ha ro ka doʔ-k^he aŋ
 say-PRS.1SG CONR 1SG say-PRS REP
 'I have been saying since day before that I wish I would order the shareholders and servants.'
- (192) *kunu maili bai doʔfi ka dz^han barka*
 kunu maili bai doʔ-fi ka dz^han bar-ka
 then maili elder.sister say-PST 1SG even be.big-NMLZ
dzagir tsakata fiã
 dzagir tsa-ka-ta fiã
 job eat-NMLZ-LOC go-FUT
 'And, second eldest sister said, I will go even with a bigger job holder.'
- (193) *enoŋ kurtsita jomteŋ fiili ninako*
 e-long kurtsi-ta jom-teŋ fi-li niŋ-ako
 one-CLF chair-LOC sit-SEQ sit-INF get-OPT
doʔka kaŋko sotsai
 doʔ-ka kaŋ-ko sotsai
 say-NMLZ 1SG.OBL-GEN thought
 'My thought is that I wish I would sit on the chair (happily).'

- (194) *kunu dzeŋfioi nid^himiko doʔk^he aŋ dzeŋfioi*
 kunu dzeŋ-fioi nid^himi-ko doʔ-k^he aŋ dzeŋ-fioi
 then be-PFV 2.DU-GEN say-PRS REP be-PFV
 'It is over, your (turn) is over (she) said.'
- (195) *te kants^hi kunu naŋko sotsai fai*
 te kants^hi kunu naŋ-ko sotsai fai
 okay kanchhi then 2SG.OBL-GEN thought what
 'Okay kanchhi! and what is your thought?'
- (196) *ka te tsandrɔ surdzja k^hiniŋ dzeŋli ninako*
 ka te tsandrɔ surdzja k^hiniŋ dzeŋ-li niŋ-ako
 1SG TOP moon sun only bear-INF get-OPT
k^hiniŋ doʔteŋ k^hiniŋ doʔk^he wako pala
 k^hiniŋ doʔ-teŋ k^hiniŋ doʔ-k^he wa-ko pala
 only say-SEQ only say-PRS 3SG-GEN turn
 'I wish I bear only moon and sun, she said only this much.'
- (197) *ud^hin^hemi te baɗjaŋbuduŋpa d^haʔsefi doʔk^he*
 ud^hin^hemi te baɗjaŋbuduŋ-pa d^haʔse-fi doʔ-k^he
 3DU TOP noisily-ADV LZ jump.into-PST say-PRS
 'They jumped into (the pond) noisily.'
- (198) *kants^hi n^huʔfi anmane kur^haili*
 kants^hi n^huʔ-fi anmane kur^hai-li
 kanchhi lag.behind-PST material pick.up-INF
 'Kanchhi left behind to pick up the materials.'
- (199) *tippɔpa tsa:-fi kalau radzkumar loterŋsaŋ waseheŋ te*
 tippɔpa tsa:-fi kalau radzkumar
 grasp.at.once grab-PST then prince
 lo-teŋ-sa-aŋ wa-seheŋ te
 come-SEQ- after-FUT 3SG-DAT TOP
 'As for her, the prince came and grabbed (her) hurriedly.'
- (200) *tsa:-nasantaŋ te marp^ha narja*
 tsa:-na-sa-aŋ-ta-ŋ te marp^ha narja
 grab-IMPL-after-EMPH-LOC-EMPH TOP quickly elephant
kose wako maŋutjaheŋ doʔfi
 kose wa-ko maŋutja-heŋ doʔ-fi
 tighten.IMP 3SG-GEN elephant.caregiver-DAT say-PST
 'As soon as he grabbed (her), he said the elephant caregiver to prepare the elephant quickly.'
- (201) *narja koseteŋ kaseteŋ narjata tsumaŋi*
 narja kose-teŋ kaseteŋ narja-ta tsuma-fi
 elephant tighten-SEQ REDUP elephant-LOC bring-PST

ela ladaiteŋ ela kants^{hi}heŋ
 ela lada-i-teŋ ela kants^{hi}-i-heŋ
 now load-SEQ now Kanchhi-DAT
 '(He) kept Kanchhi on the back of the elephant and brought her.'

(202) *tsumteŋ lohi ela sata narja*
 tsuma-teŋ lo-fi ela sa-ta narja
 bring-SEQ come-PST now house-LOC elephant
 '(He) came home riding on the elephant.'

(203) *ela sumni dzeŋfoi la*
 ela sum ni dzeŋ-foi la
 now three day be-PFV MIR
 'Now, three days were already past.'

(204) *sum rat umko dana tsali maniŋka kutsi dziŋka*
 sum rat um-ko dana tsa-li ma-niŋ-ka kutsi dzeŋ-ka
 three night rice-GEN fodder eat-INF NEG-get-NMLZ kuchi be-NMLZ
 '(The elephant) did not get rice fodder for three days.....'

(205) *sarasarpa sita tsumahi do?k^{he}*
 sara-sar-pa si-ta tsuma-fi do?-k^{he}
 directly-do house-LOC bring-PST say-PRS
 '(He) brought (her) to home directly.'

(206) *darbadzagelai te sunne dzeŋteŋ hjaŋ*
 darbadza-gelai te sunne dzeŋ-teŋ fi-aŋ
 door-PL TOP peace be-SEQ sit-FUT
 'The doors were all motionless.'

(207) *dzabla narja sum k^{he} r^{hi}kahi do?fi do?k^{he}*
 dzabla narja sum k^{he} r^{hi}kai-fi do?-fi do?-k^{he}
 when elephant three time yell-PST say-PST say-PRS
e lofoi la
 e lo-foi la
 oh come-PFV MIR
 'When the elephant yelled three times (they) said, 'oh, (they) have already arrived.'

(208) *sum sum ni ramfi kelaiko radzkumar nani te b^{he}ene*
 sum sum ni ram-fi kelai-ko radzkumar
 three three day disappear-PST 1PL-GEN prince
 nani te b^{he}ene
 today TOP b^{he}ene
 'Our prince disappeared for three long days, but perhaps (he) came today.'

(209) *dzabla narja tsal pihi do?k^{he} aŋ*
 dzabla narja tsal pi-fi do?-k^{he} aŋ
 when elephant sign give-PST say-PRS REP

- dz^haraŋ loŋi doʔk^he*
 dz^haraŋ lo-fi doʔ-k^he
 all come-PST say-PRS
 'When the elephant gave sign all came out.'
- (210) *dʌrbadzata ekdʌm bʌttisʌttigelai dzolaiŋi doʔk^he*
 dʌrbadza-ta ekdʌm bʌttisʌtti-gelai dzolai-fi doʔ-k^he
 door-LOC consistently lamp.and.so.on-PL lit-PST say-PRS
 'They lit the lights on the door straight away.'
- (211) *ekdʌm gesagelai dzolaiten k^huʔten*
 ekdʌm gesa-gelai dzolai-ten k^huʔ-ten
 complete lamp-PL lit-SEQ descend-SEQ
k^haŋlabelau n^hemi ŋanika djaŋ
 k^haŋ-labelau n^he-mi ŋane-ka djaŋ
 look-TEMP two-HCLF go-NMLZ person
su-mi loŋi la
 su-mi lo-fi la
 three-HCLF come-PST MIR
 'When they saw in the light they found that two people had gone and came three persons instead.'
- (212) *ja ŋasu doʔk^he aŋ*
 ja ŋasu doʔ-k^he aŋ
 this who say-PRS REP
 'Who is this (they ask).'
- (213) *ka kants^hi be tsumag^ha*
 ka kants^hi be tsuma-g^ha
 1SG Kanchhi wife bring-PST.1SG
 'I brought another wife.'
- (214) *sikar g^hali ŋanika djaŋ wako aba*
 sikar g^ha-li ŋane-ka djaŋ wa-ko aba
 hunting play-INF go-NMLZ person 3SG-GEN father
ama tsafĩ insa doʔk^he aŋ
 ama tsafĩ insa doʔ-k^he aŋ
 mother IND like.that say-PRS REP
 'But (you) had gone for hunting said his father and mother.'
- (215) *sikar g^hali ŋanika djaŋ djaŋ tsumten lok^he be*
 sikar g^ha-li ŋane-ka djaŋ djaŋ tsuma-ten lo-k^he be
 hunting play-INF go-NMLZ person person bring-SEQ come-PRS DUB
 'It is doubtful that the person who went for hunting came with a woman.'
- (216) *na te bedzalai ki b^ho:li ŋanen^ha ro doʔk^he aŋ*
 na te bedzalai ki b^ho:-li ŋane-n^ha ro doʔ-k^he aŋ
 2SG TOP girl.PL PART search-INF go-PST.2 CONR say-PRS REP
 'In fact, you had gone in search of girls! They said'

- (217) *dziska niŋk^he sikar insikaŋ*
 dzis-ka niŋ-k^he sikar insika-aŋ
 like-NMLZ get-PRS hunting like.that-EMPH
tsumag^ha ni la ka
 tsuma-g^ha ni la ka
 bring-PST.1SG PART MIR 1SG
 'I brought whatever I got while hunting.'
- (218) *kaŋ b^hagta edeŋ sikar milika*
 kaŋ b^hag-ta ede-ŋ sikar mili-ka
 1SG.OBL luck-LOC this-EMPH hunting get-NMLZ
fiŋg^hak^he wa la
 fi-g^ha-k^he wa la
 be-IPFV-PRS DED MIR
 'Probably, I was bestowed to receive this very hunting.'
- (219) *edeŋ sikar tsumteŋ log^ha ka doʔk^he aŋ*
 ede-ŋ sikar tsuma-teŋ lo-g^ha ka doʔ-k^he aŋ
 this-EMPH hunt bring-SEQ come-PST.1SG 1SG say-PRS REP
 'I came back with this very hunting (he says).'
- (220) *te remph^a pa tsa doʔk^he aŋ*
 te remph^a pa tsa doʔ-k^he aŋ
 okay well do.IMP eat.IMP say-PRS REP
 'Okay, be happy with your way of life (they say).'
- (221) *fiŋkataŋ tsakataŋ fiŋkataŋ*
 fi-ka-ta-aŋ tsa-ka-ta-aŋ fi-ka-ta-aŋ
 be-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH eat-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH be-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH
t^hjakk^ha iŋko kants^hi tsafiŋ n^he dziuko
 t^hjakk^ha iŋko kants^hi tsafiŋ n^he dziu-ko
 exactly that Kanchhi IND two body-GEN
dzeŋfi doʔk^he
 dzeŋ-fi doʔ-k^he
 be-PST say-PRS
 'In course of time kanchhi conceived a baby.'
- (222) *delib^hari n^he dziuko dzeŋfi*
 delib^hari n^he dziu-ko dzeŋ-fi
 delivery two body-GEN be-PST
 'She became pregnant.'
- (223) *n^he dziuko dzeŋteŋ ela n^hu mainata k^halas*
 n^he dziu-ko dzeŋ-teŋ ela n^hu maina-ta k^halas
 two body-GEN be-SEQ now nine month-LOC clear
dzeŋk^he ru delib^hari u
 dzeŋ-k^he ro delib^hari u
 be-PRS CONR delivery PART
 'After nine months it was inevitable to deliver a baby.'

- (224) *iŋko sutkeri dzeŋlabelau wako dzimd^hagelai*
iŋko sutkeri dzeŋ-labelau wa-ko dzimd^ha-gelai
that delivery be-TEMP 3SG-GEN co-wife-PL
n^henoŋ be fiŋg^hak^he doʔk^he
n^he-loŋ be fiŋg^ha-k^he doʔ-k^he
two-CLF wife be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS
iŋko radzkumarko sita tsafiĩ
iŋko radzkumar-ko si-ta tsafiĩ
that prince-GEN house-LOC IND
'When she was to deliver a baby (she came to know that) she had already got two co-wives at the house of the prince.'
- (225) *derako djaŋ t^ha magika*
dera-ko djaŋ t^ha ma-gi-ka
village-GEN person knowledge NEG-know-NMLZ
'The villagers did not know it.'
- (226) *ela gaŋribko tsamindi tsumaka ru d^honi sita*
ela gaŋrib-ko tsamindi tsuma-ka ro
now poor-GEN daughter bring-NMLZ CONR
t^hukana b^haiso
d^honi si-ta t^huka-na b^hai-so
rich house-LOC reach-IMPL seem-ABL
fiŋani tak^him ru
fiŋane tak^him ro
go wooden.stool CONR
'Now (he) brought a daughter of a poor (but) when she reached to the house of a rich (their) place was occupied.'
- (227) *ela buŋ te kat^ha kaŋani fiidoŋfi ru*
ela bu-ŋ te kat^ha kaŋani fiidoŋ-fi ro
now also-EMPH TOP story tale be-dur-PST CONR
'Even today there exists such a story.'
- (228) *kalau wako dzimd^haŋeŋ fiŋi doʔfi*
kalau wa-ko dzimd^ha-ŋeŋ fiŋi doʔ-fi
then 3SG-GEN co-wife-DAT what say-PST
doʔk^he paŋu kelai derako tsolaŋ
doʔ-k^he pa-nu kelai dera-ko tsolaŋ
say-PRS do-COND 1PL village-GEN custom
g^hailata puriŋ sulaili gili goik^he
g^haila-ta puriŋ sulai-li gi-li goi-k^he
pitcher-LOC head thrust-INF know-INF must-PRS
'Then her co-wives said, the custom of our village is that you must know to put your head into a vessel.'
- (229) *iŋko delib^hari fiika djaŋ kalau k^haniŋ*
iŋko delib^hari fiika djaŋ kalau k^haniŋ
that delivery be-NMLZ person then only

paida dzeŋli niŋk^he doʔfi aŋ
 paida dzeŋ-li niŋ-k^he doʔ-fi aŋ
 delivery bear-INF get-PRS say-PST REP
 '(They said) only then a pregnant woman is able to deliver a (child).'

- (230) *kalau djaŋ su:ka g^haila banaipaŋi doʔk^he*
 kalau djaŋ su:-ka g^haila banai-pa-fi
 then person adjust-NMLZ pitcher make-CAUS-PST
kumalgelai dera ŋaniteŋ
 doʔ-k^he kumal-gelai dera ŋane-teŋ
 say-PRS potter-PL village go-SEQ
 'Then they got to make a vessel to the size of a person from the village of the potters.'

- (231) *inta k^hwattai ŋitaso iso tsaŋi g^haila liʔta puriŋ*
 inta k^hwattai ŋita-so iso tsaŋi g^haila liʔta puriŋ
 there completely there-ABL here IND pitcher inside head
sulaipiŋi doʔk^he odoi
 sulai-pi-fi doʔ-k^he odoi
 thrust-BEN-PST say-PRS that
 'After that they inserted (her) head completely into a vessel.'

- (232) *dzamalko bet^ha lagilabelau kalau paida dzeŋli goika*
 dzamal-ko bet^ha lagi-labelau kalau paida dzeŋ-li goi-ka
 child-GEN illness feel-TEMP then delivery bear-INF must-NMLZ
 'It was to deliver when the time of delivery approaches.'

- (233) *sutkeri dzeŋfi doʔk^he*
 sutkeri dzeŋ-fi doʔ-k^he
 delivery be-PST say-PRS
 'Child was delivered (it is said).'

- (234) *sutkeri dzeŋfi wadzan tsan*
 sutkeri dzeŋ-fi wadzan tsan
 delivery bear-PST boy son
 '(She) delivered a male baby.'

- (235) *dzagdzag ela dampako kand^heta surja doʔk^he*
 dzagdzag ela dampako kand^he-ta surja doʔ-k^he
 sparkling now right-GEN shoulder-LOC sun say-PRS
kepako kand^heta tsandraŋma
 kepa-ko kand^he-ta tsandraŋma
 left-GEN shoulder-LOC moon
 '(The child was) shining brightly with the sun and moon on the right and left shoulder respectively.'

- (236) *wa te tsanko lagi sotsaŋi sotsika ŋig^hak^he*
 wa te tsan-ko lagi sotsa-fi sotsi-ka ŋi-g^ha-k^he
 3SG TOP son-GEN for think-PST think-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS
 'She had thought of a son (like that).'

- (237) *dzisikaŋ sotsika wako insikaŋ*
 dzisika-aŋ sotsi-ka wa-ko insika-aŋ
 as.like-EMPH think-NMLZ 3SG-GEN like.that-EMPH
pugihfi pugika te
 pugi-fii pugi-ka te
 come.true-PST come.true-NMLZ TOP
 'As she had thought, the same came to be true.'
- (238) *ela r^{hai} k^{haŋ}li manihfi la*
 ela r^{hai} k^{haŋ}-li ma-niŋ-fii la
 now face look-INF NEG-get-PST MIR
 'Now (she) did not get to see the face (of the baby).'
- (239) *k^{haŋ} au r^{hai} k^{haŋ}li manihfi la*
 k^{haŋ} au r^{hai} k^{haŋ}-li ma-niŋ-fii la
 look.IMP PART face look-INF NEG-get-PST MIR
 '(You see, (she) did not get to look (the child's) face.'
- (240) *kalau ela kelaihien seʔtaŋ la kelaiko*
 kalau ela kelai-hien seʔt-aŋ la kelai-ko
 then now 1PL-DAT seʔt-FUT MIR 1PL-GEN
malik te ede dzamal tinŋensaŋ
 malik te ede dzamal tinŋ-tenŋ-sa-aŋ
 master TOP this child see-SEQ-APPR-EMPH
 'And, our master might kill us once he looks at the child.'
- (241) *ede dzamalhien hai paŋ*
 ede dzamal-hien hai pa-aŋ
 this child-DAT what do-FUT
 'What will (we) do for this baby?'
- (242) *tsumpuhi doʔk^{he} aŋ gund^{ha}ako d^{he}erita*
 tsuma-pu-fii doʔ-k^{he} aŋ gund^{ha}-a-ko d^{he}eri-ta
 bring-AND-PST say-PRS REP rice.chaff-GEN stock-LOC
 '(They) brought (the baby) to the stock of rice chaff.'
- (243) *odoi gund^{ha} taʔka koʔ^{ha}ataŋ gund^{ha}*
 odoi gund^{ha} taʔ-ka koʔ^{ha}-ta-aŋ gund^{ha}
 that rice.chaff keep-NMLZ room-LOC-EMPH rice.chaff
liʔta g^husirpihi aŋ tsanhien
 liʔta g^husir-pi-fii aŋ tsan-hien
 inside thrust.into-BEN-PST REP son-DAT
 '(They) thrust the baby into the stock of rice chaff.'
- (244) *kalau inko k^horsani bo:ka k^hundi hik^{he} ru siŋko*
 kalau inko k^horsani bo:-ka k^hundi fi-k^{he} ro siŋ-ko
 then that chilli grind-NMLZ mortar be-PRS CONR tree-GEN
 'Than, there was a wooden mortar used to grind pepper.'

- (245) *iŋko k^hunḍita odoi dzun tsafĩ dzamal fiabe*
iŋko k^hunḍi-ta odoi dzun tsafĩ dzamal fiabe
that mortar-LOC that which IND child GF
k^halas dzeŋka kasgelai hitigelai
k^halas dzeŋ-ka kas-gelai hiti-gelai
clear be-NMLZ waste-PL blood-PL
gottaŋ laiteŋ taʔpihi aŋ
gottaŋ lai-teŋ taʔ-pi-fi aŋ
all put-SEQ keep-BEN-PST REP
'They smeared the mortar with the waste and blood which came out while delivering the child and kept it there.'
- (246) *te oleteŋ k^haŋ puriŋ olepateŋ*
te ole-teŋ k^haŋ puriŋ ole-pa-teŋ
okay emerge-SEQ look.IMP head emerge-CAUS-SEQ
'Okay come out and look, taking (your) head out.'
- (247) *na iskaŋ na te kaṭ^h ki dzeŋn^ha*
na iska-ŋ na te kaṭ^h ki dzeŋ-fi-na
2SG this kind-EMPH 2SG TOP wood PART bear-PST-2
ru doʔpik^he aŋ wako dzimd^hagelai kants^hiheŋ
ro doʔ-pi-k^he aŋ wa-ko dzimd^ha-gelai kants^hi-hieŋ
CONR say-BEN-PRS REP 3SG-GEN co-wife-PL Kanchhi-DAT
'You (are) like this, you gave birth to a wood instead, said the co-wives to kanchhi.'
- (248) *mako ka te salaen ka fiiska sotsika*
ma-ko ka te sala-en ka fiiska sotsi-ka
NEG-be 1SG TOP damn-DAT 1SG of.what.sort think-NMLZ
fiig^hak^ha kaŋ bai n^henon
fi-g^ha-k^ha kaŋ bai n^he-loŋ
be-IPFV-PRS.1SG 1SG.OBL elder.sister two-CLF
'Damn, what I had thought (while) I was with my two elder sisters!'
- (249) *dzas^htaŋ dzet^hi bai kaŋko*
dzas^h-ta-aŋ dzet^hi bai kaŋ-ko
like-LOC-EMPH Jethi elder.sister 1SG.OBL-GEN
barka d^hani sita fianaŋka r^h ka
bar-ka d^hani si-ta fiane-aŋ-ka r^h ka
be.big-NMLZ rich house-LOC go-FUT-NMLZ and 1SG
maḍzaso giroko jomteŋ
maḍza-so giroko jom-teŋ
pleasure-ABL cross.legged sit-SEQ
tsaŋka amaŋka
tsa-aŋ-ka am-aŋ-ka
eat-FUT-1SG drink-FUT-1SG
'As my eldest sister said, she would go to a rich house and eat and drink sitting in pleasure.'

- (250) *kaŋko fiabe dzastai ðd^hijarfiɛŋ nokartsakarfiɛŋ*
 kaŋ-ko fiabe dzastai ðd^hijar-fiɛŋ nokartsakar-fiɛŋ
 1SG.OBL-GEN GF like sharer-DAT servant and so-DAT
arajã doʔteŋ sotsika fiɡ^hak^he
 araj-ã doʔ-teŋ sotsi-ka fi-ɡ^ha-k^he
 order-FUT say-SEQ think-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS
 'She had thought that she will order and employ her sharers and servants.'
- (251) *kaŋ bai b^huruŋ dzet^hi bai insikata wako*
 kaŋ bai b^huruŋ dzet^hi bai insika-ta wa-ko
 1SG.OBL elder.sister instead jethi elder.sister like.that-LOC 3SG-GEN
b^hag madzurika fiɡ^hak^he
 b^hag ma-dzuri-ka fi-ɡ^ha-k^he
 luck NEG-be.available-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS
 'My eldest sister had been unlucky to get such a thing instead.'
- (252) *wa eklaŋko eklaŋ dzori madzeŋfi*
 wa ekla-aŋ-ko ekla-aŋ dzori ma-dzeŋ-fi
 3SG alone-EMPH-GEN alone-EMPH pair NEG-be-PST
 'She remained all alone; (she) did not get a spouse.'
- (253) *maili bai wa barka dzagirta*
 maili bai wa bar-ka dzagir-ta
 maili elder.sister 3SG be.big-NMLZ job-LOC
fiã doʔg^hak^he
 fiã-ã doʔ-ɡ^ha-k^he
 han-FUT say-IPFV-PRS
 'As for the second eldest sister, she said that she would go with a person having an attractive job.'
- (254) *dzagir tsakata kursita jomteŋ madzasoŋ*
 dzagir tsa-ka-ta kursi-ta jom-teŋ madza-so-ŋ
 job eat-NMLZ-LOC chair-LOC sit-SEQ love-ABL-EMPH
jomteŋ fiã tsaŋka amaŋka doʔka
 jom-teŋ fi-ã tsa-aŋ-ka am-aŋ-ka doʔ-ka
 sit-SEQ sit-FUT eat-FUT-1SG drink-FUT-1SG say-1SG
 '(She) said, she would sit in the chair with a job holder and eat and drink in pleasure.'
- (255) *kaŋ n^henoŋ bai b^huruŋ maniŋfi*
 kaŋ n^he-loŋ bai b^huruŋ ma-niŋ-fi
 1SG.OBL two-CLF elder.sister instead NEG-get-PST
 'Both of my elder sisters, instead, did not get fulfilled (their wishes).'
- (256) *insika insika sotse-lau buŋ*
 insika insika sotse-lau bu-ŋ
 like.that like.that think-TEMP also-EMPH

ka tsandra surdze dzenanka

ka tsandra surdze dzen-an-ka
1SG moon sun bear-FUT-1SG

do?ka djan kaseŋ ke niŋ^{ha}

do?-ka djan ka-seŋ ke niŋ-g^{ha}
say-NMLZ person 1SG-DAT husband get-PST.1SG

'(They) thought like that but I thought of giving birth to the moon and sun and got a husband.'

- (257) *ela antimta hɛŋgai delib^hari dzenka*

ela antim-ta hɛŋgai delib^hari dzen-ka
now last-LOC hɛŋgai delivery be-NMLZ

djan ka kaɬ^h ki ta?pi la

djan ka kaɬ^h ki ta?-pi la
person 1SG wood PART keep-BEN MIR

'Now you see at last I delivered a child but (you) kept a wood.'

- (258) *edon kaɬ^h paida dzen^gha ka*

edoi-ŋ kaɬ^h paida dzen-g^{ha} ka
this-EMPH wood delivery bear-PST.1SG 1SG

'Is this wood that I gave birth to?'

- (259) *kan^{ko} karma^h fai iska*

kan-ko karma^h fai iska
1SG.OBL-GEN fate what this.kind

'What a fate I have!'

- (260) *kaseŋ b^hagwan faipali sat^h mapi^{hi} kaseŋ*

ka-seŋ b^hagwan faipali sat^h ma-pi-fi ka-seŋ
1SG-DAT god why support NEG-give-PST 1SG-DAT

'Why the god did not grace upon me?'

- (261) *kan^{ko} sotsai iŋkoŋ fi^gak^he*

kan-ko sotsai iŋko-ŋ fi-g^{ha}-k^he
1SG.OBL-GEN thought that-EMPH be-IPFV-PRS

'I had thought like that.'

- (262) *ela antimta k^haŋ kã samun ela*

ela antim-ta k^haŋ kan samun ela
now last-LOC look 1SG.OBL front now

darsan dzen^{fi} la kaɬ^h ki

darsan dzen-fi la kaɬ^h ki
appearance be-PST MIR wood PART

'Now, at last, it appeared a wood (as my delivery) in front of me.'

- (263) *k^horsani bo:ka k^hun^{di} ki iŋkoŋ kaɬ^hta edon*

k^horsani bo:-ka k^hun^{di} ki iŋko-ŋ kaɬ^h-ta edoi-ŋ
chilli grind-NMLZ mortar PART that-EMPH wood-LOC this-EMPH

- hitita letpetetey taʔpihi doʔkʰe*
 hiti-ta letpete-ten taʔ-pi-hi doʔ-kʰe
 blood-LOC smudge-SEQ keep-BEN-PST say-PRS
 'This mortar is for grinding spices, (they) kept the wood smudged with the blood.'
- (264) *kalau kapal tʰe:ten tʰe:ten kʰarka doʔkʰe*
 kalau kapal tʰe:-ten tʰe:-ten kʰar-ka doʔ-kʰe
 then head slap-SEQ slap-SEQ weep-NMLZ say-PRS
 'And she wept slaping repeatedly on her head.'
- (265) *kalau ela obalaiko keey kaipilʰaʰi aŋ*
 kalau ela obalai-ko ke-eŋ kai-pi-lʰa-hi aŋ
 then now 3PL-GEN husband-DAT call-BEN-INTENT-PST REP
 'Then they called and brought their husband.'
- (266) *mako radzkumar na ʰiska be*
 ma-ko radzkumar na ʰiska be
 NEG-be prince 2SG of.what.sort wife
tsumanʰa ratstsʰesni
 tsuma-ʰi-na ratstsʰesni
 bring-PST-2 female.demon
 'See, dear prince, what sort of wife did you bring? A witch.'
- (267) *delibʰari ʰika djaŋlai kaʰi kaʰ dzanmikʰe*
 delibʰari ʰi-ka djaŋ-gelai kaʰi kaʰ dzanmi-kʰe
 delivery be-NMLZ person-PL anywhere wood born-PRS
 'Do the pregnant women give birth to a wood?'
- (268) *djaŋ dzanmili goika ra*
 djaŋ dzanmi-li goi-ka ra
 person born-INF must-NMLZ PART
 'Human being should be borne, in fact.'
- (269) *kidʰimi ʰikataŋ ʰikataŋ*
 kidʰimi ʰi-ka-ta-aŋ ʰi-ka-ta-aŋ
 1DU be-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH be-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH
bʰeneŋ be tsumanʰa ra
 bʰeneŋ be tsuma-ʰi-na ra
 different wife bring-PST-2 PART
 'You brought another wife even if we (two) were already with you.'
- (270) *wadzan tsan baʔtā doʔteŋ remka*
 wadzan tsan baʔt-aŋ doʔ-teŋ rem-ka
 boy son carry.in.arm-FUT say-SEQ be.good-NMLZ
 'You wished to have another male child in your arm.'
- (271) *gjani tsan dzanmja wa doʔteŋsaŋ kidʰimiko*
 gjani tsan dzanmi-aŋ wa doʔ-teŋ-sa-aŋ kidʰimi-ko
 wise son born-FUT DED say-SEQ-APPR-EMPH 1DU-GEN

tsan kam malagja wa doʔkʰe aŋ
 tsan kam ma-lagi-aŋ wa doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 son work NEG-feel-FUT DED say-PRS REP
 '(You) expected a wise son to be borne thinking that our sons will be
 worthless (for you).'

- (272) *udʰinʰimiko buŋ eʔnoŋ eʔnoŋpa*
 udʰinʰimi-ko bu-ŋ e-loŋ e-loŋ-pa
 3DU-GEN also-EMPH one-CLF one-CLF-ADVLZ
tsan fiŋgʰa-kʰe doʔkʰe
 tsan fiŋgʰa-kʰe doʔ-kʰe
 son be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS
 'They (two) also had one son each.'

- (273) *kalau radzkumar loteŋ kʰaŋkʰe doʔkʰe*
 kalau radzkumar lo-teŋ kʰaŋ-kʰe doʔ-kʰe
 then prince come-SEQ look-PRS say-PRS
 'Then the prince comes and looks.'

- (274) *atse jo ta ʌʌtstsʰini po ratsʰʌ doʔkʰe aŋ*
 atse jo-ta ʌʌtstsʰini po ratsʰʌ doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 shit this-LOC bad.luck PART be say-PRS REP
 'Shit, this (woman) came to be really a bad luck.'

- (275) *na te ʌʌtstsʰini ki ru kaʔʰ dzʌnmeka bebal*
 na te ʌʌtstsʰini ki ro kaʔʰ dzʌnmi-ka bebal
 2SG TOP bad.luck PART CONR wood born-NMLZ woman
 'You happened to be a bad omen, a woman giving birth to a wood!'

- (276) *te pʰarapa taʔpu doʔkʰe aŋ*
 te pʰara-pa taʔ-pu doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 TOP far-do keep-AND say-PRS REP
 'Okay, take and keep (her) quite far.'

- (277) *tsarbaʔota inta dzʰupʌdi banaiteŋ waseŋeŋ inta taʔtaine*
 tsarbaʔo-ta inta dzʰupʌdi banai-teŋ wa-seŋeŋ inta taʔt-aine
 crossroads-LOC there hut make-SEQ 3SG-DAT there taʔt-HORT
 'Let's make a hut at the cross-roads and keep her there.'

- (278) *ja te baʔa ratstsʰesni ki lofi ru*
 ja te baʔa ratstsʰesni ki lo-fi ro
 this TOP big female.demon PART come-PST CONR
kunu kaʔʰ dzʌnmeka doʔkʰe aŋ
 kunu kaʔʰ dzʌnmi-ka doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 then wood born-NMLZ say-PRS REP
 'This (woman) came to be a demon to give birth to a wood.'

- (279) *sotsig^hak^he obalai sumi oneta*
 sotsi-g^ha-k^he obalai su-mi one-ta
 think-IPFV-PRS 3PL three-HCLF y.sibling-LOC
 '(They), the three sisters, would think....'
- (280) *ka tsandrΛ surdze dzenaŋka doʔteŋ*
 ka tsandrΛ surdze dzeŋ-aŋ-ka doʔ-teŋ
 1SG moon sun bear-FUT-1SG say-SEQ
 'Having said that I will bear a child with moon and sun.....'
- (281) *ja iska dzΛnmefii*
 ja iska dzΛnmi-fii
 this this.kind born-PST
 '(But) it bore like this.'
- (282) *kaʔ^h dzΛnmeka bebal tsandrΛ surdze*
 kaʔ^h dzΛnmi-ka bebal tsandrΛ surdze
 wood born-NMLZ woman moon sun
dzena wa doʔk^he aŋ
 dzeŋ-aŋ wa doʔ-k^he aŋ
 bear-FUT DED say-PRS REP
 'Will the woman giving birth to a wood bear moon and sun? (It is said).'
- (283) *wako tsan tsafĩ gund^hako d^herita sulaipufii*
 wa-ko tsan tsafĩ gund^ha-ko d^heri-ta sulai-pu-fii
 3SG-GEN son IND rice.chaff-GEN stock-LOC thrust-AND-PST
 '(They) thrust her son into the stock of rice chafe.'
- (284) *odoi k^horsani bo:ka k^hundita iŋko*
 odoi k^horsani bo:-ka k^hundi-ta iŋko
 that chilli grind-NMLZ mortar that
fiiti lagaiteŋ taʔpiifi la
 fiiti lagai-teŋ taʔ-pi-fii la
 blood employ-SEQ keep-BEN-PST MIR
 'Now (they) kept the mortar smudged with the blood.'
- (285) *kalau fie b^hagwan doʔk^he aŋ*
 kalau fie b^hagwan doʔ-k^he aŋ
 then oh god say-PRS REP
 'Then (s/he) said, oh, my god.'
- (286) *wa te k^harteŋ mi tsafĩ t^heʔte*
 wa te k^har-teŋ mi tsafĩ t^heʔ-teŋ
 3SG TOP weep-SEQ eye IND swell-SEQ
fi doʔk^he wako buŋ
 fi doʔ-k^he wa-ko bu-ŋ
 be say-PRS 3SG-GEN also-EMPH
 'Due to crying for long her eyes were swollen.'

- (287) *in̄ko tsʌndrʌ surja dzeŋli kʰaŋka radzkumariko*
 in̄ko tsʌndrʌ surja dzeŋ-li kʰaŋ-ka radzkumari-ko
 that moon sun bear-INF look-NMLZ princess-GEN
mi dʰuʔli tomfi aŋ
 mi dʰuʔ-li tom-fii aŋ
 eye Brust-INF be.about.to-PST REP
 'The eyes of the princess who wanted to bear moon and sun were about to burst.'
- (288) *oso dzamal buŋ barapufii doʔkʰe*
 oso dzamal bu-ŋ bara-pu-fii doʔ-kʰe
 that.side child also-EMPH be.grown-AND-PST say-PRS
 'The child also grew day by day.'
- (289) *kalau ela dindinta ela baraka*
 kalau ela din din-ta ela bara-ka
 then now day day-LOC now be.grown-NMLZ
ma dzjaŋ doʔkʰe aŋ
 ma-dzeŋ-aŋ doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 NEG-be-FUT say-PRS REP
 'Then (they) said, it is growing day by day so should not be kept anymore.'
- (290) *pokʰʌrita fīja poseka fīgʰakʰe doʔkʰe*
 pokʰʌri-ta fīja pose-ka fī-gʰa-kʰe doʔ-kʰe
 pond-LOC fish rear-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS
in̄ko radzkumarko barka pokʰʌri
 in̄ko radzkumar-ko bar-ka pokʰʌri
 that prince-GEN be.big-NMLZ pond
 'There were fish preserved by the prince in his big pond.'
- (291) *kalau seʔli gojaŋ jasefīŋ fīja tsa wa doʔkʰe aŋ*
 kalau seʔ-li goi-aŋ ja-sefīŋ fīja tsa wa doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 then kill-INF must-FUT this-DAT fish eat DED say-PRS REP
 'Then it must be killed , the fish may eat it (they said).'
- (292) *bwali fīja tsa wa doʔkʰe aŋ*
 bwali fīja tsa wa doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 bwali fish eat DED say-PRS REP
 'The Bwali fish may eat it.'
- (293) *pokʰʌri tsita tʰalpūfī doʔkʰe in̄ko*
 pokʰʌri tsi-ta tʰal-pu-fii doʔ-kʰe in̄ko
 pond water-LOC throw-AND-PST say-PRS that

tsʌndrʌ surdze dzeŋka wadzanfīŋ
 tsʌndrʌ surdze dzeŋ-ka wadzan-fīŋ
 moon sun bear-NMLZ boy-DAT
 '(They) threw the moon and sun bearing boy into the water (pond).'

- (294) *dzogdzog doʔkʰe ela dampako ela kandʰeta surja*
 dzogdzog doʔ-kʰe ela dampako ela kandʰe-ta surja
 glittering say-PRS now right-GEN now shoulder-LOC sun
kepako kandʰeta tsʌndrʌma
 kepa-ko kandʰe-ta tsʌndrʌma
 left-GEN shoulder-LOC moon
 'It was glittering now with the sun in his the right shoulder and the moon in the left shoulder.'
- (295) *wa iŋkoŋ tsʌndrʌ surdze rodzeka wako*
 wa iŋko-ŋ tsʌndrʌ surdze rodze-ka wa-ko
 3SG that-EMPH moon sun select-NMLZ 3SG-GEN
tsanko lagi bʰobisseko lagi
 tsan-ko lagi bʰobisse-ko lagi
 son-GEN for future-GEN for
sotsai wako iŋko radzkumariko
 sotsai wa-ko iŋko radzkumari-ko
 thought 3SG-GEN that princess-GEN
 'The princess had selected the moon and sun for the future of her son.'
- (296) *kalau pokʰʌriko tsita tʰalpuʰi doʔkʰe*
 kalau pokʰʌri-ko tsi-ta tʰal-pu-fi doʔ-kʰe
 then pond-GEN water-LOC throw-AND-PST say-PRS
bwali ʱaja posika u
 bwali ʱaja pose-ka u
 Bwali fish rear-NMLZ PART
 'And they threw (the boy) into the pond where Bwali fish was reared.'
- (297) *barka bwali ʱaja u tʰalnasantaŋ*
 bar-ka bwali ʱaja u tʰal-na-sa-aŋ-ta-ŋ
 be.big-NMLZ bwali fish PART throw-IMPL-APPR-EMPH-LOC-EMPH
kʰwappʌi niʔʰi doʔkʰe niʔʰi la
 kʰwappʌi niʔ-fi doʔ-kʰe niʔ-fi la
 hurriedly swallow-PST say-PRS swallow-PST MIR
 'A big Bwali fish swallowed the (boy) as soon as they threw it (in the pond). It swallowed.'
- (298) *gottaŋ ʱaja aʱar tsaʰi doʔkʰe wa te mamatsaʰi*
 gottaŋ ʱaja aʱar tsa-fi doʔ-kʰe wa te ma-ma-tsa-fi
 all fish fodder eat-PST say-PRS 3SG TOP NEG-NEG-eat-PST
 'All the fish ate up the fodder (but) that one does not eat at any cost.'
- (299) *kalau din din din dintʌŋ dzamal baraʰi wa la*
 kalau din din din din-ta-ŋ dzamal bara-fi wa la
 then day day day day-LOC-EMPH child be.grown-PST DED MIR
 'And, perhaps the boy grew older day by day.'

- (300) *et^he fi wa la*
et^he fi wa la
this.much.big be DED MIR
'This much big (pointed) became probably.'
- (301) *kalau tikarta oʔteŋ taʔfi doʔk^he iŋko dzamalʔeŋ*
kalau tikar-ta oʔ-teŋ taʔ-fi doʔ-k^he iŋko dzamal-ʔeŋ
then hump-LOC vomit-SEQ keep-PST say-PRS that child-DAT
'Then (the fish) vomitted the child and kept on a hump.'
- (302) *wa tsaregil^he aŋ iŋko ʔaja*
wa tsare-gil-k^he aŋ iŋko ʔaja
3SG graze-AMB-PRS REP that fish
'The fish moves around (eating things).'
- (303) *iŋko ʔaja buŋ kaŋsekaŋ n^he basar*
iŋko ʔaja bu-ŋ kaŋsekaŋ n^he basar
that fish also-EMPH at.least two year
dz^hoko posiŋi doʔk^he
dz^hoko pose-fi doʔ-k^he
much rear-PST say-PRS
'The fish preserved the boy for at least upto two years.'
- (304) *eʔni tsaŋi iŋko daŋkini te radzkumari^hko naɖzaɾ*
eʔ-ni tsaŋi iŋko daŋkini te radzkumari-ko naɖzaɾ
one-day IND that witch TOP princess-GEN vision
poriŋi aŋ iŋ pok^hari^hari
pori-fi aŋ iŋ pok^hari-b^hari
befall-PST REP that pond-ALL
'One day the eyes of the witch princess happened to stuck towards the pond.'
- (305) *pok^hari^hari k^haŋlabelau dz^hakaŋakka tiŋfi aŋ*
pok^hari-b^hari k^haŋ-labelau dz^hakaŋakka tiŋ-fi aŋ
pond-ALL look-TEMP bright see-PST REP
'While looking towards the pond it seemed bright.'
- (306) *ela dild^heu ʔabe oʔfi wa la ru*
ela dild^heu ʔabe oʔ-fi wa la ro
now undigested GF vomit-PST DED MIR CONR
dz^halaŋalla dzeŋteŋ fi aŋ
dz^halaŋalla dzeŋ-teŋ fi aŋ
bright be-SEQ be REP
'It might not digest or it was vomited, it looked bright.'
- (307) *tsaŋdra surja dzolka ekaŋ dzaɣdzaɣ are doʔk^he aŋ*
tsaŋdra surja dzol-ka ekaŋ dzaɣdzaɣ are doʔ-k^he aŋ
moon sun glow-NMLZ complete sparkling oh say-PRS REP
'The glowing of moon and sun made the (place) sparkling.'

- (308) *hei maili naŋ tʰakur iŋko dzamal*
 hei maili naŋ tʰakur iŋko dzamal
 hey! maili 2SG.OBL lord that child
sin^hupaŋ hiɡ^hahinau
 si-n^hu-pa-aŋ hi-g^ha-fi-nau
 die-n^hu-CAUS-EMPH be-IPFV-PST-3SG→2
 'Hey Maili, your (so called) lord, the child, found to be alive (to my surprise).'
- (309) *iŋko haʒa posedoŋk^he iŋkoheŋ*
 iŋko haʒa pose-doŋ-k^he iŋko-heŋ
 that fish rear-DUR-PRS that-DAT
 'That fish is rearing to that (child).'
- (310) *te idoi haʒaheŋ heʒa pateŋ seʔtaŋ doʔk^he aŋ*
 te idoi haʒa-heŋ heʒa pa-teŋ seʔt-aŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 okay this fish-DAT how do-SEQ kill-FUT say-PRS REP
 'Okay, now how to kill that fish?'
- (311) *kid^hin^hemi ide dzamal barahe panu kid^hin^hemiko*
 kid^hin^hemi ide dzamal bara-he pa-nu kid^hin^hemi-ko
 1.DU this child be.grown-HYP do-COND 1.DU-GEN
te pura kal dzeŋaŋ doʔk^he aŋ
 te pura kal dzeŋ-aŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 TOP complete death be-FUT say-PRS REP
 'If this child remains alive it will be the real death to us.'
- (312) *haʒa posidoŋk^he*
 haʒa pose-doŋ-k^he
 fish rear-DUR-PRS
 'The fish is being reared.'
- (313) *haʒa oʔteŋ taʔhi doʔk^he*
 haʒa oʔ-teŋ taʔ-fi doʔ-k^he
 fish vomit-SEQ keep-PST say-PRS
 'The fish vomitted and kept.'
- (314) *bas wa tsarehiɡilk^he ela*
 bas wa tsare-hiɡil-k^he ela
 that's all 3SG graze-walk-PRS now
 'It is walking around grazing.'
- (315) *iŋko buŋ ts^hajãhoi peʔsa makra*
 iŋko bu-ŋ ts^hajã-hoi peʔsa makra
 that also-EMPH shadow-PFV insect spider
lo^khe wa la ru
 lo-k^he wa la ro
 come-PRS DED MIR CONR
 'Its shadow might attract insects and spiders.'

- (316) *puh̃jāgelai lok^he*
 puh̃jā-gelai lo-k^he
 snake-PL come-PRS
 'The snakes come.'
- (317) *ela m^hum^huika puh̃jāh̃eŋ te sodz^haŋ*
 ela m^hum^hui-ka puh̃jā-h̃eŋ te sodz^ha-aŋ
 now small-NMLZ snake-DAT TOP straight-EMPH
niʔk^he insika ɖ^hōɖe sōɖeh̃eŋ te
 niʔ-k^he insika ɖ^hōɖe sōɖe-h̃eŋ te
 swallow-PRS like.that kind.of.snake REDUP-DAT TOP
 'It swallows the small snakes and also the Dhode snakes.'
- (318) *kalau n̄adz̄ar porih̃i doʔk^he*
 kalau n̄adz̄ar pori-h̃i doʔ-k^he
 then vision befall-PST say-PRS
 'Then (it) came to see at that.'
- (319) *k^haŋli h̃anih̃i doʔk^he t^hap̄akk̄ai radzkumar ki*
 k^haŋ-li h̃ane-h̃i doʔ-k^he t^hap̄akk̄ai radzkumar ki
 look-INF go-PST say-PRS immediately prince PART
 'The prince quickly went to look at it.'
- (320) *h̄at̄ap̄att̄a niʔh̃i doʔk^he iŋko h̃aja*
 h̄at̄ap̄att̄a niʔ-h̃i doʔ-k^he iŋko h̃aja
 quickly swallow-PST say-PRS that fish
 'The fish swallowed (the child) in no time.'
- (321) *aroŋ iŋko dzamaleŋ*
 aro-ŋ iŋko dzamal-h̃eŋ
 again-EMPH that child-DAT
 'Again to that child....'
- (322) *dzamal et^he h̃i aŋ ni*
 dzamal et^he h̃i aŋ ni
 child this.much.big be REP PART
 'The child became bigger, you know.'
- (323) *kalau insaŋ h̃ikataŋ tsakataŋ*
 kalau insa-ŋ h̃i-ka-ta-aŋ tsa-ka-ta-aŋ
 then like.that-EMPH sit-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH eat-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH
h̃esapateŋ seʔt̄ā
 h̃esapa-teŋ seʔt-aŋ
 how-SEQ seʔt-FUT
 'Then in course of time (they thought) how to kill (it)?'
- (324) *ud^himiko te ud^himi dzimd^hako m̄an*
 ud^himi-ko te ud^himi dzimd^ha-ko m̄an
 3DU-GEN TOP 3DU co-wife-GEN mind

ekdΛm tulbul pak^he aŋ
 ekdΛm tulbul pa-k^he aŋ
 complete unrest do-PRS REP
 'The two co-wives' mind remain in restlessness.'

(325) *ela gond^higelai lagaili gojaŋ*
 ela gond^hi-gelai lagai-li goi-aŋ
 now fisherman-PL employ-INF must-FUT
 'Now the fishermen must be employed.'

(326) *edoi haja gottaŋ maŋpali gojaŋ*
 edoi haja gottaŋ maŋ-pa-li goi-aŋ
 this fish all fish-CAUS-INF must-FUT
 'All the fish must be fished.'

(327) *sid^hala bo:li gojaŋ doʔk^he aŋ*
 sid^hala bo:-li goi-aŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 dried.fish grind-INF must-FUT say-PRS REP
 'The dried.fish must be ground as pickle.'

(328) *eʔmi bimari dzeŋli gojaŋ rΛ eʔmi odz^ha*
 eʔ-mi bimari dzeŋ-li goi-aŋ rΛ eʔ-mi odz^ha
 one-HCLF sick be-INF must-FUT and one-HCLF shaman
kail^hali gojaŋ doʔk^he aŋ
 kai-l^ha-li goi-aŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 call-INTENT-INF must-FUT say-PRS REP
 'One must pretend to be sick and another must go to call a witch doctor.'

(329) *hio rΛ doʔk^he aŋ*
 hio rΛ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 is.it.so PART say-PRS REP
 'Is it so? (She expressed her surprise).'

(330) *ela maili bimari dzeŋka dzeŋfi*
 ela maili bimari dzeŋka dzeŋ-fi
 now maili sick be-NOM be-PST
dzeʔ^hi odz^ha kail^haka dzeŋfi
 dzeʔ^hi odz^ha kai-l^ha-ka dzeŋ-fi
 dzethi shaman call-INTENT-NMLZ be-PST
 'Then maili got ready to be sick and jethi prepared to go to call a doctor.'

(331) *kalau iŋko odz^haheŋ paɬa sakdo b^hakihi aŋ*
 kalau iŋko odz^ha-heŋ paɬa sakdo b^haki-fi aŋ
 then that shaman-DAT money enough promise-PST REP
 'And she promised enough money to the witch doctor.'

(332) *iŋko bimari-eŋ upΛtsar paka ud^himi*
 iŋko bimari-eŋ upΛtsar pa-ka ud^himi
 that sick-DAT treatment do-NMLZ 3du

ela baḥana paka dzeṇfi

ela baḥana pa-ka dzeṇ-fi
now pretext do-NMLZ be-PST

'They (two) pretended to get treatment for the sick person.'

- (333) *kalau baḥana pana b^haiso doʔk^he aṇ*

kalau baḥana pa-na b^hai-so doʔ-k^he aṇ
then pretext do-IMPL seem-ABL say-PRS REP

'Then they did as if they were pretending.'

- (334) *insa panu gond^higelaiḥeṇ ḥaja*

insa pa-nu gond^hi-gelai-ḥeṇ ḥaja
like.that do-COND fisherman-PL-DAT fish

mampali gojaṇ doʔk^he aṇ

maṇ-pa-li goi-aṇ doʔ-k^he aṇ
fish-CAUS-INF must-FUT say-PRS REP

'If it is so, the fish should be killed by the fishermen.'

- (335) *nab^handai eʔni iṇko oḥjā sjarsamb^har paka*

nab^handai eʔ-ni iṇko oḥjā sjarsamb^har pa-ka
at.once one-day that horse care do-NMLZ

nokaṛ buṇ dana piḥi doʔk^he m^ha

nokaṛ bu-ṇ dana pi-ḥi doʔ-k^he m^ha
servant also-EMPH fodder give-PST say-PRS TAG

'One day the horse keeper also gave the fodder, did not he?'

- (336) *tsi pili nilḥi la tabelako oḥjāḥeṇ*

tsi pi-li nil-ḥi la tabelako oḥjā-ḥeṇ
water give-INF forget-PST MIR stable-GEN horse-DAT

'(He) forgot to give water to the horse of the stable.'

- (337) *oḥjāḥeṇ dana pili ḥabe danagelai piḥi*

oḥjā-ḥeṇ dana pi-li ḥabe dana-gelai pi-ḥi
horse-DAT fodder give-INF GF fodder-PL give-PST

tsi pili nilḥi

tsi pi-li nil-ḥi
water give-INF forget-PST

'(He) gave fodder to the horse but forgot to give water.'

- (338) *dilima sala oḥjā ela b^hudb^hudaḥi*

dilima sala oḥjā ela b^hudb^huda-ḥi
evening damn horse now cry-PST

b^hudb^hudaḥi doʔk^he bas

b^hudb^huda-ḥi doʔ-k^he bas
cry-PST say-PRS that's all

'The naughty horse made noise continuously in the evening.'

- (339) *tsaṭṭai n^hepaḥako djaḥam ḥesa tanaiten*

tsaṭṭai n^he-paḥa-ko djaḥam ḥesa tanai-ten
ONOM two-side-GEN rope how pull-SEQ

d^heuka dja^ham d^ho[?]pa^hi
d^heu-ka dja^ham d^ho[?]-pa-fii
tether-NMLZ rope snap-CAUS-PST
'(The horse) pulled the tethered rope and snapped it.'

- (340) *e[?]pa^hako d^ho[?]pa^hi bas e[?]pa^hako*
e[?]-pa^ha-ko d^ho[?]-pa-fii bas e[?]-pa^ha-ko
one-side-GEN snap-CAUS-PST that's.all one-side-GEN
dz^hΛn ^hai t^hamd^hja wa
dz^hΛn ^hai t^ham-d^hi-aŋ wa
even what stop-REL-FUT DED
'It broke one side and how the other side would remain intact.'

- (341) *iŋko buŋ d^ho[?]pa^hi d^ha[?]pa^hi do[?]k^he bas*
iŋko bu-ŋ d^ho[?]-pa-fii d^ha[?]pa^hi do[?]-k^he bas
that also-EMPH snap-CAUS-PST REDUP say-PRS that's all
'That also snapped, it is said, that's all.'

- (342) *tsar^hi tsar^hi tsar^hi wa la ru*
tsare-fii tsare-fii tsare-fii wa la ro
graze-PST graze-PST graze-PST DED MIR CONR
iŋkoŋ pok^hΛrita tsi aml^hali
iŋko-ŋ pok^hΛri-ta tsi am-l^ha-li
that-EMPH pond-LOC water drink-INTENT-INF
'(The horse) possibly grazed for long and (went) to the same pond to drink water.'

- (343) *iŋko ofjǎ tsi aml^hanasantaŋ*
iŋko ofjǎ tsi am-l^ha-na-sa-aŋ-ta-aŋ
that horse water drink-INTENT-IMPL- after-EMPH-LOC-EMPH
haja lo^hi do[?]k^he kalau b^herpa nui ga[?]ga[?]pa
haja lo-fii do[?]-k^he kalau b^herpa nui ga[?]ga[?]-pa
fish come-PST say-PRS then near mouth open.mouth-CAUS
'As soon as the horse approached to drink water the fish came near with its mouth wide open.'

- (344) *ei dzjΛmradz ka edΛi radzkumareŋ*
ei dzjΛmradz ka edΛi radzkumar-fieŋ
hey death 1SG this prince-DAT
hinsaŋ basar posehoika
hinsaŋ basar pose-fioi-ka
many year rear-PFV-1SG
'Hey, the agent of death, I have already taken care of this prince for many years.'

- (345) *ka ela kaŋko kal lok^hoi*
ka ela kaŋ-ko kal lo-k^hoi
1SG now 1SG.OBL-GEN death come-INC
'Now, I.... my death is approaching.'

- (346) *naŋko pala ela edʌi dzamaleŋ bantsepaka*
 naŋ-ko pala ela edʌi dzamal-ŋeŋ bantse-pa-ka
 2SG.OBL-GEN turn now this child-DAT survive-CAUS-NMLZ
naŋko pala doʔkʰe
 naŋ-ko pala doʔ-kʰe
 2SG.OBL-GEN turn say-PRS
 'Now it's your turn to save this child (he said).'
- (347) *hĩ doʔkʰe aŋ*
 hĩ doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 Yes! say-PRS REP
 'Yes, he enquires.'
- (348) *te lampʰa ka tsi amã kunu doʔkʰe aŋ*
 te lampʰa ka tsi am-ã kunu doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 okay before 1SG water drink-FUT then say-PRS REP
kalau doʔ doʔkʰe aŋ
 kalau doʔ doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 then say.IMP say-PRS REP
 'Okay, I will drink water first (he said), then, you say (what you want).'
- (349) *iŋkoŋ oŋjã tsi amfi amfi amfi doʔkʰe*
 iŋko-ŋ oŋjã tsi am-fi am-fi am-fi doʔ-kʰe
 that-EMPH horse water drink-PST drink-PST drink-PST say-PRS
 'That horse drank water continuously.'
- (350) *te doʔ doʔkʰe aŋ*
 te doʔ doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 okay say.IMP say-PRS REP
 'Okay, say (the horse says).'
- (351) *kaŋko kal lokʰoi dzjʌmradz*
 kaŋ-ko kal lo-kʰoi dzjʌmradz
 1SG.OBL-GEN death come-INC agent of death
 'My death is approaching, agent of death!'
- (352) *ela kaseŋeŋ te seʔtaŋ maŋarani*
 ela ka-seŋeŋ te seʔt-aŋ maŋarani
 now 1SG-DAT TOP kill-FUT queen
 'Now the queen will kill me.'
- (353) *edʌi pokʰʌrita fiabe gottaŋ gondʰigelaieŋ*
 edʌi pokʰʌri-ta fiabe gottaŋ gondʰi-gelai-eŋ
 this pond-LOC GF all fisherman-PL-DAT
lagaiten haja mampaŋ
 lagai-ten haja maŋ-pa-aŋ
 employ-SEQ fish fish-CAUS-FUT
 'They will employ all the fishermen and get all the fish killed in this pond.'

- (354) *haja mampateŋ sid^hala boʔpaŋ doʔk^he aŋ*
 haja maŋ-pa-teŋ sid^hala boʔ-pa-aŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 fish fish-do-SEQ dried.fish grind-CAUS-FUT say-PRS REP
 'They say that they will get the fish killed and dry them.'
- (355) *na edli dzamaleŋ t^hapakkai tsumpu pose*
 na edli dzamal-eŋ t^hapakkai tsuma-pu pose
 2SG this child-DAT immediately bring-AND-IMP rear-IMP
 'You take this child right away and take care of it.'
- (356) *kalau t^hapakkai nui fiã pa-fi doʔk^he*
 kalau t^hapakkai nui fiã pa-fi doʔ-k^he
 then immediately mouth open do-PST say-PRS
 'Then (the horse) opened its mouth wide in next to no time.'
- (357) *dzamaleŋ niʔteŋ lofi la ohiã*
 dzamal-fiŋ niʔ-teŋ lo-fi la ohiã
 child-DAT swallow-SEQ come-PST MIR horse
 'The horse came back having swallowed the child.'
- (358) *ohiã niʔteŋ lofi la*
 ohiã niʔ-teŋ lo-fi la
 horse swallow-SEQ come-PST MIR
 'The horse happened to come having swallowed (the child).'
- (359) *kalau mant^hu ela pok^hrita haja maposeka ela*
 kalau mant^hu ela pok^hari-ta haja ma-pose-ka ela
 then NEG.be now pond-LOC fish NEG-rear-NMLZ now
 'Now the (child) is not there (so) the fish does rear it (now).'
- (360) *haja piʔnu ela ohiãfiŋ eŋkoŋ radzkumarkoŋ*
 haja piʔ-nu ela ohiã-fiŋ iŋko-ŋ radzkumar-ko-ŋ
 fish sell-COND now horse-DAT that-EMPH prince-GEN-EMPH
d^holka bajup^hŋk^hi g^hoɔa
 d^hol-ka bajup^hŋk^hi g^hoɔa
 climb-NMLZ flying horse
 'The fish gave the (child) to the flying horse which the prince rode.'
- (361) *kalau haja iso sarihi*
 kalau haja iso sari-fi
 then fish here shift-PST
 'Then, the fish shifted to this side.'
- (362) *ela hajako kal lofoi la*
 ela haja-ko kal lo-foi la
 now fish-GEN death come-PFV MIR
 'Now the fish is approaching (to its) death.'

- (363) *ela maili bimari dzeṇhoi la*
 ela maili bimari dzeṇ-hoi la
 now maili sick be-PFV MIR
 'Now Maili became sick.'
- (364) *radzkumari dzeṭ^{hi} ela odz^{ha}*
 radzkumari dzeṭ^{hi} ela odz^{ha}
 princess the.eldest now shaman
b^{ho}:l^{ha}hoi lamp^{ha}aŋ
 b^{ho}:-l^{ha}-hoi lamp^{ha}-ŋ
 search-INTENT-PFV before-EMPH
 'Now the eldest princess had already gone to call the shaman.'
- (365) *b^{hi}trib^{hi}tri b^{ho}:teŋ b^{ha}:teŋ edɿ dz^{hoko} taka*
 b^{hi}trib^{hi}tri b^{ho}:-teŋ b^{ha}:teŋ edɿ dz^{hoko} taka
 inside search-SEQ REDUP this much coin
pjaniŋ doʔteŋ waseṇeŋ kobol pad^{hi}fi
 pi-aŋ-niŋ doʔ-teŋ wa-seṇeŋ kobol pa-d^{hi}-fi
 give-FUT-2DU say-SEQ 3SG-DAT promise do-REL-PST
 'Having figured out (the shaman) secretly, (they two) promised some money to give him.'
- (366) *paisa buŋ pid^{hi}fi*
 paisa bu-ŋ pi-d^{hi}-fi
 money also-EMPH give-REL-PST
 '(They) also gave money.'
- (367) *kalau ḥaja mampali t^{hali}fi la*
 kalau ḥaja maŋ-pa-li t^{hali}-fi la
 then fish fish-CAUS-INF start-PST MIR
 'Then (they) started to get the fish killed.'
- (368) *k^{ha}aŋ kalau tsuma^{hi} doʔk^{he}*
 k^{ha}aŋ kalau tsuma-fi doʔ-k^{he}
 look.IMP then bring-PST say-PRS
 'See, then (he) brought.'
- (369) *odoi odz^{ha}aeŋ kaipa^{hi}*
 odoi odz^{ha}-ŋeŋ kai-pa-fi
 that shaman-DAT call-CAUS-PST
 'Then (they) called the shaman.'
- (370) *k^{hori} k^{ha}ampisa^{hi} doʔk^{he}*
 k^{hori} k^{ha}aŋ-pi-sa-fi doʔ-k^{he}
 foretell look-give-APPR-PST say-PRS
 '(Probably (he) pretended of foretelling.'

- (371) *oño sarkar doʔkʰe aŋ*
 oño sarkar doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 oh! lord say-PRS REP
 'Oh my lord, (he) says.'
- (372) *naŋko be te iŋko pokʰari-ko ʃaja*
 naŋ-ko be te iŋko pokʰari-ko ʃaja
 2SG.OBL-GEN wife TOP that pond-GEN fish
enoŋ mataʔsiŋ dzoini ʃaja
 elong ma-taʔ-siŋ dzoini ʃaja
 one-CLF NEG-keep-PURP small fish
mampateŋ mampateŋ sidʰala bo:teŋ
 maŋ-pa-teŋ maŋ-pa-teŋ sidʰala bo:-teŋ
 fish-CAUS-SEQ fish-CAUS-SEQ dried.fish grind-SEQ
ekdam dziuta gʰospili gojaŋ
 ekdam dziu-ta gʰos-pi-li goi-aŋ
 consistently body-LOC rub-BEN-INF must-FUT
 'You must get killed all the fish of the pond and making paste of them it should be rubbed in your wife's body for her well-being.'
- (373) *malis pali gojaŋ*
 malis pa-li goi-aŋ
 massage do-INF must-FUT
 '(Her body) should be massaged.'
- (374) *kalau kʰiniŋ el-aŋ makunu ma-el-aŋ*
 kalau kʰiniŋ el-aŋ makunu ma-el-aŋ
 then only be.good-FUT otherwise NEG-be.good-FUT
 'Then only (she) will be fine otherwise (she) will not.'
- (375) *upae mantʰu*
 upae mantʰu
 way.out NEG.be
 'There is no way out.'
- (376) *edai raniko upae mantʰu bantsika doʔkʰe aŋ*
 edai rani-ko upae mantʰu bantsi-ka doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 this queen-GEN way.out NEG.be live-NMLZ say-PRS REP
 'This queen has no other way out to live.'
- (377) *lampʰaŋ dzeʔʰi tal lagi piʃi*
 lampʰa-aŋ dzeʔʰi tal tal lagi pi-ʃi
 before-EMPH the.eldest big.talk set give-PST
 'Jethi already spoke falsely.'
- (378) *iŋko pokʰari-ko ʃaja seʔli goika dzeŋʃi*
 iŋko pokʰari-ko ʃaja seʔ-li goi-ka dzeŋ-ʃi
 that pond-GEN fish kill-INF must-NMLZ be-PST
 'It became compulsive to get killed all the fish of the pond.'

- (379) *iŋko pok^hariko ħaja maŋteŋ bo:fi panu*
iŋko pok^hariko-ko ħaja maŋ-teŋ bo:-fi pa-nu
that pond-GEN fish fish-SEQ grind-PST do-COND
te ela dzamal sud^haŋ sjaŋ
te ela dzamal sud^haŋ si-aŋ
TOP now child straight die-FUT
do?ka sotsai ħig^hak^he
sud^haŋ do?-ka sotsai ħi-g^ha-k^he
straight say-NMLZ thought be-IPFV-PRS
'(They) thought that if the fish of the pond were killed and ground the child
also will die together.'
- (380) *ela dzamal te oħjãta soriħoi*
ela dzamal te oħjã-ta sori-ħoi
now child TOP horse-LOC sori-PFV
'Now, as for the child, it is already shifted to the horse.'
- (381) *kalau urdi dzeŋfi la*
kalau urdi dzeŋ-fi la
then order be-PST MIR
'Then, an order issued.'
- (382) *radzako ħukum te ro m^ha*
radza-ko ħukum te ro m^ha
king-GEN order TOP CONR TAG
'It was not other than the king's order, was not it?'
- (383) *b^hæb^har^hko desko gond^higelai gottaŋ tsuma^hfi do?k^he*
b^hæb^har^h-ko des-ko gond^hi-gelai gottaŋ tsuma-fi do?-k^he
every.bit-GEN country-GEN fisherman-PL all bring-PST say-PRS
'(They) brought every fisherman from all over the country.'
- (384) *ekdam dzale a?ka a?ka*
ekdam dzale a?-ka a?-ka
consistently fishing.net throw-NMLZ throw-NMLZ
'(They) threw fishing net continuously.'
- (385) *enoŋ dzoini ħaja mata?siŋ mampa^hfi aŋ*
e-long dzoini ħaja ma-ta?-siŋ maŋ-pa-fi aŋ
one-CL small fish NEG-keep-PURP fish-CAUS-PST REP
'(They) got all the fish killed even not living the small ones.'
- (386) *ed^hamasin^h ela sempateŋ sampateŋ sid^hala bo:pa^hfi aŋ*
ed^hamasin^h ela seŋ-pa-teŋ sampateŋ sid^hala bo:-pa-fi aŋ
collectively now dry-CAUS-SEQ REDUP dried.fish grind-CAUS-PST REP
'(They) dried (the fish) and ground them collectively.'
- (387) *kalau sid^hala bo?pateŋ ba?pateŋ ela*
kalau sid^hala bo?-pa-teŋ ba?pateŋ ela
then dried.fish grind-CAUS-SEQ REDUP now

dzʰangri kʰuʔpali gojaŋ
 dzʰangri kʰuʔ-pa-li goi-aŋ
 shaman descend-CAUS-INF must-FUT
 'Then having ground the pickle the shaman should be appointed.'

- (388) *kelako dasagrafia kalau buŋ santa*
 kela-ko dasagrafia kalau bu-ŋ santa
 1PL-GEN fortune then also-EMPH quite
papjã wa be iŋko dʰami
 pa-pi-aŋ wa be iŋko dʰami
 do-BEN-FUT DED DUB that witch.doctor
 'This shaman might help us even to get rid of from our misfortune.'

- (389) *radzkumar doʔkʰe aŋ wako been*
 radzkumar doʔ-kʰe aŋ wa-ko be-eŋ
 prince say-PRS REP 3SG-GEN wife-DAT
 'The prince says to his wife (it is said).'

- (390) *fiŋe iŋko odzʰa-eŋ tsuma doʔkʰe aŋ*
 fiŋe iŋko odzʰa-fiŋ tsuma doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 go.IMP that shaman-DAT bring say-PRS REP
 'Go and bring that shaman (he) says.'

- (391) *fiŋa mampateŋ mumpateŋ bo:teŋ ba:teŋ*
 fiŋa maŋ-pa-teŋ mumpateŋ bo:-teŋ ba:teŋ
 fish fish-CAUS-SEQ REDUP grind-SEQ REDUP
sidʰala banaiten taʔfi doʔkʰe aŋ
 sidʰala banai-teŋ taʔ-fi doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 dried.fish make-SEQ keep-PST say-PRS REP
 'Having got killed the fish ground and made the pickle and kept (it is said).'

- (392) *ekdam kʰori kʰaŋfi aŋ*
 ekdam kʰori kʰaŋ-fi aŋ
 consistently fortune look-PST REP
 '(He) pondered over (their) luck.'

- (393) *te nani tsafiŋ jomli gojaŋ dzʰangri*
 te nani tsafiŋ jom-li goi-aŋ dzʰangri
 okay today IND sit-INF must-FUT shaman
kʰuʔli doʔkʰe aŋ
 kʰuʔ-li doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 descend-INF say-PRS REP
 'Okay, (we) must sit today, the shaman should be employed.'

- (394) *kalau ela dʰengara godzagalai tʰantʰapana*
 kalau ela dʰengara godza-gelai tʰantʰapana
 then now drum drum.stick-PL sacred.place

gottaŋ pasaʰi doʔkʰe

gottaŋ pa-sa-ʰi doʔ-kʰe
all do-APPR-PST say-PRS

'Then (they) pretended to prepare the sacred place along with the drum and stick.'

(395) *ekdʌm dzʰaŋgri kʰuʔkʰe aŋ*

ekdʌm dzʰaŋgri kʰuʔ-kʰe aŋ
complete shaman descend-PRS REP

'The shaman performs as best as he could.'

(396) *edʌi maʰarani te edʌi sidʰala gottaŋ ʰabeteŋ*

edʌi maʰarani te edʌi sidʰala gottaŋ ʰabeteŋ
this queen TOP this dried.fish all GF

ekdʌm malis pali gojaŋ

ekdʌm malis pa-li goi-aŋ
complete massage do-INF must-FUT

'All the ground dried-fish should be massaged on the queen's body.'

(397) *dziu taimiŋ aram dzenaŋ*

dziu taimi-ŋ aram dzeŋ-aŋ
body self-EMPH rest be-FUT

'(Her) body will recover itself.'

(398) *naŋko sako graʰa gottaŋ santa*

naŋ-ko sa-ko graʰa gottaŋ santa
2SG.OBL-GEN house-gen misfortune all quite

dzenaŋ doʔpisikʰe aŋ

dzeŋ-aŋ doʔ-pi-si-kʰe aŋ
be-EMPH say-BEN-APPR-PRS

'(He) seems pretending to say that all the misfortune of your home will go.'

(399) *iŋko odzʰa paɪsa niŋʰi pogito*

iŋko odzʰa paɪsa niŋ-ʰi pogito
that shaman money get-PST quite.enough

'The shaman received money more than enough.'

(400) *sala kalau utaso pakka kunu pakka*

sala kalau uta-so pakka kunu pakka
damn then there-ABL sure then sure

gottaŋ tʰiktʰak ʰi

gottaŋ tʰiktʰak ʰi
all ready be

'Damn, then everything is ready from the other side.'

(401) *intaso naŋ doʔka saman-eŋ*

inta-so naŋ doʔ-ka saman-eŋ
there-ABL 2SG.OBL say-NMLZ thing-DAT

guruba d^hami t^hakur doʔk^he aŋ
 guruba d^hami t^hakur doʔ-k^he aŋ
 teacher witch.doctor lord say-PRS REP
 'Respected lord, these are the things you had ordered (they say).'

- (402) *tsumateŋ tsamateŋ ekdΛm malis paka pakaŋ*
 tsuma-teŋ tsamateŋ ekdΛm malis pa-ka
 bring-SEQ REDUP complete message do-NMLZ
uk^h ita atuisa tu:k^he doʔk^he aŋ
 pa-ka-ŋ uk^h ita atuisa tu:-k^he doʔ-k^he aŋ
 do-NMLZ-EMPH ouch here little ache-PRS say-PRS REP
 'Having brought the (paste) and while getting massaged (she) says that it aches in some part (of the body).'

- (403) *inta bu lagaipifi ela*
 inta bu lagai-pi-fi ela
 there also employ-BEN-PST now
 '(They) massaged there as well.'

- (404) *ela aram dzeŋfi la*
 ela aram dzeŋ-fi la
 now rest be-PST MIR
 'Now (she) got well.'

- (405) *te dzeŋfoi*
 te dzeŋ-foi
 okay be-PFV
 'Okay, it's alright.'

- (406) *b^hΛeb^hΛrko pok^hΛriko faja b^hurkut paŋi*
 b^hΛeb^hΛr-ko pok^hΛri-ko faja b^hurkuʔ pa-fi
 every.bit-GEN pond-GEN fish finish do-PST
 '(They) destroyed all the fish in the water.'

- (407) *oŋjāta sΛrika fi ela*
 oŋjā-ta sΛri-ka fi ela
 horse-LOC shift-NMLZ be now
 'It is shifted to the horse now.'

- (408) *oŋjā dinaŋ dana doŋ matsaka doʔk^he*
 oŋjā dinaŋ dana doŋ ma-tsa-ka doʔ-k^he
 horse daily fodder FOC NEG-eat-NMLZ say-PRS
 'The horse does not eat fodder day after day.'

- (409) *ela dana tsanu t^hokΛr nintsaka dzeŋfi*
 ela dana tsa-nu t^hokΛr niŋ-tsa-ka dzeŋ-fi
 now fodder eat-COND t^hokΛr receive-AFF-NMLZ be-PST
 'If (the horse) takes the fodder (the child) may get hurt.'

- (410) *dzamal sika dzeṇfi*
 dzamal si-ka dzeṇ-fi
 child die-NMLZ be-PST
 'The child would die.'
- (411) *nitima tsahiṇ doʔkʰe wa*
 nitima tsahiṇ doʔ-kʰe wa
 day IND say-PRS DED
 'He says in the day time.'
- (412) *dana matsaka ekdʌm rʰima nitima*
 dana ma-tsa-ka ekdʌm rʰima nitima
 fodder NEG-eat-NMLZ complete morning day
dana matsaka
 dana ma-tsa-ka
 fodder NEG-eat-NMLZ
 'Neither the horse eats the fodder in the morning nor does it eat in the day time.'
- (413) *kalau iṇko dana ensaṇ taʔpi*
 kalau iṇko dana ensaṇ taʔ-pi
 then that fodder like.this keep-BEN
doʔfi doʔkʰe dilima
 doʔ-fi doʔ-kʰe dilima
 say-PST say-PRS evening
 'Then in the evening (he said) do keep the fodder in the same way.'
- (414) *eloṇ dana matsaka la dilima*
 e-loṇ dana ma-tsa-ka la dilima
 one-CLF fodder NEG-eat-NMLZ MIR evening
 'The horse ate not even a single grain of the fodder in the evening.'
- (415) *dzaḥile kʰaʔka bani dzeṇfi doʔkʰe wako*
 dzaḥile kʰaʔ-ka bani dzeṇ-fi doʔ-kʰe wa-ko
 always escape-NMLZ habit be-PST say-PRS 3SG-GEN
 'It (the horse) got used to in escaping all the time.'
- (416) *tʰʌpkkʌi kʰaʔfi doʔkʰe*
 tʰʌpkkʌ-i kʰaʔ-fi doʔ-kʰe
 instant-EMPH escape-PST say-PRS
 'The horse ran away without delay.'
- (417) *pʰarappa ḥaniteṇ tsareḥe iṇ dzamaleṇ*
 pʰarappa ḥane-teṇ tsare-ḥe iṇ dzamal-ḥeṇ
 far.away go-SEQ graze-HYP that child-DAT
oʔtsalʰaʔteṇ sako kōresata
 oʔcalʰaʔ-teṇ sa-ko kōresa-ta
 vomit-SEQ house-GEN side-LOC
 '(The horse) went quite far to graze and vomitted the child in the side of the house.'

- (418) *iŋkoŋ ḏaṟbarko kōresa-ta soʔnu leta matimpa*
 iŋko-ŋ ḏaṟbar-ko kōresa-ta soʔ-nu leta ma-tiŋ-ka
 that-EMPH palace-GEN side-LOC urinate-COND below NEG-see-NMLZ
 'If (it) urinated at the side of that very palace (no body) would see it.'
- (419) *kalau eʔni fiisa fiisa soʔ soʔli*
 kalau eʔ-ni fiisa fiisa soʔ soʔ-li
 then one-day what.type what.type urine urinate-INF
lʰo:ka fiigʰakʰe doʔkʰe
 lʰo:-ka fi-gʰa-kʰe doʔ-kʰe
 wake.up-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS
 'Then one day (she) was somehow woken up to urinate (they say).'
- (420) *iŋkoŋ mamʰjã dzeʔʰi doʔkʰe tsanakʰ*
 iŋko-ŋ mamʰjã dzeʔʰi doʔ-kʰe tsanakʰ
 that-EMPH mamʰyã the.eldest say-PRS smart
 'That very jethi who was quite wise.'
- (421) *kalau kʰaŋkʰe doʔkʰe*
 kalau kʰaŋ-kʰe doʔ-kʰe
 then look-PRS say-PRS
 'Then (she) looks around.'
- (422) *mako ʰaiko tsʰajã lofi nani doʔkʰe aŋ*
 ma-ko ʰai-ko tsʰajã lo-fi nani doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 NEG-be what-GEN shadow come-PST today say-PRS REP
 'What is there to make a shadow there today?'
- (423) *udzjalo fi ro doʔkʰe aŋ*
 udzjalo fi ro doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 light be CONR say-PRS REP
 'Is it already morning?'
- (424) *kalau esaŋ kʰaŋkʰe doʔkʰe dzʰjalso te*
 kalau esa-ŋ kʰaŋ-kʰe doʔ-kʰe dzʰjal-so te
 then like.this-EMPH look-PRS say-PRS window-ABL TOP
dzamal intaŋ pombʰlepateŋ taʔfi doʔkʰe
 dzamal inta-ŋ pombʰle-pa-teŋ taʔ-fi doʔ-kʰe
 child there-EMPH face.down-CAUS-SEQ keep-PST say-PRS
 'Then (she) looks out through the window (and find that) the (the horse) kept the child lying face down.'
- (425) *kalau ela ṯas lagikʰe aŋ tsʰajã udzjaloko*
 kalau ela ṯas lagi-kʰe aŋ tsʰajã udzjalo-ko
 then now torch feel-PRS REP shadow light-GEN
 'Then the focus of the torch light falls upon (that).'

- (426) *ohjã tsahiĩ wariɣari tsarek^{he} aŋ*
 ohjã tsahiĩ wariɣari tsare-k^{he} aŋ
 horse IND around graze-PRS REP
 'As for the horse, it grazes around.'
- (427) *p^hurra p^hurra p^hurra doʔk^{he} aŋ*
 p^hurra p^hurra p^hurra doʔ-k^{he} aŋ
 ONOM ONOM ONOM say-PRS REP
 '(The horse) grazes producing sound.'
- (428) *iŋko p^huru p^huru mapanu te*
 iŋko p^huru p^huru ma-pa-nu te
 that p^huru p^huru NEG-do-COND TOP
magidaŋ wa la
 ma-gi-da-aŋ wa la
 NEG-know-CFC-FUT DED MIR
 'If (the horse) had not grazed this way, (she) might not have known.'
- (429) *dzabla p^huru p^huru paŋi doʔk^{he} t^haliŋi doʔk^{he}*
 dzabla p^huru p^huru pa-ŋi doʔ-k^{he} t^hali-ŋi doʔ-k^{he}
 when ONOM ONOM do-PST say-PRS start-PST say-PRS
 'When (the horse) started to graze with sound....'
- (430) *e edoŋ ohjãta ki edai dzamal loŋi*
 e edoi-ŋ ohjã-ta ki edai dzamal lo-ŋi
 oh this-EMPH horse-LOC PART this child come-PST
 'Oh, (surprisingly), the child happened to shift to this very horse.'
- (431) *eʔni niln^haŋi tsi pili udiniŋ doʔk^{he} aŋ*
 eʔ-ni nil-n^ha-ŋi tsi pi-li udini-ŋ doʔ-k^{he} aŋ
 one-day forget-1PL-PST water give-INF before-EMPH say-PRS REP
 'One day (we) had forgotten to give water before.'
- (432) *ja edoŋ ohjã k^haʔteŋ pok^harita*
 ja edoi-ŋ ohjã k^haʔ-teŋ pok^hari-ta
 this this-EMPH horse escape-SEQ pond-LOC
tsi aml^hateŋ edai pok^hariko ŋaja
 tsi am-l^ha-teŋ edai pok^hari-ko ŋaja
 water drink-INTENT-SEQ this pond-GEN fish
bekar seʔn^haŋi kelai
 bekar seʔ-n^ha-ŋi kelai
 in.vain kill-1PL-PST 1PL
 'The same horse went to the pond to drink water; we killed the fish in vein.'
- (433) *edai gi nu te radzkumar kelaieŋ te*
 edai gi-nu te radzkumar kelai-ŋeŋ te
 this know-COND TOP prince 1PL-DAT TOP

tʰaɖli goli ampaŋ doʔkʰe aŋ
 tʰaɖli goli am-pa-aŋ doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 directly bullet drink-CAUS-FUT say-PRS REP
 'If the prince had known this he would have shot us directly.'

- (434) *kelaiko ke doʔkʰe aŋ*
 kelai-ko ke doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 1PL-GEN husband say-PRS REP
 'Our husband (would have shot us) she says.'

- (435) *edoi ohjã doŋ tsi am-lʰa-ten*
 edoi ohjã doŋ tsi am-lʰa-ten
 this horse FOC water drink-INTENT-SEQ
edli ohjãta loka fi la
 edli ohjã-ta lo-ka fi la
 this horse-LOC come-NMLZ be MIR
 'Since this horse went to drink water (the child) came to the horse.'

- (436) *edli ohjã ki poseka dzeŋfi doʔkʰe aŋ*
 edli ohjã ki pose-ka dzeŋ-fi doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 this horse PART rear-NMLZ be-PST say-PRS REP
 'The child was reared by this very horse (she said).'

- (437) *kalau kʰaŋla te tʰik doŋ ela ohjã tsarikʰe*
 kalau kʰaŋ-lau te tʰik doŋ ela ohjã tsare-kʰe
 then look-SIM TOP be.fine FOC now horse graze-PRS
 'Then it was good to see, the horse is grazing.'

- (438) *dzamaleŋ pombʰlepa-teŋ taʔfi doʔkʰe*
 dzamal-fieŋ pombʰle-pa-teŋ taʔ-fi doʔ-kʰe
 child-DAT face.down-CAUS-SEQ keep-PST say-PRS
 '(It) kept the child up side down.'

- (439) *iŋko pombʰlelau te fiesa belau fiabe*
 iŋko pombʰle-lau bu-ŋ te fiesa belau fiabe
 that face.down-TEMP also-EMPH TOP how time GF
laiŋko tsʰeŋeri bʰaikʰe ru udzjalo
 laiŋ-ko tsʰeŋeri bʰai-kʰe ro udzjalo
 light-GEN focus seem-PRS CONR light
 'Even if it was laid its face upside down, sometimes it seemed like the focus of a torch light.'

- (440) *kalau e doʔkʰe aŋ*
 kalau e doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 then eh say-PRS REP
 'Then he says, eh!'

- (441) *edonj ohjãhej seʔli gojaŋ ela doʔkʰe aŋ*
 edoi-ŋ ohjã-hej seʔ-li goi-aŋ ela doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 this-EMPH horse-DAT kill-INF must-FUT now say-PRS REP
 '(We) might kill this very horse (they) say.'
- (442) *edai ohjãhej seʔnu kʰiniŋ edai*
 edai ohjã-hej seʔ-nu kʰiniŋ edai
 this horse-DAT kill-COND only this
dzamal buŋ sjaŋ doʔkʰe aŋ
 dzamal bu-ŋ si-aŋ doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 child also-EMPH die-FUT say-PRS REP
 'Only if the horse is killed the child will be killed.'
- (443) *kalau saŋkar doʔkʰe aŋ*
 kalau saŋkar doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 then lord say-PRS REP
 'Then (they) say, 'oh lord!'
- (444) *naŋko ohjã baŋda dana buŋ matsakʰe*
 naŋ-ko ohjã baŋda dana bu-ŋ ma-tsa-kʰe
 2SG.OBL-GEN horse at.all fodder also-EMPH NEG-eat-PRS
 'Your horse even does not eat the fodder at all.'
- (445) *tsi buŋ maamkʰe*
 tsi bu-ŋ ma-am-kʰe
 water also-EMPH NEG-drink-PRS
 '(It) does not eat even water.'
- (446) *edai ohjãhej ʃaipali taʔli*
 edai ohjã-hej ʃaipali taʔ-li
 this horse-DAT why keep-INF
 'Why to keep this horse (with us)?'
- (447) *masaʔnu te naŋ pipu dana doʔkʰe aŋ*
 ma-saʔ-nu te na-aŋ pi-pu dana doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 NEG-believe-COND TOP 2SG-EMPH give-AND.IMP fodder say-PRS REP
 'If you do not believe me, you give the fodder to it yourself.'
- (448) *ʃã doʔkʰe aŋ*
 ʃã doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 yes say-PRS REP
 '(He) says, 'yes!'
- (449) *te ka pipwaŋka*
 te ka pi-pu-aŋ-ka
 okay 1SG give-AND-FUT-1SG
 'Okay, I will take and give.'

- (450) *radzkumar ap^hai tsumteŋ lo^hi doʔk^he kalau*
 radzkumar ap^hai tsuma-teŋ lo-fi doʔ-k^he kalau
 prince self bring-SEQ come-PST say-PRS then
 'Having taken (the things) the prince came himself then.'
- (451) *m^huika um dana pipahi aŋ*
 m^huika um dana pi-pa-fi aŋ
 small rice fodder give-CAUS-PST REP
 '(He) gave small rice grains (it is said).'
- (452) *ela dzamalko ka^hiã samma t^hamili*
 ela dzamal-ko ka^hiã samma t^hami-li
 now child-GEN where upto support-INF
 'Now, how long to support the child?'
- (453) *muskil dzeŋ^hoi la dzamal bara^hoi*
 muskil dzeŋ^hoi la dzamal bara^hoi
 muskil be-PFV MIR child be.grown-PFV
 '(It) became difficult; the child is (already) grown up (now).'
- (454) *kamsekam bar^h ter^h basarko umer dzeŋ^hoi*
 kamsekam bar^h ter^h basar-ko umer dzeŋ^hoi
 at.least twelve thirteen year-GEN age be-PFV
 'At least (the child) became twelve or thirteen (years old).'
- (455) *b^hari bodz^h p^hu:li goika uta*
 b^hari bodz^h p^hu:-li goi-ka uta
 heavy weight carry.on.back-INF must-NMLZ there
 'Heavy weight was to carry over there.'
- (456) *hesa tsawa la dana*
 hesa tsa wa ela dana
 how eat DED now fodder
 'How (the horse) might eat the fodder.'
- (457) *oso dana lagaipifi doʔk^he dũd ta*
 oso dana lagai-pi-fi doʔ-k^he dũd-ta
 that.side fodder employ-BEN-PST say-PRS fodder.carrier-LOC
 '(He) put the fodder in the fodder carrier.'
- (458) *ofjã esa ki g^hurifi aŋ*
 ofjã esa ki g^huri-fi aŋ
 horse like.this PART turn-PST REP
 'The horse turned its head instead.'
- (459) *t^hik edai raniko doʔka t^hikka r^hat^h doʔk^he aŋ*
 t^hik edai rani-ko doʔ-ka t^hikka r^hats^h doʔ-k^he aŋ
 right this queen-GEN say-NMLZ exact be say-PRS REP
 'Right, it was absolutely right what the queen said.'

- (460) *ja bimari dzeṇfhoi ja*
 ja bimari dzeṇ-fhoi ja
 or sick be-PFV this
 'Or, is it sick?'
- (461) *fiēde kʰalko bimar wa la be doʔkʰe aŋ*
 fiēde kʰal-ko bimar wa la be doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 which type-GEN illness DED MIR DUB say-PRS REP
 'What sort of sickness it might be, he says!'
- (462) *iŋko sotsai dzeṇfi la wako*
 iŋko sotsai dzeṇ-fi la wa-ko
 that thought be-PST MIR 3SG-GEN
 'He might have thought like that.'
- (463) *ekdam paṭjaro dzeṇfi ela radzkumar*
 ekdam paṭjaro dzeṇ-fi ela radzkumar
 complete trust be-PST now prince
 'Now the prince believed it completely.'
- (464) *wa pipulabelau dana matsana bʰaiso*
 wa pi-pu-labelau dana ma-tsa-na bʰai-so
 3SG give-AND-TEMP fodder NEG-eat-IMPL seem-ABL
wako bʰari bodzʰ fi
 wa-ko bʰari bodzʰ fi
 3SG-GEN heavy weight be
 'Now, the prince, while he brings and gives the fodder but, since (the horse) did not eat it (because) of its heavy body.'
- (465) *fiēsa dana tsa wa la*
 fiēsa dana tsa wa ela
 how fodder eat DED now
 'How might (the horse) eat the fodder now?'
- (466) *kalau tsaḥi la doʔkʰe aŋ*
 kalau tsa-fi ela doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 then eat-PST now say-PRS REP
 'Then did it eat up? (They asked).'
- (467) *ʌḥḥ matsaḥi dzʰʌn gʰuriḥi u*
 ʌḥḥ ma-tsa-fi dzʰʌn gʰuri-fi u
 no NEG-eat-PST even turn-PST PART
 'No, it did not eat, turned round instead.'
- (468) *idʌiḥeŋ iso mako*
 idʌi-ḥeŋ iso ma-ko
 thi-DAT here NEG-be
 'This place is not for it (the horse).'

- (469) *ja maremka rup paida dzeṇḥi au*
ja ma-rem-ka rup paida dzeṇḥi au
this NEG-be.good-NMLZ shape delivery be-PST PART
'It created a bad situation instead.'
- (470) *edḷi ohjāḥeṇ dʰoriḥi doʔkʰe aṇ rani*
edḷi ohjāḥeṇ dʰoriḥi doʔkʰe aṇ rani
this horse-DAT catch-PST say-PRS REP queen
'The horse is inflicted by the misfortune (said the queen).'
- (471) *iṇko ohjāḥeṇ seʔli kosis paḥi la*
iṇko ohjāḥeṇ seʔli kosis paḥi la
that horse-DAT kill-INF effort do-PST MIR
'(They) might have tried to kill the horse.'
- (472) *nikkoṇ dure tsumpuli gojaṇ*
nikkoṇ dure tsuma-pu-li goi-aṇ
enough far bring-AND-INF must-FUT
'(The horse) must be taken quite far.'
- (473) *idoi desso oḍai desta kʰiniṇ*
idoi des-so oḍoi des-ta kʰiniṇ
this country-ABL that country-LOC only
'From this country to that country...'
- (474) *oso tsumputeṇ seʔdʰili gojaṇ*
oso tsuma-pu-teṇ seʔdʰi-li goi-aṇ
that.side bring-AND-SEQ kill-REL-INF must-EMPH
'Having taken there (the horse) must be killed and left behind.'
- (475) *makunu oḍoi desta buṇ iṇko ja*
makunu oḍoi des-ta bu-ṇ iṇko ja
otherwise that country-LOC also-EMPH that this
oḍoi desta buṇ ḥabe pjaṇ ja
oḍoi des-ta bu-ṇ ḥabe pi-aṇ ja
that country-LOC also-EMPH GF give-FUT this
dʰoka pjaṇ doʔkʰe aṇ
dʰoka pi-aṇ doʔkʰe aṇ
deceit give-FUT say-PRS REP
'Otherwise, (the horse) will deceive us either in this country or from that country.'
- (476) *kalau ḥā doʔkʰe aṇ*
kalau ḥā doʔkʰe aṇ
then yes say-PRS REP
'Then he says, yes!'

- (477) *e pʰɿna doʔkʰe aŋ*
 e pʰɿna doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 VOC guy say-PRS REP
 'Hey man, he says.'
- (478) *na oŋjãŋeŋ sjaŋarsɿmbʰar paka*
 na oŋjã-ŋeŋ sjaŋarsɿmbʰar pa-ka
 2SG horse-DAT care do-NMLZ
 'You're the one to look after (the horse).'
- (479) *idoi dzeka oŋjã tsumpu*
idoi dzeka oŋjã tsuma-pu
 idoi white horse bring-AND.IMP
 'Take this white horse.'
- (480) *odɿi desta tsumputeŋ seʔteŋ lo doʔkʰe aŋ*
 odoi des-ta tsuma-pu-teŋ seʔ-teŋ lo doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 that country-LOC bring-AND-SEQ kill-SEQ come.IMP say-MPF REP
 'Take (the horse) to that country and come back having killed it.'
- (481) *tʰompuŋi doʔkʰe ela nantsiŋeŋ*
 tʰoŋ-pu-ŋi doʔ-kʰe ela nantsi-ŋeŋ
 lead-AND-PST say-PRS now pitiable-DAT
 '(He) carried away the pitiable one.'
- (482) *lagam tsiʔpateŋ ela odoi oŋjãŋeŋ tsumpuŋi doʔkʰe*
 lagam tsiʔ-pa-teŋ ela odoi oŋjã-ŋeŋ tsuma-pu-ŋi doʔ-kʰe
 bridle bite-do-SEQ now that horse-DAT bring-AND-PST say-PRS
 'Having set the bridle (he) carried away the horse.'
- (483) *bɿndɿi makiʔka doʔkʰe wa tʰɿlaso olʰeliŋ*
 bɿndɿi ma-kiʔ-ka doʔ-kʰe wa tʰɿla-so olʰe-li-ŋ
 not.at.all NEG-want-NMLZ say-PRS 3SG stable-ABL come.out-INF-EMPH
 '(The horse) did not want to come out of the stable at all.'
- (484) *dzɿbɿrdzɿsti mʰeʔteŋ olʰepaŋi aŋ*
 dzɿbɿrdzɿsti mʰeʔ-teŋ olʰe-pa-ŋi aŋ
 forcefully whip-SEQ come.out-CAUS-PST REP
 '(He) caused (the horse) to come out forcefully.'
- (485) *radza mʰeʔŋi la*
 radza mʰeʔ-ŋi la
 king whip-PST MIR
 'The king whipped (the horse).'
- (486) *kalau iŋko sjaŋarsɿmbʰar paka djaŋ te*
 kalau iŋko sjaŋarsɿmbʰar pa-ka djaŋ te
 then that care do-NMLZ person TOP

k^harterŋ k^harterŋ tsumpu^{hi} doʔk^he aŋ
 k^har-tenŋ k^har-tenŋ tsuma-pu-^{hi} doʔ-k^he aŋ
 weep-SEQ weep-SEQ bring-AND-PST say-PRS REP
 'And, the caregiver took away (the horse) crying
 continuously.'

- (487) *nantsi^{heŋ} t^hoŋk^he la*
 nantsi-^{heŋ} t^hoŋ-k^he ela
 pitiable-DAT lead-PRS now
 '(He) leads away the pitiable (horse).'

- (488) *ela wa sja^hars^Λmb^har pa^{ka}*
 ela wa sja^hars^Λmb^har pa-ka
 now 3SG care do-NMLZ
tsiupa^{ka} dana pi^{ka}
 tsiu-pa-ka dana pi-ka
 bathe-CAUS-NMLZ fodder give-NMLZ
 'He cared, helped to have a bath and provide the fodder.'

- (489) *wase^{heŋ} te ke^{hi} matrata ela maja lagik^he ni*
 wa-se^{heŋ} te ke^{hi} matra-ta ela maja lagi-k^he ni
 3SG-DAT TOP a.little amount-LOC now affection feel-PRS PART
 'It is natural that he feels at least a little bit of affection.'

- (490) *maja lagina b^haiso wase^{heŋ} k^hartek^harterŋ*
 maja lagi-na b^hai-so wa-se^{heŋ} k^har-te k^har-tenŋ
 affection feel-IMPL seem-ABL 3SG-DAT weep-SEQ k^har-SEQ
marp^ha tsumpu doʔk^he aŋ
 marp^ha tsuma-pu doʔ-k^he aŋ
 quickly bring-AND.IMP say-PRS REP
 'Even if he feels affection and sobs, (the prince) orders him to take away fast.'

- (491) *h^{ai} k^har^{li} goina u*
 h^{ai} k^har-li goi-na u
 what weep-INF must-2 PART
 'Why do you need to cry?'

- (492) *wako d^Λba^l tsumaŋka doʔk^he aŋ remka*
 wa-ko d^Λba^l tsuma-aŋ-ka doʔ-k^he aŋ rem-ka
 3SG-GEN two.fold bring-FUT-NMLZ say-PRS REP be.good-NMLZ
 'I will bring two times better than this.'

- (493) *t^hoŋteŋ tsumpu^{hi} doʔk^he*
 t^hoŋ-tenŋ tsuma-pu-^{hi} doʔ-k^he
 lead-SEQ bring-AND-PST say-PRS
 '(He) took away (the horse) led by a rope.'

- (494) *ela hane^{ka}taŋ hane^{ka}taŋ*
 ela hane-ka-ta-aŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 now go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH

hanekataŋ odoi dz^har ali

hane-ka-ta-ŋ odoi dz^har ali
go-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH that jungle side
t^huka?labelau do?hi aŋ
t^huka?-labelau do?-hi aŋ
reach-TEMP say-PST REP

'Now going continuously, when he reached to the side of the jungle (he) said.'

- (495) *ei manimui na tɔrbar buŋ b^hiriteŋ lon^ha*

ei manimui na tɔrbar bu-ŋ b^hiri-teŋ lo-fi-na
hey human. kind 2SG sword also-EMPH hang-SEQ come-PST-2
hai pana kaseheŋ do?k^he aŋ
hai pa-a-na ka-seheŋ do?-k^he aŋ
what do-FUT-2 1SG-DAT say-PRS REP

'Hey man, you came even with a sword swung; what are you going to do to me?'

- (496) *kaseheŋ la?pi*

ka-seheŋ la?-pi
1SG-DAT leave-BEN.IMP
'Leave me apart (please).'

- (497) *na t^hɔpɔkkɔ g^huriteŋ hane*

na t^hɔpɔkkɔ g^huri-teŋ hane
2SG instantly turn-SEQ go.IMP
'You go back right away.'

- (498) *radzaheŋ hai do?*

radza-heŋ hai do?
king-DAT what say.IMP
'Say to the king...'

- (499) *iŋko oŋjãheŋ na se?teŋ sa?teŋ t^hald^hena*

iŋko oŋjã-heŋ na se?-teŋ sa?teŋ t^hal-d^he-na
that horse-DAT 2SG kill-SEQ redup throw-REL-2
pateŋ do?lau ei do?
pa-teŋ do?-lau ei do?
do-SEQ say-TEMP yes say.IMP

'When he asks you whether you killed and left the (horse), you say, yes'.

- (500) *na kosom tsa*

na kosom tsa
2SG oath eat.IMP
'You take an oath.'

- (501) *naseheŋ kosom tsapa wa*

na-seheŋ kosom tsa-pa wa
2SG-DAT oath eat-do DED
'(He) might ask you to swear.'

- (502) *naŋko kosom malagja wa*
 naŋ-ko kosom ma-lagi-aŋ wa
 2SG.OBL-GEN oath NEG-feel-FUT DED
 'Your oath will not harm you.'
- (503) *na pap mamalagja wa*
 na pap ma-ma-lagi-aŋ wa
 2SG sin NEG-NEG-feel-FUT DED
 'You will not be a sinner at all.'
- (504) *kaseŋeŋ se?nu maŋiapap lagjana na*
 ka-seŋeŋ se?-nu maŋia pap lagi-aŋ-na na
 1SG-DAT kill-COND big sin feel-FUT-2 PART
 'If you killed me you'll be a great sinner.'
- (505) *ka eklaŋ k^hiniŋ mako mant^huka ka*
 ka ekla-ŋ k^hiniŋ ma-ko mant^hu-ka ka
 1SG alone-EMPH only NEG-be NEG.be -NMLZ 1SG
 'I am not all alone, not at all.'
- (506) *kaŋta n^henoŋ dzjan fi do?k^he aŋ*
 kaŋ-ta n^he-loŋ dzjan fi do?-k^he aŋ
 1SG.OBL-LOC two-CLF body be say-PRS REP
 'I have two bodies within me (he says).'
- (507) *ka sudaŋ n^henoŋ dzjan*
 ka sudaŋ n^he-loŋ dzjan
 1SG including two-CLF body
 'Two bodies including me...'
- (508) *maŋia pap lagjana na n^henoŋ dzjanko do?fi aŋ*
 maŋia pap lagi-aŋ-na na n^he-loŋ dzjan-ko do?-fi aŋ
 big sin feel-FUT-2 PART two-CLF body-GEN say-PST REP
 'You will have a great sin of killing two bodies.'
- (509) *pakka kunu do?k^he aŋ pakka*
 pakka kunu do?-k^he aŋ pakka
 sure then say-PRS REP sure
 'Is it sure?' he says, sure?'
- (510) *te kunu ŋanetsa do?fi do?k^he*
 te kunu ŋane-tsa do?-fi do?-k^he
 okay then go-IMP.NH say-PST say-PRS
 'Okay, you go now (he says).'
- (511) *lagam k^haiŋi k^huiŋi do?k^he inta t^halpid^hi-fi*
 lagam k^hai-fi k^huiŋi do?-k^he inta t^hal-pi-d^hi-fi
 bridle untie-PST redup say-PRS there throw-BEN-REL-PST
 'He untied the bridle (and) threw away there.'

- (512) *te h̄anetsana doʔk^he aŋ*
 te h̄ane-tsa-na doʔ-k^he aŋ
 okay go-IMP-AFF-2 say-PRS REP
 'Okay dear, you go (he says).'
- (513) *kalau radzkumarh̄eŋ doʔh̄i doʔk^he*
 kalau radzkumar-h̄eŋ doʔ-h̄i doʔ-k^he
 then prince-DAT say-PST say-PRS
 'And (he) said to the prince.'
- (514) *odoi dz^har ali t̄hukaʔteŋ*
 odoi dz^har ali t̄hukaʔ-teŋ te
 that jungle side t̄hukaʔ-SEQ TOP
te ela na te ter^Λ ts^Λud^h^Λ basarko
 ela na te ter^Λ ts^Λud^h^Λ basar-ko
 now 2SG TOP thirteen fourteen year-GEN
umer dzeŋh̄oina babu
 umer dzeŋ-h̄oi-na babu
 age be-PFV-2 son
 'Having reached to the side of the forest (the horse says), my dear,
 now you have been of thirteen or fourteen years old.'
- (515) *ela te naŋ kaŋko malik*
 ela te naŋ kaŋ-ko malik
 now TOP 2SG.OBL 1SG.OBL-GEN master
 'As for now, you are my only master.'
- (516) *ela h̄ai pa-aŋ kaŋko aba ama*
 ela h̄ai pa-aŋ kaŋ-ko aba ama
 now what do-FUT 1SG.OBL-GEN father mother
kunu h̄ita h̄i
 kunu h̄ita h̄i
 then where be
 'What shall I do now? Where are my parents then?.'
- (517) *naŋko aba ma^hako h̄unu te*
 naŋ-ko aba ma^ha-ko h̄unu te
 2SG.OBL-GEN father big-GEN though TOP
naŋko aba remkaŋ
 naŋ-ko aba rem-ka-ŋ
 2SG.OBL-GEN father be.good-NMLZ-EMPH
 'Your father is of different sort, (nevertheless) your father is rather good.'
- (518) *naŋko sa^Λuteni ama tsafĩ n^hemi ma^hĩko d̄aŋkini*
 naŋ-ko sa^Λuteni ama tsafĩ n^he-mi ma^ha-ko d̄aŋkini
 2SG.OBL-GEN step mother IND two-HCLF big-GEN witch
 'As for your two step mothers, they are entirely ill-mannered.'

- (519) *naseheŋ seʔli heʔe kosis paʔi*
 na-seheŋ seʔ-li heʔe kosis pa-fi
 2SG-DAT kill-INF how.much effort do-PST
 'They tried their best to kill you.'
- (520) *na ama delibʰari ʔilau doŋ iŋko delibʰariko*
 na ama delibʰari ʔi-lau doŋ iŋko delibʰari-ko
 2SG mother delivery be-TEMP FOC that delivery-GEN
bimar lagilabelau ʔai doʔʔi
 bimar lagi-labelau ʔai doʔʔi
 illness feel-TEMP what say-PST
 'When your mother was in a labour pain, what to say of (their ill-treatment). '
- (521) *ʔ hãʔi liʔta puriŋ gʰuser-teŋ paida*
 ʔ hãʔi liʔta puriŋ gʰuser-teŋ paida
 ʔ earthern.pot inside head thrust-SEQ delivery
dzeŋli goikʰe pa-teŋ doʔ-teŋ
 dzeŋ-li goi-kʰe pa-teŋ doʔ-teŋ
 bear-INF must-PRS do-SEQ say-SEQ
 'What they said is that her head should be thrust into the big earthern pot.'
- (522) *na ama insaŋ lagai-teŋ hãʔi*
 na ama insa-ŋ lagai-teŋ hãʔi
 2SG mother like.that-EMPH employ-SEQ earthern.pot
liʔta puriŋ sulai-li lagai-fi
 liʔta puriŋ sulai-li lagai-fi
 inside head thrust-INF employ-PST
 'They compelled your mother to thrust her head into a big earthern pot.'
- (523) *ʔntimta naseheŋ paida dzeŋlabelau*
 ʔntim-ta na-seheŋ paida dzeŋ-TEMP
 last-LOC 2SG-DAT delivery bear-PST
enoŋ kaʔʰko ʔukra lagai-teŋ iŋko
 elong kaʔʰ-ko ʔukra lagai-teŋ iŋko
 one-CLF wood-GEN piece employ-SEQ that
ʔiti lagai-teŋ lugai-teŋ taʔpi-fi
 ʔiti lagai-teŋ lugai-teŋ taʔpi-fi
 blood employ-SEQ REDUP keep-BEN-PST
 'At last when she gave birth to you (they) put the blood to a piece of wood and kept it.'
- (524) *puriŋ olʰepaʔi*
 puriŋ olʰe-pa-fi
 head come.out-CAUS-PST
 'They took out (your mother's) head.'
- (525) *djaŋ dzamal dzʔnmeke na te kaʔʰko*
 djaŋ dzamal dzʔnmi-ka na te kaʔʰ-ko
 person child born-NMLZ 2SG TOP wood-GEN

tukra dzanmaiɦina

tukra dzanmai-ɦi-na

piece janmai-PST-2

'(You) should have given birth to a human child but gave birth to a piece of wood instead.'

- (526) *na te maɦako ɖaŋkɪni doʔka na amaɦeŋ*
 na te maɦa-ko ɖaŋkɪni doʔ-ka na ama-ɦeŋ
 2SG TOP big-GEN witch say-NMLZ 2SG mother-DAT
 '(They said) to your mother, you are a great witch.'

- (527) *iŋko naŋko sauteni ama n^heŋoŋ*
 iŋko naŋ-ko sauteni ama n^he-loŋ
 that 2SG.OBL-GEN step mother two-CLF
doʔteŋ doʔɦi doʔk^he aŋ
 doʔ-teŋ doʔ-ɦi doʔ-k^he aŋ
 say-SEQ say-PST say-PRS REP
 'Both of your step mothers said (to your mother), it is said.'

- (528) *ɦĩ kunu kã ama ɦai paɦi*
 ɦĩ kunu kaŋ ama ɦai pa-ɦi
 yes then 1SG.OBL mother what do-PST
 'Oh my god, what did my mother do then?'

- (529) *na amaɦeŋ ta: tsarbaʔota enoŋ*
 na ama-ɦeŋ ta: tsarbaʔo-ta elong
 2SG mother-DAT far.away crossroads-LOC one-CLF
dz^hupro banaiteŋ taʔteŋ taʔɦi
 dz^hupro banai-teŋ taʔ-teŋ taʔ-ɦi
 hut make-SEQ keep-SEQ keep-PST
 '(They) made a hut at crossroads far away and kept your mother.'

- (530) *na amako mi p^huʔili toɦoi*
 na ama-ko mi p^huʔi-li tom-ɦoi
 2SG mother-GEN eye break-INF be.about.to-PFV
 'Your mother's eyes were about to burst'

- (531) *et^he et^he na ama ekdam*
 et^he et^he na ama ekdam
 this.much.big this.much.big 2SG mother complete
k^harteŋ k^harteŋ mi p^huʔili tomɦoi
 k^har-teŋ k^har-teŋ mi p^huʔi-li tom-ɦoi
 weep-SEQ weep-SEQ eye break-INF be.about.to-PFV
na naseɦeŋ samdz^hiteŋsaŋ
 na na-seɦeŋ samdz^hi-teŋ-sa-ŋ
 2SG 2SG-DAT remember-SEQ- after-EMPH
 'Your mother would cry while she remembered you, so her eyes were swollen.'

- (532) *hã insa panu ti*
 hã insa pa-nu ti
 yes! like.that do-COND let's go
 'Oh, if it's so, let's go.'
- (533) *kaŋko aba na*
 kaŋ-ko aba na
 1SG.OBL-GEN father 2SG
 'You're my father.'
- (534) *na bantsepan^ha kaseŋeŋ*
 na bantse-pa-fi-na ka-seŋeŋ
 2SG survive-CAUS-PST-2 1SG-DAT
 'You saved me.'
- (535) *hiska hiska saŋkaɬ kalso*
 hiska hiska saŋkaɬ kal-so
 of.what.sort of.what.sort saŋkaɬ death-ABL
doʔteŋ iŋko tsandrʌ surdze doʔka
 doʔ-teŋ iŋko tsandrʌ surdze doʔ-ka
 say-SEQ that moon sun say-NMLZ
wadzan doʔhi aŋ iŋko oŋjãŋeŋ
 wadzan doʔ-fi aŋ iŋko oŋjã-ŋeŋ
 boy say-PST REP that horse-DAT
 'The boy, known as Chandra-Surya said to the horse that you saved me even in such a difficult situation.'
- (536) *oŋjã te dzjamaɬradz ru*
 oŋjã te dzjamaɬradz ro
 horse TOP god.of.death CONR
kalau tsumteŋ lohi doʔk^{he}
 kalau tsuma-teŋ lo-fi doʔ-k^{he}
 then bring-SEQ come-PST say-PRS
 'The horse is the god of death, in fact.' Then (it) came carrying (the child).'
- (537) *ti kunu doʔk^{he} aŋ*
 ti kunu doʔ-k^{he} aŋ
 let's go then say-PRS REP
 'Let's go then (he says).'
- (538) *naseŋeŋ intaŋ t^hukapapwã*
 na-seŋeŋ inta-ŋ t^huka-pa-pu-ã
 2SG-DAT there-EMPH reach-CAUS-AND-FUT.1SG
 'I will help you get that very place.'
- (539) *na ama sitaŋ doʔk^{he} aŋ*
 na ama si-ta-ŋ doʔ-k^{he} aŋ
 2SG mother house-LOC-EMPH say-PRS REP

na ama hīkatan
 na ama hī-ka-ta-ŋ
 2SG mother be-NMLZ-LOC-EMPH
 'Exactly to your mother's house, where she stays.'

- (540) *kalau swaijja te dʰol doʔkʰe aŋ*
 kalau swaijja te dʰol doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 then ONOM okay climb.IMP say-PRS REP
 'Then (the horse) says, 'okay, ride on (me).'
- (541) *swaijja udaiten lohi doʔkʰe iŋko baipʌŋkʰi ofjã*
 swaijja udai-ten lo-hi doʔ-kʰe iŋko baipʌŋkʰi ofjã
 ONOM fly-SEQ come-PST say-PRS that flying horse
 'The flying horse came back flying.'
- (542) *tʰʌpʌkkʌi iŋko tsarbaʔo bʰerpaŋ dzaʔpaʰi aŋ*
 tʰʌpʌkkʌi iŋko tsarbaʔo bʰerpa-ŋ dzaʔ-pa-ʰi aŋ
 instantly that crossroads near-EMPH stand-CAUS-PST REP
 '(They) landed instantly nearby the crossroads.'
- (543) *ei radzkumar doʔkʰe aŋ*
 ei radzkumar doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 hey prince say-PRS REP
 'Hey, prince (the horse) says.'
- (544) *kʰaŋ na ama kʰardonʔkʰe doʔkʰe aŋ*
 kʰaŋ na ama kʰar-donʔ-kʰe doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 look.IMP 2SG mother weep-DUR-PRS say-PRS REP
 'Look, your mother is crying (the horse says).'
- (545) *iŋko tsarbaʔota na ama kʰardonʔkʰe*
 iŋko tsarbaʔo-ta na ama kʰar-donʔ-kʰe
 that crossroads-LOC 2SG mother weep-DUR-PRS
 'Your mother is crying at the crossroads.'
- (546) *kalau tʰʌpʌkkʌi ʰaniʰi doʔkʰe*
 kalau tʰʌpʌkkʌi ʰane-ʰi doʔ-kʰe
 then instantly go-PST say-PRS
amai amai doʔkʰe aŋ
 amai amai doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 mother mother say-PRS REP
 'Then (the boy) instantly went calling her mother.'
- (547) *amai amai doʔnasantan*
 amai amai doʔ-na-sa-aŋ-ta-ŋ
 mother.VOC mother.VOC say-IMPL-after-EMPH-LOC-EMPH
mi ʰe:ten kʰaŋ tʌ
 mi ʰe:-ten kʰaŋ tʌ
 eye open-SEQ look.IMP PART

naŋko tsan kaŋ doʔkʰe aŋ
 naŋ-ko tsan ka aŋ doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 2SG.OBL-GEN son 1SG EMPH say-PRS REP
 'As soon as he calls his mother, he says 'open your eyes and look at me, It's me, your son.'

- (548) *ʌhĩ ma-ko wa la na babu*
 ʌhĩ ma-ko wa la na babu
 no NEG-be 3SG MIR 2SG son
 'No, you might not be my son, dear!'

- (549) *ka hiska sotsai fiigʰakʰe*
 ka hiska sotsai fi-gʰa-kʰa
 1SG of.what.sort thought be-IPFV-PRS.1SG
 'What in fact, had I thought.'

- (550) *kelai sumi oneta kaŋko*
 kelai su-mi one-ta kaŋ-ko
 1PL three-HCLF y.sibling-LOC 1SG.OBL-GEN
dzeʔhi bai barka dʰoni dopʰa
 dzeʔhi bai bar-ka dʰoni dopʰa
 the.eldest elder.sister be.big-NMLZ rich with
hianan̄ga doʔka fiigʰakʰe wa
 hiane-aŋ-ka doʔ-ka fi-gʰa-kʰe wa
 go-FUT-1SG say-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS DED
 'Among the three sisters our eldest sister had said that she would go to a rich person.'

- (551) *ke doŋ manifii dʰoni sita matʰukaʔlʰafi*
 ke doŋ ma-niŋ-fii dʰoni si-ta ma-tʰukaʔ-lʰa-fii
 husband FOC NEG-get-PST rich house-LOC NEG-reach-INTENT-PST
 '(She) did not even get a husband, (she) did not reach to a house of a rich.'

- (552) *kaŋko maili bai sotsika fiigʰakʰe*
 kaŋ-ko maili bai sotsi-ka fi-gʰa-kʰe
 1SG.OBL-GEN maili elder.sister think-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS
 'My second eldest sister had thought.'

- (553) *wa barka dzagir tsakata ekdam*
 wa bar-ka dzagir tsa-ka-ta ekdam
 3SG be.big-NMLZ job eat-NMLZ-LOC complete
dzagirdarko be dzenan̄ka doʔka
 dzagirdar-ko be dzeŋ-aŋ-ka doʔ-ka
 job.holder-GEN wife be-FUT-NMLZ say-NMLZ
fiigʰakʰe maili bai
 fi-gʰa-kʰe maili bai
 be-IPFV-PRS maili elder.sister
 '(She) had said, I will marry a person and be a wife of a job holder.'

- (554) *kaŋko n^henoŋ bai b^huruŋ ke doŋ ma-niŋ-fi*
 kaŋ-ko n^he-loŋ bai b^huruŋ ke doŋ ma-niŋ-fi
 1SG.OBL-GEN two-CLF elder.sister instead husband FOC NEG-get-PST
 'Two of my sisters even did not get a husband.'
- (555) *ka ts_{ANDRA} surdze rodzika djaŋ ka ke niŋ^ha*
 ka ts_{ANDRA} surdze rodzi-ka djaŋ ka ke niŋ^ha
 1SG moon sun choose-NMLZ person 1SG husband get-PST.1SG
 'I was the one who chose the sun and moon and got a husband.'
- (556) *kaŋko tsanko b^habisja_{ko} lagi*
 kaŋ-ko tsan-ko b^habisja_{ko} lagi
 1SG.OBL-GEN son-GEN future-GEN for
ts_{ANDRA} surdze sotsika fiŋ^hak^ha ka
 ts_{ANDRA} surdze sotsi-ka fi^h-g^ha-k^ha ka
 moon sun think-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS.1SG 1SG
 'For the future my child, I had thought of the sun and moon.'
- (557) *ta_{RA} kaseheŋ antimta delib^hari dzeŋlabelau paida*
 ta_{RA} ka-seheŋ antim-ta delib^hari dzeŋ-labelau paida
 but 1SG-DAT last-LOC delivery be-TEMP delivery
dzeŋlabelau ka^hko tukra ta[?]pi^hi
 dzeŋ-labelau ka^h-ko tukra ta[?]-pi-fi
 be-TEMP wood-GEN piece keep-BEN-PST
 'But at last, when I was to give birth to a child (they) kept a piece of wood (in place of the child).'
- (558) *na makko wa la babu do[?]k^he*
 na ma-ko wa la babu do[?]-k^he
 2SG NEG-be DED MIR son say-PRS
 'You may not be dear! (She says).'
- (559) *k^haŋ na mai k^haŋ do[?]k^he aŋ*
 k^haŋ na mai k^haŋ do[?]-k^he aŋ
 look.IMP PART mother look.IMP say-PRS REP
 '(You) look at me my mother, look at (me).'
- (560) *t^he[?]ka lok^hon pika fiŋ^hak^he re*
 t^he[?]-ka lok^hon pi-ka fi^h-g^ha-k^he re
 tear-NMLZ clothing give-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS PART
 'They had given him torn clothings.'
- (561) *ts_{ATTA} t^he[?]teŋ fiabe l^he:pi_{labelau} fio do[?]k^he aŋ*
 ts_{ATTA} t^he[?]-teŋ fiabe l^he:-pi-labelau fio do[?]-k^he aŋ
 ONOM tear-SEQ GF pull.apart-BEN-TEMP yes say-PRS REP
 'When (she) tore apart the clothes, she says 'yes!'

- (562) *kalau tippʌpa kʰomfi doʔkʰe kalau wako ama*
 kalau tippʌpa kʰom-fi doʔ-kʰe kalau wa-ko ama
 then grasp.at.once embrace-PST say-PRS then 3SG-GEN mother
 'Then his mother grasped (him) and embraced at once.'
- (563) *kalau kʰomlabelau dudu nuita tsurpihi doʔkʰe*
 kalau kʰom-labelau dudu nui-ta tsur-pi-fi doʔ-kʰe
 then embrace-TEMP breast mouth-LOC squeeze-BEN-PST say-PRS
 'While embracing him (she) squeezed her breast to his mouth.'
- (564) *kaŋko tsan edoŋ ja tsʌndrʌ surdze doʔkʰe aŋ*
 kaŋ-ko tsan edoi-ŋ ja tsʌndrʌ surdze doʔ-kʰe aŋ
 1SG.OBL-GEN son this-EMPH this moon sun say-PRS REP
 'This certainly is my son; this is the sun and moon (she says).'
- (565) *kalau wako mi apseap taimiŋ*
 kalau wa-ko mi apseap taimi-ŋ
 then 3SG-GEN eye itself self-EMPH
sammjʌ dzeŋfi doʔkʰe kalau
 sammjʌ dzeŋ-fi doʔ-kʰe kalau
 settle be-PST say-PRS then
 'Then her eyes became normal by themselves.'
- (566) *dzʌstotʌsto dzeŋfi doʔkʰe kalau ela*
 dzʌstotʌsto dzeŋ-fi doʔ-kʰe kalau ela
 whatever be-PST say-PRS then now
wa tsʌndrʌ surjʌ te bʰʌgwan doŋ
 wa tsʌndrʌ surjʌ te bʰʌgwan doŋ
 3SG moon sun TOP god FOC
 'Whatever it happened there, now the child having the sun and moon
 is not other than the god itself.'
- (567) *wako partapo iŋkoŋ carbaʔotaŋ*
 wa-ko partapo iŋko-ŋ tsarbaʔo-ta-ŋ
 3SG-GEN place that-EMPH crossroads-LOC-EMPH
dzʰilimili dʌrbar bʌnihi aŋ
 dzʰilimili dʌrbar bʌni-fi aŋ
 brightening palace make-PST REP
 'In her place, at that very crossroads a brightening palace was erected.'
- (568) *e iŋko dzʰuprotaŋ wako*
 e iŋko dzʰupro-ta-ŋ wa-ko
 eh that hut-LOC-EMPH 3SG-GEN
 'Yes, in that very place of her hut.'
- (569) *rʰima te kʰaŋkʰe doʔkʰe wa*
 rʰima te kʰaŋ-kʰe doʔ-kʰe wa
 morning TOP look-PRS say-PRS 3SG
 'He looks at it in the morning.'

- (570) *iŋko tsarbaʔota te enoŋ maʔiãko dukʰjani*
iŋko tsarbaʔo-ta te elong maʔiã-ko dukʰjani
that crossroads-LOC TOP one-CLF big-GEN poor.woman
fiɡʰakʰe ru inta
fi-gʰa-kʰe ro inta
be-IPFV-PRS CONR there
'There lived one of the poorest women at the crossroads.'
- (571) *iŋko fiika tʰameta te iŋko dzʰupɔdi*
iŋko fi-ka tʰame-ta te iŋko dzʰupɔdi
that be-NMLZ place-LOC TOP that hut
te mantʰu ro
te mantʰu ro
TOP NEG.be CONR
'To an utter surprise, there is not the hut where (the poor woman) used to live before.'
- (572) *daɽbar ki baɽnihi ro doʔkʰe aŋ*
daɽbar ki baɽni-fi ro doʔ-kʰe aŋ
palace PART make-PST CONR say-PRS REP
'A palace is made there, instead (it is said).'
- (573) *dzʰeŋ madzʰeŋ doŋ fiisika musapʰir*
dzʰeŋ ma-dzʰeŋ doŋ fiisika musapʰir
light NEG-light FOC what.kind trespasser
lofi doʔkʰe aŋ
lo-fi doʔ-kʰe aŋ
come-PST say-PRS REP
'What sort of a trespasser happened to come even before the dawn?'
- (574) *fiã doʔkʰe aŋ*
fiã doʔ-kʰe aŋ
yes say-PRS REP
'(He) said, yes.'
- (575) *loteŋ kʰaŋkʰe doʔkʰe te bʰare te iŋkoŋ*
lo-teŋ kʰaŋ-kʰe doʔ-kʰe te bʰare te iŋko-ŋ
come-SEQ look-PRS say-PRS TOP bʰare TOP that-EMPH
radzkumariŋ fi jomteŋ dʰokata
radzkumari-ŋ fi jom-teŋ dʰoka-ta
princess-EMPH be sit-SEQ door-LOC
'When he comes and looks at (the place) that very princess is sitting there.'
- (576) *wako tsan tsafiĩ esa osa pagilkʰe doʔkʰe*
wa-ko tsan tsafiĩ esa osa pa-AMB-kʰe
3SG-GEN son ind this.side that.side do-AMB-PRS

iŋko wadzan tsʌndrʌ surdze tsafiĩ
doʔ-kʰe iŋko wadzan tsʌndrʌ surdze tsafiĩ
say-PRS that boy moon sun IND
'As for his son, the sun and moon boy, was moves hither and thither.'

- (577) *kalau iŋkoŋ ekanidokani rʰima nʌu dʌs*
kalau iŋko-ŋ ekanidokani rʰima nʌu
then that-EMPH one.after.another morning nine
bʌdzegelai tsafiĩ wako nokʌrgelaiɦeŋ
dʌs bʌdze-gelai tsafiĩ wa-ko
dʌs hour-PL ind 3SG-GEN
dingilɦi doʔkʰe
nokʌr-gelai-ɦeŋ dingil-ɦi doʔ-kʰe
servant-PL-DAT send-PST say-PRS
'Then in this very situation he (the prince) sent his servants at around nine or ten o'clock in the morning.'

- (578) *kalau kʰaŋ to inta ɦasu ɦi*
kalau kʰaŋ to inta ɦasu ɦi
then look.IMP PART there who be
'See, who is there?'

- (579) *iŋkoŋ dʌŋkiniɦeŋ taʔka tʰame ro*
iŋko-ŋ dʌŋkini-ɦeŋ taʔ-ka tʰame ro
that-EMPH witch-DAT keep-NMLZ place CONR
iŋko te iŋko doʔkʰe aŋ
iŋko te iŋko doʔ-kʰe aŋ
that TOP that say-PRS REP
'Is that the place where the witch was kept?'

- (580) *dʌŋkini te ɦai dzenawa radzkumari*
dʌŋkini te ɦai dzeŋ-aŋ wa radzkumari
witch TOP what be-FUT 3SG princess
'How could that prince be a witch (in reality)?'

- (581) *kalau kʰaŋlau te wa aŋ ɦi la*
kalau kʰaŋ-lau te wa aŋ ɦi la
then look-TEMP TOP 3SG REP be MIR
qʰokata jomteŋ dwarta
qʰoka-ta jom-teŋ dwar-ta
door-LOC sit-SEQ door-LOC
'When (he) sees, it's she (no one else at all) sitting there in the door.'

- (582) *jomteŋ kʰaŋlau te kalau sʌrkʰarta*
jom-teŋ kʰaŋ-lau te kalau sʌrkʰar-ta
sit-SEQ look-TEMP TOP then government-LOC

t^hukaʔl^haʔi doʔk^he iŋko
 t^hukaʔ-l^ha-fi doʔ-k^he iŋko
 reach-INTENT-PST say-PRS that
 '(They) looked at (the palace) and reported to the
 government.'

- (583) *ʔasu la doʔk^he aŋ*
 ʔasu la doʔ-k^he aŋ
 who MIR say-PRS REP
 'Who might be (that)? (He says).'
- (584) *naŋkoŋ kants^hi be iŋko*
 naŋ-ko-ŋ kants^hi be iŋko
 2SG.OBL-GEN-EMPH Kanchhi wife that
 'She is not other than your youngest wife.'
- (585) *ʔiska moʔiol banaiteŋ taʔʔi la wa*
 ʔiska moʔiol banai-teŋ taʔ-fi la wa
 of.what.sort mansion make-SEQ keep-PST MIR DED
 'What a mansion has she built?'
- (586) *ʔā doʔk^he aŋ*
 ʔā doʔ-k^he aŋ
 yes! say-PRS REP
 'Yes!' he says.'
- (587) *kalau ap^hāi loʔi doʔk^he kalau radzkumar*
 kalau ap^hāi lo-fi doʔ-k^he kalau radzkumar
 then self come-PST say-PRS then prince
 'Then the prince came himself.'
- (588) *madzjaŋ doʔk^he aŋ*
 ma-dzeŋ-aŋ doʔ-k^he aŋ
 NEG-be-FUT say-PRS REP
 'It may not be so (he says).'
- (589) *ka aŋ b^heʔ pal^haŋka doʔk^he aŋ*
 ka aŋ b^heʔ pa-l^ha-aŋ-ka doʔ-k^he aŋ
 1SG EMPH visit do-INTENT-FUT-1SG say-PRS REP
 'I will go to visit her myself (he said).'
- (590) *kalau wa lolabelau k^haŋk^he te*
 kalau wa lo-labelau k^haŋ-k^he te
 then 3SG come-TEMP look-PRS TOP
oʔo mako ja doʔk^he aŋ
 oʔo ma-ko ja doʔ-k^he aŋ
 oh! NEG-be this say-PRS REP
 'While he comes and looks, he says 'no, this is not.'

- (591) *kants^{hi} na fiasuko sata jomteŋ fiina*
 kants^{hi} na fiasuko si-ta jom-teŋ fi-na
 Kanchhi 2SG whose house-LOC sit-SEQ sit-2
 'Whose house you're staying in Kanchhi?'
- (592) *kaŋko sa edɿi doʔk^{he} aŋ*
 kaŋ-ko sa edɿi doʔ-k^{he} aŋ
 1SG.OBL-GEN house this say-PRS REP
 'This is my own house (she says).'
- (593) *fiesa pateŋ baŋiŋi naŋko sa*
 fiesa pa-teŋ baŋi-fi naŋ-ko sa
 how do-SEQ make-PST 2SG.OBL-GEN house
 'How was your house made?'
- (594) *ka dzedoŋ sotsig^{ha}ak^{ha} iŋkoŋ niŋfoika ela*
 ka dzedoŋ sotsi-g^{ha}-k^{ha} iŋko-ŋ niŋ-fioi-ka ela
 1SG whatever think-IPFV-PRS.1SG that-EMPH get-PFV-1SG now
 'Whatever had I thought I have received exactly the same.'
- (595) *kaŋko lagi mako ka b^habisja^{ko}*
 kaŋ-ko lagi ma-ko ka b^habisja-ko
 1SG.OBL-GEN for NEG-be 1SG future-GEN
lagi sotsika hig^{ha}ak^{ha}
 lagi sotsi-ka fi-g^{ha}-k^{ha}
 for think-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS.1SG
 'I had not thought of me but for the future (of my son).'
- (596) *kaŋ bai n^{he}enoŋ fiʔlabelau*
 kaŋ bai n^{he}-loŋ fiʔ-labelau
 1SG.OBL elder.sister two-CLF ask-TEMP
na fiai dzenana doʔlau tsandra surdze
 na fiai dzeŋ-aŋ-na doʔ-lau tsandra surdze
 2SG what be-FUT-2 say-TEMP moon sun
dzeŋli ninako
 dzeŋ-li niŋ-ako
 be-INF get-OPT
 'While I was asked by my two sisters, while they asked me 'what you want to be?' I said 'may I get to give birth to the sun and moon.'
- (597) *ka b^habisja^{ko} lagi doʔteŋ sotsig^{ha}ak^{ha}*
 ka b^habisja-ko lagi doʔ-teŋ sotsi-g^{ha}-k^{ha}
 1SG future-GEN for say-SEQ think-IPFV-PRS.1SG
 'I had thought only for the future.'
- (598) *ka kaŋko balbatstsako lagi iŋko*
 ka kaŋ-ko balbattsa-ko lagi iŋko
 1SG 1SG.OBL-GEN children-GEN for that
 'I (had thought) for the future (of my children).'

- (599) *ka dziskanʔ sotsig^ha iŋkoŋ pugifi*
 ka dziskanʔ sotsi-g^ha iŋko-ŋ pugi-fii
 1SG as.like think-PST.1SG that-EMPH come.true-PST
 'Whatever I had wished it turned into reality.'
- (600) *kaŋko tsan t^hikk^Λ daina kumta k^haŋ*
 kaŋ-ko tsan t^hikk^Λ daina kum-ta k^haŋ
 1SG.OBL-GEN son exact right shoulder-LOC look.IMP
 'Look exactly at the right shoulder of my son.'
- (601) *surdze dz^Λnmi-ka fi surj^Λ-ko tap*
 surdze dz^Λnmi-ka fi surj^Λ-ko tap
 sun born-1SG be sun-GEN heat
 'The sun is borne, the heat of the sun.'
baj^ǎ kere fiabeta k^haŋ kumta ts^Λndr^Λma fi
 baj^ǎ kere fiabe-ta k^haŋ kum-ta ts^Λndr^Λma fi
 left GF GF-LOC look shoulder-LOC moon be
 '(You) look at the left shoulder, there is the moon.'
- (602) *masaʔnu kaipj^ǎ ka*
 ma-saʔ-nu kai-pi-aŋ ka
 NEG-believe-COND call-BEN-FUT 1SG
 'If you do not believe, I will call (him).'
- (603) *oe radzkumar doʔk^he aŋ lo*
 oe radzkumar doʔ-k^he aŋ lo
 hey prince say-PRS REP come.IMP
 'Hey prince, she says, do come here.'
- (604) *edoi na aba*
 edoi na aba
 this 2SG father
 'This is your father.'
- (605) *papi ja na aba*
 papi ja na aba
 sinner this 2SG father
 'Sinner he is, your father.'
- (606) *naŋko k^hori amako lagi papi dzeŋfi*
 naŋ-ko k^hori ama-ko lagi papi dzeŋ-fi
 2SG.OBL-GEN step mother-GEN for sinner be-PST
 '(He) became sinner only for your step-mothers.'
- (607) *fiunu te wa kasefiŋ sotsiteŋsaŋ*
 fiunu te wa ka-sefiŋ sotsi-teŋ-sa-aŋ
 though TOP 3SG 1SG-DAT think-SEQ-APPR-EMPH
maŋta taʔteŋsaŋ tsumaka narjata
 maŋ-ta taʔ-teŋ-sa-aŋ tsuma-ka narja-ta
 mind-LOC keep-SEQ-APPR-EMPH bring-NMLZ elephant-LOC

ladaiteŋ bits dz^harso bindraban^hko dz^harso

ladai-teŋ bits dz^har-so bindraban-ko dz^har-so
load-SEQ mid jungle-ABL brindawan-GEN jungle-ABL

'Even if he thought of me and brought from the mid of the big forest carrying on an elephant.'

- (608) *k^haŋlabelau ŋo edoŋ kaŋko tsan*

k^haŋ-labelau ŋo edoi-ŋ kaŋ-ko tsan
look-TEMP yes this-EMPH 1SG.OBL-GEN son

tsandr^h surdze doʔka edoŋ

tsandr^h surdze doʔ-ka edoi-ŋ
moon sun say-NMLZ this-EMPH

'While looking at (he said) 'yes' this is my son called the sun and moon.'

- (609) *ŋã bataipihi doʔk^he ela iŋko kants^hiŋeŋ*

ŋã batai-pi-hi doʔ-k^he ela iŋko kants^hi-ŋeŋ
yes say-BEN-PST say-PRS now that Kanchhi-DAT

'Yes, he said to Kanchhi now.'

- (610) *naŋko be iŋko dzeʔ^hi r^h maili*

naŋ-ko be iŋko dzeʔ^hi r^h maili
2SG.OBL-GEN wife that the.eldest and maili

ma^hako d^haŋk^hini iŋko

ma^hko d^haŋk^hini iŋko
big-GEN witch that

'Your wives the eldest and the second are great witches.'

- (611) *kaŋko tsanŋeŋ seʔli b^hasi hai mapahi*

kaŋ-ko tsan-ŋeŋ seʔ-li b^hasi hai ma-pa-hi
1SG.OBL-GEN son-DAT kill-INF for what NEG-CAUS-PST

'What did they not do to kill my son?'

- (612) *de^hlib^hari dzeŋlabelau sutkeri dzeŋli*

de^hlib^hari dzeŋ-labelau sutkeri dzeŋ-li
delivery be-TEMP delivery be-INF

tomlabelau ŋãḍita puruŋ

tom-labelau ŋãḍi-ta puriŋ
be.ready.to-TEMP earthen.pot-LOC head

g^huser^hteŋ dzeŋli goika doʔka

g^huser-teŋ dzeŋ-li goi-ka doʔ-ka
thrust-SEQ be-INF must-NMLZ say-NMLZ

sist^ham hi doʔhi naŋko desta

sist^ham hi doʔ-hi naŋ-ko des-ta
system be say-PST 2SG.OBL-GEN country-LOC

'(They) said that there is a system of thrusting the head of the woman when she is about to give birth to a child.'

- (613) *antimta kaʔ^hko ʔukra taʔpihi*
 antim-ta kaʔ^h-ko ʔukra taʔ-pi-hi
 last-LOC wood-GEN piece keep-BEN-PST
iŋko hiti doŋ hiti lagaiteŋ
 iŋko hiti doŋ hiti lagai-teŋ
 that blood FOC blood employ-SEQ
 'At last (they) smeared the blood all over the piece of wood and kept.'
- (614) *odai ma dzeŋhi*
 odoi ma-dzeŋ-hi
 that NEG-be-PST
 'It did not work.'
- (615) *kaŋ tsanheŋ tsahiŋ gund^hako d^herita sulaipufi*
 kaŋ tsan-heŋ tsahiŋ gund^ha-ko d^heri-ta sulai-pu-hi
 1SG.OBL son-DAT ind rice.chaff-GEN stock-LOC thrust-AND-PST
 '(They) thrust my son into the stock of the rice chaff.'
- (616) *iŋko gund^hako d^heriso buŋ madzeŋhi*
 iŋko gund^ha-ko d^heri-so bu-ŋ ma-dzeŋ-hi
 that rice.chaff-GEN stock-ABL also-EMPH NEG-be-PST
pok^hariko tsita t^halpuhi
 pok^hari-ko tsi-ta t^hal-pu-hi
 pond-GEN water-LOC throw-AND-PST
 'That heap of rice chaff also did not work, (They) threw away into the pond.'
- (617) *pok^hariko tsita heʔ basar hi wa la*
 pok^hari-ko tsi-ta heʔ basar hi wa la
 pond-GEN water-LOC how.much year stay DED MIR
 'How many years (he) might have stayed there?'
- (618) *iŋko hajak^o hamuŋta kaŋko tsan madzeŋhi*
 iŋko haja-ko hamuŋ-ta kaŋ-ko tsan ma-dzeŋ-hi
 that fish-GEN stomach-LOC 1SG.OBL-GEN son NEG-be-PST
 'My son could not adjust in the stomach of the fish (for long).'
- (619) *ohjã k^haʔteŋ tsi amlabelau ohjãta sorehi*
 ohjã k^haʔ-teŋ tsi am-labelau ohjã-ta sore-hi
 horse escape-SEQ water drink-TEMP horse-LOC shift-PST
 'When the horse escaped and drank water (it) shifted to the horse.'
- (620) *ohjã buŋ ap^harad^hi ja ma^hia^oko ma dzeŋka*
 ohjã bu-ŋ ap^harad^hi ja ma^hia-ko ma-dzeŋ-ka
 horse also-EMPH criminal this big-GEN NEG-be-NMLZ
rog jaseheŋ bimar d^horihi doʔteŋ
 rog ja-seheŋ bimar d^hori-hi doʔ-teŋ
 disease this-DAT illness catch-PST say-SEQ

ohjã buŋ seʔli lagain^ha
 ohjã bu-ŋ seʔ-li lagai-fi-na
 horse also-EMPH kill-INF employ-PST-2
 'They said that the horse is a criminal and it caused to catch the illness,
 they ordered to kill the horse.'

- (621) *edon ohjã bantsipahi*
 edoi-ŋ ohjã bantsi-pa-fi
 this-EMPH horse live-CAUS-PST
 'This very horse saved (the boy).'
- (622) *k^haŋ naŋko ohjã edoi dzjaŋ na madzjaŋ*
 k^haŋ naŋ-ko ohjã edoi dzeŋ-aŋ na ma-dzeŋ-aŋ
 look.IMP 2SG.OBL-GEN horse this be-FUT PART NEG-be-FUT
 'Look, that is your own horse, is not that?'
- (623) *k^haŋ odoŋ ohjã fi la*
 k^haŋ odoŋ ohjã fi la
 look.IMP that.emph horse be MIR
 'See, the same horse is (there).'
- (624) *radzkumarheŋ tiŋteŋsaŋ ohjã r^hikaŋi doʔk^he*
 radzkumar-heŋ tiŋ-teŋ-sa-aŋ ohjã r^hikai-fi doʔ-k^he
 prince-DAT see-SEQ-APPR-FUT horse neigh-PST say-PRS
 'Having looked at the prince the horse neighed out at once.'
- (625) *iŋkoŋ be iŋkoŋ tsan iŋ n^hemiheŋ*
 iŋko-ŋ be iŋko-ŋ tsan iŋ n^he-mi-heŋ
 that-EMPH wife that-EMPH son that two-HCLF-DAT
kalau maja mariŋi la
 kalau maja mari-fi la
 then affection kill-PST MIR
 'The same wife and the same son, (he) forgot the two (his first and second wife).'
- (626) *inta iŋko wako desso bu aut*
 inta iŋko wa-ko des-so bu aut
 there that 3SG-GEN country-ABL also out
papigilfi la waseheŋ ud^hin^hemiheŋ doŋ
 papi-gil-fi la wa-seheŋ ud^hin^hemi-heŋ doŋ
 sinner-AMB-PST MIR 3SG-DAT 3DU-DAT FOC
 'The (prince) exiled them (his two wives) from the country itself.'
- (627) *itaso kalau tsan ama dzeŋfoi b^hetg^haŋ*
 ita-so kalau tsan ama dzeŋfoi b^hetg^haŋ
 here-ABL then son mother be-PFV meeting
 'Hereafter the son and mother get united.'

- (628) *iŋkoŋ ke iŋkoŋ be odoŋ doʔkʰe ru*
 iŋko-ŋ ke iŋko-ŋ be odoŋ doʔ-kʰe ro
 that-EMPH husband that-EMPH wife that.EMPH say-PRS CONR
 'The same husband and the same wife, it is said.'
- (629) *fiŋkaŋeŋ sunko mala doʔka*
 fiŋ-ka-fiŋ sun-ko mala doʔ-ka
 hear-NMLZ-DAT gold-GEN garland say-NMLZ
djaŋfiŋeŋ pʰulko mala
 djaŋ-fiŋ pʰul-ko mala
 person-DAT flower-GEN garland
 'Garlands of gold for the listener and a garland of flower to the narrator.'
- (630) *edʌi katʰa baikunʰʌ fiŋako*
 edʌi katʰa baikunʰʌ fiŋe-ako
 this story heaven go-OPT
doʔlabelau insalau doŋ lwako
 doʔ-labelau insika-ŋ doŋ lo-ako
 say-TEMP like.this-EMPH FOC come-OPT
 'May this story go to the heaven; may it come like this when needed narrating.'
- (631) *itaso doʰoi edoi*
 ita-so do-fiŋ edoi
 here-ABL be.able-PFV this
 'This is over now.'

Annex B: 210 wordlist¹

	English	Nepali	Dhimai	
			Western	Eastern
1.	body	शरीर	<i>dziu</i>	<i>dziu</i>
2.	head	टाउको	<i>purin</i>	<i>purin</i>
3.	hair	कपाल	<i>pusun</i>	<i>pusun</i>
4.	face	अनुहार	<i>r^hai</i>	<i>r^hai</i>
5.	eye	आँखा	<i>misjā</i>	<i>mi</i>
6.	ear	कान	<i>n^hatoŋ</i>	<i>natuŋ</i>
7.	nose	नाक	<i>n^hapu</i>	<i>n^hapu</i>
8.	mouth	मुख	<i>nui</i>	<i>nui</i>
9.	teeth	दाँत	<i>tasiŋ</i>	<i>setoŋ</i>
10.	tongue	जिब्रो	<i>detoŋ</i>	<i>detoŋ</i>
11.	breast	स्तन	<i>dudu</i>	<i>dudu</i>
12.	belly	पेट	<i>hamu</i>	<i>nemeŋ</i>
13.	arm/ hand	हात	<i>k^hur</i>	<i>k^hui</i>
14.	elbow	कुइनो	<i>giru</i>	<i>hiatu</i>
15.	palm	हत्केला	<i>k^hur</i>	<i>k^huitəla</i>
16.	finger	औंला	<i>aŋguli</i>	<i>aŋguli</i>
17.	finger nail	नङ	<i>k^hursiŋ</i>	<i>k^hursiŋ</i>
18.	leg	खुट्टा	<i>k^hokoi</i>	<i>k^hokoi</i>
19.	skin	छाला	<i>d^hale</i>	<i>tsamra</i>
20.	bone	हाड	<i>hara</i>	<i>hara</i>
21.	heart	मुटु	<i>tumsiŋ</i>	<i>koŋdaŋ</i>
22.	blood	रगत	<i>hiti</i>	<i>hiti</i>
23.	urine	पिसाब	<i>so?</i>	<i>ts^hetso</i>
24.	feces	दिसा	<i>lisi</i>	<i>lisi</i>
25.	village	गाउँ	<i>dera</i>	<i>dera</i>
26.	house	घर	<i>sa</i>	<i>sa</i>
27.	roof	छानो	<i>tsale</i>	<i>tsale</i>
28.	door	ढोका	<i>p^hinu</i>	<i>p^heno</i>
29.	firewood	दाउरा	<i>misiŋ</i>	<i>misiŋ</i>

¹ We would like to acknowledge Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN) for using this wordlist.

30.	broom	कुचो	<i>p^hesar</i>	<i>p^hesar</i>
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	<i>silauʈo</i>	<i>tisla</i>
32.	pestle	लोहोरो	<i>loʰoro</i>	<i>sim</i>
33.	hammer	हथौडा	<i>ɦatʌura</i>	<i>martol</i>
34.	knife	चक्रु	<i>tsʌkku</i>	<i>korda</i>
35.	axe	बन्चरो	<i>dup^he</i>	<i>dup^he</i>
36.	rope	डोरी	<i>diɦam</i>	<i>deɦa</i>
37.	thread	धागो	<i>sute</i>	<i>sute</i>
38.	needle	सियो	<i>bindu</i>	<i>bindu</i>
39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	<i>lok^hon</i>	<i>d^haba</i>
40.	ring	औंठी	<i>aũT^hi</i>	<i>əŋt^hiŋ</i>
41.	sun	घाम	<i>sane</i>	<i>sane</i>
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	<i>tali</i>	<i>tali</i>
43.	sky	आकाश	<i>akas</i>	<i>akas</i>
44.	star	तारा	<i>p^huru</i>	<i>p^huru</i>
45.	rain	वर्षा	<i>barsa</i>	<i>barsa</i>
46.	water (land)	पानी	<i>tsi</i>	<i>tsi</i>
47.	river	नदी	<i>dz^hora</i>	<i>dz^hora</i>
48.	cloud	बादल	<i>badle</i>	<i>badəl</i>
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	<i>tsilkatsilka</i>	<i>Bijuli tsəmkill</i>
50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	<i>d^hengur</i>	<i>indreni</i>
51.	wind	बतास	<i>b^herma</i>	<i>b^herma</i>
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	<i>unt^hui</i>	<i>unt^hur</i>
53.	path	बाटो	<i>dama</i>	<i>dama</i>
54.	sand	बालुवा	<i>bal^he</i>	<i>balu</i>
55.	fire	आगो	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	<i>d^hwã</i>	<i>d^hwã</i>
57.	ash	खरानी	<i>buʔsuri</i>	<i>buʔsuri</i>
58.	mud	माटो	<i>b^honoi</i>	<i>b^honoi</i>
59.	dust	धुलो	<i>d^hula</i>	<i>d^hula</i>
60.	gold	सुन	<i>sona</i>	<i>sono</i>
61.	tree	रुख	<i>siŋ</i>	<i>siŋ</i>
62.	leaf	पात	<i>l^haba</i>	<i>l^haba</i>

63.	root	जरा	<i>dzari</i>	<i>sikar</i>
64.	thorn	काँडो	<i>tsui</i>	<i>ka~da</i>
65.	flower	फुल	<i>l^he</i>	<i>p^hul</i>
66.	fruit	फलफुल	<i>p^halp^hul</i>	<i>p^halp^hul</i>
67.	mango	आँप	<i>torse</i>	<i>torse</i>
68.	banana	केरा	<i>jump^hi</i>	<i>ump^hi</i>
69.	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	<i>gom</i>	<i>gom</i>
70.	barley	जौ	<i>dzau</i>	<i>dzau</i>
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	<i>uŋk^hu</i>	<i>uŋk^hu</i>
72.	potato	आलु	<i>bilaiti</i>	<i>bilaiti</i>
73.	eggplant	भन्टा	<i>beŋgana</i>	<i>beŋana</i>
74.	groundnut	बदाम	<i>badam</i>	<i>badam</i>
75.	chili	खोर्सानी	<i>martsu</i>	<i>martsu</i>
76.	turmeric	बेसार	<i>juŋg^hai</i>	<i>juŋg^hai</i>
77.	garlic	लसुन	<i>mants^har</i>	<i>lasun</i>
78.	onion	प्याज	<i>tango</i>	<i>pyaji</i>
79.	cauliflower	काउली	<i>kob^hi</i>	<i>kob^hi</i>
80.	tomato	गोलभैँडा	<i>golb^handa</i>	<i>b^hadbogon</i>
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	<i>b^handakob^hi</i>	<i>b^handakob^hi</i>
82.	oil	तेल	<i>tsuiti</i>	<i>tsuiti</i>
83.	salt	नुन	<i>dese</i>	<i>dese</i>
84.	meat	मासु	<i>bi^hsa</i>	<i>bya</i>
85.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	<i>sau</i>	<i>sau</i>
86.	fish	माछा	<i>ŋaja</i>	<i>naja</i>
87.	chicken	चल्ला	<i>kitsan</i>	<i>keitsan</i>
88.	egg	अन्डा	<i>tui</i>	<i>tui</i>
89.	cow	गाई	<i>gai</i>	<i>gai</i>
90.	buffalo	भैँसी	<i>dija</i>	<i>dija</i>
91.	milk	दुध	<i>dud^he</i>	<i>dud^h</i>
92.	horns	सिङ	<i>daŋ</i>	<i>daŋ</i>
93.	tail	पुच्छर	<i>me^hoŋ</i>	<i>me^hoŋ</i>
94.	goat	बाख्रो	<i>me^hsa</i>	<i>mesa</i>
95.	dog	कुकुर	<i>k^hija</i>	<i>k^hija</i>

96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	<i>pu^hjã</i>	<i>puĩ^hjã</i>
97.	monkey	बाँदर	<i>n^hojã</i>	<i>n^hojã</i>
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	<i>dza^hã</i>	<i>dza^hã</i>
99.	ant	कमिला	<i>n^hamui</i>	<i>n^hamu^hi</i>
100.	spider	माकुरो	<i>makra</i>	<i>makra</i>
101.	name	नाम	<i>mi</i>	<i>miŋ</i>
102.	man	मान्छे	<i>djaŋ</i>	<i>wabal</i>
103.	woman	आइमाई	<i>bebal</i>	<i>bebal</i>
104.	child	बच्चा	<i>dzamal</i>	<i>nunu</i>
105.	father	बाबा	<i>aba</i>	<i>aba</i>
106.	mother	आमा	<i>amai</i>	<i>ama</i>
107.	older brother	दाजु	<i>dada</i>	<i>dada</i>
108.	younger brother	भाइ	<i>one</i>	<i>jola</i>
109.	older sister	दिदी	<i>bai</i>	<i>bai</i>
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	<i>one</i>	<i>rime</i>
111.	son	छोरो	<i>tsan</i>	<i>tsan</i>
112.	daughter	छोरी	<i>tsamdi</i>	<i>tsamdi</i>
113.	husband	लोग्ने (श्रीमान्)	<i>ke</i>	<i>ke</i>
114.	wife	स्वास्नी (श्रीमती)	<i>be</i>	<i>be</i>
115.	boy	केटो	<i>wadzan</i>	<i>wadzan</i>
116.	girl	केटी	<i>bedzan</i>	<i>bedzan</i>
117.	day	दिन	<i>din</i>	<i>din</i>
118.	night	रात	<i>dilima</i>	<i>disiŋ</i>
119.	morning	बिहान	<i>r^hima</i>	<i>r^hima</i>
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	<i>nitima</i>	<i>nitima</i>
121.	evening	साँझ	<i>dilima</i>	<i>dilma</i>
122.	yesterday	हिजो	<i>andzi</i>	<i>andzi</i>
123.	today	आज	<i>nani</i>	<i>nani</i>
124.	tomorrow	भोलि	<i>dzumni</i>	<i>dzumni</i>
125.	week	हप्ता (साता)	<i>at^har</i>	<i>fiəpta</i>
126.	month	महिना	<i>maina</i>	<i>maina</i>
127.	year	वर्ष	<i>basar</i>	<i>basar</i>

128.	old	बुढो	<i>purna</i>	<i>purna</i>
129.	new	नयाँ	<i>nawa</i>	<i>naja</i>
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	<i>remka</i>	<i>jelka</i>
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	<i>maremka</i>	<i>mayelka</i>
132.	wet	चिसो	<i>tsuŋka</i>	<i>dz^haka</i>
133.	dry	सुख्खा	<i>seŋka</i>	<i>seŋka</i>
134.	long	लामो	<i>r^hiŋka</i>	<i>daidaika</i>
135.	short	छोटो	<i>poʈoka</i>	<i>kont^hoka</i>
136.	hot	तातो	<i>d^haŋka</i>	<i>saka</i>
137.	cold	चिसो	<i>tirka</i>	<i>tirka</i>
138.	right	दाहिने	<i>dahine</i>	<i>dahine</i>
139.	left	देब्रे	<i>debre</i>	<i>debre</i>
140.	near	नजिक	<i>b^herpa</i>	<i>tzenta</i>
141.	far	टाढा	<i>dure</i>	<i>dure</i>
142.	big	ठुलो	<i>barka</i>	<i>barka</i>
143.	small	सानो	<i>atuŋka</i>	<i>m^hinka</i>
144.	heavy	गह्रौं	<i>l^hika</i>	<i>r^hika</i>
145.	light	हलुका	<i>fiomka</i>	<i>fiomka</i>
146.	above	माथि	<i>ruta</i>	<i>r^huta</i>
147.	below	तल	<i>leta</i>	<i>leta</i>
148.	white	सेतो	<i>dze:ka</i>	<i>dze:ka</i>
149.	black	कालो	<i>da:ka</i>	<i>da:ka</i>
150.	red	रातो	<i>i:ka</i>	<i>i:ka</i>
151.	one	एक	<i>eʔ</i>	<i>eʔ</i>
152.	two	दुई	<i>n^he</i>	<i>n^he</i>
153.	three	तिन	<i>sum</i>	<i>sum</i>
154.	four	चार	<i>dja</i>	<i>dja</i>
155.	five	पाँच	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
156.	six	छ	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu</i>
157.	seven	सात	<i>n^hi</i>	<i>n^hi</i>
158.	eight	आठ	<i>yeʔ</i>	<i>yeʔ</i>
159.	nine	नौ	<i>kwa</i>	<i>kwa</i>
160.	ten	दश	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>

161.	eleven	एघार	<i>eg^har^Λ</i>	<i>eg^har^Λ</i>
162.	twelve	बाह	<i>bar^hΛ</i>	<i>bar^hΛ</i>
163.	twenty	बिस	<i>eʔkuri</i>	<i>bis</i>
164.	one hundred	एक सय	<i>eʔsae</i>	<i>eʔsae</i>
165.	who	को	<i>hasu</i>	<i>su</i>
166.	what	के	<i>hai</i>	<i>hai</i>
167.	where	कहाँ	<i>hiso</i>	<i>hiso</i>
168.	when	कहिले	<i>helaui</i>	<i>helaui</i>
169.	how many	कति	<i>het^he</i>	<i>het^he</i>
170.	which	कुन	<i>hidoi</i>	<i>hide</i>
171.	this	यो	<i>idoi</i>	<i>wode</i>
172.	that	त्यो	<i>odoi</i>	<i>jode</i>
173.	these	यिनीहरू	<i>ebalai</i>	<i>ebalai</i>
174.	those	उनीहरू	<i>obalai</i>	<i>obalai</i>
175.	same	उही	<i>waŋ/odoŋ</i>	<i>waŋ/odoŋ</i>
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	<i>b^henaŋ</i>	<i>wamako</i>
177.	whole	सबै	<i>gottaŋ</i>	<i>sukmiŋ</i>
178.	broken	फुटेको	<i>b^hoika</i>	<i>b^hoi</i>
179.	few	थोरै	<i>atuisa</i>	<i>atui</i>
180.	many	धेरै	<i>hiŋts^ha</i>	<i>istuŋ</i>
181.	all	सबै	<i>dz^haraŋ</i>	<i>sukmiŋ</i>
182.	to eat	खानु	<i>tsali</i>	<i>tsali</i>
183.	to bite	टोक्नु	<i>ciʔli</i>	<i>ciʔli</i>
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	<i>m^hituli</i>	<i>m^hutuhi</i>
185.	to drink	पिउनु	<i>amli</i>	<i>amli</i>
186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	<i>tsi amli kiʔli</i>	<i>khiʔli</i>
187.	to sleep	सुत्नु	<i>dzimli</i>	<i>dzimli</i>
188.	to lie	पल्टनु	<i>ulʔili</i>	<i>ulʔili</i>
189.	to sit	बस्नु	<i>jomli</i>	<i>jomli</i>
190.	to give	दिनु	<i>pili</i>	<i>pili</i>
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	<i>oʔpali</i>	<i>oʔhi</i>
192.	to die	मर्नु	<i>sili</i>	<i>sili</i>
193.	to kill	मार्नु	<i>seʔli</i>	<i>seʔli</i>

194.	to fly	उडनु	<i>uraili</i>	<i>uraili</i>
195.	to walk	हिँडनु	<i>teli</i>	<i>higilli</i>
196.	to run/ run	दौडनु	<i>d^haʔli</i>	<i>d^haʔli</i>
197.	to go /go	जानु	<i>haneli</i>	<i>hali</i>
198.	to come	आउनु	<i>loli</i>	<i>loli</i>
199.	to speak/ speak	बोल्नु	<i>nuid^huili</i>	<i>d^huili</i>
200.	to hear/hear/list en	सुनु	<i>hiŋli</i>	<i>hiŋli</i>
201.	to look/look	हेनु	<i>k^haŋli</i>	<i>k^haŋli</i>
202.	I	म	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka</i>
203.	you (informal)	तँ	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
204.	you (formal)	तपाईं	<i>na</i>	<i>nelai</i>
205.	he	ऊ	<i>wa</i>	<i>wa</i>
206.	she	उनी	<i>wa</i>	<i>jeb lai</i>
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	<i>kelai</i>	<i>kelai</i>
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	<i>kelai</i>	<i>kelai</i>
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	<i>nelai</i>	<i>nelai</i>
210.	they	उनीहरू	<i>obalai</i>	<i>obalai</i>

Annex C: List of grammatical morphemes with glosses

Morphemes	Gloss	Description
<i>-aine</i>	HORT	hortative
<i>-ako</i>	OPT	optative
<i>-aŋ</i>	EMPH	emphatic
<i>-aŋ</i>	FUT	future
<i>-aŋ</i>	INS	instrumental (Eastern)
<i>-b^hari</i>	ALL	allative
<i>-d^ha</i>	IRR	irrealis
<i>-d^hi/d^he</i>	REL	relinquitive
<i>-d^hiŋ</i>	DU	dual
<i>-doŋ</i>	DUR	durative
<i>-dop^ha/-dosa</i>	COM	comitative
<i>-gelai/-galai/-lai</i>	PL	plural
<i>-g^ha</i>	IPFV	imperfective
<i>-fi</i>	PST	past
<i>-fioi</i>	COMPL/PFV/	completive
<i>-fioi</i>	INS	instrumental (Western)
<i>-ka</i>	NMLZ	nominalizer
<i>-ka</i>	1SG	first person singular
<i>-k^he</i>	PRS	present
<i>-ko</i>	GEN	genitive
<i>la</i>	MIR	mirative
<i>-l^ha</i>	INT	intensive
<i>-li</i>	INF	infinitive
<i>-loŋ</i>	CLF	classifier
<i>ma-</i>	NEG	negative
<i>m^ha-</i>	PROH	prohibitive
<i>-mi</i>	HCLF	human classifier
<i>-nau</i>	3SG→2	imperious
<i>-niŋ</i>	2DU	second person dual
<i>-niŋ</i>	1SG→2	imperious

<i>-na</i>	2	second person
<i>-n^ha</i>	1PL	first person plural,
<i>-n^ha</i>	MID	middle voice
<i>-nu</i>	COND	conditional
<i>-pa</i>	CAUS	causative
<i>-pa</i>	ADVLZ	adverbializer
<i>-pi</i>	BEN	benefactive
<i>-pu</i>	AND	directive
<i>-sa</i>	APPR	apparentive
<i>-sa</i>	AFTER	,after
<i>-se</i>	DU	dual
<i>-seheŋ/-heŋ/-eŋ</i>	DAT	dative
<i>-so</i>	ABL	ablative
<i>-su</i>	COL	collective
<i>-su</i>	RECP	reciprocal
<i>-ta</i>	LOC	locative
<i>-teŋ</i>	SEQ	sequential
<i>-tsa</i>	AFF	affectionative
<i>-wa</i>	DED	deductive
<i>-ϕ</i>	NOM	nominative

Annex D: Language Consultants

S.N.	Name	Age	Sex	Profession	Role/support	Address
1.	Ajit Dhimal	30	M	Student	logistic/guide	Damak, 6 Dapgachhi
2.	Anchal Dhimal (A)	40	M	Employee	transcription, glossing, translation	Damak, Thulo Barhaghare
3.	Anchal Dhimal (B)	45	M	employee	Recording	Damak 4, Dakini
4.	Astanarayan Dhimal	25	M	Student	logistic/guide	
5.	Bajaru Dhimal	60+	M	Farmer	Recording	Damak, Thulo Barhaghare
6.	Basanti Dhimal	46	F	Farmer	Recording	Mechinagar, Ayyabari
7.	Bel Bhd. Dhimal	50+	M	employee	Recording	Damak 15, Charakpara
8.	Bhadralal Dhimal	70	M	Farmer	Recording	Shantinagar 3, Badagaun
9.	Bharat Dhimal	52	M	Farmer	Recording	Budhabare, 8
10.	Bhotlal Dhimal	56	M	Farmer	Recording	Shantinagar 3, Badagaun
11.	Bimala Dhimal	35	F	Housewife	Recording	Damak 4, Dakini
12.	Bishoi Dhimal	70+	F	Housewife	Recording	Urlabari, 6 Mangalbare
13.	Chabilal Dhimal	58	M	Farmer	Recording/ transcription/ translation	Urlabari 6, Sanpakwa
14.	Chakra Dhimal	30	M	Farmer	recording	Mechinagar, 13
15.	Chhatraman Dhimal	60	M	Farmer	Recording	Mechinagar, Ayyabari
16.	Dayaram Dhimal	60	M	Farmer	Recording	Damak, 3 Kharkhare
17.	Devimaya	75+	F	Housewife/farmer	Recording	Shantinagar

	Dhimal					3, Badagaun
18.	Ganeshkumar Dhimal	47	M	employee	Recording	Damak 7, Doghare
19.	Ganeshman Dhimal	61	M	Social worker/farmer	Recording	Damak, Dapgachhi
20.	Gobinda Dhimal (A)	69	M	employee	Recording	Urlabari, Tebigha office
21.	Gopal Dhimal	49	M	Farmer/contractor	Transcription/ translation	Damak, 2 Kharkhare
22.	Govinda Dhimal (B)	30	M	Foreign employee	Logistic	Urlabari, 6 (Thulo sanpakwa)
23.	Gyanu Dhimal	28	M	Teacher	Recording /logistic	Budhabare, 7
24.	Harilal Dhimal	54	M	Social worker/farmer	Recording	Damak, Dapgachhi
25.	Hawa Dhimal (Muling)		M	Farmer	Recording	Mechinagar
26.	Hitalal Dhimal	66	M	Farmer	information collection	Chandragadi, 3
27.	Januka Dhimal	24	F	Journalist	logistic/guide	Mechinagar, Dhulabari
28.	Kabindra Raj Dindonge	59	M	Farmer (mushroom planting)	Recording /logistic /cross-checking	Belbari ,4 Tinghare
29.	Kako Dhimal	70+	M	Farmer	Recording	Mechinagar 9, Itabhatta
30.	Kansha Dhimal	65	M	Farmer	Transcription /translation	Damak, Dhukurpani
31.	Karilal Dhimal	78	M	Farmer	Story teller	Urlabari, 8 Sunjhora
32.	Karna Bhd. Dhimal (maldai)	50	M	Bicycle mechanics	guide/elicitation	Charakpara
33.	Kashinath Dhimal	30	M	Foreign employee	Transcription /translation	Damak 15, Charakpara
34.	Kath B.	63	M	Farmer	Story teller	Pathari 1
35.	Khadgaman	66	M	Farmer	Story teller	Shantinagar

	Dhimal					3, Badagaun
36.	Krishna Dhimal (A)		M	Teacher	Logistic/guide	Damak, 16
37.	Krishna Dhimal (B)		M	Farmer	Logistic/recording	Damak 15, Charakpara
38.	Lal B. Dhimal	65	M	Farmer	Story teller	Damak 16, Arnakhadi
39.	Manamaya (Monoi) Dhimal	77	F	Farmer	Story teller	Damak 7, Doghare
40.	Mohan B. Dhimal	63	M	Social worker/farmer	Story teller/logistic	Urlabari, 6 Sano Sanpakwa
41.	Nambar lal Dhimal	55	M	Teacher/Social worker	Story teller/guide	Damak, Dapgachhi
42.	Narad Dhimal	48	M	Farmer	Guide	Budhabare, 8
43.	Nishoi Dhimal	51	F	Housewife/farmer	Story teller	Urlabari 6, Sanpakwa
44.	Patra Dhimal	60+	M	Social worker/writer	Logistic /guide /information seeking	Mechinagar, Dhulabari
45.	Phagulal Dhimal	70	M	farmer	Story teller	Budhabare, 8
46.	Pittha Dhimal	68	M	Farmer	Story teller	Shantinagar 3, Badagaun
47.	Raghunath Dhimal	26	M	Student	Guide/story teller	Mechinagar, 7 Pratibha Chowk
48.	Ram B. Dhimal	50+	M	Social worker/politician	Logistic /story teller/ elicitation /tmiscellaneous	Damak 15, Charakpara
49.	Sabulal Dhimal (rathum)	75+	M	Farmer	Story teller	Urlabari, 6, Thulo sanpakwa
50.	Sadamlal Dhimal	50+	M	Farmer	Story teller	Mechinagar, 6

51.	Santi Dhimal (B)	35	F	Social worker	Story teller	Damak 7, Doghare
52.	Sebalal Dhimal	57	M	Farmer	Story teller	Shanti nagar 3, Badagaun
53.	Shanti Dhimal (A)	50	F	Housewife/farmer	Logistic/story teller	Damak 15, Charakpara
54.	Sher B. Dhimal	45	M		Logistic /guide/recording /transcription /translation, elicitation	Shanischare 2, Tutbari
55.	Shyam Dhimal	45	M	Farmer	Recording	Damak, Thulo Barhaghare
56.	Som B. Dhimal	43	M	Journalism/teaching	Translation/ data verification elicitation	Kathmandu
57.	Suresh Dhimal	?	M	Farmer	Recording	Urlabari, 6
58.	Tanku Dhimal		M	Farmer/tradesman	logistic	Shantinagar 3, Badagaun
59.	Tek B. (Tekau) Dhimal (A)	68	M	Farmer	Story teller	Dapgachhi
60.	Tek B. Dhimal (B)	45	M	Farmer	logistic/story teller	Mechinagar
61.	Thule Dhimal	70	M	Farmer	Story teller	Urlabari 6, Sanpakwa
62.	Til B. Dhimal	50+	M	Farmer	Story teller	Urlabari 6, Sano Sanpakwa
63.	Umesh Dhimal	35	M	Engineer	Logistic /information gathering	Damak 16/ Kathmandu
64.	Urmila Dhimal	35	F	Housewife/farmer	Story teller	Shantinagar 3, Badagaun

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