

DUMI VERB MORPHOLOGY

**A thesis submitted to the Central Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Partial
Fulfillment of
the requirements for the
Master's Degree of Arts in Linguistics**

By

Netra Mani Rai

Exam Roll No : 6623

T.U. Regd. No : 43931-88

**Central Department of Linguistics
Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur, Kathmandu**

December, 2008

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

This dissertation entitled DUMI VERB MORPHOLOGY has been prepared by Mr. Netra Mani Rai under my guidance and supervision. I recommend this dissertation to the research Committee for evaluation.

.....

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I am also indebted to all the Dumi speakers of five VDCs (Kha.Ja.Ba.Sa.Ma.) of Khotang district. I would like to thank my classmates Mr. Dubi Nanda Dhakal, Mr. Krishna Paudel, Mr. Krishna Shaha and Mr. Tej Prasad Gouchan for their persistent encouragement during the completion of this work.

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I express my deep gratitude to all the Dumi speakers, my family especially my wife Sarita Dumi (Koyee) Rai, daughter Neehangma Dumi Rai and my niece Ms. Sujata Rai who undertook the responsibility in frequent support for computer works.

- Netra Mani Rai

ABSTRACT

Dumi language, a Tibeto-Burman Group under the Sino-Tibetan Family is a pronominalized Kiranti language. It is one of the endangered languages of eastern Nepal, currently spoken by approximately two thousand and five hundred people. This thesis entitled 'Dumi Verb Morphology' attempts to describe and analyze the verbal system of Dumi language. From the different scholarly made linguistics reports show that the Dumi people are gradually losing their native language. So, it seems an urgent need to preserve and promote the language from the linguistics and literary point of view.

This study has mainly three parts. The first part consists of the acknowledgement, abstract, content and list of abbreviations, figures, symbols and tables. The second part is the main body of the research which has been organized in the four chapters. The first chapter deals about the general background of Dumi people and language. The second chapter presents the outline of the Dumi phonology. The third chapter analyzes the Dumi Verb morphology. The fourth chapter draws the summary and conclusions of the whole work.

In this language, the verb morphology of Dumi shows different inflectional and derivational processes. There is only existential 'be verb' in Dumi, which contrasts its form in past and non-past.

In Dumi Prefixing 'ma-' negativizes the verbs. When identificational 'be verb' is negativized, the negative prefix 'ma-' is independently or lexically used as much as identificational 'be verb' does not exist in Dumi. The process of causativization is both morphological and lexical. The morphological causative suffix is productive. Every main verb can be made causative by adding suffix '-mu'. Dumi verbs can be said to possess an active, a passive and the passive is only apparent, which is being affected by adding different personal suffixes denoting the subject or the object. Adding a suffix 's' or 'si' and conjugating as usual form in the middle. In this study, different aspects of the verb morphology of Dumi language have been discussed

Finally, the third part consists of three appendices. In sub-sections of appendix A: A₁, A₂ and A₃, I have presented the verb paradigms of intransitive, transitive and reflexive verbs respectively. In appendix B, it is presented the three texts which have been interlinearized using the toolbox, computer software. Ultimately, there is Profile of the language consultants in the appendix C.

List of Abbreviations

1	first person	IND	indicative
2	second person	INDF	indefinite
3	third person	INF	infinitive
ABL	ablative	INS	instrumental
ABS	absolutive	INTR	intransitive
ACC	accusative	IPFV	imperfective
ADJ	adjective	LOC	locative
ADV	adverb (ial)	M	masculine
AGR	agreement	N	neuter
ALL	allative	NEG	negation, negative
APPL	applicative	NMLZ	nominalizer
ART	article	NOM	nominative
AUX	auxiliary	NPT	non-past
BEN	benefactive	OBJ	object
CAUS	causative	OBL	oblique
CLF	classifier	P	patient
COM	comitative	PASS	passive
COMP	complementizer	PL	plural
COMPL	completive	POSS	possessive
COND	conditional	PRED	predicative
COP	copula	PRF	perfect
CV	converb	PRS	present
DAT	dative	PROG	progressive
DECL	declarative	PROH	prohibitive
DEF	definite	PROX	proximal/proximate
DEM	demonstrative	PT	past
DET	determiner	PTCP	participle
DIST	distal	PURP	purposive
DISTR	distributive	Q	question particle/marker
DU	dual	QUOT	quotative
DUR	durative	RECP	reciprocal
ERG	ergative	REFL	reflexive
EXCL	exclusive	REL	relative
F	feminine	SBJ	subject
FOC	focus	SBJV	subjunctive
FUT	future	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	TOP	topic
IMP	imperative	TR	transitive
INCL	inclusive	VOC	vocative

List of symbols

[]	phonetic transcription
//	phonemic transcription
-	morpheme boundary
◊	morpheme/allomorph
→	the direction of a transitive relationship
*	ungrammatical
Σ	verb stem
∅	empty
§	chapter

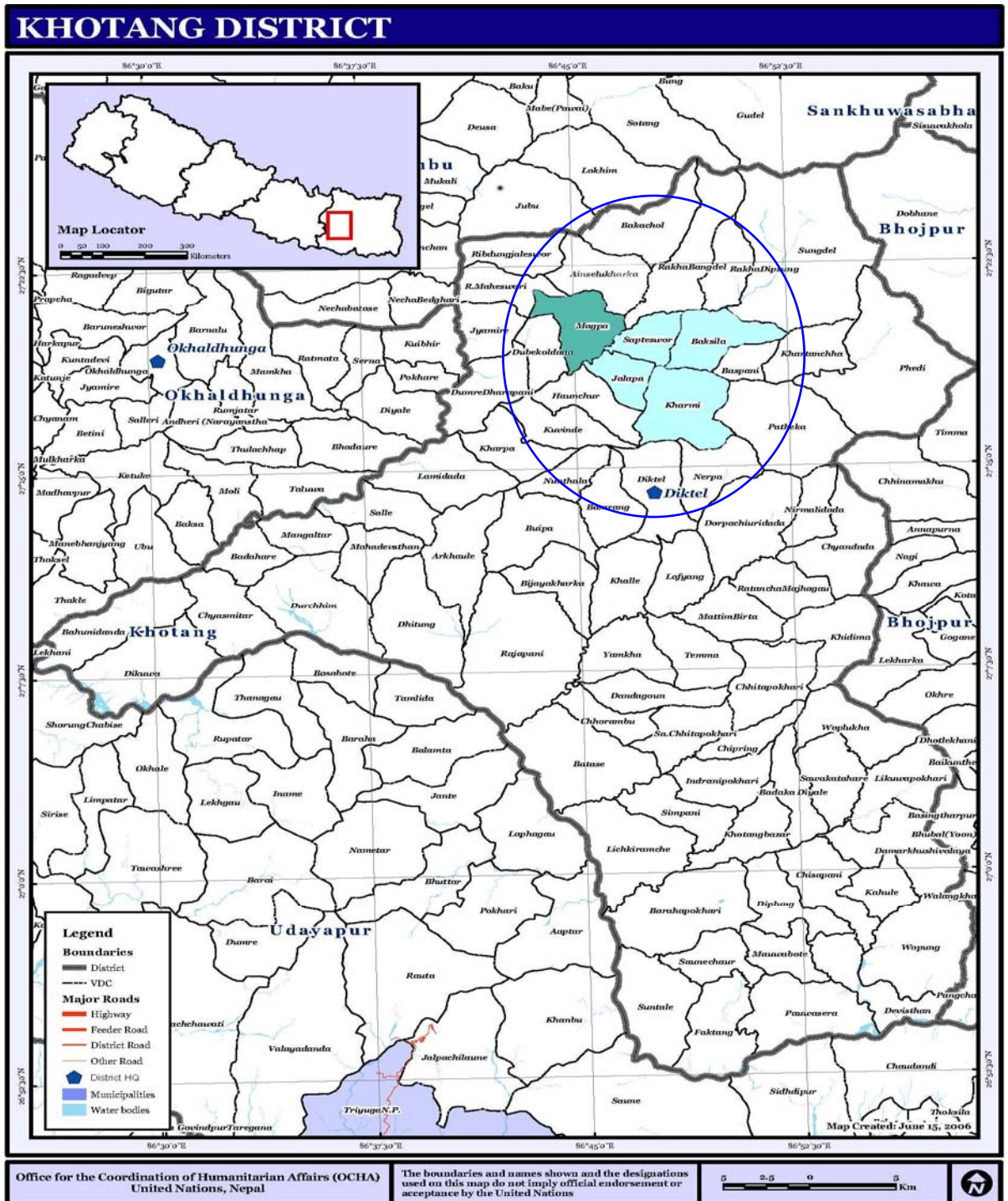
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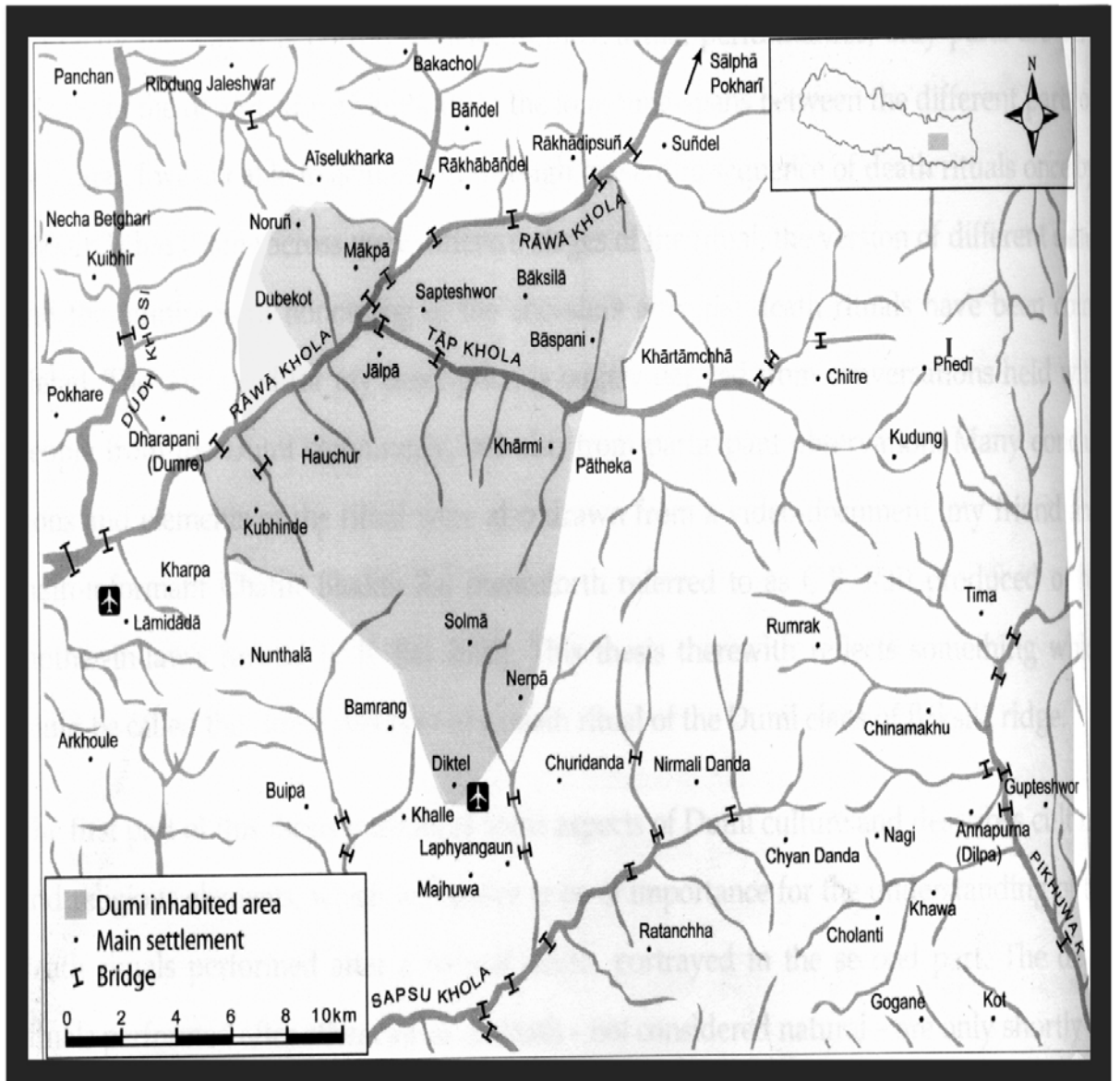
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Name

1.1.1 Ethnonym

Dumi people use *Dumi Radu* as endonym which means 'Dumi Rai' in their language. The term *Dumi* is much more popular among them. The native speakers of the language as well the non-speakers call them as *Dumi*.

Dumi is the name most exclusively used for both the language and its speakers. The resource persons from the Dumi localities say that "the dialectic meaning of the term 'Dumi' indicates multi-meanings like 'association', 'coming into contact', 'meeting together (person dual)' etc. Pointing out the chronological data, some others claim that it signifies a person's name; the head person succeeds from *Tumsoli*.

1.1.2 Glossonym

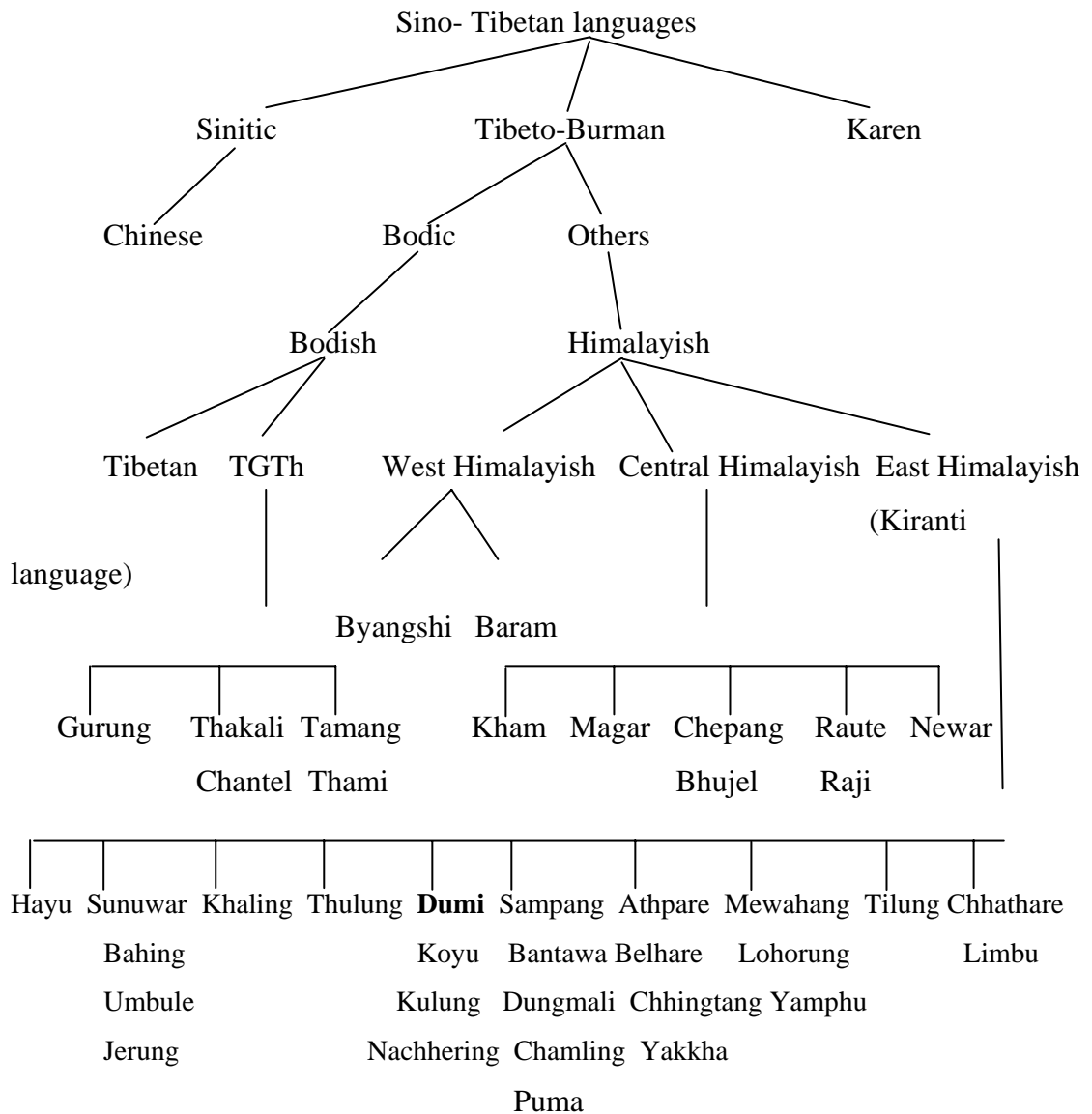
The Dumi people both native speakers and non-speakers call their native language *hopupu brə* or *Dumi Brə*. In Dumi language, *hopupo* means 'own' and *brə* means 'language'. So, the combined meaning of the term *hopupo brə* is 'own language' or 'mother tongue'. Other communities living in and around the Dumi communities also call it *Dumi Brə*. Similarly, the Dumi people and other communities in other places use the term *Dumi language*.

In 'A Grammar of Dumi', (van Driem, 1993: 2) mentions:

According to the folk etymology, in ancient times two brothers are said to have come from the north down the Dudh Kosi to Baksila. Upon arriving at the confluence of the Dudh Kosi and the Rava Khola, the forefather progenitors proceeded upstream and then agreed to go their separate ways in order to scout the tract of land before them. One of the brothers followed the Tap River upstream. The other proceeded up the Rava. When they each independently climbed the Baksila ridge, they met each other there and said inci ŋa dumi 'we have met again!' In this way, the term 'Dumi' has been coined and came into use.

1.2 Genetic affiliation

Table: 1.1 The Tibetan languages



Source: ILN, 2007: 19

1.3 Statement of the problem

Dumi is not only lesser described kiranti languages, but also one of the endangered languages in Nepal (Yadava 2001). The linguistics studies regarding the verb morphology and verb phrase structure are not exhaustive till today. In such a fundamental situation, the problems considered in this study are: How can the Dumi verbs be categories? How is the pronoun system evident in this language? What is the general structure of the verb phrase in the Dumi language?

1.4 Objectives of the study

The review of what has been already done shows that a descriptive study of the language is worthwhile and urgent. Since Dumi is one of the lesser known and the lesser described language, it is therefore not without significance that study is carried out about the language. More specifically, the main objectives of the study are:

- i. to collect the relevant data on the verb morphology.
- ii. to describe and analyze the verbal system of Dumi language.
- iii. to present different aspects of the verb morphology and its findings.

1.5 Review of literature

Although the tradition of the studies of the Tibeto-Burman languages is not new, previous studies regarding the Dumi language and its dialects have not been conducted. Some extant problems regarding the Kiranti languages are their proper classification and the genetic affiliation. Although the number of Kiranti languages has been increasing in the recent censuses, their historical relation and interrelations among them have not been precisely identified.

van Driem, (1993) has prepared 'A Grammar of Dumi' collecting the materials in three-month staying in Halkhum village of Baksila VDC, Khotang (19 years ago). This is the first grammar ever prepared about the Dumi language following a great linguistic tradition. The whole grammar is divided into the ten chapters.

The first chapter is about Dumi people and their language. He realizes the fact that there are at least four dialects and out of them, Makpa dialect may be different than others. He comments that, '... an in-depth study of Makpa Dumi is still sorely needed' (6). True to what van Driem has stated, this is one of the distinct dialects of Dumi language. However, there are some of the facts which need to be pointed out. He again points out the importance of Makpa dialect:

On the whole retention seems to be somewhat higher in the Makpa area where there is a greater number of middle-aged and some how children who have perfectly retained their language. However, language retention among the youngest generation is no greater in Makpa Panchayat (i.e. recently Makpa VDC) than in the Baksila area, contrary to what many young Dumi in the Baksila area, many of whom have never been to Makpa, suppose to be true (van Driem, 1993: 7).

This claim justifies that retention of Dumi is healthier in Makpa than in Baksila. Although a meticulous study of Dumi (from Baksila-Halkhum dialect) has already been carried out by van Driem (1993), its other dialects and their interrelationship with other neighbouring Kiranti languages (i.e. Thulung, Khaling, Koyu, Sampang and Nachhering) have not been studied yet. In the broader context, the proper genealogical position of Dumi has yet to be made.

This can also be taken as a justification for the study of Makpa dialect of Dumi where he notices that, 'Dumi is still medium of communication' (7). The language is used in the village in agricultural works and local market. But it is not used in the local offices. However, there are some points where it can't be agreed the Makpa Dumi people with van Driem. Some of the kinship terms which are mentioned in 'A Grammar of Dumi' (14) are not applicable in Makpa Dumi.

For example:

Table: 1.2 some kinship terms in different dialects

<i>Cross uncle</i>	<i>Baksila</i>	<i>Makpa</i>
Maternal (younger than mother)	kira	kiki
elder brother	wa:tto	pe:pe
younger sister	birma	owa
younger brother	chhari	owa

In Makpa Dumi, the term 'kira' refers to maternal relation in general sense, without restricting to the maternal uncle (younger than mother). In the similar way, the term 'wa:tto' refers in general brothers whereas the term 'chhari' is used for the younger one. Likewise, 'birma' or 'birme' in general sense in Makpa area is sisters.

Dumi phonology is presented in chapter two. The consonant voiceless, aspirated affricate 'c' and 'ch' (i.e. the symbol 'ts' and 'tsh' in 'A grammar of Dumi') sound are missing from the list of consonants which is evident in Makpa dialect.

In the whole, compilation of 'A Grammar of Dumi', the study includes nominal morphology, conjugation of the verb, morphology of simplicia, aspect and aspectivizer, causatives and transitivity, perfect tenses and verbal construction. The study also includes the texts at the end. As a whole, his work is scholarly done in Dumi language in general.

Hodgson (1991:33) mentions that although it is occasionally classified as a dialect of Khaling (cf. the introduction of S. and I. Toba 1975), Dumi is to be considered a separate language of its own, especially with reference to syntax and verb morphology. There is an obvious systemic break between Dumi and Khaling.

In the case of multilingual Kirant communities, it is complicated to determine where one language ends and another begins. The geographical boundary of Dumi includes that there are other Kiranti languages spoken in its surroundings. In this regard, the proper study of Dumi language is also at the early stage. That's why, it needs to be explained comparatively in order to identify such intricacy.

Alban (2006) has discussed the death ritual of Dumi in his Master-Thesis of cultural anthropology at the University of Zurich. He included the natural death, unnatural death, death of a child before initiation and death of an infant before name-giving. He finally described the death ritual after natural death of Dumi people.

Dumi Kirat Rai Funsikim (DKRF), Kathmandu regularly publishes a magazine named "Isilim" since nine years ago focusing on the cultural, socio-economic and the native Dumi language. This is a positive step in preservation and promotion of the language and the culture.

Although there are some studies which are presented above, including 'A Grammar of Dumi', a recent documentation in this language has been done.

1.6 Methodology

1.6.1 Methods of Data collection

The study is somehow based on the primary data taken from the Dumi native speakers. Most of the data in this research are based on the intuition of the researcher as mother-tongue speaker of Dumi, Makpa-6, Khotang. The main parts of the data were collected in the main Dumi localities: Kharmi, Jalapa, Baksila, Sapteshwor and Makpa (Kha.Ja.Ba.Sa.Ma.) in the last visist of 2064 and it has been held the frequent discussions in order to test the reliability of the data. Besides, it has been checked the data by elicitation particularly with the language consultants from Baksila, Jalapa and Kharmi Village Development Committees in the frequent visits towards there. Some of the data have been included from the secondary sources like magazines, reports, Dumi glossaries, newspapers, genres,

which were transcribed with the help of cassette player and interlinearized using Toolbox, computer software. I have also employed recorded Dumi texts by myself. Some other data were elicited from folklore texts too. Furthermore, it is fortunate to have some electrically recorded texts by Dumi Kirat Rai Funsikim (DKRF).

1.6.2 Theoretical frame work and data analysis

Depending upon the data collection, the research is descriptive rather than comparative in its nature. For this approach, modality based on Katamba (1999) has been adopted. Besides, Lyons (1968) and Crystal (1985, 87) are also used for the terminological and conceptual clarity. Maps of Dumi speaking areas or Dumi localities i.e. 'Kha.Ja.Ba.Sa.Ma' in northern Khotang district are used showing the distribution of mother-tongue speakers.

The methodology used in this study concerns with the field of descriptive linguistics, which is mainly based on functional typological linguistics with functional behavioral and discourse pragmatic features. The general aim of this research is to portray Dumi verb morphology and structure of the Dumi language on the basis of language internal factors.

It is attempted to present the analysis according to the organization and linguistics categories and labels used in Payne's guide to morphosyntactic description (1997).

The purpose of this study is to find out some of the features related to verb and verb morphology of the Dumi language, cross-linguistically and in its own.

In order to show how the structure of the verb phrase works in this language, a typological perspective has been adopted whether the Dumi language proves a language of 'an ideal type' to Greenberg's formulation of the constituent order of the SOV type.

Furthermore, this study also tries to show whether this language can be characterized as a 'very consistent', 'fairly consistent' or 'inconsistent' in its basic structure of being SOV language in terms of verb morphology and structure of the verb phrase.

1.7 Delimitation of the study

The study is marked by the following limitations. To begin with this study investigates the verbal morphology and its structure evident in the limited corpus. As the basic requirement, the data for this study are selected from the dialect of Makpa VDC. So, the data from the other dialects are not generally incorporated. Hence, the study is organized in typological-functional perspective.

1.8 Organization of the study

- Chapter 1: Introduction
- Chapter 2: Phonology
- Chapter 3: Verb Morphology
- Chapter 4: Summary

References

Appendices

- A. Verb paradigms
- B. Texts
- C. Profile of the language consultants

B₁: muminsi 'Life Experience'

LE.001

tam opo adzhom min musi
tam o-po adzhom minmusi
this I-GEN long.before experience
'This is my past experience'
यो मेरो विगतको अनुभव हो ।

LE.002

aŋu cu:cu moŋujo delgoval atasabam heŋa
aŋu cu:cu moŋu -jo del -goval atasaba -po heŋa
I children become -CV village -LOC today's -GEN like-which
phjarhənpə desi gumu magəthiŋə.
phjar - hə -po desi gu -mu ma- gə -thiŋu -nə
sew - bring -PER foreign cloth -PL NEG- be -HAB -NEG

'When I was young, the ready-made clothes were not available in my village like these days.'

म सानो छँदा गाउँमा आजभोलि जस्तो तयारी कपडा पाइँदैन थियो ।

LE.003

hito həwəla musoka khojo delbi
hito həwəla mus -oka khojo del -bi
like which trouble do -CV but village -LOC

kimkimbiŋa dzharaa hopu-hopuəŋa
kim - kim -bi -ŋa zhara -a hopu-hopu -a -ŋa
house - house -FOC -FOC all -ERG REFL -ERG -FOC

khədi puna chukthiŋu.
khədi pu -na chuk -thiŋu
Khani weave -INF be -HAB

'Each person in the village had to weave the loom in every house although it was much trouble.'

जति दुःख गरेर भएपनि गाउँमा घरघरै सबै जनाले आ-आफै खाँगी बुन्नु पर्थ्यो ।

LE.004

atasaba sensoka adzho (səkne-suksitho)
atasaba sen -so -ka adzho səkne - suksi - tho
today's see -CV -CV once twenty-five- thirty - year

lamlu) choteŋa bhukto jo gəthiŋu.
lamlu chote -ŋa bhukto jo gə -thiŋu
before more -FOC trouble also be -HAB

'There was much more trouble (25-30 years ago) compare to these days.'

आजभोलि हेरेर उहिले (२५-३० वर्ष पहिले) ज्याँदै नै दुःख पनि थियो ।

LE.005

hito dzuṅa ləthiṅu khojo tejo heṅam
hito dzu -ṅa lə - thi -ṅu khojo tejo heṅam
like which cold -FOC feel - fall -COND now like

mowo kəmsina donthəisi ka.
mo - wo kəmsi -na don - thəisi ka
what - FOCS wear -INF receive - HAB IMPH

'We did not get comfortable things to cover ourselves whatever cold it was.'
जति जाँडो नै लागेपनि अहिले झै केनै पो ओढ्न पाइन्थ्यो र ।

LE.006

te tukpher gu kəmsinbika ne mi huṅna
te tuk -pher gu kəmsi -ṅpo -bika ne mi huṅ -na
like it one -pair cloth wear -PER -without IMPH fire warm
-INF

donpokho tu: ṅakhi.
don -kho tu ṅ a -khi
receive -EMPH only -IMPH

'Except a pair of clothes to wear, (we) warm ourselves by fire (to keep away cold.)'
एसो एकसरो लुगा लगाएको बाहेक आगो तापन पाए त हो नि ।

LE.007

hito chəwaṅa jemgə khojo sultu phəlua
hito chəwa -ṅa jem - gə khojo sultu phəlu -a
like which frost -FOC fallen - be but neck foot -ERG

khrimso lamthina chukthiṅu.
khrim -so lamthi -na chuk -thiṅu
step -CV walk -INF be -HAB

'We had to walk outside with bare foot whatever amount of mist there was.'
जति शीत परेकै भएपनि बाहिरफेरो खालिखुट्टै हिँडुल गर्नुपर्थ्यो ।

LE.008

mamcobi jo kimbi nanaham
mam -co -bi jo kim -bi nana -ham
that -on -LOC also house -LOC older-sister -PL

machunaa to: puna tu:ṅa ne
ma- chu -na -a to: pu -na tu:ṅa ne
NEG- be -INF -ERG loom weave -INF only IMPH

mono kimgo pakhabim
mono kim -go pakha -bim
not house -LOC out -GEN

sulamduwa puksa, hiksa, phiksa,

sulam - duw -a pu -sa hik -sa phik -sa
 way - way -ERG weave -INF grind -INF sweep -INF
swaksa, salsa, khipsa, joksa)
 swak -sa sal -sa khip -sa jok -sa
 Winnow-INF separate (grains) -INF cook -INF distribute -INF
mo: bi jo mamalai phlona chukthiṇu.
 mo: -bi jo mama -lai phlə -na chuk -thiṇu
 which FOC also mother -DAT help -INF be -HAB

'Those who did not have sisters had to help mother in everything except weaving looms like weaving, grinding, cleaning, winnowing, separating grains after winnowed, cooking and so on.'

त्यसमाथि पनि घरमा कोही दिदीहरु नहुनाले तान बुन्नु मान्न नभएर घरभित्र-बाहिरको कामको मेलो-मेसो (बुन्ने, पिस्ने, बढार्ने, निफल्ने, केलाउने, पकाउने, बाँड्ने) जे काममा पनि आमालाई सघाउनु पर्थ्यो ।

LE.009

tejo hiudo gota.
 tejo hiudo gota
 now winter is

Now winter has begun.

अहिले हिउँद (लागेको) छ ।

LE.010

tesoṇa salanne hiudo hotajo adzho
 tesoṇa sal -anne hiudo ho -jo adzho
 thus separate (grains) -every winter come -CV long time ago

cu:cu moṇujom tummu nubi
 cu:cu moṇu -jo -po tum -mu nu -bi
 children become -CV -GEN CVersation -PL mind -LOC

khirsti.

khir -sti
 come -be

'The childhood memories visit mind every year the winter begins.'

यसरी वर्षे पिच्छे हिउँद आउदा सानो छुटाका कुराहरु मनमा खेल्छ ।

LE.011

majo delbi kim-pwatelbi haldenpom
 majo del -bi kim - pwatel -bi hal -npo -po
 that-time village -LOC house - yard -LOC speare -PER -GEN

to: khom tejoṇa jo miksia dokbakkhe
 to: khom tejo -ṇa jo miksi -a do -k -bak -khe
 loom place now -FOC also eye -ERG see -INF -keep -like

lota.

lo -ta
feel -is

'I feel like seeing weaving of looms in the front of the house in the villages at present.'
त्यसबेला गाऊँघरतिर आँगनमा फैलाईराखेको तान अहिले पनि आँखाले देखिराखे जस्तो लाग्छ ।

LE.012

adzhoŋka tuŋa hamcamum mama adzi jo
adzhoŋka tu -ŋa ham- camummama adzi jo
past-year only -FOC HON- died mother now also

delbi to: puso hammothiŋta
del -bi to: pu -so ham- mo -thiŋ -ta
village -LOC loom weave -CV HON- be -CONT. -is

heŋa lota.
heŋa lo -ta
like-which feel -is

'(I) feel as if my mother, who died last year, was weaving looms in the village.'
पोहोर सालमात्रै खस्नु भएको आमा अहिले गाऊँमा तान बुन्दै हुनुहुन्छ जस्तो लाग्छ ।

LE.013

majo delbim saune dilla maju noro
majo del -bim saune dil -la maju noroŋ
that-time village -GEN Saune hill -SOR below Norong

delbi kim-kimbi to: puthatnim
del -bi kim - kim -bi to: pu -thət -ni -po
village -LOC house - house -LOC loom weave -CV -PER -GEN

tjakjarljanpo səmlukajo debi than
tjakjarljan -po səmlu -kajo debi than
a sound -GEN sound -ASSOC Debi sacred place

saulogobi səŋpo səmlu tejtumbu o
saulo -go -bi səŋ -po səmlu tejo -tumbu o-po
Jungle -LOC -LOC cuckoo -GEN sound now -since I-GEN

ŋicobiŋa luisbakta.
ŋico -bi -ŋa luis -bak -ta
ear -LOC -FOC run -keep -is

'The sound of weaving looms in each and every house of the village along with the songs of cuckoo in the jungle of Devisthan coming from the Saune Dil reverberated in my ears even today from the Norung village.'

त्यसबेला गाऊँको साउने डिलबाट तलतिर नोरुङ गाऊँमा घरघरमा तान बुन्दै गरेको "ट्याक्थ्याल्युड"को आवाज सँगै देबीथान जङ्गलभिन्न कोइलीको आवाज अहिलेसम्म मेरो कानमै गुनञ्जिरहन्छ ।

LE.014

adzhom hito munhəisim tummu

adzho -po hito mun -həi -si -po tum -mu
 long time ago -GEN how do -INF -PRF -GEN CVersation -PL

camusso khəisi.
 camus -so khəi -si
 forget -CV go -PRF

'(We) are forgetting the things we used to do that time.'

उहिलेको कति गरिल्याको कुराहरु बिर्सिदै गइयो ।

LE.015

hitone camna jo nirim doktijo aspo
 hito - ne cam -na jo niri -po do -ktijo as -po
 how - IMPH loose -INF also PRF -GEN see -CV whose -GEN
 wo go bristano ka
 wo go bris -ta -no ka
 FOCS soul frustrate -INF -IMPH IMPH

'Who will not be sad by the loss of the things we used to do?'

कति त हराइ पनि सकेको देख्दा कस्को चित्तपो दुख्दैन र ।

LE.016

atinə malo chirijəmləbi jo aŋu
 atinə malo chiri - jəm - lo -bi jo aŋu
 before yesterday just autumn - beat - feel -LOC also I
 delkim khu com gə.
 delkim khu com gə
 village go 1sg be

'I had gone to the village in the Udheuli in the recent past.'

अस्ति भर्खर उधौलिमा पनि म गाऊँघर गएको थिएँ ।

LE.017

məjo mam saune dilbi ləncoka
 məjo mam saune dil -bi lən -co -ka
 that-time that Saune hill -LOC go -1sg. -CV
 hito riphoka ŋijlədu
 hito rja -pho -ka ŋi -ŋ -lədu
 how stand -PT -CV hear -1sg. -EXPL.

'I roamed there listening things by standing on the Saune Dil.'

त्यसबेला त्यो साउने डिलमा निस्केर कति उभिएर सुनिहेरे ।

LE.018

kim-kimbi to:po səmlune khəmla
 kim - kim -bi to: -po səmlu - ne khəm -la
 house - house -LOC loom -GEN sound - IMPH where -SOR

ɲina dokna ka.
 ɲi -na dok -na ka
 hear -INF have -INF and

'How sad I was not being able to hear the sounds of making looms in each and every house.'

घरघरमा तानको आवाज त कहाँबाट सुन्न पाउनु र

LE.019

saulobi tukli səŋpodhəri piupau
 saulo -bi tuk -li səŋ -po -dhəri piupau
 Jungle -LOC one -MDF cuckoo -GEN -including loneliness

magənə.

ma- gə -nə
 NEG- be -NEG

'There was not a single song or whereabouts of the cuckoo.'

जङ्गलमा एउटा कोइलीको चालचल समेत थिएन ।

LE.020

tammu khələ mimsoka delbim azhom
 tam -mu khələ mim -soka del -bim azho -po
 this -PL all remember -CV village -GEN ago -GEN

rewəs moja macamnə wakho hito o nusi
 rewəs moja ma- cam -nə wakho hito o-po nusi
 custom that-time NEG- loose -NEG EMPH how I-GEN happiness

chukuwa heŋa lota aŋulai.
 chuk -u -wa heŋa lo -ta aŋu -lai
 be -PT -PROB like-which feel -is I -DAT

'Presently I feel how happy I would have been if I those traditional had not been lost.'

यी सबै सम्झिदै गाउँको उहिलेको चालचलन केहि पनि नहराएको भए कति मेरो मन खुशी हुन्थ्यो होला जस्तो लाग्छ मलाई ।

LE.021

məkəŋa atinə jo hem hem rədu
 mək -a -ŋa atinə jo hem hem rədu
 that -ERG -FOC before yesterday also which which Rai

delbi bhi-bhisoka hopupo ridum
 del -bi bhi - bhi -soka hopu -po ridum
 village -LOC how - how -CV self -GEN religion

hədum muhutnim gota assoka
 hədum mu - hut -ni -po gota a -soka
 culture do - take -PER -GEN is say -CV

seŋkubiŋa del gobhal

seŋ -ku -bi -ŋa del go -bhal
see -PUR -DAT -FOC village inside -GO

ləncom gə.
lən -co -po gə
go -1sg. -GEN be

'I had gone to the village in the recent past to observe which traditional festivities have been still preserved.'

त्यसैले नै अस्ति पनि कुन-कुन राईगाउँमा क-कसरी आफ्नो रीति- रिवाज गरिल्याएका छन् भनेर हेर्नेको लागि गाउँतिर निस्केको थिएँ।

LE.022

məjo səkli tum hopupo brə to:po
məjo sək -li tum hopu -po brə to: -po
that-time two -MDF CVersation self -GEN language loom -GEN

sikiparibi zharaa nu tuna
sikipari -bi zhara -a nu tu -na
skill -LOC all -ERG mind keep -INF

chukta aksa mimpadu.
chuk -ta a -sa mim - pad -u
be -is say -INF remember - take -PT

'I remembered that two things (our language and the skills in the loom) should be kept in mind.'

त्यस बेला दुईवटा कुरा(आफ्नो भाषा, तानको सीप) मा सबैले मनराख्नु पर्छ भन्ने सम्झें।

LE.023

te miŋtijo iŋki rədu namcupo
te mim -ti -jo iŋki rədu nam - cu -po
like it remember -1.PL. -CV 1.PL(INCL)Rai sun - offspring -GEN

cheŋkha luksa lələ jo tamŋakhi.
chen - kha luk -ksa lə - lə jo tam -ŋa -khi
know - EXPL extinct -INF feel - feel also this -FOC -IMPH

'When we remembner about Rai people, these two are the traditional ornaments for identification of the Rai people.'

यसो सम्झँदा पनि हामी राईहरुको चिनिमाग्ने गहना पनि त यही नै हो नि।

LE.024

tammo tho jəpaka khojo opo
tam - mo tho jə -paka khojo o -po
this - IMPH year hence -MDF but I -GEN

numulu surim gota.
nu - mulu sur -i -m gota
mind - heal increase -PRF -PRF be.NPT

'I am sentimental (about my village) although it is a long way.'

यतिका वर्ष पछि भएपनि मेरो मन पलाएको छ ।

LE.025

aṅu bukhoka tedu chuku khāḍi
 aṅu buk - o -ka te chuk -u khāḍi
 I born - I -CV like this be -PT home-made clothes

puksa heṅam khanuksa sikipari khem moja
 pu -sa heṅam khanuksa sikipari khem moja
 weave -ADJZRlike nice skill other some

doktum maṅgunə.
 dok - tu -po ma- go -nə
 see - keep -GEN NEG- be -NEG

'I have not seen any other skills except making looms. I have felt this till I was born.'

म जन्मेर यतिभयो खाँडी बुन्ने जस्तो राम्रो सीप अरु केहि पनि देखेको छुइँन ।

LE.026

khali su: ka jo pabua kho nukkhəksa.
 khali su: ka jo pabu -a kho nuk - khə -ksa
 only wood and also bamboo -ERG COND be - go -INF

'Only two things required are bamboo and the wood.'

खालि काठ र बाँसले भए भइहाल्ने ।

LE.027

kim pwatelbiṅa to khom haltijo
 kim pwatel -bi -ṅa to khom hal -ti -jo
 house yard -LOC -FOC loom place spread -1.PL. -CV

jo nuksa.
 jo nu -ksa
 also become -INF

'The looms can be made in the yards of the house.'

घर, आगनमा नै तान लगाउदा पनि हुने ।

LE.028

cu:cu duspi ləsbə-misma asi sia khojo
 cu:cu duspi ləsbə - misma asi si -a khojo
 children adult male - female who who -ERG else

puna djarsa.
 pu -na djar -ksa
 weave -INF match -INF

'This can be woven by the people of all ages, children, aged people and male and female.'

केटाकेटी- बुढापाका, पुरुष-महिला जो जसले भएपनि बुन्न मिल्ने ।

LE.029

pu:bi lumsoka daptikho
 pu: -bi lum -soka dap -ti -kho
 ash -LOC boil -CV taste -1.PL -EMPH

swankhəisiksa.
 swan -khəisi -k -sa
 clean -happen -INF -ADJZR

'(The looms) can be cleaned by cleaning in the water with ashes.'
 खरानीमा उसिनेर पिटे सफा भइहाल्ने।

LE.030

məkakhi hem rədu delbi jo dzharaa
 mək -a -khi hem rədu del -bi jo dzhara -a
 that -ERG -IMPH which Rai village -LOC also all -ERG

pusoka hammunthəisi.
 pu -soka ham- mun -thəi- -si
 weave -CV HON- do -HAB- -PRF

'Therefore, the clothes used to be worn in all Rai villages by weaving by themselves.'
 त्यसैले त जुन राईगाऊँमा पनि सबैले बुनेरै लाउने गर्थे।

LE.031

to:po sikiparikajo dumi brə
 to: -po sikipari -kajo dumi brə
 loom -GEN skill -ASSO Dumi language

ceŋsa o mama hamcamukho jo tam
 cen -ksa o-po mama ham- cam -u -kho jo tam
 teach -INF I-GEN mother HON- loose -PT -EMPH also this

səkli tumnu macamnu assoka
 sək -li tum -nu ma- cam -nu a -soka
 two -MDF thing -DUAL NEG- loose -IND say -CV

o capsī o koksi lamconthəistu.
 o-po cap -si o-po kok -si lam con -thəi- -tu
 I-GEN can -PRF I-GEN know -PRF way ahead -HAB- -1SG

'Although my mother, who used to teach me the Dumi language, passed away similar to the skills of weaving looms, I have been making attempts to preserve these two things.'
 तानको सीप सँगै दुमी भाषा सिकाउने मेरी आमा हराउनुभए पनि यो दुईवटा कुरा नहरावस् भनेर मेरो सक्दो-जान्दो कोशिस गर्दैछु।

LE.032

ka jo amna tambī dumi brəbi
 ka jo amna tam -bi dumi brə -bi
 andalso today this -LOC Dumi language -LOC

lukhum to khom ka omamapo du:bi
 luk -um to khom ka o mama -po du: -bi
 extinct -PRF loom place IMPH I mother -GEN about -LOC

opo nu gobim curi phulthatto.
 o -po nu go -bim curi phul -thə -t -o
 I -GEN become soul -GEN story write -CONT -be -1SG

'And, I am writing the story full of my feelings about my mother and various skills resided in the Dumi language.'

र पनि आज यहा "दुमी भाषामा सीप-साप र मेरी आमा"को बारेमा मेरो मनभिन्नको कथा लेख्दै छु।

LE.033

to:kajo khāḍipo tum ləistajo
 to: -kajo khāḍi -po tum ləis -jo
 loom -ASSO home-made clothes -GEN thing come out -CV

azho to:khombi mama hulcimokajo
 azho to: khom -bi mama hulcimo -kajo
 long time before loom place -LOC mother cough -ASSO

hamṇandeisika to: punijo-munim
 ham- ṇan dei -sika to: pu -ni -jo -mu -ni -po
 HON- sit keep -CV loom weave -PER -GEN -do -PER -GEN

tum mimkhatto.
 tum mim khə -t -o
 thing remember go -be -1SG

'I happen to remember my mother working in the looms coughing and weaving, while (talking about) looms and home-made clothes'.

तानसँग खाँडीको कुरा निस्कदा उहिले तानमा आमा खोकिसरी बसिराखेर तान बुनिराखेको कुरा सम्झिन पुग्छु।

LE.034

mənə ohopuaŋa jo
 mənə o-po - hopu -a -ŋa jo
 then I-GEN - self -ERG -FOC also

capso-macapso dzubi to:
 cap - so - ma- cap - so dzu -bi to:
 can - CV - NEG- can - CV cold -LOC loom

puna cenləisum, majo maaaa
 pu -na cen - ləis -um majo maaa -a
 weave -INF learn - come out -PRF that-time mother -ERG

mamasisi aphalta mei assoka
 mamasisi a- phal -t -a mei a -soka
 awariness 2NPT- spoil -be -2-3SG.NPT ok say -CV

kokkoxi aluconum mo musoka
 kokkoxi a- lu -co -um mo mu -soka

aware 2NPT- tell -1sg. -PRF that-way do -CV

to: pəŋlədum tejo heŋa
 to: pu -ŋ -ləd -um tejo heŋa
 loom weave -1sg. -go -PRF now like-which

lota.

lo -t -a
 feel -be -2-3SG.NPT

'I remember myself working hard to weave the looms; my mother's warning to me that I might spoil the weaving. I felt as if I have been doing these things now.'

अनि म आफैले पनि सकि नसकि जाँडोमा तान बुन्न सिकिहिँडेको, त्यस बेला आमाले कतै बिगालास् हे भन्दै सम्झाएको, त्यसो गर्दै तान बुनिहिँडेको अहिले जस्तो लाग्छ।

LE.035

hitoklia ne məjom tummu
 hito -li -a ne məjo -po tum -mu
 how -MDF -ERG IMPH that-time -GEN thing -PL

sipchermakajo ŋimukha
 sipcherma -kajo ŋi - mu - kha
 sequence -ASSOhear - do - EX.V

hamlota jo.
 ham- lo -t -a jo
 HON- feel -be -2-3SG.NPT also

'Some people also like hearing the story one after another (even today.)'

कतिले त त्यसबेलाको कुराहरु मेलैसँग सुनाइमाग्छन् पनि।

LE.036

tamghəribi tuk nua te
 tam - ghəri -bi tuk nu -a te
 this - time -LOC one mind -ERG like this

mimtojo aŋu go timsa
 mim -t -o -jo aŋu go timsa
 remember -be -1SG -CV I soul satisfactory

rəducu chunaəŋa
 rədu - cu chu -na -a -ŋa
 Rai - offspring become -INF -ERG -FOC

məhem sikipari guksa rədu delbi
 məhem sikipari go -ksa rədu del -bi
 like-that skill be -INF Rai village -LOC

bukhom jə heŋa jo lota.
 buk -o -po jə heŋa jo lo -t -a
 born -1SG -GEN hence like-which also feel -be -2-3SG.NPT

'When I ponder about these things, I felt myself fortunate to be a child of Rai to have been born in the village with these skills.'

यसबेला यसो एक मनले सम्झिदा म मन भाग्यमानी राईको बच्चा हुनाले नै त्यस्तो सीपयुक्त राईगाऊँमा जन्मेको हो कि जस्तो पनि लाग्छ।

LE.037

məjo delgobhal duspihama kokkoxi
məjo del -go -bhal duspi -ham -a kokkoxi
 that-time village -LOC -GO adult -PL -ERG aware

alunthənpə malokcum
a- lu -thən -po malokcum
 2.NPT- tell -HAB -GEN teenager

amutanijəŋa
a- mu -t -a -ni -jo -ŋa
 2.NPT- do -be -2-3SG.NPT -PER -CV -FOC

sikipari muna centəisini wau. aplo
sikipari mu -na cen - təi -si -ni wau aplo
 skill do -INF learn - keep -PRF -PER ok later

asia jo birmecu
asi -a jo birme - cu
 who -ERG also sister - offspring

abetaninə mei. misma
a- be -t -a -ni -nə mei misma
 2.NPT- give -be -2-3SG.NPT -PER -NEG ok female

cua jo minupo kimbi khəssoka
cu -a jo minu -po kim -bi khə -soka
 offspring -ERG also man -GEN house -LOC go -CV

ladzi akhəptani mei.
ladzi a- khəp -t -a -ni mei
 shyness 2.NPT- come -be -2-3SG.NPT -PROB ok

'The aged people used to tell us, "You should learn skills when you are young. You will not good girls when you grow old. The girls may not be able to work perfective when you will be married and go home".'

त्यसबेला गाऊँघरतिर जेठो-पाकोहरूले भन्ने गर्थे, सानो छँदा नै सीप-साप सिकिराख है, पछि कसैले पनि छोरी-चेली नदेला नि, छोरी-चेलीहरूले पनि मान्छेको घरमा गएर गाल परौला है।

LE.038

məkəŋa jo wo je aŋu malo
mək -a -ŋa jo wo je aŋu malo
 that -ERG -FOC also FOCS ALTR I just

sek uk thobikaŋa to: pəŋthədu.
sek uk tho -bika -ŋa to: pu -ŋ -thə -du

seven eight year -SOR -FOC loom weave -1sg. -CONT -PT

'This might be the reason why I used to weave looms when I was young (seven- eight years).'

त्यसैले पनि हो कि म अलि सानो छँदा(७-८वर्ष) देखि नै तान बुन्ने गर्थे।

LE.039

<i>nulu cucukajo</i>		<i>meisi</i>	<i>dzasso</i>	<i>khojo</i>
nulu cucu	-kajo	meisi	dzə -so	khojo
day grand-father	-ASSO	buffaloo	graze -CV	else

<i>somna-disse</i>	<i>mamalai</i>	<i>to: puna</i>
somna - disse	mama -lai	to: pu -na
evening - morning	mother -DAT	loom weave -INF

phləthədu.

phlə	-t	-thə	-du
help	-be	-CONT	-PT

'I used to assist my mother in weaving looms even if I used to help my grandfather in grazing buffaloes.'

दिउँसो बाजेसँग भैसी चराउदै भएपनि बिहान-बेलुका आमालाई तान बुन्न सघाउने गर्थे।

LE.040

<i>jəpaka</i>	<i>nokthobika</i>	<i>cenkim khusthiŋjo</i>
jə -paka	nok - tho -bika	cenkim khə -thiŋ -o -jo
hence -MDF	nine - year -SOR	school go -CONT. -1SG -CV

<i>jo mosokaŋa</i>	<i>phləna</i>	<i>chukthiŋu.</i>
jo mo -soka -ŋa	phlə -na	chuk -thiŋ -u
also that-way -CV	-FOC help -INF	be -CONT. -PT

'Later when I was nine years old, I had to assist my mother in the similar way although I started my school.'

पछि नौ वर्षको हुदादेखि स्कुल जान थालेपछि पनि त्यसरी नै सघाउनु पर्थ्यो।

LE.041

<i>saləŋne</i>	<i>hiudobi</i>	<i>duspiham</i>	<i>ləsba</i>	<i>misma,</i>
sal	-əŋne	hiudo -bi	duspi -ham	ləsba
separate (grains)	-every	winter -LOC	adult -PL	male

<i>celpu</i>	<i>birme</i>	<i>mədes</i>	<i>khəssoka</i>	<i>salekajo</i>	<i>rum</i>
celpu	birme	mədes	khə -soka	sale -kajo	rum
birth-place	sister	terai	go -CV	thread -ASSO	salt

khotthətni.

khot	-thət	-ni
bring up -CV	-3PL	PT

'Every year in the winter, the aged people, both male and female used to go down to the plains (Kattari) and used to bring cotton (thread) and salt.'

सालन्ने हिउँदमा जेठो-पाकोहरु, पुरुष-महिला, माइती-चेली मधेस(कटारी) गएर धागो र नुन ल्याउने गर्थे।

LE.042

mambika somna somna daulobi mi
 mam -bika somna somna daulo -bi mi
 that -SOR evening evening oven -LOC fire

grasso cwaa kupi grasso sale
 gra -so cwa -a kupi gra -so sale
 burn -CV next -ERG lamp burn -CV thread

polauni munthānpō.
 polauni mun -thān -po
 task to make ball do -HAB -PER

'Then in the evening time, we used to making fire in the oven and lighting the lamps, we used to make the balls of the cotton thread.'

त्यसपछि साँझको समयमा अगेनामा आगो बालेर, कोही चाहिँ बती बालेर धागो पोलाउनी गर्ने गर्थ्यौं।

LE.043

mam njarsoka to: bjakna phirke
 mam njar -soka to: bjak -na phirke
 that complete -CV loom insert -INF fan

lahemuna, pādza phukna, rasi suṅna,
 lahe -mu -na pādza phuk -na rasi suṅ -na
 have -do -INF loom raise up -INF rope pick up -INF

to: halna ṅeṅe suṅna, samadzuwa
 to: hal -na ṅeṅe suṅ -na samadzuwa
 loom spread -INF leading thread pick up -INF local machine

khjakna mambika chemchema kəṅkua
 khjak -na mam -bika chem - chem -a kəṅku -a
 hang -INF that -SOR when - when -ERG water -ERG

pun duwa dzhisso to: puna hijo jo
 pun duwa dzhis -so to: pu -na hijo jo
 weave way wet -CV loom weave -INF when also

mo mazhiṅthiṅnə.
 mo ma- zhiṅ -thiṅ -nə
 wise NEG- fulfill -CONT. -NEG

'I was never satisfied by making the looms (with the ropes), making balls of the cotton clothes, collecting the looms (in the evening which have been spread), weaving the thread through the comb like instrument (of bamboo), weaving the leading thread, hanging the wooden instrument (Samajuwa), and soak the thread of the looms before weaving.'

त्यस काम सकेर तान हाल्नु, फिर्के लाउनु, पाँजा उठाउनु, रासी उन्नू, तान हाल्नु, नाकडोरी उन्नू, सामाजुवा झुन्ड्याउनु, त्यसपछि बेला-बेलामा पानीले मेसो भिजाउदै तान बुन्दा कहिल्यै थित मर्दैनथ्यो।

LE.044

tuksu thopo chukombika aṅu
 tuksu tho -po chuk -o -po -bika aṅu
 thirteen year -GEN become -1SG -GEN -SOR I

lamlumpaka mades khucomgə.
 lamlu -po -paka mades khə - com - gə
 before -GEN -MDF terai go - 1SG - be

'I first went down to the tarai when I was thirteen years old.'
 तेह्र वर्षको हुदादेखि म पहिलो चोटि मधेस गएको थिएँ।

LE.045

məjo pipcaipo totojam nu duksa
 məjo pipcai -po totojam nu duk -sa
 that-time Pipcai -GEN steep nose strike -ADJZR

heṅam lamdu khoti lədukhum
 heṅam lamdu khoti lə - duk -um
 like path upwards feel - strike -PRF

mimtojo tejoṅa o
 mim -t -o -jo tejo -ṅa o-po
 remember -be -1SG -CV now -FOC I-GEN

rəm ṅekhe lota.
 rəm ṅe -khe lo -t -a
 body pain -like feel -be -2-3SG.NPT

'I feel my body aches even today when I remember climbing up the steep and monotonous way up of Pipchai.'

त्यसबेला पिच्चाइको पट्यार लाग्दो ठाडो उकालो बाटोमा कठिनाइ भोगेको सम्झिदा अहिलै पनि जिउ दुखेर आउँछ।

LE.046

khənpə heṅa lamdubi hatitar mənə
 khə -po heṅa lamdu -bi hatitar mənə
 go -GEN like-which path -LOC Hatitar then

lempatarbi lampharvim kimbi
 lempatar -bi lam -phar -vim kim -bi
 Lempatar -LOC way -ASSOS-GEN house -LOC

ləmdzəmpo phadzi khjantunpom ka
 ləmdzəm -po phadzi khja - tu -po -po ka
 food -GEN sack hang - keep -GEN -GEN and

əisinpojo lassoka dzuso kim
 əisi -po -jo la -soka dzu -so kim
 return -GEN -CV take out -CV cold -CV house

hunkhonpom tum mimtojo
 hu - khoṅ -po -m tum mim -t -o -jo

reach - come up -GEN -FOC thing remember -be -1SG -CV

hito boloṅa tho coktim
 hito bolo -ṅa tho cok -ti -m
 how quickly -FOC year mature -1.NPT. -FOC

heṅa jo lota.
 heṅa jo lo -t -a
 like-which also feel -be -2-3SG.NPT

'Going further passing through Hatitar and Lempatar, (we used to see) the sacks of food materials, and while coming back, (and) taking out and eating, I feel like the time has changed fast.'

जाँदा-जाँदै बाटोमा हातिटार अनि लेम्पाटारमा बाटोको छेउको घरमा सामलको नाम्जा झुन्ड्याइराखेको र फर्किदा निकालेर खादै घर आईपुगेको कुरा सम्झिदा कति चाँडै नै जमाना छिपे झैपनि लाग्छ।

LE.047

mædes kataribi saikəl pithiṅum
 mædes kətari -bi saikəl pi -thiṅ -um
 terai Katari -LOC cycle come -CONT. -PRF

doktujo toribarihu dhawa
 dok -tu -jo tori - bari -hu dhawa
 see -1SG -CV mustard - land -GO hurrid

cəncəjo lu bhaptuka
 cən -co -jo lu bhap -tu -ka
 run away -1sg. -CV stone strike -1SG -CV

athijom tum adzi jo saikəl
 a- thi -jo -m tum adzi jo saikəl
 2.NPT- fall -CV -FOC thing now also cycle

doktojo mimkhəto.
 dok -t -o -jo mim - khə -t -o
 see -be -1SG -CV remember - go -be -1SG

'When I see a bicycle even today I remember an incident in the plains (Katari). A bicycle was coming towards me, and I rushed away and fell down ston a stumbling on a stone.'

मधेस(कटारी)मा आफुतिर साईकल आइराखेको देख्दा तोरीबारीतिर हतारमा भाग्दा ढुङ्गामा अल्झेर लडेको कुरा अझै पनि साईकल देख्दा सम्झन्छु।

LE.048

kim hukluksa din del jukkula
 kim hu - lu -k -sa din del jukkula
 house reach - reach -INF -ADJZRday village bellow

caslebi bəlsinpoka dzunpoka
 casle -bi bəlsi -po -ka dzu -po -ka
 Casle -LOC get rest -PER -CV eat -PER -CV

encim ludzəm phulpo khiləmbi

en -i -po ludzəm phul -po khiləm -bi
 remain -PRF -GEN millet flour -GEN ghee -LOC

ussoka phuləura ussoka dzunpom.
 u -soka phuləura u -soka dzu -po -po
 burn -CV Phulara burn -CV eat -PER -GEN

'On the day I came back home, having taken rest in Chasle, a little down my house, and eaten all the eatables remained on the way.'

घर आइपुग्ने दिन घरतल्लिर चास्लेमा बिसाएर बाटोमा खाएर बाँकी रहेको कोदोको पीठोको घिऊमा फुलौरा पोलेर खाएको।

LE.049

mənə kim kimbi jo kurpom
 mənə kim kim -bi jo kur -po -po
 then house house -LOC also carry -PER -GEN

mimtojo tejoŋa jo khimu
 mim -t -o -jo tejo -ŋa jo khimu
 remember -be -1SG -CV now -FOC also be water

basta.
 ba -t -a
 leak -be -2-3SG.NPT

'My mother watered when I remember the presents carried to door to door of the village.'
 अनि घर-घरमा पनि कोशेली बोकेको सम्झिदा अहिले पनि मुख रसाउछ।

LE.050

adzho papaa jo mosokaŋa phuləura
 adzho papa -a jo mosoka -ŋa phuləura
 long time ago father -ERG also thus -FOC Phulara

khotthət̪ni ka abinthənpɔjo
 khot -thət̪ -ni ka a- bi -thən -po -jo
 bring up -CV -HAB and 2.NPT- give -HAB -GEN -CV

tam kimbi cəi khipna i:ta
 tam kim -bi cəi khip -na i: -t -a
 this house -LOC DM cook -INF NEG -be -2-3SG.NPT

mədes khəktijo tuŋa khip̪ti
 mədes khə -ktijo tu -ŋa khip̪ -ti
 terai go -CV only -FOC cook -1.PL.NPT.

alunpom adzi jo o nubi
 a- lun -po -m adzi jo o-po nu -bi
 2.NPT- tell -PER -FOC now also I-GEN mind -LOC

gota.
 gota
 is

'I still remember (the incidents) when my father used to give (us) Phuraula, (and) he used to say, "No, Phuraula should not be cooked at home. It is cooking while going to the terai".'

उहिले बुबाले पनि त्यसरी नै फुलौरा ल्याएर दिदा यो घरमा चाहिँ पकाउनु हुदैन, मधेस जादा मात्र पकाउने गरिन्छ भनेको अहिले पनि मेरो मनमा छ।

LE.051

to: puna njarpoka dumbu meṅa
 to: pu -na njar -po -ka dumbu me -ṅa
 loom weave -INF complete -PER -CV husband wife -FOC

dəmənu kəl kursoka kimbi
 dəmə -nu kəl kur -soka kim -bi
 tailor -DUAL machine carry -CV house -LOC

hulluika gu phjarna proisiijo
 hullun -i -ka gu phjar -na proisi -i -jo
 arrive -PRF -CV cloth sew -INF be ready -PRF -CV

hoṅna macapthənpəno.
 hoṅ -na ma- cap -thən -po -no
 wait -INF NEG- can -HAB -PER -IMPH

'I was really impatient to wait when the loom was completed after weaving and pairs of tailors came carrying the sewing machines.'

तान बुनिसकेर लोग्ने-स्वास्नी नै दर्जी दुई कल बोकेर घरमा आइपुगेर लुगा सिलाउन लाग्दा पखिनसक्नु हुन्थ्यो।

LE.052

ləsbəpo dəura suruwal, kəṭtu misməpo
 ləsbə -po dəura suruwal kəṭtu mismə -po
 male -GEN a cloth a cloth underpant female -GEN

chiṭpo gunne, mənə ka phazi,
 chiṭ -po gunne mənə ka phazi
 dying -GEN a female cloth then and sack

khaṣto, sirəkpo khol phjarna
 khaṣto sirək -po khol phjar -na
 blanket quilt -GEN cover sew -INF

njarsoka tuk-sək din jəpaka unci
 njar -soka tuk - sək din jə -paka unci
 complete -CV one - two day hence -MDF 2ECX.DL

kim ənthəisii.
 kim ə -thəi- -si -i
 house return -HAB- -PRF -3DUL

'They (tailors) returned home after completing the pants, shirt and underwear for the male and Gunyu (sari) and namja for females, the cover of the blanket.'

लोग्ने मानिसको दौरा-सुरुवाल, कट्टु, आईमाईको छितको गुन्यु, अनि नाम्जा, सिरकको खोल, सिलाइ सकेर एक-दुई

दिनपछि उनिहरु आफ्नो घर फर्कन्थे।

LE.053

məjo duspihama thakpuri jo
məjo duspi -ham -a thakpuri jo
that-time adult -PL -ERG a female cloth also

khāḍipoṅa

i -jo kha -ŋ -i -po -ŋa
PRF -CV EX.V -1sg. -PRF -GEN -FOC

hammunthəisi.

ham- mun -thəi- -si
HON- do -HAB- -PRF

'The aged people also used to wear the home-made clothes those days.'

त्यतिबेला बुढापाकाहरु पटुका पनि खाणिको नै लगाउँथे।

LE.054

delbi cwa duspi, cucuhama
del -bi cwa duspi cucu -ham -a
village -LOC somebody adult grand-father -PL -2-3SG.NPT

khāḍipo

khāḍi -po wauro ham- mun
home-made clothes -GEN a male cloth 3.PL- stay

deisim

desi -i -m dok -tu -jo a -jo -jo
forign -3.PT -PRF see -1.SG -CV say -CV -CV

heṅa ləthiṅu.

heṅa lə -thiṅ -u
like-which feel -CONT. -PT

'I had sympathies to/d the aged people when (I) used to see the aged people the same home-made clothes.'

गाऊँका अरु बुढापाकाहरु, केटा-केटीहरुले खाँडीको धोति लाइराखेको देख्दा बिचरा जस्तो लाग्थ्यो।

LE.055

aṅu ohopuṅa jo khāḍipo
aṅu o - hopu -ŋa jo khāḍi -po
I I - self -FOC also home-made clothes -GEN

dəura-suruwalbiṅa

dəura - suruwal -bi -ŋa cenkim khə -thiṅ -o
a cloth - a cloth -LOC -FOC school go -CONT. -1SG.PT

'I used to to go school in the same home-made clothes.'

म आफैँ पनि खाँडीको दौरा-सुरुवाल मैँ स्कुल जाने गर्थेँ।

LE.056

<i>kimbi</i>		<i>adzi jo</i>	<i>adzhom</i>		<i>khāḍipo</i>		
kim	-bi	adzi jo	adzho	-po	khāḍi	-po	
house	-LOC	now	also	long time ago	-GEN	home-made clothes	-GEN
<i>o</i>		<i>gu</i>	<i>gothiṅta</i>				
o-po		gu	go	-thiṅ	-t	-a	
I-GEN		cloth	be	-CONT.	-be	-2-3SG.NPT	

'My trousers of those home-made clothes are still (preserved) at my home.'
घरमा अझैपनि उहिलेको खाँडीको मेरो लुगा छदैछ।

LE.057

<i>məjom</i>		<i>bhukto</i>	<i>mimsoka</i>		<i>səmsura</i>	
məjo	-po	bhukto	mim	-soka	səmsur	-a
that-time	-GEN	pain	remember	-CV	carefully	-ERG
<i>təjum.</i>						
tu	-ṅ			-um		
keep	-1sg.			-PRF		

'Keeping them safe remembering the hard days of the past.'
त्यति बेलाको दुःख सम्झेर जतनले राखेको।

LE.058

<i>khāḍipo</i>		<i>chuknaaṅa</i>				
khāḍi	-po	chuk	-na	-a	-ṅa	
home-made clothes	-GEN	become	-INF	-ERG	-FOC	
<i>tammo</i>		<i>dziṅum</i>		<i>jo</i>		
tam	-m	-o	dziṅ	-m	jo	
this	-FOC	-1.SG.PT	last	-FOC	also	
<i>gota.</i>						
gota						
is						

'Those clothes are still (fresh) because they are home-made.'
खाँडीको हुनाले नै यतिन्जेल खपेको पनि छ।

LE.059

<i>tuk-u-səksi</i>		<i>tho</i>	<i>lamlum</i>		<i>chunaa</i>			
tuk-u	-sək	-si	tho	lamlu	-po	chu	-na	-a
eighteen	-two	-PRF	year	before	-GEN	become	-INF	-2-3SG.NPT
<i>muistujo</i>		<i>pisipici</i>	<i>poptore</i>	<i>heṅajo</i>				
muisi	-tu	-jo	pisipici	poptore	heṅa	-jo		
wear	-1SG	-CV	a little	short	like-which	-CV		
<i>doisti.</i>								
do	-i							
		-sti						

see -PRF -be

'Since (the cloth was weaved about 20 years ago), this is rather short.'
अठार-बीस बर्ष अगाडिको हुनाले लगाउदा केहि छोटो भएजस्तो पनि देखिन्छ।

LE.060

khojo muisina mono t̥aisina dumo
khojo muisi -na mono t̥aisi -na dumo
else wear -INF not keep for oneself -INF much

jatto aṅu.
ja -t -o aṅu
like -be -1SG.PT I

'I like the clothes to preserve rather than to wear these days.'
तै पनि लगाउनु भन्दा जतन गरेर राख्नु बढी मन पराउछु म।

LE.061

te h̥ələhəsəpo pr̥oŋsigobhal
te h̥ələhəsə -po pr̥oŋ -si -go -bhal
like this well task -GEN manage -PRF -LOC -GO

muisisoka khustojo hitokli
muisi -soka khə -t -o -jo hito -li
wear -CV go -be -1SG.NPT -CV how -MDF

minuhama wajəm̥kha chukso hito
minu -ham -a wajəm̥kha chuk -so hito
man -PL -ERG surprised become -CONT how

khanuksa ago wo khəmla
khanuksa a -go wo khəm -la
ice say -LOC FOC where -SOR

ahudim assoka
a- h̥ə -i -m a -soka
2.NPT- bring -PRF -FOC say -CV

asiṅtonu.
a- siŋ -t -o -nu
2.NPT- ask -be -1SG.NPT -PL

'When I go to some (cultural) functions, (and) people being surprised ask, "How nice is your clothes! Where have you brought it from!"

यसो कहिले- काहीं मौलिक कार्यक्रमहरुमा लगाएर जाँदा कतिजना मान्छेहरुले त आश्चर्य मान्दै "कति राम्रो तिम्रो लुगा हो" कहाँबाट ल्याएको भन्दै सोध्छन।

LE.062

cə ne bənso tam mihisoka
cə -a ne bən -so tam mihi -soka
somebody -ERG IMPH touch -CV this how -CV

khāmbi punim maka bulaṅka
 khām -bi pu -ni -po maka bu -lamka
 where -LOC weave -PER -GEN PRT tree -SOR

pressoka hānpom heṅam wo
 pre -soka hā -po -po heṅam wo
 pluck up -CV bring -PER -GEN like FOCS

justa maka
 ju -t -a maka
 look like -be -2-3SG.NPT PRT

mānə tam gu puksa minu adzi jo
 mānə tam gu pu -sa minu adzi jo
 then this cloth weave -ADJZRman now also

hammota ka asso tum
 ham- mo -t -a ka a -so tum
 HON- be -be -2-3SG.NPT and say -CV thing

mutanim ṅiṅtojo
 mu -a -ni -po ṅi -ṅ -t -jo
 do -2-3SG.NPT -PER -GEN hear -1sg. -be -CV

adzho aṅu cu:cu moṅjom
 adzho aṅu cu:cu moṅju -jo -po
 long time ago I children become -CV -GEN

delgobhalbim khələ tummy mimpatto.
 del -go -bhal -bim khələ tum -mu mim - pat -t
 village -LOC -GO -GEN all thing -PL remember - have -be

'When (people) touch these clothes and say, "How and where has it been woven? This seems as if this has just been plucked from the trees. Are the men who wove the clothes still alive? ", I remember all the things of those days.'

कसैले त मुसार्दै" यो कसरी, कहाँ बुनेको, बोटेबाट टिपेर ल्याएजस्तोपो देखिन्छ त। अनि यो लुगा बुन्ने मान्छे अझै पनि जिवितै छन् त?" भन्दै कुरा गरेको सुन्दा उहिलेको बचपनको गाऊघरतिरको सबै कुराहरु सम्झिन पुग्छु।

LE.063

mamghāribi salepo lārela chunu
 mam - ghāri -bi sale -po lāre -la chu -nu
 that - time -LOC thread -GEN ball -SOR become -IND

ki khausipo piurila hopua muisiksa
 ki khausi -po piuri -la hopu -a muisi -sa
 CONJ cotton -GEN ball -SOR self -ERG wear -ADJZR

hito gusem hopuaṅa punthāisi.
 hito gu - sem hopu -a -ṅa pun -thāi- -si
 how cloth - like self -ERG -FOC weave -HAB- -PRF

'We used to wear all kinds of clothes by ourselves, whether it was made from the balls of

the thread or woolen balls.'

त्यसबेला धागोको गुजुल्टाबाट होस् कि कपासको डल्लाबाट आफुले लाउने सबै लुगाफाटा आफैले बुनिन्थ्यो।

LE.064

<i>məkakhi</i>		<i>adzhom</i>		<i>minula</i>	<i>khələ</i>	<i>tum</i>	
mək	-a	-khi	adzho	-po	minu -la	khələ	tum
that	-ERG	-IMPH	long time ago	-GEN	man -SOR	all	thing

<i>ceisina</i>		<i>chukta</i>		<i>mei</i>	
ceisi	-na	chuk	-t	-a	mei
learn	-INF	become	-be	-2-3SG.NPT	ok

<i>hamastam</i>		<i>maka.</i>			
ham-	a	-t	-a	-po	maka
HON-	say	-be	-2-3SG.NPT	-GEN	PRT

'Therefore (I) said that we should learn all the things from those days.'

त्यसैले त उहिलेको मान्छेबाट सबैकुरा सिक्नुपर्छ है भनेको त ।

B₂: thunam pharbi 'Beneath the Mountain'

BM.001

thunam pharbi bunhəisi
thunam phar -bi bu hə -isi
mountainbeneath -LOC born bring -PASS

'I was born in the lap of the mountain.'

हिमाली काखमा जन्मियो

BM.002

ridum hədum munhəisi
ridum hədum mun - hə -isi
religion culture do - bring -PASS

'(We) have been celebrating the festivals.'

रितिरिवाज मनाइल्याइयो

BM.003

bhu lamthina cunhəisi
bhu lamthi -na cu - hə -isi
ahead walk -INF know - bring -PASS

'(We) have learnt the ways to keep ahead.'

अघि बढ्न जानिल्याइयो

BM.004

sulam tulam tunhəisi
sulam tulam tu - hə -isi
way path keep - bring -PASS

'The traditions have been preserved.'

चालचलन बचाइराखियो

BM.005

cu:pimukajo siṅsoka
cu:pi -mu -kajo siṅ -soka
ancestor -PL -ASSOask -CV

Having inquired with the people of elder generation,

पूर्वाहुरूसँग सोधखोज गरेर

BM.006

du:pimupo lam dissoka
duspi -mu -po lam di: -soka
adult -PL -GEN way follow -CV

'Having learnt the traditions of the people'

अग्रजहरुको बिडो थामेर

BM.007

thampubituhe husoka
thampu -bi -tuhe hu -soka
land -LOC -ASSOScome (NDIR) -CV

'Having come to the earth together,'
यस पथ्वीमा सँगै आएर

BM.008

mikchhe nakchhe tusoka
mikchhe nakchhe tu -soka
identity identity keep -CV

remembering the past,
चिनापर्ची याद गरिराखेर

BM.009

amna tambi mukhakti
amna tam -bi mu hək -ti
today this stay have -2INCL.NPT.

'We have been staying here.'
आज यहाँ रहिआएकाछौं

BM.010

mamla khəmbi hukpakti
mamla khəm -bi hukpa -ti
then where -LOC reach -2INCL.NPT

'Then, where shall we reach?'
तत्पश्चात् को कहाँ पुग्यौं

BM.011

cunpo tummu lukmukti
cu -po tum -mu lu -mu -ti
know -PER thing -PL tell -do -INCL.NPT

'Let's share (the memories) together.'
जानेको जति भनसुन गरौं

BM.012

minsiya khojo tuktukti.
minsi -ŋa khojo tu tu -ti
memories -FOC else keep keep -INCL.NPT

'Let's share the memories, if we can't share anything else.'
सम्झना नै भएपनि बाँडिराखौं

B₃: namtori 'Sunrise'

sunrise.001

eni hou əpti namtori
eni hou əp -i nam - tori
PRT PRT rise -3PST sun - ray
prt. prt. v. -suff. n. - n.

Look, the sun is rising.

एनि हौ सूर्य उदायो

sunrise.002

jəbi chuisi nu ləmna
jə -bi chu -isi nu lə -po -na
hence -LOC become -PASS mind feel -GEN -INF
adv. -case v -suff. n. v. -case -suff.
akkhəŋsa asia woni
a -khəŋ -sa asi wo -ni
say -have -ADJZR who FOCS -PER
v. -v. -suff. pron.prt. -aspt.

Who will say, "We are far back. Let's look for knowledge."

पछि परियो जान खोजौं भन्दिने कसले होला

sunrise.003

minu chuisika buisi pukhubi
minu chu -sika bu -isi pukhu -bi
man become -CONV born -PASS earth -LOC
n. v -suff. v. -suff. n. -case

We are born in this earth as a man.

मानिस भएर यस धर्तीमा त जन्मियो

sunrise.004

phwaisinkhaksa mo cəmsi
phwaisi kha -sa mo cə -m -si
depart INST -ADJZR what somebody -FOC -PRF
v. v. -suff. pron. pron. -suff. -aspt.
tububi əpti namtori
tubu -bi əp -i nam - tori
forehead -LOC rise -3PST sun - ray
n. -case v. -suff. n. - n.

What destiny do I have! The sun rose in my destiny.

बिछोड भैजानुपर्ने के लेखियो कर्ममा सूर्य उदायो

sunrise.005

sulam dina camhəisi
sulam din -a cam - hə -isi
way day -2-3SG.NPST loose - bring -PASS
n. n. -suff. v. - v. -suff.

akkhəŋsa
a -khəŋ -sa
say -have -ADJZR
v. -v. -suff.

asia woni
asi -a woni
who -ERG may be
pron. -suff. v.

Who will say, "We have forgotten the custom of those days."

पुर्खाहरूको चालचलन भुल्दैगइयो भन्दिने कसले होला

sunrise.006

delbi buisi delbiŋa
del -bi bu -isi del -bi -ŋa
village -LOC born -PASS village -LOC -FOC
n. -case v. -suff. n. -case -prt.

munhəisi
mun - hə -isi
do - bring -PASS
v. - v. -suff.

(We) were born in the village, and (we) grew up in the village.

गाऊँमा जन्मिइयो गाऊँमै रहियो

sunrise.007

thoa kaisi mambika wo
tho -a kan -isi mam -bika wo
year -ERG bring backwards -PASS that -SOR FOCS
n. -suff. v. -suff. pron. -case prt.

nu əisi əpti namtori
nu əisi əp -i nam - tori
mind return rise -3PST sun - ray
n. v. v. -suff. n. - n.

The time changed.I knew it. The sun rose.

परिस्थितिले कोल्टे फेर्यो बल्ल पो चेत आयो सूर्य उदायो

sunrise.008

bhu	lamthina		camuisi			akkhəŋsa	
bhu	lamthi	-na	cam	-u	-isi	a	-khəŋ -sa
ahead	walk	-INF	loose	-PST	-PASS	say	-have -ADJZR
adv.	v.	-suff.	v.	-tns.	-suff.	v.	-v. -suff.

asia		woni	
asi	-a	wo	-ni
who	-ERG	FOCS	-PER
pron.	-suff.	pvt.	-aspt.

Who will say, "We have forgotten the ways to move ahead."

अधि बद्धन बिस्व्यो भन्दिने कसले होला

sunrise.009

chakal		chuku		nambakhu	
chakal		chu	-u	nam bak	-u
about	9 a.m.	become	-3.SG.PST	sun become late	-3.SG.PST
n.		v	-suff.	n. v.	-suff.

samsuphu	
samsuph	-u
be slow desire	-3.SG.PST
v.	-suff.

The day saturated. It was late. The desires have slowed.

घाम छिप्दैगयो बेरभयो जाँगर सेलायो

sunrise.010

su:bu	jaŋu		cupimu		hamlukhu	
su:bu	ja	-ŋu	cu - pi	-mu	ham- luk	-u
strenght	like	-1.SG			HON- extinct	-3.SG.PST
n.	v	-suff.			preff.- v.	-suff.

əpti		namtori	
əp	-i	nam - tori	
rise	-3PST	sun - ray	
v.	-suff.	n. - n.	

Having lost the strength, the ancestors died. The sun rose.

तागत घट्टै पुर्खाहरू मासिदै गए सूर्य उदायो

sunrise.011

nuchisoka		thumsikti		akkhəŋsa	
nuchi	-soka	thumsi	-ti	a	-khəŋ -sa
aware	-CONV	gather	-be.PL.INCL.NPST	say	-have -ADJZR
v.	-suff.	v.	-suff.	v.	-v. -suff.

asia		woni	
asi	-a	woni	
who	-ERG	may be	

pron. -suff. v.

Who will say, "Let's be conscious and be together."

सजक भई जुटौन भन्दिने कसले होला

sunrise.012

namlam	tumso		lam	læmti	
namlam	tum	-so	lam	læm	-ti
all over	find out	-CONT	way search	-be.PL.INCL.NPST	
<i>adv.</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>-suff.</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>-suff.</i>

in̩kia

in̩ki -a

1.PL.INCL -ERG

pron. -suff.

Let's find the ways of consciousness and move ahead.

चौतर्फी चनाखो भई चेतनाको बाटो पहिल्याऊँ

sunrise.013

gotimsoka		jharaa		miŋtiwa		
go	tim	-soka	jhara	-a	min	-ti -wa
soul	realize	-CONV	everyone	-ERG	remember	-3.SG -PROB
<i>n.</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>-suff.</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>-suff.</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>-suff. -suff.</i>

əpti

namtori

əp -i nam - tori

rise -3.PST sun - ray

v. -suff. n. - n.

Let's pay attention to it by increasing the self-confidence.

आत्मविस्वास जगाई हरेकले ध्यान पुर्याऊँ

sunrise.014

hisihaisi	sogurso		akkhəŋsa		
hisihaisi	so - gur	-so	a -khəŋ	-sa	
be aware	soul - encourage	-CONT	say -have	-ADJZR	
<i>v.</i>	<i>n. - v.</i>	<i>-suff.</i>	<i>v. -v.</i>	<i>-suff.</i>	

asia

woni

asi -a woni

who -ERG may be

pron. -suff. v.

Who will say, "Let's build up confidence with coordination? Who will say this?"

समन्वयका साथ आत्मबल बढाऊँ भन्दिने कसले होला

sunrise.015

bhiso		huisi		mosoŋa		
bhi	-so	hu	-isi	mo	-so	-ŋa
how	-CONT	come (NDIR)	-PASS	that-way	-CONV	-FOC
<i>pron.</i>	<i>-suff.</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>-suff.</i>	<i>pron.</i>	<i>-suff.</i>	<i>-prt.</i>

khənthəisti		
khə	-thəi-	-ti
go	-HAB-	-be
<i>v.</i>	<i>-prft.-</i>	<i>-suff.</i>

(We) will go as we came.

जसरी आइयो उसैगरी गइदैछ ।

sunrise.016

mo	majhimnaŋa				phwaisikdin	ənthəisti		
mo	ma-	jhim	-na	-ŋa	phwaisi	din ə	-thəi-	-ti
wise	NEG-	fulfill	-INF	-FOC	depart	day	return	-HAB-
<i>n.</i>	<i>preff.-</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>-suff.</i>	<i>-prt.</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>-prft.-</i>

əpti		namtori
əp	-i	nam - tori
rise	-3PST	sun - ray
<i>v.</i>	<i>-suff.</i>	<i>n. - n.</i>

The day will come when we will be separated without fulfilling our wished. The sun rose.

रहर नपुगिकनै छुट्टिने दिन आउँदैछ सूर्य उदायो

sunrise.017

sampharsoka		cumsikti
sampharso	-ka	cumsi -ti
motivate	ownself	-CONV prepare
<i>v.</i>	<i>-suff.</i>	<i>v. -suff.</i>

akkhəŋsa		asia		woni
a	-khəŋ	-sa	asi	-a woni
say	-have	-ADJZR	who	-ERG may be
<i>v.</i>	<i>-v.</i>	<i>-suff.</i>	<i>pron.</i>	<i>-suff. v.</i>

Who will say, "Let's do the things together?"

होस्टेमा हैसे गर्दै उठौंन भन्दिने कस्ले होला

sunrise.018

enihou	əpti		namtori
enihou	əp	-i	nam - tori
oh	rise	-3.PST	sun - ray
<i>prt.</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>-suff.</i>	<i>n. - n.</i>

Oh! The sun rose.

एनि हौ सूर्य उदायो

sunrise.019

jəbi	chuisi	nu	ləmna
jə -bi	chu -isi	nu	ləm -na
hence -LOC	become -PASS	knowledge	search -INF
<i>adv. -case</i>	<i>v -suff.</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>v. -suff.</i>

akkhəŋsa	asia	woni
a -khəŋ	-sa asi	-a woni
say -have	-ADJZRwho	-ERG may be
<i>v. -v.</i>	<i>-suff. pron.</i>	<i>-suff. v.</i>

Who can tell us that (we) are back wards!

पछि परियो भन्दिने कस्ले होला।

Chapter 2

Phonology

2.1 Segmental phonemes

The inventory of the distinctive segments of Dumi is given under vowels and consonants below:

2.1.1 Vowels

There are seven oral vowels in Dumi, which contrast in length as in table: 2.1.

Table: 2.1 The inventory of Dumi oral vowels

	Front	Central	Back
	unrounded	unrounded	rounded
High	i/i:	ɨ/ɨ:	u/u:
Mid	e/e:	ə/ə:	o/o:
Low		a/a:	

Notice that Dumi has three short and three long central vowels (/ɨ/, /ɨ:/, /ə/, /ə:/, /a/ and /a:/).

2.1.1.1 Oral vowels and its distribution

There is a contrast in the position and the height of the tongue and the rounding of the lips in the articulation of vowels:

e.g (2.1)

/i/ (high front unrounded short vowel):

in 'sell' kim 'house' hi blood

/i:/ (high front unrounded long vowel):

i:ta 'not yet' khi:ci 'thief' hi: 'wind'

/e/ (mid front unrounded short vowel):

em 'excreted' lem 'tongue' phe 'paisa'

/e:/ (mid front unrounded long vowel):

e: 'oh! yes' che: 'wash' me: 'wife'

/a/ (low central unrounded short vowel):

asi	'who'	tam	'this'	dza	'rice'
/a:/ (low central unrounded long vowel):					
a:l	'drop'	sa:na	'lid'	ba:	'leak'
/o/ (mid back rounded short vowel):					
ok	'crow'	bok	'break out'	tho	'year'
/o:/ (mid back rounded long vowel):					
o:po	'mine'	ho:pu	'self'	do:	'hair'
/u/ (high back rounded short vowel):					
uspu	'rat'	khur	'hand'	nu	'nose'
/u:/ (high back rounded long vowel):					
u:	'burn'	tu:li	'pushed'	nu:	'mind'
/ə/ (mid central unrounded short vowel):					
əpsi	'resine'	pəndi	'axe'	ŋalə	'vegetables'
/ə:/ (mid central unrounded long vowel):					
ə:na	'to return'	sə:phu	'leaf'	dhə:	'bazaar'
ɤ (high back rounded short vowel):					
ɤm	'he/she'	mɤl	'turmite'	cɤ	'baby'
ɤ: (high back rounded long vowel):					
ɤ:duwa	'the way to do'	chɤ:ba	'bed-bug'	cɤ:	'poison'

2.1.1.1.1 Minimal pairs of oral vowels

(2.2)	/i/ vs /e/	ŋina	'to listen'	ŋena	'to become ill'
	/i/ vs /e:/	dzina	'to listen'	dze:na	'to call'
	/i/ vs /ə/	kipna	'to cook'	khəpna	'to husk'
	/i/ vs /a/	khina	'to steal'	khana	'to better'
	/i/ vs /u/	pina	'to spite'	puna	'to weave'
	/i/ vs /o/	bina	'to give'	bana	'to say'
	/e/ vs /i/	enna	'to be enough'	inna	'to sell'
	/e:/ vs /i:/	e:ta	'he excretes'	i:ta	'not yet'
	/e/ vs /i/	dzeta	'call him'	dzita	'he eats'
	/u/ vs /ɤ/	cukna	'to point out'	cɤkna	'to recognize'
	/i/ vs /i:/	kina	'to quarrel'	ki:na	'to buy'

/e/ vs /e:/	dzeta	'call him/her'	dze:ta	'he talks'
/a/ vs /a:/	kana	'to bite'	ka:na	'to feel appetite'
/ə/ vs /ə:/	həna	'to snatch'	hə:na	'to bring'
/o/ vs /o:/	kho	'if'	kho:	'utensil'
/u/ vs /u:/	huna	'to come'	hu:na	'to get dry'
/ʌ/ vs /ʌ:/	cʌ	'child'	cʌ:	'poison'

2.1.1.1.2 Vowel clusters

(2.3)	ei	meisi	'buffalo'
	eu	theu	'fat'
	əi	əisi	'return'
	ai	taisi	'climed down'
	au	daulo	'hearth'
	ii	kiisi	'stretched'
	oi	doisi	'was seen'
	ou	tou	'basket'

2.1.1.2 Nasal vowels

There is limited distinctly noticed nasalization in Dumi. It seems the nasal vowels also in some loan words.

i. Native words

(2.4)	bhīka	'why'
	phūli	'cave'
	bhīsoka	'how'
	bhīkhojo	'however'

ii. Loan words

(2.5)	pijās	'onion'
	bijās	'interest'
	cāī	'particle'
	ghās	'grass'
	bjāsi	'paddy field'

2. 1. 2 Consonants and its distribution

Consonants are classified into different groups on the basis of their manner and place of articulation.

2.1.2.1 Inventory of Consonants

Table: 2.2 The inventory of Dumi consonants

		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
		Vl. Vd.	Vl. Vd.	Vl. Vd.	Vl. Vd.	Vl. Vd.	Vl. Vd.
Plosive	Unaspirated	p b	t d	ʈ ɖ		k g	ʔ
	Aspirated	ph bh	th dh	ʈh ɖh		kh gh	
Affricate	Unaspirated				c dz		
	Aspirated				ch dzh		
Nasal		m		n		ŋ	
Trill				r			
Fricatives				s			h
Lateral				l			
Semivowel		w			j		

e.g. (2.6)

a. Plosive

/p/ (voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive):

pəndi 'axe' rapsa 'hot'

/ph/ (voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive):

phati 'egg' suphar 'root'

/b/ (voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive):

boro 'frog' pabu 'bamboo'

/bh/ (voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive):

bhīso 'front' gobhal 'towards'

/t/ (voiceless unaspirated dental plosive):

tuk 'one' phati 'egg'

/th/ (voiceless aspirated dental plosive):

thəlum 'musli' betho 'khukuri'

/d/ (voiced unaspirated dental plosive):

daulo 'hearth' odel 'my village'

/dh/ (voiced aspirated dental plosive):

dhamro 'cliff'

/t/ (voiced unaspirated alveolar plosive)

teŋsa 'thick'

/k/ (voiceless unaspirated velar plosive):

kim 'home' khoksi 'yam'

/kh/ (voiceless aspirated velar plosive):

khil 'stool' dəkhlə 'head'

/g/ (voiced unaspirated velar plosive):

gu 'cloth'

/gh/ (voiced aspirated velar plosive):

ghəlsa 'big'

b. Affricates

/c/ (voiceless unaspirated palato-alveolar plosive):

cili 'angriness' khi:ci 'theaf'

/ch/ (voiceless aspirated palato-alveolar affricate):

chədwa 'grease' bichu 'knife'

/dz/ (voiced palatal unaspirated):

dza 'rice' lu:dzəm 'millet'

/dzh/ (voiced palatal aspirated):

dzhumsi 'get hurt' adzhonka last year

c. Fricatives

/s/ (voiceless alveolar fricative):

salu 'bone' asala 'tomorrow'

/h/ (voiceless glottal fricative):

hu 'rain' them 'like this'

d. Nasals

/m/ (voiced bilabial nasal):

miksi 'eye' thampu 'land' rəm 'body'

/n/ (voiced alveolar nasal):

nu 'nose' pəndi 'axe'

/ŋ/ (voiced velar nasal):

ŋimu 'arrow' tuŋna 'drink'

e. Trill

/r/ (voiced alveolar trill):

ribo 'rope' bursi 'cucumber' khur 'hand'

f. Lateral

/l/ (voiced alveolar lateral):

lim 'bud' silpu 'bird' ciskil 'intestne'

g. Semi-vowels

/w/ (voiced bilabial semi-vowel):

wale 'soft'

/j/ (voiced palatal semi-vowel):

jo 'flies' məjo 'at that time'

Most of the consonants appear in the initial and middle position. In most cases, the vowel length appears in case of the deletion of the sound /t/, /k/ in the final position of the verb stem

khətna	khə:na	'to take away'
hətna	hə:na	'to snatch'
batna	ba:na	'to say'
kokna	ko:na	'to cut with khukuri'
thokna	tho:na	'to spill'
khokna	kho:na	'to cut with scissors'

Similarly, the vowel length appears in deletion of the glottal stop [ʔ] in the noun.

meʔ	me:	'wife'
-----	-----	--------

biʔ bi: 'cow'
 poʔ po: 'pig'

2.1.2.2 Minimal pairs of consonants

(2.7)	/p/ vs /ph/	pə	'ash'	phə	'cock'
	/p/ vs /b/	pina	'to come'	bina	'to give'
	/p/ vs /bh/	prena	'to pluck'	bhrena	'to spoil'
	/t/ vs /th/	ta:na	'to scratch'	tha:na	'to detach'
	/t/ vs /d/	tə:na	'to keep for someone'	də:na	'to hold open'
	/k/ vs /kh/	ka:na	'to bite'	khana	'to be bitter'
	/g/ vs /kh/	gəpna	'to bite'	khəpna	'to winnow'
	/c/ vs /ch/	cəmnna	'to chop'	chəmnna	'to dance'
	/c/ vs /j/	cənnna	'to chop'	dzənnna	'to plough'
	/dz/ vs /ch/	dzina	'to talk'	china	'to be clever'
	/m/ vs /n/	muna	'to do'	nuna	'to recover'
	/m/ vs /ŋ/	mu	'mother'	ŋu	'fish'
	/ŋ / vs /n/	ŋu	'fish'	nu	'name'
	/j / vs /w/	jana	'to like'	wana	'to give birth'
	/s/ vs /h/	salna	'to sift'	halna	'to spread'
	/l/ vs /r/	lənna	'to come out'	rənna	'to make a hole'
	/k/ vs /t/	keŋsa	'monkey'	ʔeŋsa	'thick'
	/tʰ/ vs /bh/	tʰaŋra	'wooden support for climbing plants'	bhaŋra	'hessian'

2.1.2.3 Consonant Clusters

2.1.2.3.1 Word-initial Consonant Cluster

Word initial consonant clusters are not as frequent as the word medial consonant clusters. The second member of a consonant cluster which occurs in the initial position is normally /r/, /l/, /w/. The first consonant is either plosive or fricative.

- (2.8) a. /pr/ pramna 'to hold with fingers'
 /phr/ phrakna 'to dig out with nails'
 /br/ brə 'language'
 /bhr/ bhre:na 'to spoil'
 /kr/ kripna 'to cut (by scissors)'
 /khr/ khre:na 'to bite'
 /gr/ grənəm 'nettle'
 /ghr/ ghrina 'to rote'
- b. /pj/ pjakna 'to plait'
 /phj/ phjakna 'to slap'
 /bj/ bjakna 'to insert'
 /rj/ rjapna 'to stand'
 /lj/ ljakna 'to lick'
 /kj/ kjavna 'to sting'
 /khj/ kkjakna 'to hang'
 /gj/ gjakna 'to break out'
 /cj/ cjakna 'to plug up'
- c. /pl/ plumna 'to sink something'
 /phl/ phləmna 'to mix match'
 /bl/ bləpna 'to become mad'
 /ghl/ ghlumna 'to hatch'
 /kl/ kləkna 'to smear'
 /khl/ khliba 'dog'

d.	/rw/	rwaa	'tapeworm'
	/lw/	lwalikha	'love'
	/sw/	swala	'youth'

2.1.2.3.2 Word-medial consonant cluster

There is a very frequent occurrence of consonant clusters in the medial position. Most of these clusters are formed across syllable or morpheme boundaries.

Examples of the consonant clusters in the medial position are given below

(2.9)	/khl/	mikhladza	waste product from eye
	/rm/	kurmiswam	'eye brow'
	/mr/	dhamro	'cliff'
	/mn/	thamna	'to become mad'
	/ms/	imsina	'to sleep'
	/ln/	dudu pilna	'to milk'
	/pn/	thapna	'to measure'
	/kd/	mikdem	'wasp'
	/khl/	dəkhlə	'head'
	/rt/	kərtuppa	'jackle'
	/rs/	khirsina	'to roam'
	/rn/	surna	'to wash'
	/pl/	khiplem	'clay pot for drying cereal'

2.1.2.3.3 Word-final consonant cluster

It has not been found any consonant clusters in the word final position in Dumi.

2.1.2.3.4 Consonant cluster with three consonants

There are only a limited number of possible consonant clusters of three consonants in Dumi. In all such instances the last consonant is semi-vowel /j /.

(2.10)	/khlj/	khljapna	'to slash'
	/prj/	prjakna	'to break out'
	/phlj/	phljamna	'to pounce on'
	/khlj/	khljaŋna	'to act with teasing'

2.1.2.4 Syllable structure

The constituent structure of basic syllables in native words and nativized loan words may be formulated as (C) (C) V (V) in Dumi, where the initial CC-cluster is optional and this is followed by a vowel nucleus as an open syllable. In this syllable shape the on- set is filled by a single consonant, the glide, if present, is the only segment that can cluster with the initial consonants, and the nucleus can be either a short vowel, a vowel cluster or a long vowel.

The following syllable structures are found in Dumi language.

(2.11) V	e	'oh! Yes'
CV	hi	'blood'
VC	up	'throw'
CCV	swa	'grass'
CVC	min	'be well cooked'
CCVC	ljam	'tongue'

It seems that the nucleus is always occupied by a vowel or sequence of vowels whereas onset and coda positions are occupied by only consonants. The assignment of the medial units to syllables does not depend on morphological structure.

2. 2 Supra-segmental phonemes

2.2.1 Length

There are seven pairs of short and long vowels: The following minimal pairs illustrate the contrast in the length of these vowels:

(2.12)	/i/ vs /i:/	kina	'to quarrel'	ki:na	'to buy'
	/e/ vs /e:/	dzeta	'call him/her'	dze:ta	'he talks'
	/a/ vs /a:/	kana	'to bite'	ka:na	'to feel appetite'
	/ə/ vs /ə:/	həna	'to snatch'	hə:na	'to bring'
	/o/ vs /o:/	kho	'if'	kho:	'utensil'
	/u/ vs /u:/	huna	'to come'	hu:na	'to get burn'
	/ʌ/ vs /ʌ:/	cʌ	'child'	cʌ:	'poison'

But, it is found that consonants do not contrast in length.

2.2.2 Stress

Stress is not a distinctive feature of Dumi. It is not in phonemic contrast. Dumi being a syllable-timed language, sometimes individual words are stressed for emphasis.

2.2.3 Intonation

There are two kinds of intonations in Dumi: rising intonation, which is marked in utterance and falling, which is unmarked in utterance. This is illustrated in (2.13a-b).

- (2.13) a. *pəbi khuci*
pabi khuc-ø-i
Pabi go-PT-3.SG
'Pabi went.'

In this statement, there is the falling intonation/ tone pattern, which is unmarked.

- b. *pəbi khuci?*
pabi khuc-ø-i
Pabi go-PT-3.SG
'Did Pabi go?'

In this question type statement, there is the rising intonation/ tone pattern, which is marked.

2.3 Summing up

There are seven oral vowels in Dumi, which contrast in length. They are - i/i:, e/e:, ɛ/ɛ:, ə/ə:, a/a:, u/u:, o/o. All vowels can acquire in all environment: initially, medially and finally in the words. Phonemically, these all can contrast. The possible vowel clusters are ei, eu, əi, ai, au, ii, oi, ou. There is limited nasalized in Dumi in some loan and native words. Along with this, there are ten plosive, ten aspirated, three nasals, one trill, two fricative, two semi vowels and one lateral in Dumi. It is rare to find the minimal pairs for four alveolar consonants: /t/, /th/, /d/ and /dh/. Most of the consonants appear in initial and middle position. In most cases, the glottal stop [ʔ] or the vowel length appears in case of the deletion of the sound /t/, /k/ in the final position of the verb stem. The consonant can make cluster only in initial and middle position of the word but not in final position. The syllable structure in Dumi is (C) (C) V (V). The rising and falling intonation is also found in Dumi.

Chapter 3

Verb morphology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of three main verbal morphological constructions: inflectional morphology, derivational morphology and non-finite verbal forms. To find out the inflectional morphology of the Dumi finite verbs, first of all, we describe the verb stem and then affixes (i.e. prefix, infix and suffix) attach with the verb stem on the basis of the person, number, inclusiveness, exclusiveness and Tense, Aspect, Mood (TAM) as well.

To find out the derivational morphology of the Dumi verbs, we examine both valence related morphology: valence increasing devices with causativization and transitivization and valence decreasing devices with passivization, noun incorporation and nominalization. At last, to find out the non-finite verbal morphology, we evaluate three main non-finite forms: non-finite with normal functions, non-finite with adjectival functions and non-finite with adverbial functions.

3.2 Inflectional morphology

3.2.1 Verb stem morphology

A Dumi simple stem construction (simplex) consists of a verb stem and affixes indicating tense and showing agreement for person and number with the actant or actants of the verbs. An intransitive and reflexive verb agrees only with the subject, whereas a transitive verb agrees with both agent (subject) and patient (object), (van Driem 1993:121).

On the basis of syllabic pattern, the Dumi verbs fall into two groups: monosyllabic and polysyllabic. As in other Kirati languages, Kulung (Tolsma 1968: 38) for example, the majority of the Dumi verbs are monosyllabic as in (3.1a-c).

- (3.1) a. cəpna 'to write'
 b. dzina 'to talk'
 c. surna 'to wash'

Polysyllabic verbs, on the other hand, consist of a preverb and a verb stem, for example (3.2-3.4). Generally the preverbs are nouns attach to the verb stem, e.g.

- (3.2) a. nam bakna 'to be late in the morning'
 b. nam cokna 'to be noon'
 c. nam ghrimna 'to be late in the evening'
- (3.3) a. bubi hoṅna 'to climb up a tree'
 b. dhamrobi hoṅna 'to climb up a cliff'
 c. kawabi hoṅna 'to enter in the river'
- (3.4) a. tho selsina 'to become winter'
 b. dziptho muna 'to rain thoroughly'
 c. cəkhələ dzena 'to tease'

In the above examples, there are three kinds of preverbs: same preverbs but different verb stem (e.g. 3.2), different preverbs but same verb stem (e.g. 3.3) and different preverbs and different verb stems (e.g. 3.4).

3.2.2 The affixes

The affixes are suffixed and prefixed to the verb stem with the exception of the causative infix morpheme <-*mu*->, which appears within the verb stem with some monosyllabic verbs, when it makes polysyllabic. The monosyllabic verb *cəp.na* 'to write', for example, has a <-*mu*-> infix as in *cəp.mu.na* 'cause to write'. The prefixes in Dumi are <*ham*-> with the gloss of third person plural subject morpheme, <*ma*-> with negative morpheme together with *no* (in the first person) or *nə* (in non-first person) in non-third person and the <*a*-> with the second person morpheme. These are exemplified below with separate titles.

3.2.2.1 The prefixes

3.2.2.1.1 The third person plural subject morpheme <*ham*->

Verbs with third person plural subject morpheme <*ham*-> appearing before the verb stem are listed below.

- (3.5) *cucu-pipi hopu tuṅa hammota*
 cucu-pipi hopu tuṅa ham-mo-t-a
 grandparents alone only HON-stay-NPT-3 PL

Grand-parents stay alone.

'बाजे-बजु एकलै बस्नुहुन्छ।'

It indicates third person plural subject in intransitive and reflexive forms, e.g.

- (3.6) a. *unimua dza dzuni*
 uni-mu-a dza dzu-n-i
 they-PL-ERG rice eat-PT-2/3
 'They ate rice.'
 'उनीहरूले भात खार।'
- b. *unimu kim hamkhuci*
 uni-mu kim ham-khu-c-i
 they-PL house 3.PL-go-PT-2/3
 'They went to the house.'
 'उनीहरू घर गए।'
- c. *unimua sodza hamtāisi*
 uni-mu-a sodza ham-tāi-s-i
 they-PL-ERG money 3.PL-keep-PT-2/3
 'They kept money for themselves.'
 'उनीहरूले पैसा (आफूलाई) राखे।'

In above example, there are two verb stems for 'keep' in English: *ti* and *tāi*. The *ti* verb stem is used for transitive where the *tāi* for reflexive, but there is also the difference in third person plural subject morpheme. In transitive verb (3.6a), the third person plural subject prefix <*ham-*> does not appear, whereas in intransitive verb (3.6b), and in reflexive verb (3.6c), the third person plural subject, prefix <*ham-*> appears.

3.2.2.1.2 The non-third person¹ morpheme <*a-*>

Verbs with the second person morpheme <*a-*> appearing before the verb stem are listed below.

- (3.7) *mamla pipi po palo jar so lutni*
 mamla pipi -po palo jar -so lut -ni
 then grand-mother-GEN turn angry -CONT tell -3.SG.PT
- animu khāmu akhusnim gə*

¹ But with the exception of the morpheme <*a-*> is not appear in 3→3 relation.

ani-mu	khəmu	a-khu-snim-gə
you	where	2-go-2.pl.PT
where had you gone?		
'तिमीहरू कता गएका थियौ?'		

The non-third person morpheme <a->, does not appear in the following relationship, which are illustrated with a transitive verb 'give'. In 'A Grammar of Dumi' van Driem (1993:123) has indicated it as an unmarked relationship.

- (3.8)
- | | | |
|-----|--------|------------------------|
| 1→2 | bin-ta | 'I give you' |
| 1→3 | biŋ-to | 'I give him/her' |
| 3→3 | bi-ta | 'he/she gives him/her' |

The non-third person morpheme <a->, appears in the following relationship, which are illustrated with a transitive verb 'give'. He has further indicated it as a marked relationship.

- (3.9)
- | | | |
|-----|---------|--------------------|
| 2→1 | a-be-to | 'you give me' |
| 3→1 | a-be-to | 'he/she gives me' |
| 3→2 | a-be-ta | 'he/she gives you' |
| 2→3 | a-bi-ta | 'you give him/her' |

In above examples, the non-third person morpheme <a->, for example, appears only in the relationship that involve to a first or second person, but except to the first person agent or subject.

3.2.2.1.3 The negative past morpheme <ma->

Verbs with the negative past morpheme <ma-> appearing before the verb stem are listed below.

- (3.10) *opo wo sanuwa maŋgu ka*
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|------|-----------|-------|------|
| o-po | wo | sanuwa | maŋgu | ka |
| I-GEN | FOCS | knowledge | not | IMPH |
| 'I only do not know it.' | | | | |
| 'मेरो पो ज्ञान छैन र ।' | | | | |

The negative past morpheme <ma-> is not same to the negative suffix <-nə>, which is suffixed to all negated simplex forms in both past and non-past tense. The past negative morpheme <ma-> is prefixed to all negative past forms with the exception that in the third person. The interesting thing is that, in the third person plural subject, the negative past morpheme <ma-> in the verb is replaced by the morpheme <ham->. Similarly, the negative past morpheme <ma-> appears in place of the third person plural subject morpheme <ham->. Thus, there is the mutual exchange in between the negative past morpheme <ma-> with the third person plural subject morpheme <ham->.

- (3.11) a. *aṅu bulo*
 aṅu bul-o
 I run-1.SG
 'I ran.'
 'म दौड़ें।'
- b. *aṅu mabulolono*
 aṅu ma-bul-o-no
 I NEG-run-1.SG-NEG
 'I didn't run.'
 'म दौड़िन।'
- c. *aṅu bultono*
 aṅu bul-t-o-no
 I run-NPT-1.SG-NEG
 'I won't run.'
 'म दौड़दिन।'
- d. *unimu hambulnə*
 uni-mu ham-bul-nə
 they-PL 3.PL-run-NEG
 'They didn't run.'
 'उनीहरु दौड़िनन्।'
- e. *unimua dza madzuninə*
 uni-mu-a dza ma-dzu-n-i-nə

they-PL-ERG rice NEG-eat-PL.3-NEG

'They didn't eat rice.'

'उनीहरूले भात खाएनन्।'

Like the prefix <ham->, it is also interesting that, in the second person, the prefix <ham-> in the second person is replaced by the morpheme <a->, as discussed above in (§ ३.2.2.1.2), appear in the verb. But unlike the third person plural subject morpheme <ham->, the non-third person morpheme <a-> is regularly appears in the verb in both: past and non-past form, in both transitive and intransitive paradigms.

(3.12) a. *ani abuli*

ani a-bul-i

you 2-run-2.SG

'You ran.'

'तिमी दौड्यौ।'

b. *ani abulnə*

ani a-bul-nə

you 2-run-NEG

'You didn't run.'

'तिमी दौडेनौ।'

c. *ani abulta*

ani a-bul-ta

you 2-run-NPT

'You run.'

'तिमी दौडन्छौ।'

d. *ani abultanə*

ani a-bul-ta-nə

you 2-run-NPT-NEG

'You won't run.'

'तिमी दौडदैनौ।'

3.2.2.2 The suffixes

3.2.2.2.1 The tense marker

i. The past tense morpheme <- \emptyset >

The past tense marker in Dumi is not overtly marked to the verb. So it is presented by zero morpheme <- \emptyset > as in the following examples.

(3.13) a. *aŋu bulto*

aŋu bul-t-o
I run-NPT-1.SG
'I run.'
'म दौडन्छु।'

b. *aŋu bulo*

aŋu bul- \emptyset -o
I run-PT-1.SG
'I ran.'
'म दौडेँ।'

(3.14) a. *aŋua anulai do:nta*

aŋu-a anu-lai don-t-a
I-ERG you-DAT see-NPT-1.SG
'I see you.'
'मैले तिमिलाई देख्छु।'

b. *aŋua anulai do:nnə*

aŋu-a anu-lai don- \emptyset -ə
I-ERG you-DAT see-PT-1.SG
'I saw you.'
'मैले तिमिलाई देखें।'

ii. The non-past tense morpheme <- t >

The non-past tense marker in Dumi is overtly marked by the <- t > suffix in the verb as in the examples (3.14 - 3.15) above.

'जति जाँडो नै लागेपनि अहिले झै केनै पो ओढ्न पाइन्थ्यो र ।'

As shown in Table: 3.1, the non-past tense allomorph of reflexive morpheme can vary in both inclusive and exclusive of the first person plural, which has <-k>.

ii. The allomorph <-isu >

(3.18) (cf. LE.034)

mənə ohopuaŋa jo

mənə o-po -hopu -a -ŋa jo
then I-GEN -self -ERG -FOC also

capso-macapso dzubi to:

cap -so -ma -cap -so dzu -bi to:
can -CV -NEG -can -CV cold -LOC loom

puna cenləisum, məjo mamaa

pu -na cen -ləis -um məjo mama -a
weave -INF learn -come.out -PRFT that-time mother -ERG

mamasisi aphahta mei assoka

mamasisi a- phal -t -a mei a -soka
awareness 2- spoil -NPT -3.SG ok say -CV

kokkoxi aluconum mo musoka

kokkoxi a- lu -co -um mo mu -soka
aware 2- tell -1.SG -PRFT that-waydo -CV

to: pəŋlədum tejo heŋa lota.

to: pu -ŋ -ləd -um tejo heŋa lo -t -a
loom weave -1.SG -go -PRFT now like-which feel-NPT -3.SG

'I remember myself working hard to weave the looms; my mother's warning to me that I might spoil the weaving. I felt as if I have been doing these things now.'

'अनि म आफैले पनि सकि नसकि जाँडोमा तान बुन्न सिकिहिँडेको, त्यस बेला आमाले कतै बिगार्लास् है भन्दै सम्झाएको, त्यसो गर्दै तान बुनिहिँडेको अहिले जस्तो लाग्छ।'

Table: 3.1 Reflexive marker in Dumi verb, *khə:na* 'self to go'

	1s	1di	1de	1pi	1pe	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
NPT	khusto	khusti	khusttə	khəkti	khəkta	akhusta	akhusti	akhustani	khusta	khusti	hamkhusta
PT	khuco	khuci	khucu	khəkki	khəkku	akhucu	akhuci	akhusni	khucu	khuci	hamkhuci

3.2.2.2.3 The 1s→2s morpheme <-n>

The morpheme between first person singular agent and second person singular patient in transitive relationship in Dumi is indicated by the suffix <-n> as in the example (3.19). It has three allomorphs: <-m>, <-n> and <-ŋ>. The allomorph <-m>, which acquires before the plosive consonants as shown in (3.20a), the allomorph <-n>, which acquires before the dental consonants as shown in (3.20b), the allomorph <-ŋ>, which acquires before the velar consonants as shown in (3.20c).

- (3.19) a. lə-m-t-a
 search-1s→s.NPT.s2
 'I'll search you.'
 'म तिमीलाई खोज्छु।'
- b. tə-n-t-a
 keep.1s→2.NPT.s2
 'I'll keep for you.'
 'म तिमीलाई राखिदिन्छु।'
- c. si-ŋ-t-a
 ask-1s→2.NPT.s2
 'I'll ask you.'
 'म तिमीलाई सोध्छु।'

3.2.2.2.4 The first person plural past morpheme <-k>

In Dumi, the first person plural past tense morpheme <-k> can be found in both inclusive and exclusive verb forms. This is illustrated in example (3.21a-b) as follows.

- (3.20) a. *iŋki chəmki*
 iŋki chəm-k-i

we dance-PT-INCL
 'We (inclusive) danced.'
 'हामी(समाबेसी) नाच्यौं।'

- b. *ɕŋkɕ chəmku*
 ɕŋkɕ chəm-k-u
 we dance-PT-EXCL
 'We (exclusive) danced.'
 'हामी (असमाबेसी) नाच्यौं।'

3.2.2.2.5 The first person singular morpheme <-ŋ>

Dumi has a first person singular morpheme <-ŋ> in past tense form of the vowel ending paradigm as in (3.23a-e). In a non-past (3.22a), for example, the morpheme <-ŋ> is not used, while in past tense (3.22b.), the morpheme is used.

(3.21) a. (cf. Sentences_a.001 for NPT)

b. (cf. Sentences_b001 for PT)

(3.22) a. re:ŋu 'I laughed'

b. mo:ŋu 'I stayed.'

c. təŋu 'I kept.'

d. dzəŋu 'I ate.'

e. pəŋu 'I weaved.'

3.2.2.2.6 The 1s→3/PT morpheme <-u>

In Dumi, the relation between first person singular agent and third person patient is indicated by the morpheme <-u>. It can be found in both negative and affirmative of past tense. This is illustrated in example (3.24a-b) as follows.

(3.23) a. *aŋua umlai dittu*

aŋu-a um-lai dit-ø-u

I-ERG he-DAT follow-PT-1s→3

'I followed him'.

'मैले उसलाई पछ्याएँ।'

b. *aŋua umlai madittunə*

aŋu-a um-lai ma-dit-ø-u-nə

I-ERG he-DAT NEG-follow-PT-1s→3-NEG

'I didn't follow him'.

'मैले उसलाई पछ्याइन।'

There is a different morpheme <-o> in the relation of first person singular agent and third person singular patient, as in *huŋ* 'wait', *huŋo* 'I waited him'.

3.2.2.2.7 The inclusive morpheme <-i>

In Dumi, the first person inclusive morpheme in both: past and non-past tense of transitive and intransitive form is <-i>, as in the examples 3.25(a-h) below.

(3.24) a. *inci ri:ji*

inci ri:-ji

we laugh-PT -1.DL-INCL

'We (dual inclusive) laughed.'

'हामी हाँस्यौं।'

b. *inci mari:jinə*

inci ma-ri:-ji-nə

we NEG-laugh- PT-1.DL.INCL- NEG

'We (dual inclusive) didn't laugh.'

'हामी हाँसेनौं।'

c. *inci ri:ti*

inci ri:-t-i

we laugh-NPT-1.DL-INCL

'We (dual inclusive) laugh.'

'हामी हाँस्छौं।'

d. *inci ri:tinə*

inci ri:-t-i-nə

we laugh-NPT-1.DL.INCL-NEG

'We (dual inclusive) won't laugh.'

'हामी हाँस्टैनौं।'

e. *incia ʌmlai huŋi*

inci-a ʌm-lai huŋ-ø-i

we-ERG he-DAT wait-PT-INCL

'We (dual inclusive) waited him.'

'हामीदुईले उसलाई पख्यौं।'

f. *incia #mlai mahujinə*

inci-a #m-lai ma-huŋ-ø-i-nə

we-ERG he-DAT NEG-wait-PT-INCL-NEG

'We (dual inclusive) didn't wait him.'

'हामीदुईले उसलाई पखेनौं।'

g. *incia #mlai huŋti*

inci-a #m-lai huŋ-t-i

we-ERG he-DAT wait-NPT-INCL

'We (dual inclusive) wait him.'

'हामीदुईले उसलाई पखेन्छौं।'

h. *incia #mlai huŋtinə*

inci-a #m-lai huŋ-ø-i-nə

we-ERG he-DAT wait-PT-INCL-NEG

'We (dual inclusive) won't wait him.'

'हामीदुईले उसलाई पखेदैनौं।'

3.2.2.2.8 The exclusive morpheme <-#>

In Dumi, the first person exclusive morpheme in both: past and non-past tense of transitive and intransitive form is <-#>, as in the examples (3.26a-h) below.

(3.25) a. #nc# ri:j#

#nc# ri: - j#

we laugh-PT-1.DL-EXCL

'We (dual exclusive) laughed.'

'हाम्दुई हाँस्यौं।'

b. #nc# mari:j#nə

#nc# ma-ri:-j#-nə

we NEG-laugh-PT-1.DL. EXCL-NEG

'We (dual exclusive) didn't laugh.'

'हाम्दुई हाँसेनौ।'

c. स न्च रिःत्त

सन्च रिः-त-स

we laugh-NPT-1.DL-EXCL

'We (dual exclusive) laugh.'

'हाम्दुई हाँस्छौं।'

d. स न्च रिःत्तन

सन्च रिः-त-स-न

we laugh-NPT-1.DL.EXCL-NEG

'We (dual exclusive) won't laugh.'

'हाम्दुई हाँस्टैनौ।'

e. स न्च अ सल्लाइ हस्य

सन्च-अ सल्ल-ल्लाइ हस्य-०-स

we-ERG he-DAT wait-PT-EXCL

'We (dual exclusive) waited him.'

'हाम्दुईले उसलाई पख्यौं।'

f. सन्च अ सल्लाइ महस्यन

सन्च -अ सल्ल-ल्लाइ मा-हस्य-०-स-न

we-ERG he-DAT NEG-wait-PT-EXCL-NEG

'We (dual exclusive) didn't wait him.'

'हाम्दुईले उसलाई पखेनौं।'

g. स न्च अ सल्लाइ हस्यत्त

सन्च -अ सल्ल-ल्लाइ हस्य-त-स

we-ERG he-DAT wait-NPT-EXCL

'We (dual exclusive) wait him.'

'हाम्दुईले उसलाई पखेन्छौं।'

h. स न्च अ सल्लाइ हस्यत्तन

ສນສ -a ສມ-lai ຫຸງ-t-ສ-nə
 we-ERG he-DAT wait-PT-EXCL-NEG
 'We (dual exclusive) won't wait him.'
 'हाम्दुईले उसलाई पर्खदैनौ।'

3.2.2.2.9 The non-first person subject morpheme <-a>

In Dumi, the non-first person subject morpheme <-a> acquires in non-past tense.

But in past it becomes <-i> as in (3.27c) below.

- (3.26) a. *ania dza akhipta*
- ani-a dza a-kip-t-a
 you-ERG rice 2-cook-NPT-2/3
 'You cook rice.'
 'तिमी भात पकाउछौ।'
- b. *ɛma dza khipa*
- ɛm-a dza khip-t-a
 he-ERG rice cook-NPT-2/3
 'He cooks rice.'
 'ऊ भात पकाउछ।'
- c. *ancia dza akhipi*
- anci-a dza a-kip-ø-i
 you-ERG rice 2-cook-PT-2/3
 'You (dual) cooked rice.'
 'तिम्दुईले भात पकायौ।'

3.2.2.2.10 The non-first person dual morpheme <-si>

In Dumi, non-first person dual morpheme <-si> is used in both: past and non-past tense of intransitive form, as in the examples (3.28a-b) below.

- (3.27) a. *uncia dza dzutasi*
- unci-a dza dzu-t-a-si
 they-ERG rice eat-NPT-2/3-DL
 'They (dual) eat rice.'
 'तिन्दुईले भात खान्छन्।'

- b. *uncia dza dzusi*
 unci-a dza dzu-ø-si
 they-ERG rice eat-PT-3.DL
 'They (dual) ate rice.'
 'तिन्दुईले भात खाए।'

3.2.2.2.11 The negative morpheme <-nə>

The negative past prefix <*ma-*> is not same to the negative suffix <-*nə*>, which is suffixed to all negated simplex forms in both past and non-past tense. The past negative morpheme <*ma-*> is prefixed to all negative past forms with the exception that in the third person. The interesting thing is that when the third person plural subject morpheme <*ham-*> appear in the verb, then the negative past morpheme <*ma-*> is obviously replaced and the third person plural subject morpheme <*ham-*> is not appear in the verb, then the negative past morpheme <*ma-*> appears as well.

Thus, the negative past morpheme <*ma-*> can be mutual exchange with the third person plural subject morpheme <*ham-*>. But unlike the negative prefix <*ma-*>, the negative suffix <-*nə*> can acquire in all forms regularly. This is exemplified as in the examples (3.29a-e) below, where the negative suffix <-*nə*> has <-*no*> allomorphs as in (3.29a-c) in case of the first person.

- (3.28) a. *aŋu bulo*
 aŋu bul-o
 I run-1.SG
 'I run.'
 'म दौडें।'
- b. *aŋu mabulono*
 aŋu ma-bul-o-no
 I NEG-run-1.SG-NEG
 'I didn't run.'
 'म दौडिन्न।'
- c. *aŋu bultono*
 aŋu bul-t-o-no

I run-NPT-1.SG-NEG

'I won't run.'

'म दौडदिन।'

- d. *unimu hambulnə*
uni-mu ham-bul-nə
they-PL 23.PL-run-NEG

'They didn't run.'

'उनीहरु दौडेनन्।'

- e. *unimua dza madzuninə*
uni-mu-a dza ma-dzu-n-i-nə
they-PL-EGR rice NEG-eat-PL.3-NEG

'They didn't eat rice.'

'उनीहरुले भात खाएनन्।'

3.2.2.3 Pronominalization

3.2.2.3.1 Pronominal Suffixes in Verb

Dumi pronominalization is seen only in dual and plural of the agent in the first person but not in the singular agent.

- (3.29) a. *inci-a dudu tuŋ-ti*
1d.incl-ERG milk drink-NPT.1d.incl
'We (two) drink/will drink milk.'
'हाम्दुईले(स) दूध पिउछौं।'

- b. *ɕncɕ-a dudu tuŋ-tu*
1d.excl-ERG milk drink-NPT.1d.excl
'We (two) drink/will drink milk.'
'हामीदुई(अ)ले दूध पिउछौं।'

- c. *iŋki-a dudu tuŋ-ti*
1p.incl-ERG milk drink-NPT.1p.incl
'We drink/will drink milk.'
'हामीहरुले(स) दूध पिउछौं।'

- d. *ɕŋkɕ-a dudu tuŋ-ta*

1p.excl-ERG milk drink-NPT.1p.excl

'We drink/will drink milk.'

'हामीहरू(अ)ले दूध पिउछौं।'

- e. iŋki muk-ti
1p.incl stay-NPT.1p.incl

'We all stay/ will stay.'

'हामी(स) रहन्छौं।'

- f. ɕŋkɕ khək-ta
1p.excl go-NPT.1p.excl

'We go/will go.'

'हामी (अ) जान्छौं।'

From the above examples 1(a-f), it seems that in both inclusive and exclusive of the first person dual and plural pronouns are affixed to the finite verb form to show the agreement of the subject with the verb.

The first person dual inclusive and exclusive pronouns *ci* and *cu*, respectively, show the agreement as *ti* and *tu* with the verb. Likewise, the first person plural inclusive and exclusive pronouns *ki* and *ku*, respectively, show the agreement as *ti* and *ta* with the verb.

Similarly, the second person pronominal agreement is given in the following examples:

- (3.30) (a) i. ani-a dudu a-tuŋ-ta
you -ERG milk 2-drink-NPT.2s

'You drink/will drink milk.'

'तिमीले दूध पिउँछौ।'

- ii. anni-a dudu a-tuŋ-tani
you (hon)-ERG milk 2-drink-NPT.2s

'You drink/will drink milk.'

'तपाइँले दूध पिउँनुहुन्छ।'

- (b) anci-a dudu a-tuŋ-ti
you -ERG milk 2-drink-NPT.2d

'You (two) drink/will drink milk.'

'तिम्दुईले दूध पिउँछौ।'

- (c) animu-a dudu a-tuŋ-tani
 you-ERG milk 2-drink-NPT.2p.
 'You (all) drink/will drink milk.'
 'तपाइँहरूले दूध पिउँनुहुन्छ।'

From the above examples, it seems that the second person non-honorific marker *ni* shows the agreement as *ta* with the verb. On the other hand, honorific marker *nmi* shows the agreement as *tani* with the verb. The second person dual and plural marker *nci* and *nimu* show the agreement as *ti* and *tani* with the verbs respectively.

The pronominalization in the third person pronoun is seen only in the dual of agent:

- (3.31) a. ʘ-m-a dudu tuŋ-ta
 he/she-s-ERG milk drink-NPT.3s
 'He/She drinks/will drink milk.'
 'ऊसले दूध पिउँछ।'
- b. u-nci-a dudu tuŋ-tasi
 he/she-d-ERG milk drink-NPT.3d
 'they (two) drink/will drink milk.'
 'ऊन्दुईले दूध पिउँछन्।'
- c. u -nimu-a dudu tuŋ-tani
 he/she-p-ERG milk drink-NPT.3p
 'They drink/will drink milk.'
 'ऊनीहरूले दूध पिउँछन्।'

In the above examples (3a-c), the third person dual suffix marker *ci* shows agreement as *tasi* with the the verb. Likewise, the third person plural suffix marker *nimu* shows agreement as *tani* with the verb.

In case of Object pronominalization, only third person dual of object shows the pronominalization in the verb:

- (3.32) a. um-a unci-lai jəm-tasi
 3s-ERG 3d-ACC hit-NPT3s-d.obj
 'He/she hits/will hit them (two).'
 'ऊसले ऊन्दुईलाई हिर्काउछ।'

- b. um-a unimu-lai jəm-tani
 3s-ERG 3p-ACC hit-NPT-3s-p.obj
 'He/she hits/will hit them.'
 'ऊसले ऊनिहरूलाई हिर्काउछ।'

In the above examples 4(a-b), it is seen that the third person dual object suffix *nci* shows pronominalization process as *tasi* in the verb.

3.2.2.3.2 Non-past tense and pronominal suffixes

In Dumi language, the non-past tense (NPT) suffix marker is restricted to the first, second and third person singular.

- (3.33) a. aŋu si tuŋ-to
 I tea drink-NPT.1s
 'I drink/will drink tea.'
 'म चिया पिउँछु।'
- b. aŋu ho-to
 I come-NPT.1s
 'I come/will come.'
 'म आँउछु।'
- c. anu sabe a-dzu-ta
 you bread 2-eat-NPT.2s
 'You eat/will eat bread.'
 'तिमी रोटी खान्छौ।'
- d. um-a sambaki dzuta
 he-ERG potato eat-NPT.3s
 'He/She eats/will eat potatoes.'
 'ऊसले आलु खान्छ।'

3.2.2.3.3 past tense and pronominal suffixes

- (3.34) a. inci-a dudu tuŋ-i
 1d.incl-ERG milk drink-PT.1d.incl
 'We (two) drank milk.'
 'हाम्दुई(स)ले दूध पियौं।'
- b. ɕncɕ-a dudu tuŋ-u

- 1d.excl-ERG milk drink-PT.1d.excl
 'We (two) drank milk.'
 'हामीदुई(अ)ले दूध पियोँ।'
- c. iŋki-a dudu tuŋ-ki
 1p.incl-ERG milk drink-PT.1p.incl
 'We (all) drank milk.'
 'हामीहरू(स)ले दूध पियोँ।'
- d. ʃŋkʃ-a dudu tuŋ-ku
 1p.excl-ERG milk drink-NPT.1p.excl
 'We (all) drank milk.'
 'हामीहरू(अ)ले दूध पियोँ।'
- e. iŋki muk-ki
 1p.incl stay-PT.1p.incl
 'We all stayed.'
 'हामी(स) रह्यौँ।'
- f. uŋku khək-ku
 1p.excl go-PT.1p.excl
 'We (all) went.'
 'हामी(अ) गयोँ।'

From the above examples 5(a-f), it seems that in both the inclusive and exclusive of the first person dual and plural pronouns are affixed to the finite verb to show the agreement of the subject with the verb. The first person dual inclusive and exclusive pronouns *ci* and *cu* respectively show the agreement as *ji* or *i* and *ju* or *u* with the verbs. Likewise, the first person plural inclusive and exclusive pronouns *ki* and *ku* respectively show the agreement as *ki* and *ku* with the verbs.

3.2.2.4 Aspects

3.2.2.4.1 Perfective Aspect

Perfective aspects is obtained by the suffix <-im>, which is then combined with the copular be verb to make past and non-past perfective aspect in both negative and affirmative verbs. This is illustrated in 3.35(a-b) below.

- (3.35) a. balhaŋ-a sodza cur-im gota
 balhaŋ-ERG money pay-PERF be-NPT
 'Balhang has paid money.'

'बलसुडले पैसा तिरेको छ।'

- b. balhaŋ-a sodza cur-im maŋ-gu
balhaŋ-ERGmoney pay-PERF NEG-be-NPT
'Balhang has not paid money.'
'बलसुडले पैसा तिरेको छैन।'

3.2.2.4.2 Progressive Aspect

Progressive aspect is obtained by the suffix <n ə > which is then combined with the copular be verb make past and non-past progressive aspect. This is illustrated in 3.36(a-b) below.

- (3.36) a. balhaŋ-a sodza cur-thətta
balhaŋ-ERG money pay-PRG
'Balhang is paying money.'
'बालहाडले पैसा तिर्दैछ।'
- b. balhaŋ-a sodza cur-thətta-nə
balhaŋ-ERGmoney pay-PERF-NEG
'Balhang is not paying money.'
'बालहाडले पैसा तिर्दैन।'

3.2.2.4.3 Habitual Aspect

Habitual aspect is marked by the suffixes <-thiŋo> and<-thədu> for intransitive and transitive respectively. This is illustrated in 3.37(a-b).

- (3.37) aŋu cenkim khus-thiŋo
I school go-HAB
'I used to go to the school.'
'म विध्यालय जानेगर्थे।'
- (3.38) aŋu cenkim ma-khus-thiŋo-no
I school NEG-go-HAB-NEG
'I used not to go to the school.'
'म विध्यालय जानेगर्दिनर्थे।'
- (3.39) aŋu-a ci tuŋ-thədu
I-ERG beer drink-HAB
'I used to drink beer.'

'म जाँण खानेगर्थे।'

- (3.40) aṅu-a ci ma-tuŋ-thədu-nə
I-ERG beer NEG-drink-HAB-NEG
'I used not to drink beer.'
'म जाँण खानेगर्दिनर्थे।'

3.2.2.5 Mood

3.2.2.5.1 The indicative mood

The indicative mood in Dumi is generally expressed as an unmarked utterance with the true believes of speakers. This is exemplified in (3.32a-b) as follows.

- (3.41) a. *Balasung kim khusta*
Balasung kim khus-t-a
Balasung house go-NPT-2/3.SG
'Balasung goes to the house.'
'बलसुङ घर जान्छ।'
- b. *cu:cu lamthithiŋta*
cu:cu lamthi-thing-t-a
baby walk-CONV-NPT-2/3.SG
'Baby is walking'
'बच्चा हिँड्दैछ।'

3.2.2.5.2 Interrogative Mood

The interrogative mood in Dumi is expressed by two types of questions: yes/no question, as in (3.33a) and wh-questions, as in (3.33b).

- (3.42) a. *balasung kim khusta?*
Balasung kim khus-t-a
Balasung house go-NPT-2/3.SG
'Does Balasung go to the house?'
'बलसुङ घर जान्छ?'
- b. *nayema bhīm gu muisi?*
Nayem-a bhīm gu mui-s-i

Nayem-ERG like what cloth wear-PT-2/3.SG

'What sort of cloth did Nayem wear?'

'नायमले कस्तो लुगा लगाइन्?'

3.2.2.5.3 The imperative

The imperative mood in Dumi, is generally used to express direct commands or orders, as in (3.34a-c).

- (3.43) a. *ani khuca*
ani khu-c-a
you go-NPT-2.SG
'you (sl) go.'
'तँ जा।'
- b. *animu khusni*
ani-mu khus-n-i
you-PL go-NPT-2.PL
'you (pl) go.'
'तिमीहरु जाउ।'
- c. *ani dumo madze*
ani dumo ma-dz-e
you much NEG-talk-2.SG. NPT
'You don't talk much more.'
'तँ बढी नबोल।'

3.2.2.5.4 The optative

The optative mood in Dumi, is generally used to express wish or desire of the speaker, as in (3.35a-b).

- (3.44) a. *aŋu ŋaistu*
aŋu ŋai-st-u
I sit-NPT-1.SG
'I sit down.'
'म बस्छु।'
- b. *iŋki rikti*
iŋki ri-kt-i

we (INCL) laugh-NPT-1PL.INCL

'We (incl) laugh.'

'हामी हाँस्छौं।'

c. *ani ηaisi*

ani ηai-s-i

you sit-NPT-2.SG

'You sit down.'

'तिमी बस।'

d. *animu ηaisini*

ani-mu ηai-si-ni

you-PL sit-NPT-2.PL

'You (pl) sit down.'

'तिमीहरु बस।'

3.2.2.5.5 Probabilative Mood

The probabilative mood in Dumi, is generally used to express probability or uncertainty of the speaker, as in (3.36a-b).

(3.45) a. *hu jeta*

hu je-t-a

rain fall-NPT-3.SG

'Rain falls.'

'झरी पर्छ।'

b. *unimu hamhota*

uni-mu ham-ho-t-a

they-PL PL-come-NPT-2/3

'They come.'

'तिनीहरु आउछन्।'

3.2.2.5.6 Obligative

The obligative mood in Dumi, is generally used to express obligation, duty, responsibility of the speaker, as in (3.37a -b).

(3.46) a. *ani kim khəna chukta*

ani kim khə-na chuk-t-a

you house go-INF be-NPT-3.SG

'You must go home.'

'तिमी घर जानुपर्छ।'

b. *animu danna chukta*

ani-mu dān-na chuk-t-a

you-PL be together-INF be-NPT-3.SG

'You must be together.'

'तिमीहरु मिल्नुपर्छ।'

3.2.2.5.7 Subjunctive

The subjunctive mood in Dumi is generally used to express the relation between the cause and effect, as in (3.38a-b).

(3.47) a. *ani muksa kho aṅu khusto*

ani muk-sa kho aṅu khus-t-o

you stay-NPT-2.SG if I go-NPT-1.SG

'If you stay, I will go.'

'तिमी रहनेभए म जान्छु।'

b. *hu jeta kho nam mutanə*

hu je-t-a kho nam mu-t-a-nə

rain fall-NPT-3.SG if sun do-NPT-3.SG-NEG

'If it rains, there won't be the sun.'

'झरी पर्योभने घाम लाग्दैन।'

3.3 Valence changing devices

3.3.1 Valence increasing devices

3.3.1.1 Causativization

Morphological causatives morpheme <-mu-> is found in Dumi. The process of causativization with <-mu> is productive in Dumi. The following examples show that non-causative stems are presented on the left hand side while causative derived forms of verb are presented on the right hand side.

(3.48) *Non-causative*

Causative

haṅna 'to dry' haṅ-mu-na 'cause to dry'

ṅokna 'to cry' ṅok-mu-na 'cause to cry'

jamna 'to hit' jam-mu-na 'cause to hit'

tʊŋna	'to drink cold'	tʊŋ-mu-na	'cause to drink cold'
həpna	'to drink hot'	həp-mu-na	'cause to drink hot'

In some verbs, breathiness can be the causativizer as in the example below.

(3.49)	brok-na	'to break'	bhrok-na	'cause to break'
	bre:na	'to tear'	bhre:na	'cause to tear'
	gra-na	'to lit'	grha-na	'cause to lit'

In some verbs, there is the same pattern in causativizer as in the example given below,

hokna	'to come out'	hokna	'cause to come out'
-------	---------------	-------	---------------------

3.3.1.2 Transitivity

It is difficult to make difference between transitivity and causativization, especially in between di-transitivity and causativization in Dumi. Examples are as follows.

(3.50)	<i>Intransitive</i>		<i>Transitive</i>	<i>Ditransitive/Causative</i>
	haisi-na	'to open'	hak-na	hak-mu-na
	taisi-na	'to come down'	tan-na	tan-mu-na
	imsi-na	'to sleep'	ip-na	ip-mu-na

It is not found the reflexes of the Tibeto-Burman *-t directive suffix in Makpa Dumi. In some verbs the transitivity is not overtly marked in Dumi. Examples are presented in (3.42) below.

(3.51)	dhaŋ-na	'to go time to time'
	thaŋ-na	'to fall'
	cam-na	'to lose'

In some compound verbs, which is compounded from nouns and verbs, N + V, the intransitive marker depends on whether the noun is animate or inanimate. The animate noun can occur in the three forms, i.e. intransitive, transitive and ditransitive. For example, *bi-dzəisi-na* 'graze (by the cow)' *bi-dzə:-na* 'to graze the cow' *bi-dzə:-mu-na* 'cause to graze the cow'. But the inanimate noun can only appear in two forms, i.e. transitive and ditransitive. **tum-mu-isi-na* 'to do matter (by itself)' *tum-mu-na* 'to do matter' *tum-mu-mu-na* 'caused to do matter'.

Table: 3.2 the causativization in Dumi, *jəm* 'beat' (*Affirmative*)

Pronoun	NPST	PST	CAUS-NPST	CAUS-PST
1s→2s	jəmta	jəmnə	jəmmunta	jəmmunnə
1s→2d	jəmtasi	jəmnəsi	jəmmuntasi	jəmmunnəsi
1s→2p	jəmtani	jəmnəni	jəmmuntani	jəmmunnəni
1s→3s	jəmto	jəmdu	jəmmutto	jəmmutu
1s→3d	jəmtosu	jəmsu	jəmmuttosu	jəmmutsu
1s→3p	jəmtonu	jəmnu	jəmmuttonu	jəmmutnu
1di→2/3	jumti	jumi	jəmmusti	jəmmuci
1de→2/3	jumtu	jumu	jəmmustə	jəmmucə
1pi→2/3	jəmti	jəmki	jəmmukti	jəmmukki
1pe→2/3	jəmta	jəmku	jəmmukta	jəmmukku
2s→3s	ajəmta	ajəmdi	jəmamutta	jəmamuti
2s→3d	ajəmtasi	ajəmsi	jəmamuttasi	jəmamutsi
2s→3p	ajəmtani	ajəmni	jəmamuttani	jəmamutni
2d→3	ajumti	ajumi	jəmamusti	jəmamuci
2p→3	ajumtani	ajumni	jəmamustani	jəmamusni
3s→3s	jəmta	jəmdi	jəmmutta	jəmmuti
3s→3d	jəmtasi	jəmsi	jəmmuttasi	jəmmutsi
3d→3s	jəmtasi	jəmsi	jəmmuttasi	jəmmutsi
3d→3d	jəmtasi	jəmsi	jəmmuttasi	jəmmutsi
3s→3p	jəmtani	jəmni	jəmmuttani	jəmmutni
3d→3p	jəmtasi	jəmsi	jəmmuttasi	jəmmutsi
3p→3s	jəmtani	jəmni	jəmmuttani	jəmmutni
3p→3d	jəmtani	jəmni	jəmmuttani	jəmmutni
3p→3p	jəmtani	jəmni	jəmmuttani	jəmmutni
2s/3s→1s	ajumto	ajumo	jəmamusto	jəmamuco
2d/3d→1s	ajumtosu	ajumosu	jəmamustosu	jəmamucosu
2p/3p→1s	ajumtonu	ajumonu	jəmamustonu	jəmamuconu

3→1di	ajumti	ajumi	jəmamusti	jəmamuci
2/3→1de	ajumtə	ajumə	jəmamustə	jəmamucə
3→1pi	ajəmti	ajəmki	jəmamukti	jəmamukki
2/3→1pe	ajəmta	ajəmku	jəmamukta	jəmamukku
3→2s	ajumta	ajumu	jəmamusta	jəmamuci
3→2d	ajumti	ajumi	jəmamusti	jəmamuci
3→2p	ajumtani	ajumni	jəmamustani	jəmamusni

3.3.2 Valence decreasing devices

3.3.2.1 Passivization

The passive verb in Dumi, structurally alternates with the active clause and the non-agent (active object) is fully promoted to subject hood (e.g. 3.43a-b). In Dumi, the passivization in the past is marked by <-isi> as in the example (3.43a), whereas in the non-past marked by <-isti>, as in the example (3.43b).

- (3.52) a. *pəbilamka dza dzu-isti*
Pabi-ABL rice eat-PASS-NPT-3.SG
'rice is eaten by Pabi'.
'पबिबाट भात खाइन्छ।'
- b. *pəbilamka dza dzu-isi*
Pabi-ABL rice eat-PASS-PT-3.SG
'The rice was eaten by Pabi'.
'पबिबाट भात खाइयो।'

The agent (active subject) is demoted via oblique case-marking (i.e. ablative -*lamka*) in (3.43a-b). In non-past tense, the suffix <-isti> is the passivization marker, for all verb forms, whether transitive or intransitives, or singular, dual and plural.

It is also notable that in Dumi the causative passivization is formed by the passivizing suffix <-muisi> in the past and <-muisti> in the non-past, as a result of the combination of both: passivization and the causativization. This is illustrated in the table: 3.3 below.

Table: 3.3 The causative passivization in non-past

Basic form	:	dzəŋto	'I eat'
Passive	:	dzu-isti	'is eaten (by me)'
Causative	:	dzu-mu-tto	'I cause to eat (someone)'
Causative Passive	:	dzu-mu-isti	'Cause to be eaten (by someone)'

In the above example, the suffix <-*isti*> is the passivization marker in non-past tense and <-*mu*> is the causativization marker. Thus, the causative passivization is <-*muisti*>, as a result of the combination of passivization and the causativization in the non-past tense.

Table: 3.4 The causative passivization in past

Basic form	:	dzəŋu	'I ate'
Passive	:	dzu-isi	'was eaten (by me)'
Causative	:	dzu-mu-tu	'I caused to eat (someone)'
Causative Passive	:	dzu-mu-isi	'Caused to be eaten (by someone)'

In the above example, the suffix <-*isi*> is the passivization marker in past tense and <-*mu*> is the causativization marker. Thus, the causative passivization is <-*muisi*>, as a result of the combination of passivization and the causativization in the past tense.

3.3.2.2 Noun Incorporation

In Dumi, there is the combination of noun and verb to form the process of noun incorporation. This is shown in following formula.

$$[X] \text{ noun} + [Y] \text{ verb} = [XY] \text{ verb}$$

In this process, the core argument (subject or object) of a clause attached to or incorporate into verb. This is illustrated in example (3.44).

- (3.53) kalba 'fight' + muna 'to do' = kalba muna 'to fight'
 dza:li 'hope' + muna 'to be' = dza:li muna 'to be hopeful'
 nɛ 'mind' + se:na 'give up' = nɛ se:na 'to give up'

3.4 Non-finite verbal constructions

3.4.1 Non-finite with normal functions

3.4.1.1 Infinitive

In Dumi, the infinitival and gerunds may function as a nominal construction like noun and noun phrase. The infinitive suffix is added to the verb stem in both nominal constructions (i.e. in infinitival and gerund).

- (3.54) a. *ania cəpna aku:khunə?*
ani-a cəp-na a-ku:-khu-nə
you-ERG write-INF 2-know-PT-NEG
'You didn't know to write down.'
'तिमीले लेख्न जानेनौ?'
- b. *cu:cua arkhu tuŋna i:ta*
cu:cu-a arkhu tuŋ-na i:-t-a
child-ERG wine drink-INF be-NPT-3SG
'Child should not drink wine.'
'बच्चाले रक्सी पिउनु हुदैन।'
- d. *disse pakhabi lamthina khanuksa khi*
disse pakha-bi lamthi-na khanuksa khi
morning outside-LOC walk-INF nice PRT
'Walking outside in the morning is nice.'
'बिहान खुला हावामा डुल्नु राम्रो हो नि।'

3.4.1.2 Gerund <-si>

In Dumi, <-si> may function as a gerund in a clause, which may optionally take the nominal agreement marker. This is illustrated as follows.

- (3.55) a. *umpo dzisia ocili bhruci*
um-po dzisi-a o-cili bhru-c-i
he-GEN talking-ERG my-angriness raise-PT-3.SG
'His talking made me angry.'
'उसको बोलाईले मेरो रिस उठ्यो।'
- b. *delgobhalbim lamthisia lamdi:stanə.*

del-gobhal-bim lamthi-si-a lamdis-ta-nə
village-towards-GEN walk-GND-ERG walk-NPT-NEG
'The way of walking in the village is challenging.'
'गाउँतिरको हिँडाईले सकिन्छ।'

3.4.2 Non-finite with adjectival functions

There are two kinds of participles used as adjectival function in Dumi: present participle and past participle. They may function as an adjectival construction like adjective or adjective clause. The participle suffix is added to the verb stem in both adjectival constructions (i.e. in present participle and in past participle).

3.4.2.1 Present participle <-sa>

The non-finite present participle affixes <-sa> is used to modify the nominal and to function as adjectival as in (3.47).

(3.56) a. *ci tuŋsa minu bolo ŋa mista*

ci tuŋ-sa minu bolo ŋa mis-t-a
millet beer drink-PP person early PRT die-NPT-3.SG
'drunker dies early.'

'जाँण खाने मान्छे चाँडे मर्छ।'

b. *tasala (dza khipsa kho:) khəmbi gota?*

dza khip-sa kho: khəm-bi go-t-a?
rice cook-PP utensil where-LOC be-NPT
'Where is the cooking utensil?'

'भात पकाउने भाँडा कहाँ छ?'

3.4.2.2 Past participle <-sa>

(3.57) a. *adzho cucua meisi dzək̥sa muthət̥ni*

adzho cucu-a meisi dzə-ksa mu-thət̥-ni
long time before grandpa-ERG buffalo graze-PP do-be-
HON.3SG.PT 'Long time before, grandpa used to graze buffalos.'

'उहिले बाजेले भैसी चराउने गर्नुहुन्थ्यो।'

b. (perfective –jeko)

aŋua nuru doktum gota
aŋu-a nu:ru dok-tum go-t-a

I-ERG tiger see-PRF be-NPT

'I have seen the tiger.'

'मैले बाघ देखेकोछु।'

3.4.3 Non-finite with adverbial functions

3.4.3.1 Present participle <-thət->

The non-finite progressive marker <-*thət*-> which is attached to the verb stem, may function as present participle in Dumi. This is illustrated in (3.49).

(3.58) a. *aŋua du:mi brəbi cəpθatto*

aŋu-a du:mi brə-bi cəp-thət-t-o

I-ERG dumi language-ERG write-CNV-NPT-1.SG

'I am writing in dumi language.'

'मैले दु:मि भाषामा लेख्दैछु।'

3.4.3.2 Durative

In Dumi, the durative construction combines with both transitive and intransitive verbs to express continued and enduring activity in both: perfect and non-perfect time. This is illustrated in example (3.50).

(3.59) *mo akhipdzuta?*

mo a-khip-dzu-t-a?

what 2-cook-DUR-NPT- 2/3.SG

'What do you eat with cooking?'

'के पकाई खान्छस्।'

3.4.3.3 Perfective

(3.60) a. *minua ceisisoka tuŋa munakokti*

minu-a ceisi-soka tuŋa mu-na-kok-t-i

person-ERG learn-CNV only do-INF-know-NPT-1PL.INCL

'Man can do only with learning.'

'मान्छेले सिकेर मात्र गर्न जानिन्छ।'

b. *mam minu ci tuŋso-tuŋso ŋa mici*

mam minu ci tuŋ-so tuŋ-so ŋa mi-c-i

that man millet beer drink-CNV drink-CNV PRT die-
PT-3.SG

'That man died drinking millet beer.'

'त्यो मान्छे जाँण खाई-खाई नै मर्यो।'

3.4.3.4 Conditional

- (3.61) ani huksa kho aṅua huṅta
 ani huk-sa kho aṅu-a huṅ-t-a
 you come-CNV if I-ERG wait-NPT-1.SG
 'If you come, I'll wait you.'
 'तिमी आउनेभए म पर्खन्छु।'

3.4.3.5 Absolute

- (3.62) re:tam re:tam ŋa muta.
 re:-t-am re:-t-am ŋa mu-t-a.
 laugh-NPT-PRF laugh-NPT-PRF PRT do-NPT-3.SG
 'He keeps on laughing.'
 'हाँसेको-हाँसेकै गर्छ।'

- (3.63) hu jem jem ŋa mu.
 re:-t-am re:-t-am ŋa mu-t-a.
 laugh-NPT-PRF laugh-NPT-PRF PRT do-NPT-3.SG
 'He keeps on laughing.'
 'झरी परेको-परेकै गर्यो।'

3.5 Types of Verb

3.5.1 Verbs 'to be'

There are two types of 'to be' verbs in Dumi: *mota* 'to be' for animate and *gota* 'to be' for inanimate. Where **mota* 'to be' for inanimate and **gota* 'to be' for animate is restricted. It is exemplified as in (3.30a-b and 3.24a-b) below.

- (3.64) a. *minu kimbi mota*
 minu kim-bi m-o-t-a
 man house-LOC be-SG-NPT-2/3
 'The man is in the house.'

'मान्छे घरमा छ।'

b. *minu kimbi mə*

minu kim-bi m-ə-ə

man house-LOC be-SG-PT

'The man was in the house.'

'मान्छे घरमा थियो।'

(3.65) a. *lu pu:khubi gota*

lu pu:khu-bi g-o-t-a

stone ground-LOC be-SG-NPT-2/3

'The stone is on the ground.'

'ढुङ्गा भुङ्मा छ।'

b. *lu pu:khubi gə*

lu pu:khu-bi g-ə-ə

stone ground-LOC be-SG-PT

'The stone was on the ground.'

'ढुङ्गा भुङ्मा थियो।'

3.5.2 Intransitive Verb

Intransitive verb is used as in the following examples:

(3.66) *um im-si*

she sleep-3s PT

'She slept.'

'ऊ सुत्यो।'

(3.67) *um khu-ci*

he go-3s PT

'He went.'

'ऊ गयो।'

3.5.3 Transitive Verb

Transitive verb is used with a direct object, either expressed or understood.

For example;

(3.68) *cu:cu gaththa khu-ci*

child hut go-3s PT

'Child went to the hut.'

'बच्चा गोठमा गयो।'

(3.69) *pwayma kuriu-bi im-si*

cat shadow-LOC sleep-3s PT

'Cat slept on the shadow.'

'बिरालो छायाँमा सुत्यो।'

(3.70) *ma:ma kiradel-la ham-hələ*

mother birth-village HON-come-3s PT

'Mother arrived from her birth-village.'

'आमा मावलाबाट आइपुग्नुभयो।'

In the above examples there are grammatical relations between subject and object.

3.5.4 Bitransitive Verb

The verbs, which take direct and indirect objects are called bitransitive verbs as in the following examples:

(3.71) *nana-a aju-la sodza ruŋ-ni*

elder sister-ERG I-from money borrow-3s PT

'Sister borrowed money from me.'

'दिदीले मबाट पैसा पैँचो लिनुभयो।'

(3.72) *um-a kakal-bi rə:ru bjak-ti*

she-ERG basket-LOC seed put-3s PT

'She put seed into the basket.'

'ऊनले डालेमा विरु राखिन्।'

The suffixes <-la> and <-bi> are indirect object markers whereas *sodza* and *rə:ru* are direct objects. Therefore *ruŋni* and *bjakti* are bitransitive verbs in the language.

3.5.5 Complement Verb

'An element of clause or sentences structure, traditionally associated with 'completing' the meaning specified by the verb' (Crystal 1992). In the sentences such verbs make up subject complement, direct object complement and indirect object complement, which can be seen in the following examples:

(3.73) ganpa nokcho chuku

ganpa shaman become-3s PT

'Ganpa became shaman.'

'गान्पा धामी बन्यो।'

(3.74) nana silimaṅma ham-chu-ku

sister dance leader HON-become-3s PT

'Sister will be a teacher.'

'दिदी सिलिमाङ्गा बनिन्।'

(3.75) pəbi-a najem-lai patumri bəne-mu

pəbi-ERG najem-DAT talkactive make-3s PT

'Pabi made Niyem a teacher.'

'पविले नायमलाई कुराैटे बनायो।'

Thus, in the sentences (3.73) and (3.74) '*ganpa*' and '*nana*' are subjects, and '*nok-cho*' and '*silimaṅma*' are subject complement objects. And in (3.75), *najem* is an object and *patumri* is an object complement.

3.5.6 Finite Verb

A finite verb is a form that can occur on its own in an independent sentence as a main clause; permits conjugation in tense and number. The following examples serve to illustrate these functions:

(3.76) holoŋ-u

come-1s-PT

'I came.'

'आइपुगें।'

(3.77) huluŋ-u

come-1dl.excl.PT

'We two (excl) came.'

'(हाम्दुई) आइपुग्यौं।'

(3.78) hukk-u

see-1pl (excl) PT

'We (excl) came.'

'(हामीहरू) आइपुग्यौं।'

(3.79) a-həl-ə

2-come-2s PT

- 'You came.'
'आइपुग्यौ।'
- (3.80) həl-ə
come-3s PT
'He came.'
'आइपुग्यो।'
- (3.81) ham- həl-ə
PL/HON-come-3pl.PT
'They came.'
'आइपुगे।'

In the above analysis <-u> is a past marker in the first person singular and the exclusiveness of both dual and plural forms. On the other hand, there is <-ə> past marker in second and third person singular and the third person plural as well. Similarly, there are any others person marker as in the following examples.

- (3.82) khuc-i
go-1dl (incl) PT
'We went.'
'(हाम्दुई) गयो।'
- (3.83) khəkk-i
go-1pl (incl) PT
'We went.'
'(हामी) गयो।'
- (3.84) a-khuc-i
2-go-1dl PT
'You (two) went.'
'(तिम्दुई) गयो।'
- (3.85) khuc-i
go-3dl PT
'they (two) went.'
'(तिन्दुई) गए।'
- (3.86) dokk-i

see-1pl (incl) PT

'We (incl) saw.'

'देख्यौं।'

Therefore <-i> is the third and second person dual, second person plural and the first person dual and plural inclusive past markers.

3.5.7 Non-finite Verb

Non-finite forms of the verb occur on their own independent clause, and lack tense and mood contrasts.

Table: 3.5 The three non-finite verb forms in Dumi

simultaneous converb + - so

purposive + - kubi

infinite + - na

'The simultaneous converb indicates an action 'performed by the same person at the same time as the action of finite verb and the purposive occurs mainly with verbs of motion', (Ebert 1997:38). The examples are as follows:

(3.87) *um phi-kubi ha*
he beg-PUR come-3s PT
'He came to beg.'

'ऊ माग्न आयो।'

(3.88) *um dza khip-kubi khuci*
she rice cook-PUR go-3s.PT
'She went to cook rice.'

'ऊनी पकाउन गइन्।'

Simultaneous converb occurs with two actions simultaneously. For example:

(3.89) *kəŋku thok-so pija*
water pour-SIM come-2s.NPT
'Come here up pouring water.'

'पानी खनाउदै आइज।'

thok-so 'pouring' is one action and 'pija' is another work to be done by a person.

3.5.8 Benefactive Verbs

Benefactive Verb indicates the resulting action of the verb which falls on someone or something. In this case, the agent has an intention of performing an action that it may affect somebody or something which is for the benefit of something or someone. The examples are as follows:

(3.90)	V. root		Benefactive base	
	kip	'to cook'	kipkhanna	'to cook for/of'
	cəp	'to write'	cəpkhanna	'to write something for/of'
	tu	'to keep'	tunkhanna	'to keep something for/of'
	khər	'to fry'	khərkhanna	'to fry something for/of'
	dzi	'to talk'	dzinkhanna	'to talk something for/of'

3.5.8.1 Compound Benefactive Verbs

The transitive verb can be compounded with a vector verb /khanna/ 'to give' in order to form a compound benefactive verb.

Examples:

(3.91)	inkhanna	'to sell something for/of someone'
	phinkhanna	'to ask something for/of someone'
	kurkhanna	'to carry something for/of someone'
	hakkhanna	'to open something for/of someone'
	hikkhanna	'to grind something for/of someone'

3.5.8.2 Benefactive base formation

In Dumi, some verb roots ending with vowel take /-nkhən/ suffix to derive benefactive bases. All benefactive bases are transitive verbs though some of them can be derived from intransitive roots as well.

(3.92)	V.root	Benefactive base
'to weave'	pu	punkhən
'to distribute'	yo	yonkhən
'to bring'	hə	hənkhən
to tie	pə	pənkhən
to tell	lut	lunkhən

3.5.8.3 Benefactive stem formation

Some verb roots which end in a consonant take /-khən/ suffix for benefactive stem formation. The possible benefactive verb stems are as follows:

(3.93)	V. roots	Benefactive stems
'to pick up'	suŋ	suŋkhən
'to look'	sen	senkhən
'to grab'	lup	lupkhən
'to wash'	sur	surkhən
'to kick'	jəm	jəmkhən

3.5.9 Reflexive Verbs

In Dumi, all singular in 1st, 2nd and 3rd person have reflexive forms of verbs. When the main verb takes a reflexive suffix, it is ready to be compounded with the vector verb /mu/ 'to do'. This is the process of reflexivization. Some morphophonemic changes also take place during this process.

The most common Reflexive suffixes are /isi/ and /si/.

(3.94)	jaisina	'(I) like myself'
	təisina	'(I) keep myself'
	tulsina	'(I) tame myself'
	thuisina	'(I) drag myself'
	cumsina	'(I) prepare myself'

3.5.10 Reciprocal Verbs

All dual and plural verb forms have reciprocal structure. There not any suffix for the reciprocal but the repetition of the main verb with the vector verb /mu/ 'to do' is added afterwards. The suitable examples are given below.

(3.95)	jəm-jəm muna	'to beat each other'
	kəl-kəl muna	'to chase each other'
	brə-brə muna	'to call each other'
	hə-hə muna	'to snatch each other'
	sen-sen muna	'to see each other'

3.5.11 Complex Verbs

2.3.11.1 Compound Verbs

The compound stems in Dumi are the structure with the main verbs or poles and the second one is called a vector. Both verbs are inflected in Dumi with any of the following participles. Like in Nepali language, in such stems one vector may be followed by another and form longer chain (Pokharel 1991).

They consist of a non-finite main verb and a finite post verb (V²). The sequence is contracted to a certain degree.

Prefixes occur on 2s V¹ and the suffixes added to V².

Table 5.6: The Dumi Particles in Compound Verbs

Participle types	Participle ending	
	Dumi	Nepali
i. Absolutive (ABS)	-so	-i
ii. Gerundive (GER)	-na	-nu
iii. Prospective	-sa	-ne
iv. Infinitive (INF)	-paci	-na
v. Durative (DUR)	-so	-dai
vi. Conjunctive (CONJ)	-soka	-era

a. soka (era)-Substitution Test

This is the basic characteristic of a CV which should be dominated by a single clause. Therefore CV can not be split up into as many simple sentences as there are verbal roots.

- (3.96) um-a saphu cəp-soka-bi
 he-ERG letter write-CV-gave
 'He wrote and handed over the letter'
 'He did a favour of writing the letter'

b. siso-Not only- But also Test

This test is situated for the Durative type of pole followed by a vector.

- (3.97) i. um im-siso khu-ci
 he sleep-CV go-PT
 ii. 'He was not only sleeping but also going'
 iii. 'He went on sleeping'

c. Gerundive Test

If 3.98(i) is paraphrased as 3.98(ii), then it is not a CV, but if it is paraphrased as 3.98(iii), it is a CV.

- (3.98) i. cu:cu chəmna nota
 child dance becomes
 ii. 'Dancing of a child is justified.'

iii. 'The child dances (honorific)

d. Infinitive Test

If the penultimate verb is an answer to 'What?' or 'Why?', for the ultimate verb, then the verbal sequence is not a CV, and vice-versa.

(3.99) um mis-paci
 he die-INF
 'He reached to die'
 'Accidentally he died'

e. Root-Duplication Test

This test is suit for prospective type where Vectors have a characteristic of being prospected by the same root as a pole.

(3.100) muk-sa muta
 do-PROS does
 ti-detta
 keep PROS
 mu-so muta
 do-PROS does

f. Double Negation Test

In Dumi, there is not possible the double negation (i.e. simultaneous negation of both Pole and Vector).

(3.101) um-a saphu cəp-khən-di
 he-ERG letter write-CV-gave
 'He wrote and handed over the letter'
 'He did a favour of writing the letter'
 um-a saphu ma-cəp-khən-dinə
 he-ERG letter NEG-write-CV-gave-NEG
 'He did not a favour of writing the letter'
 *um-a saphu cəp-ma-khən-di-nə
 he-ERG letter write-NEG-CV-gave-NEG
 'He did not a favour of writing the letter'

3.4.3.6 Summing up

A Dumi simple stem construction (simplex) consists of a verb stem and affixes indicating tense and showing agreement for person and number with the actant or actants of the verb. An intransitive and reflexive verb agrees only with the subject, whereas a transitive verb agrees with both agent (subject) and patient (object). On the basis of syllabic pattern, the Dumi verbs fall into two groups: monosyllabic and polysyllabic. Polysyllabic verbs, on the other hand, consist of a preverb and a verb stem; generally the preverbs are nouns attach to the verb stem. The verbal affixes in Dumi are two types: prefix and suffix. There are three prefixes: the third person plural subject morpheme <ham->, the non-third person morpheme <a-> and the negative past morpheme <ma->. The suffixes are: <-∅> for past tense, <t> for non-past tense, <-isi> for reflexive with <-s> and <-isu> allomorphs, <-k> for first person plural past, <-ŋ> for first person singular, <-u> for 1s→3/PT, <-i> for inclusive <-#> for exclusive, <-a> for non-first person subject, <-si> for non-first person dual and <-nə> for negative respectively. There are two types of 'to be' verbs in Dumi: *mota* 'to be' for animate and *gota* 'to be' for inanimate. Seven moods are identified in Dumi language. These are: indicative, interrogative, imperative, optative, probabilative, obligative, subjunctive. The morpheme <-mu-> makes the causative and <-isi> makes the intransitive from transitive as valence increasing device of derivational morphology. In Dumi, the passivization in the past is marked by <-isi> and in the non-past marked by <-isti>. The noun corporation in Dumi can be formulated as [X] noun + [Y] verb = [XY] verb. Non-finite verb may function as: nominal, adjectival and adverbial. When it may function as nominal, the <-na> suffix is used for infinitive and <-si> for gerund. In the similar way, when it functions as adjectival, the <-sa> is used for present participle and <-sa> for past participle. On the other hand, the adverbial may function as present participle, durative, perfective, conditional, absolute.

There are two types of 'to be' verbs in Dumi: *mota* 'to be' for animate and *gota* 'to be' for inanimate. Where **mota* 'to be' for inanimate and **gota* 'to be' for animate

is restricted. There are benefactive, reflexive, reciprocal and compound verbs in Dumi, namely the absolutive, gerundive, prospective, infinitive, durative, conjunctive etc.

Note: The detailed study of the Compound Verb in Dumi is impossible to include in this dissertation. So, it will be described in further research study report.

Chapter 4

Summary and conclusion

Dumi language is roughly spoken by an estimated 2,500 out of 15,000 (i.e. 17%) Dumi people. Most of them living in hilly areas of Northern Khotang district in Sagarmatha zone of the eastern Nepal. In Dumi, among the four dialects, Kharbari dialect seems to have more common with the Makpa dialect. Similarly, Sapteshwor dialect is related to Jalapa dialect in many aspects. Likewise, Kubhinde (Hancheka) dialect seems closed to the Baksila dialect. Most of the speakers of Dumi language are bilingual or multilingual. Besides Dumi, they are familiar with any other Kirati languages and Nepali as well. The number of native speakers within the total population is quite a few. This is not only the severely endangered languages, but also the dwindling domain languages. No orthography is available in the community till now. No doubt, almost all members of the Dumi speakers value their language and wish to see its preservation. The language is used only in the village, agricultural works and local markets. However, it is neither used in any local Government offices nor in any local media. Likewise, the formal process of the language preservation and standardization in Dumi has not been attempted so far.

There are seven oral vowels in Dumi, which contrast in length. They are: *i/i:*, *e/e:*, *ɪ/ɪ:*, *ə/ə:*, *a/a:*, *u/u:*, *o/o:*. All vowels can acquire in all environment: initially, in the middle and in the final position of Dumi words. Phonemically, these all can contrast. The vowel cluster can be: *ei*, *eu*, *əi*, *ai*, *au*, *ii*, *oi*, *ou*. There are limited nasalized in Dumi in some native and loan words. Along with this, there are ten plosive, ten aspirated, three nasals, one trill, two fricative, two semi-vowels and one lateral in Dumi. It is rare to find out the minimal pairs for four alveolar consonants: */t/*, */th/*, */d/* and */dh/*. Most of the consonants appear in the initial and in the middle position. In most cases, the vowel length appears in case of the deletion of the sound */t/*, */k/* in the final position of the verb stem. The consonants can make cluster only in initial and in middle position of the word but not in the final.

The syllable structure in Dumi is (C) (C) V (V). The rising and falling intonation are also found in Dumi.

A Dumi simple stem construction (simplex) consists of a verb stem and affixes indicating tense and showing agreement for person and number with the actant or actants of the verb. An intransitive and reflexive verbs agree only with the subject, whereas a transitive verb agrees with both agent (subject) and patient (object). On the basis of syllabic pattern, the Dumi verbs fall into two groups: monosyllabic and polysyllabic. Polysyllabic verbs consist of a preverb and a verb stem; generally the preverbs are nouns attach to the verb stem.

The verbal affixes in Dumi are of two types: prefix and suffix. There are three prefixes: the third person plural subject morpheme <ham->, the non-third person morpheme <a-> and the negative past morpheme <ma->. The suffixes are: <-∅> for past tense, <-t> for non-past tense, <-isi> for reflexive with <-s> and <-isu> allomorphs, <-k> for first person plural past, <-ŋ> for first person singular, <-u> for 1s→3/PT, <-i> for inclusive <-#> for exclusive, <-a> for non-first person subject, <-si> for non-first person dual and <-nə> for negative respectively. There are two types of 'to be' verbs in Dumi: *mota* 'to be' for animate and *gota* 'to be' for inanimate. Seven moods are identified in Dum: indicative, interrogative, imperative, optative, probabilitative, obligative, subjunctive. The morpheme <-mu-> makes the causative and <-isi> makes the intransitive from transitive as valence increasing device of derivational morphology. In Dumi, the passivization in the past is marked by <-isi> and in the non-past marked by <-isti>.

The noun corporation in Dumi can be formulated as [X] noun + [Y] verb = [XY] verb. Non-finite verb may function as: nominal, adjectival and adverbial. When it may function as nominal, the <-na> suffix used for infinitive and <-si> for gerund. In the similar way, when it functions as adjectival, the <-sa> is used for present and past participle. On the other hand, the adverbial may function as present participle, durative, perfective, conditional, absolutive.

In Dumi, like any other Kiranti languages, there is Pronominalization. In which there are Pronominal Suffixes in Verb, past tense and pronominal suffixes, Non-past tense and pronominal suffixes etc.

There are also benefactive, reciprocal, reflexive and compound verbs in Dumi, namely the absolutive, gerundive, prospective, infinitive, durative, conjunctive etc.

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Appendices

A. Verbal paradigms

A₁: Intransitive verbs

1. *bulna* vi. **bul** 'run'.

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	bulto	bultono	bulo	mabulono
1di	bulti	bultinə	buli	mabulinə
1pi	bulti	bultinə	bulki	mabulkinə
1de	bultu	bultunə	bulku	mabulkunə
1pe	bulta	bultanə	bulu	mabulunə
2s	abulta	abultanə	abuli	abulinə
2d	abulti	abultinə	abuli	abulinə
2p	abultani	abultaninə	abulni	abulninə
3s	bulta	bultanə	buli	mabulinə
3d	bulti	bultinə	buli	mabulinə
3p	hambulta	hambultanə	hambuli	hambulnə

2. *ri:na* vi. **ri** 'laugh'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	re:to	re:tono	re:ɲu	mare:ɲunə
1di	riti	ritinə	riji	marijinə
1pi	rikti	riktinə	rikki	marikkinə
1de	ritu	ritunə	riju	marijunə
1pe	rikta	riktanə	rikku	marikkunə
2s	are:ta	are:tanə	are	arenə
2d	ari:ti	ari:tinə	ariji	arijinə
2p	are:tani	are:taninə	areni	areninə
3s	reta	retanə	re	mare:ɲə
3d	ri:ti	ri:tinə	ri:ji	mari:jinə
3p	hamreta	hamretanə	hamre	hamrenə

3. *huna vi. hu* 'come', 'appear' (from any directions).

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	hoto	hotono	hoŋu	mahoŋunə
1di	huti	hutinə	huji	mahujinə
1pi	hukti	huktinə	hukki	mahukkinə
1de	hutu	hutunə	huju	mahujunə
1pe	hukta	huktanə	hukku	mahukkunə
2s	ahota	ahotanə	ahə	ahənə
2d	ahuti	ahutinə	ahuji	ahujinə
2p	ahotani	ahotantinə	ahoni	ahoninə
3s	hota	hotanə	hə	mahənə
3d	hu:ti	hu:tinə	huji	mahujinə
3p	hamhota	hamhotanə	hamhə	hamhənə

4. *pina vi. pi* 'come' (horizontally).

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	pi:to	pi:tono	pijo	mapijono
1di	pi:ti	pi:tinə	pi:ji	mapi:jinə
1pi	pikti	piktinə	pikki	mapikkinə
1de	pi:tu	pi:tunə	pi:ju	mapi:junə
1pe	pikta	piktanə	pikku	mapikkunə
2s	api:ta	api:tanə	apiju	apijunə
2d	api:ti	api:tinə	api:ji	api:jinə
2p	api:tani	api:taninə	api:ni	api:ninə
3s	pi:ta	pi:tanə	piju	mapijunə
3d	pi:ti	pi:tinə	pi:ji	mapi:jinə
3p	hampi:ta	hampi:tanə	hampiju	hampijunə

5. *jina vi. ji* 'come down' (vertically downwards).

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	jeto	jetono	jeŋu	majeŋunə
1di	ji:ti	ji:tinə	ji:ji	maji:jinə
1pi	jikti	jiktinə	jikki	majikkinə
1de	ji:tu	ji:tunə	ji:ju	maji:junə
1pe	jikta	jiktanə	jikku	majikkunə

2s	aje:ta	aje:tanə	aje	ajenə
2d	aji:ti	aji:tinə	aji:ji	aji:jinə
2p	aje:tani	aje:taninə	aje:ni	aje:ninə
3s	je:ta	je:tanə	je	majenə
3d	ji:ti	ji:tinə	ji:ji	maji:jinə
3p	hamje:ta	hamje:tanə	hamje	hamjenə

6. *khoyṅna* .vi. **khoyṅ** 'come up' (vertically upwards)

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	khuyṅto	khuyṅtono	khuyṅo	makhuyṅono
1di	khuyṅti	khuyṅtinə	khuyṅi	makhuyṅinə
1pi	khoyṅti	khoyṅtinə	khoyṅki	makhoyṅkinə
1de	khuyṅtu	khuyṅtunə	khuyṅu	makhuyṅunə
1pe	khoyṅta	khoyṅtanə	khoyṅku	makhoyṅkunə
2s	akhuyṅta	akhuyṅtanə	akhuyṅu	akhuyṅunə
2d	akhuyṅti	akhuyṅtinə	akhuyṅi	akhuyṅinə
2p	akhuyṅtani	akhuyṅtaninə	akhuyṅni	akhuyṅninə
3s	khuyṅta	khuyṅtanə	khuyṅu	makhuyṅunə
3d	khuyṅti	khuyṅtinə	khuyṅi	makhuyṅinə
3p	hamkhuyṅta	hamkhuyṅtanə	hamkhuyṅu	hamkhuyṅunə

7. *a:na* vi. **a:** 'say'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	asto	astono	aco	ma-acono
1di	asti	astinə	aci	ma-acinə
1pi	akti	aktinə	akki	ma-akkinə
1de	astu	astunə	acu	ma-acunə
1pe	akta	aktanə	akku	maakkunə
2s	aasta	aastanə	aaci	aasnə
2d	aasti	aastinə	aaci	aacinə
2p	aastani	aastaninə	aasni	aasninə
3s	asta	astanə	aci	maanə
3d	asti	astinə	aci	maacinə
3p	ham-asta	ham-astanə	ham-aci	ham-anə

8. *bjarna vi. bjar* 'fly'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	birto	birtono	biro	mabirono
1di	birti	birtinə	biri	mabirinə
1pi	bjarti	bjartinə	bjarki	mabjarkinə
1de	birtu	birtunə	biru	mabirunə
1pe	bjarta	bjartanə	bjarku	mabjarkunə
2s	abirta	abirtanə	abiri	abirinə
2d	abirti	abirtinə	abiri	abirinə
2p	abirtani	abirtaninə	abirni	abirninə
3s	birta	birtanə	biri	mabirinə
3d	birti	birtinə	biri	mabirinə
3p	ham-birta	ham-birtanə	ham-biri	ham-birinə

9. *muna vi. mu* 'stay'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	mo:to	mo:tono	mo:ɲu	mamo:ɲunə
1di	mu:ti	mu:tinə	mu:ji	mamu:jinə
1pi	mikti	miktinə	mikki	mamukkinə
1de	mu:tu	mu:tunə	mu:ju	mamujunə
1pe	mukta	muktanə	mukku	mamukkunə
2s	amo:ta	amo:tanə	amə	amənə
2d	amu:ti	amu:tinə	amu:ji	amu:jinə
2p	amo:tani	amo:taninə	amo:ni	amo:ninə
3s	mo:ta	mo:tanə	mə	mamənə
3d	mu:ti	mu:tinə	mu:ji	mamu:jinə
3p	ham-mo:ta	ham-mo:tanə	ham-mə	ham-mənə

10. *khə:na vi. khə:* 'go'.

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	khusto	khustono	khuco	makhucono
1di	khusti	khustinə	khuci	makhucinə
1pi	khəkti	khəktinə	khəkki	makhəkkinə
1de	khustu	khustunə	khucu	makhucunə
1pe	khəkta	khəktanə	khəkku	makhəkkunə

2s	akhusta	akhustanə	akhuci	akhənə
2d	akhusti	akhustinə	akhuci	akhucinə
2p	akhustani	akhustaninə	akhusni	akhusninə
3s	khusta	khustanə	khuci	makhənə
3d	khusti	khustinə	khuci	makhucinə
3p	hamkhusta	hamkhustanə	hamkhuci	hamkhənə

11. ɣokna vi. ɣok 'cry'.

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	ɣukto	ɣuktono	ɣukho	maɣukhonə
1di	ɣukti	ɣuktinə	ɣukhi	maɣukhinə
1pi	ɣokti	ɣoktinə	ɣokki	maɣokkinə
1de	ɣuktu	ɣuktunə	ɣukhu	maɣukhunə
1pe	ɣokta	ɣoktanə	ɣokku	maɣokkunə
2s	aɣukta	aɣuktanə	aɣukhu	aɣukhunə
2d	aɣukti	aɣuktinə	aɣukhi	aɣukhinə
2p	aɣuktani	aɣuktaninə	aɣukni	aɣukninə
3s	ɣukta	ɣuktanə	ɣukhu	maɣukhu
3d	ɣukti	ɣuktinə	ɣukhi	maɣukhinə
3p	hamɣukta	hamɣuktanə	hamɣukhu	hamɣukhunə

12. chəmna vi. chəm 'dance'.

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	chumto	chumtono	chumo	machumono
1di	chumti	chumtinə	chumi	machuminə
1pi	chəmti	chəmtinə	chəmki	machəmkinə
1de	chumtu	chumtunə	chumu	machumunə
1pe	chəmta	chəmtanə	chəmku	machəmkunə
2s	achumta	achumtanə	achumu	achumunə
2d	achumti	achumtinə	achumi	achuminə
2p	achumtani	achumtaninə	achumni	achumninə
3s	chumta	chumtanə	chumu	machumunə
3d	chumti	chumtinə	chumi	machuminə
3p	hamchumta	hamchumtanə	hamchumu	hamchumunə

13. *ɲaisina* vi. *ɲaisi* 'sit'.

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	ɲaistu	ɲaistunə	ɲaisu	maɲaisunə
1di	ɲaisiti	ɲaisitinə	ɲaisiji	maɲaisijinə
1pi	ɲaisikti	ɲaisiktinə	ɲaisikki	maɲaisikkinə
1de	ɲaisitu	ɲaisitunə	ɲaisiju	maɲaisijunə
1pe	ɲaisikta	ɲaisiktanə	ɲaisikku	maɲaisikkunə
2s	aɲaisti	aɲaistinə	aɲaisi	aɲaisinə
2d	aɲaisiti	aɲaisitinə	aɲaisiji	aɲaisijinə
2p	aɲaisitani	aɲaisitaninə	aɲaisini	aɲaisininə
3s	ɲaisti	ɲaistinə	ɲaisi	maɲaisinə
3d	ɲaisiti	ɲaisitinə	ɲaisiji	maɲaisijinə
3p	hamɲaisti	hamɲaisti	hamɲaisi	hamɲaisinə

14. *imsina* vi. *imsi* 'sleep'.

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	imstu	imstunə	imsu	maimsunə
1di	imsiti	imsitinə	imsiji	maimsijinə
1pi	imsikti	imsiktinə	imsikki	maimsikkinə
1de	imsitu	imsitunə	imsiju	maimsijunə
1pe	imsikta	imsiktanə	imsikku	maimsikkunə
2s	aimsti	aimstinə	aimsi	aimsinə
2d	aimsiti	aimsitinə	aimsiji	aimsijinə
2p	aimsitani	aimsitaninə	aimsini	aimsininə
3s	imsti	imstinə	imsi	maimsinə
3d	imsiti	imsitinə	imsiji	maimsijinə
3p	hamimsti	hamimstinə	hamimsi	hamimsinə

15. *ipna* vi. *ip* 'make sleep'.

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	ipto	iptonə	iptu	maiptunə
1di	ipti	iptinə	iphi	maiphinə
1pi	ipti	iptinə	ipki	maipkinə
1de	iptu	iptunə	iphu	maiphunə
1pe	ipta	iptanə	ipku	maipkunə

2s	aipta	aiptanə	aipti	aiptinə
2d	aipti	aiptinə	aiphi	aiphinə
2p	aiptani	aiptaninə	aipni	aipninə
3s	ipta	iptanə	ipti	maipnə
3d	iptasi	iptasinə	ipsi	maipsinə
3p	iptani	iptaninə	ipni	maipninə

16. səpna vi. səp 'be full'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	supto	suptono	supho	masupho
1di	supti	suptinə	suphi	masuphinə
1pi	səpti	səptinə	səpki	masəpkinə
1de	suptu	suptunə	suphu	masuphunə
1pe	səpta	səptanə	səpku	masəpkunə
2s	asupta	asuptanə	asuphu	asuphunə
2d	asupti	asuptinə	asuphi	asuphinə
2p	asuptani	asuptaninə	asupni	asupninə
3s	supta	suptanə	suphu	masuphunə
3d	supti	suptinə	suphi	masuphinə
3p	hamsupta	hamsuptanə	hamsuphu	hamsupnə

17. rjapna vi. rjap 'stand'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	ripto	riptono	ripho	mariphono
1di	ripti	riptinə	riphi	mariphinə
1pi	rjapti	rjaptinə	rjapki	marjapkinə
1de	riptu	riptunə	riphu	mariphunə
1pe	rjapta	rjaptanə	rjapku	marjapkunə
2s	aripta	ariptanə	ariphu	ariphunə
2d	aripti	ariptinə	ariphi	ariphinə
2p	ariptani	ariptaninə	aripni	aripninə
3s	ripta	riptanə	riphu	mariphunə
3d	ripti	riptinə	riphi	mariphinə
3p	hamripta	hamriptanə	hamriphu	hamriphunə

18. thina vi. thi 'fall down'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	thito	thitono	thijo	mathijono
1di	thiti	thitinə	thiji	mathijinə
1pi	thikti	thiktinə	thikki	mathikkinə
1de	thitu	thitunə	thiju	mathijunə
1pe	thikta	thiktanə	thikku	mathikkunə
2s	athita	athitanə	athiju	athijunə
2d	athiti	athitinə	athiji	athijinə
2p	athitani	athitaninə	athini	athininə
3s	thita	thitanə	thiju	mathinə
3d	thiti	thitinə	thiji	mathijinə
3p	hamthita	hamthitanə	hamthiju	hamthijunə

19. phukna vi. phuk 'get up'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	phukto	phuktono	phuko	maphukono
1di	phukti	phuktinə	phuki	maphukinə
1pi	phukti	phuktinə	phukki	maphukkinə
1de	phuktu	phuktunə	phuku	maphukunə
1pe	phukta	phuktanə	phukku	maphukkunə
2s	aphukta	aphuktanə	aphuku	aphukunə
2d	aphukti	aphuktinə	aphuki	aphukinə
2p	aphuktani	aphuktaninə	aphukni	aphukninə
3s	phukta	phuktanə	phuku	maphuknə
3d	phukti	phuktinə	phuki	maphukinə
3p	hamp hukta	hamp huktanə	hamp hukku	hamp huknə

20. dzina vi. dzi 'talk'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	dze:to	dze:tono	dze:ju	madze:junə
1di	dzi:ti	dzi:tinə	dziji	madzijinə
1pi	dzikti	dziktinə	dzikki	madzikkinə
1de	dzi:tu	dzi:tunə	dziju	madzijunə
1pe	dzikta	dziktanə	dzikku	madzikkunə

2s	adze:ta	adze:tanə	adze	adzenə
2d	adzi:ti	adzi:tinə	adziji	adzijinə
2p	adze:tani	adze:taninə	adzeni	adzeninə
3s	dze:ta	dze:tanə	dze	madzenə
3d	dzi:ti	dzi:tinə	dziji	madzijinə
3p	hamdze:ta	hamdze:tanə	hamdze	hamdzenə

21. *dze:na* vi. *dze:* 'call'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	dzetto	dzettono	dzetu	madzetunə
1di	dzisti	dzistinə	dzissi	madzissinə
1pi	dzekti	dzektinə	dzekki	madzekkinə
1de	dzistu	dzistunə	dzecu	madzecunə
1pe	dzekta	dzektanə	dzekku	madzekkunə
2s	adzetta	adzettanə	adzeti	adzetinə
2d	adzisti	adzistinə	adzici	adzicinə
2p	adzestani	adzestaninə	adzesni	adzesninə
3s	dzetta	dzettanə	dzeti	madzetinə
3d	dzettasi	dzettasinə	dzessi	madzessinə
3p	dzettani	dzettaninə	dzetni	madzetninə

22. *ɲina* vi. *ɲi* 'listen'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	ɲiŋto	ɲiŋtono	ɲiŋu	maɲiŋunə
1di	ɲiti	ɲitinə	ɲiji	maɲijinə
1pi	ɲikti	ɲiktinə	ɲikki	maɲikkinə
1de	ɲitu	ɲitunə	ɲiju	maɲijunə
1pe	ɲikta	ɲiktanə	ɲikku	maɲikkunə
2s	aɲita	aɲitanə	aɲi	aɲinə
2d	aɲiti	aɲitinə	aɲiji	aɲijinə
2p	aɲetani	aɲetaninə	aɲeni	aɲeninə
3s	ɲita	ɲitanə	ɲi	maɲinə
3d	ɲitasi	ɲitasinə	ɲisi	maɲisinə
3p	ɲitani	ɲitaninə	ɲini	maɲininə

A₂ : Transitive verbs

1. *dzena vt, dze* 'call'

	Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1	1s→2s	dzenta	huŋtanə	huŋnə	mahuŋnənə
2	1de→2s	dzestu	huŋtasinə	huŋnəsi	mahuŋnəsinə
3	1pe→2s	dzekta	huŋtaninə	huŋnəni	mahuŋninə
4	1s→2d	dzentasi	huŋtono	huŋo	ahuŋono
5	1de→2d	dzestu	huŋtosunə	huŋnəsu	ahuŋsunə
6	1pe→2d	dzekta	huŋtonunə	huŋnənu	ahuŋnunə
7	1s→2p	dzentani	huŋtinə	huŋi	ahuŋinə
8	1de→2p	dzestu	huŋtənə	huŋu	ahuŋunə
9	1pe→2p	dzekta	huŋtinə	huŋi	mahuŋinə
10	1s→3s	dzetto	huŋtanə	huŋku	mahuŋkunə
11	1s→3p	dzettonu	ahuŋtanə	ahuŋu	ahuŋnə
12	2di→3s	dzisti	ahuŋtasinə	ahuŋsi	ahuŋsinə
13	2di→3p	dzisti	ahuŋtaninə	ahuŋni	ahuŋninə
14	2de→3s	dzestu	ahuŋtinə	ahuŋi	ahuŋnə
15	2de→3s	dzestu	ahuŋtaninə	ahuŋni	ahuŋninə
16	3s→3s	dzetta	huŋtanə	huŋu	mahuŋnə
17	3s→3d	dzetasi	dzetasinə	dzesi	madzesinə
18	3d→3s	dzetasi	dzetasinə	dzesi	madzesinə
19	3d→3d	dzetasi	dzetasinə	dzesi	madzesinə
20	3s→3p	dzetani	dzetaninə	dzeni	madzeninə
21	3d→3p	dzetasi	dzetasinə	dzesi	madzesinə
22	3p→3s	dzetani	dzetaninə	dzeni	madzeninə
23	3p→3d	dzetani	dzetaninə	dzeni	madzeninə
24	3p→3p	dzetani	dzetaninə	dzeni	madzeninə
25	2s/3s→1s	adzeto	adzetənə	adzeo	adzeonə
26	2d/3d→1s	adzetosu	adzetosunə	adzeosu	adzeosunə
27	2p/3p→1s	adzetonu	adzetonunə	adzeonu	adzeonunə
28	3→1di	adzeti	adzetinə	adzei	adzeinə
29	2/3→1de	adzetə	adzetənə	adzeə	adzeunə
30	3→1pi	adzeti	adzetinə	adzeki	adzekinə
31	2/3→1pe	adzeta	adzetənə	adzeku	adzekunə
32	3→2s	adzeta	auŋtanə	adzeə	adzeunə
33	3→2d	adzeti	adzetinə	adzei	adzeinə
34	3→2p	adzetani	adzetaninə	adzeni	adzeninə

2. *huŋna vt, huŋ* 'wait'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s→2s	huŋta	huŋtanə	huŋnə	mahuŋnənə
1s→2d	huŋtasi	huŋtasinə	huŋnəsi	mahuŋnəsinə
1s→2p	huŋtani	huŋtaninə	huŋnəni	mahuŋninə
1s→3s	huŋto	huŋtono	huŋo	ahuŋono
1s→3d	huŋtosu	huŋtosunə	huŋnəsu	ahuŋsunə
1s→3p	huŋtonu	huŋtonunə	huŋnənu	ahuŋnunə
1di→2/3	huŋti	huŋtinə	huŋi	ahuŋinə
1de→2/3	huŋtə	huŋtənə	huŋu	ahuŋunə

1pi→2/3	huṅti	huṅtinə	huṅi	mahuṅinə
1pe→2/3	huṅta	huṅtanə	huṅku	mahuṅkunə
2s→3s	ahuṅta	ahuṅtanə	ahuṅu	ahuṅnə
2s→3d	ahuṅtasi	ahuṅtasinə	ahuṅsi	ahuṅsinə
2s→3p	ahuṅtani	ahuṅtaninə	ahuṅni	ahuṅninə
2d→3	ahuṅti	ahuṅtinə	ahuṅi	ahuṅnə
2p→3	ahuṅtani	ahuṅtaninə	ahuṅni	ahuṅninə
3s→3s	huṅta	huṅtanə	huṅu	mahuṅnə
3s→3d	huṅtasi	huṅtasinə	huṅsi	mahuṅsinə
3d→3s	huṅtasi	huṅtasinə	huṅsi	mahuṅsinə
3d→3d	huṅtasi	huṅtasinə	huṅsi	mahuṅsinə
3s→3p	huṅtani	huṅtaninə	huṅni	mahuṅninə
3d→3p	huṅtasi	huṅtasinə	huṅsi	mahuṅsinə
3p→3s	huṅtani	huṅtaninə	huṅni	mahuṅninə
3p→3d	huṅtani	huṅtaninə	huṅni	mahuṅninə
3p→3p	huṅtani	huṅtaninə	huṅni	mahuṅninə
2s/3s→1s	ahuṅto	ahuṅtonə	ahuṅo	ahuṅonə
2d/3d→1s	ahuṅtosu	ahuṅtosunə	ahuṅosu	ahuṅosunə
2p/3p→1s	ahuṅtonu	ahuṅtonunə	ahuṅonu	ahuṅonunə
3→1di	ahuṅti	ahuṅtinə	ahuṅi	ahuṅinə
2/3→1de	ahuṅtæ	ahuṅtænə	ahuṅæ	ahuṅunə
3→1pi	ahuṅti	ahuṅtinə	ahuṅki	ahuṅkinə
2/3→1pe	ahuṅta	ahuṅtanə	ahuṅku	ahuṅkunə
3→2s	ahuṅta	ahuṅtanə	ahuṅæ	ahuṅunə
3→2d	ahuṅti	ahuṅtinə	ahuṅi	ahuṅinə
3→2p	ahuṅtani	ahuṅtaninə	ahuṅni	ahuṅninə

3. *ditna vt, dit* 'follow'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s→2s	dinta	dintanə	dinnə	madinnənə
1s→2d	dintasi	dintasinə	dinnəsi	madinnəsinə
1s→2p	dintani	dintaninə	dinnəni	madinnəninə
1s→3s	ditto	dittonə	ditu	maditunə
1s→3d	dittosu	dittosunə	ditsu	maditsunə
1s→3p	dittonu	dittonunə	ditnu	maditnunə
1di→2/3	disti	distinə	dici	madicinə
1de→2/3	distæ	distænə	dicæ	madicænə
1pi→2/3	dikti	diktinə	dikki	madikkinə
1pe→2/3	dikta	diktanə	dikku	madikkunə
2s→3s	aditta	adittanə	aditi	aditnə
2s→3d	adittasi	adittasinə	adissi	adissinə
2s→3p	adittani	adittaninə	aditni	aditninə
2d→3	adisti	adistinə	adici	adicinə
2p→3	adistani	adistaninə	adisni	adisninə
3s→3s	ditta	dittanə	diti	maditinə
3s→3d	dittasi	dittasinə	ditsi	maditsinə
3d→3s	dittasi	dittasinə	ditsi	maditsinə
3d→3d	dittasi	dittasinə	ditsi	maditsinə
3s→3p	dittani	dittaninə	ditni	maditninə

3d→3p	dittasi	dittasinə	ditsi	maditsinə
3p→3s	dittani	dittaninə	ditni	maditninə
3p→3d	dittani	dittaninə	ditni	maditninə
3p→3p	dittani	dittaninə	ditni	maditninə
2s/3s→1s	adisto	adistonə	adico	adiconə
2d/3d→1s	adistosu	adistosunə	adicosu	adicosunə
2p/3p→1s	adistonu	adistonunə	adiconu	adiconunə
3→1di	adisti	adistinə	adici	adicinə
2/3→1de	adistæ	adistænə	adicæ	adicænə
3→1pi	adikti	adiktinə	adikki	adikkinə
2/3→1pe	adikta	adiktanə	adikku	adikku
3→2s	adista	adistanə	adici	adicinə
3→2d	adisti	adistinə	adici	adicinə
3→2p	adistani	adistaninə	adisni	adisinə

4. *thina* vt, *thi* 'trip'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s→2s	thinta	thintanə	thinnə	mathinnənə
1s→2d	thintasi	thintasinə	thinnəsi	mathinnəsinə
1s→2p	thintani	thintaninə	thinnəni	mathinnəninə
1s→3s	thiŋto	thiŋtono	thiŋu	mathiŋunə
1s→3d	thiŋtosu	thiŋtosunə	thiŋosu	mathiŋosunə
1s→3p	thiŋtonu	thiŋtonunə	thiŋonu	mathiŋonunə
1di→2/3	thi:ti	thi:tinə	thi:ji	mathi:jinə
1de→2/3	thi:tæ	thi:tænə	thi:jæ	mathi:jænə
1pi→2/3	thikti	thiktinə	thikki	mathikkinə
1pe→2/3	thikta	thiktanə	thikku	mathikkunə
2s→3s	athita	athitanə	athi	athinə
2s→3d	athitasi	athitasinə	athisi	athisinə
2s→3p	athitani	athitaninə	athini	athininə
2d→3	athi:ti	athi:tinə	athi:suji	athi:sujinə
2p→3	athi:tani	athi:taninə	athi:soni	athi:soninə
3s→3s	thita	thitanə	thi	mathinə
3s→3d	thitasi	thitasinə	thisi	mathisinə
3d→3s	thitasi	thitasinə	thisi	mathisinə
3d→3d	thitasi	thitasinə	thisi	mathisivnə
3s→3p	thitani	thitaninə	thini	mathininə
3d→3p	thitasi	thitasinə	thisi	mathisinə
3p→3s	thitani	thitaninə	thini	mathininə
3p→3d	thitani	thitaninə	thini	mathininə
3p→3p	thitani	thitaninə	thini	mathininə
2s/3s→1s	athi:to	athi:tonə	athijo	athijonə
2d/3d→1s	athi:tosu	athi:tosunə	athi:josu	athi:josunə
2p/3p→1s	athi:tonu	athi:tonunə	athi:jonu	athi:jonunə
3→1di	athi:ti	athi:tinə	athi:ji	athi:jinə
2/3→1de	athi:tæ	athi:tænə	athi:jæ	athi:jænə
3→1pi	athikti	athiktinə	athikki	athikkinə
2/3→1pe	athikta	athiktanə	athikku	athikkunə
3→2s	athi:ta	athi:tanə	athi:sə	athi:sənə

3→2d	athi:ti	athi:tinə	athi:sui	athi:suinə
3→2p	athi:tani	athi:taninə	athi:soni	athi:soninə

5. *jəmna vt, jəm* 'hit'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s→2s	jəmta	jəmtanə	jəmnə	majəmnənə
1s→2d	jəmtasi	jəmtasinə	jəmnəsi	majəmnəsinə
1s→2p	jəmtani	jəmtaninə	jəmnəni	majəmnənəninə
1s→3s	jəmto	jəmtono	jəmdu	majəmdunə
1s→3d	jəmtosu	jəmtosunə	jəmsu	majəmsunə
1s→3p	jəmtonu	jəmtonunə	jəmtonu	majəmtonunə
1di→2/3	jumti	jumtinə	jumi	majuminə
1de→2/3	jumtə	jumtənə	jumtə	majumtənə
1pi→2/3	jəmti	jəmtinə	jəmki	majəmkinə
1pe→2/3	jəmta	jəmtanə	jəmnə	majəmnənə
2s→3s	ajəmta	ajəmtanə	ajəmdi	ajəmdinə
2s→3d	ajəmtasi	ajəmtasinə	ajəmsi	ajəmsinə
2s→3p	ajəmtani	ajəmtaninə	ajəmni	ajəmninə
2d→3	ajumti	ajumtinə	ajumi	ajuminə
2p→3	ajumtani	ajumtaninə	ajumni	ajumninə
3s→3s	jəmta	jəmtanə	jəmdi	majəmnə
3s→3d	jəmtasi	jəmtasinə	jəmsi	majəmsinə
3d→3s	jəmtasi	jəmtasinə	jəmsi	majəmsinə
3d→3d	jəmtasi	jəmtasinə	jəmsi	majəmsinə
3s→3p	jəmtani	jəmtaninə	jəmni	majəmninə
3d→3p	jəmtasi	jəmtasinə	jəmsi	majəmsinə
3p→3s	jəmtani	jəmtaninə	jəmni	majəmninə
3p→3d	jəmtani	jəmtaninə	jəmni	majəmninə
3p→3p	jəmtani	jəmtaninə	jəmni	majəmninə
2s/3s→1s	ajumto	ajumtonə	ajumo	ajumono
2d/3d→1s	ajumtosu	ajumtosunə	ajumosu	ajumosunə
2p/3p→1s	ajumtonu	ajumtonunə	ajumonu	ajumonunə
3→1di	ajumti	ajumtinə	ajumi	ajuminə
2/3→1de	ajumtə	ajumtənə	ajumtə	ajumtənə
3→1pi	ajəmti	ajəmtinə	ajəmki	ajəmkinə
2/3→1pe	ajəmta	ajəmtanə	ajəmku	ajəmkunə
3→2s	ajumta	ajumtanə	ajumu	ajumono
3→2d	ajumti	ajumtinə	ajumi	ajuminə
3→2p	ajumtani	ajumtaninə	ajumni	ajumninə

6. *bina vt, bi* 'give'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s→2s	binta	bintanə	biŋu	mabiŋunə
1s→2d	bintasi	bintasinə	binnəsi	mabinnəsinə
1s→2p	bintani	bintaninə	binnəni	mabinnəninə
1s→3s	biŋto	biŋtono	biŋu	mabiŋunə
1s→3d	biŋtosu	biŋtosunə	biŋosu	mabiŋosunə
1s→3p	biŋtonu	biŋtonunə	biŋonu	mabiŋonunə
1di→2/3	bi:ti	bi:tinə	bi:ji	mabi:jinə

1de→2/3	bi:tə	bi:tənə	bi:jə	mabi:jənə
1pi→2/3	bikti	biktinə	bikki	mabikkinə
1pe→2/3	bikta	biktanə	bikku	mabikkunə
2s→3s	abita	abitanə	abi	abinə
2s→3d	abitasi	abitasinə	abisi	abisinə
2s→3p	abitani	abitaninə	abini	abininə
2d→3	abi:ti	abi:tinə	abi:ji	abi:jinə
2p→3	abe:tani	abe:taninə	abe:ni	abe:ninə
3s→3s	bita	bitanə	bi	mabinə
3s→3d	bitasi	bitasinə	bisi	mabisinə
3d→3s	bitasi	bitasinə	bisi	mabisinə
3d→3d	bitasi	bitasinə	bisi	mabisinə
3s→3p	bitani	bitaninə	bini	mabininə
3d→3p	bitasi	bitasinə	bisi	mabisinə
3p→3s	bitani	bitaninə	bini	mabininə
3p→3d	bitani	bitaninə	bini	mabininə
3p→3p	bitani	bitaninə	bini	mabininə
2s/3s→1s	abe:to	abe:tono	abe:ŋu	abe:ŋunə
2d/3d→1s	abe:tosu	abe:tosunə	abe:su	abe:sunə
2p/3p→1s	abe:tonu	abe:tonunə	abe:nu	abe:nunə
3→1di	abi:ti	abi:tinə	abi:ji	abi:jinə
2/3→1de	abi:tə	abi:tənə	abi:jə	abi:jənə
3→1pi	abikti	abiktinə	abikki	abikkinə
2/3→1pe	abikta	abiktanə	abikku	abikkunə
3→2s	abe:ta	abe:tanə	abe	abenə
3→2d	abi:ti	abi:tinə	abi:ji	abi:jinə
3→2p	abe:tani	abe:taninə	abe:ni	abe:ninə

7. *dona* vt, *do* 'see'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s→2s	do:nta	bintanə	biŋu	mabiŋunə
1s→2d	do:ntasi	bintasinə	binnəsi	mabinnəsiniə
1s→2p	do:ntani	bintaninə	binnəni	mabinnəniniə
1s→3s	do:kto	biŋtono	biŋu	mabiŋunə
1s→3d	do:ktosu	biŋtosunə	biŋosu	mabiŋsunə
1s→3p	do:ktonu	biŋtonunə	biŋonu	mabiŋnunə
1di→2/3	du:kti	bi:tinə	bi:ji	mabi:jinə
1de→2/3	də:ktə	bi:tənə	bi:jə	mabi:jənə
1pi→2/3	do:kti	biktinə	bikki	mabikkinə
1pe→2/3	do:kta	biktanə	bikku	mabikkunə
2s→3s	ado:kta	abitanə	abi	abinə
2s→3d	ado:ktasi	abitasinə	abisi	abisinə
2s→3p	ado:ktani	abitaninə	abini	abininə
2d→3	adu:kti	abi:tinə	abi:ji	abi:jinə
2p→3	adu:ktani	abe:taninə	abe:ni	abe:ninə
3s→3s	do:kta	bitanə	bi	mabinə
3s→3d	do:ktasi	bitasinə	bisi	mabisinə
3d→3s	do:ktasi	bitasinə	bisi	mabisinə
3d→3d	do:ktasi	bitasinə	bisi	mabisinə

3s→3p	do:ktani	bitaninə	bini	mabininə
3d→3p	do:ktasi	bitasinə	bisi	mabisinə
3p→3s	do:ktani	bitaninə	bini	mabininə
3p→3d	do:ktani	bitaninə	bini	mabininə
3p→3p	do:ktani	bitaninə	bini	mabininə
2s/3s→1s	adu:kto	abe:tono	abe:ɲu	abe:ɲunə
2d/3d→1s	adu:ktosu	abe:tosunə	abe:su	abe:sunə
2p/3p→1s	adu:ktonu	abe:tonunə	abe:nu	abe:nunə
3→1di	adu:kti	abi:tinə	abi:ji	abi:jinə
2/3→1de	adu:ktə	abi:tənə	abi:jə	abi:jənə
3→1pi	ado:kti	abiktinə	abikki	abikkinə
2/3→1pe	ado:kta	abiktanə	abikku	abikkunə
3→2s	adu:kta	abe:tanə	abe	abenə
3→2d	adu:kti	abi:tinə	abi:ji	abi:jinə
3→2p	adu:ktani	abe:taninə	abe:ni	abe:ninə

8. *ɲina* vi. *ɲi* 'listen'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	ɲiŋto	ɲiŋtono	ɲiɲu	maɲiɲunə
1di	ɲiti	ɲitinə	ɲiji	maɲijinə
1pi	ɲikti	ɲiktinə	ɲikki	maɲikkinə
1de	ɲitu	ɲitunə	ɲiju	maɲijunə
1pe	ɲikta	ɲiktanə	ɲikku	maɲikkunə
2s	aɲita	aɲitanə	aɲi	aɲinə
2d	aɲi:ti	aɲi:tinə	aɲiji	aɲijinə
2p	aɲe:tani	aɲe:taninə	aɲeni	aɲeninə
3s	ɲita	ɲitanə	ɲi	maɲinə
3d	ɲitasi	ɲitasinə	ɲisi	maɲisinə
3p	ɲitani	ɲitaninə	ɲini	maɲininə

9. *cəpna* vi. *cəp* 'write'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	cəpto	cəptono	cəptu	macəptunə
1di	cupti	cuptinə	cuphi	macuphinə
1pi	cəpti	cəptinə	cəpki	macəpkinə
1de	cuptu	cuptunə	cuphu	macuphunə
1pe	cəpta	cəptanə	cəpku	macəpkunə
2s	acəpta	acəptanə	acəpti	acəptinə
2d	acupti	acuptinə	acuphi	acuphinə
2p	acuptani	acuptaninə	acupni	acupninə
3s	cəpta	cəptanə	cəpti	macəptinə
3d	cəptasi	cəptasinə	cəpsi	macəpsinə
3p	cəptani	cəptaninə	cəpni	macəpninə

10. *dokna* vi. *dok* 'see'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	dokto	doktono	doktu	madoktunə
1di	dukti	duktinə	dukhi	madukhinə
1pi	dokti	doktinə	dokki	madokkinə
1de	dəktə	dəktənə	dəkhə	madəkhənə
1pe	dokta	doktanə	dokku	madokkunə

2s	adokta	adoktanə	adokti	adoktinə
2d	adukti	aduktinə	adukhi	adukhinə
2p	aduktani	aduktaninə	adukni	adukninə
3s	dokta	doktanə	dokti	madoktinə
3d	doktasi	doktasinə	doksi	madoksinə
3p	doktani	doktaninə	dokni	madokninə

11. *kipna* vi. **kip** 'cook'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	khipto	khiptono	khiptu	makhiptu
1di	khipti	khiptinə	khipi	makhipinə
1pi	khipti	khiptinə	khipki	makhipkinə
1de	khiptə	khiptənə	khipə	makhipənə
1pe	khipta	khiptanə	khipku	makhipkunə
2s	akhipta	akhiptanə	akhipti	akhipnə
2d	akhipti	akhiptinə	akhipi	akhipinə
2p	akhiptani	akhiptaninə	akhipni	akhipninə
3s	khipta	khiptanə	khipti	makhipnə
3d	khiptasi	khiptasinə	khipsi	makhipsinə
3p	khiptani	khiptaninə	khipni	makhipninə

12. *khətna* vi. **khət** 'take away'.

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	khətto	khəttono	khətu	makhətunə
1di	khusti	khustinə	khuci	makhucinə
1pi	khəkti	khəktinə	khəkki	makhəkkinə
1de	khustu	khustunə	khucu	makhucunə
1pe	khəкта	khəktanə	khəkku	makhəkkunə
2s	akhətta	akhəttanə	akhəti	akhətinə
2d	akhusti	akhustinə	akhuci	akhucinə
2p	akhustani	akhustaninə	akhusni	akhusninə
3s	khətta	khəttanə	khəti	makhətnə
3d	khəttasi	khəttasinə	khəssi	makhəssinə
3p	khəttani	khəttaninə	khətni	makhətninə

13. *həpna* vi. **həp** 'drink (semi liquid)'.

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	həpto	həptono	həptu	mahəptunə
1di	hupti	huptinə	huphi	mahuphinə
1pi	həpti	həptinə	həpki	mahəpkinə
1de	huptu	huptunə	huphu	mahuphunə
1pe	həpta	həptanə	həpku	mahəpkunə
2s	ahəpta	ahəptanə	ahəpti	ahəpnə
2d	ahupti	ahuptinə	ahuphi	ahuphinə
2p	ahuptani	ahuptaninə	ahupni	ahupninə
3s	həpta	həptanə	həpti	mahəpnə
3d	həptasi	həptasinə	həpsi	mahəpsinə
3p	həptani	həptaninə	həpni	mahəpninə

14. *læpna* vi. *læp* 'catch'.

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	lupto	luptono	lupho	maluphono
1di	lupti	luptinə	luphi	maluphinə
1pi	læpti	læptinə	læpki	malæpkinə
1de	læptu	læptunə	læpku	malæpkunə
1pe	lupta	luptanə	lupku	malupkunə
2s	alupta	aluptanə	aluphu	aluphunə
2d	alupti	aluptinə	aluphi	aluphinə
2p	aluptani	aluptaninə	alupni	alupninə
3s	lupta	luptanə	luphu	maluphunə
3d	luptasi	luptasinə	lupsi	malupsinə
3p	luptani	luptaninə	lupni	malupninə

15. *khæpna* vi. *khæp* 'cover'.

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	khæpto	khæptono	khæptu	makhæptunə
1di	khrupti	khruptinə	khruphi	makhruphinə
1pi	khæpti	khæptinə	khæpki	makhæpkinə
1de	khruptu	khruptunə	khruphu	makhruphunə
1pe	khæpta	khæptanə	khæpku	makhæpkunə
2s	akhæpta	akhæptanə	akhæpti	akhæptinə
2d	akhrupti	akhruptinə	akhruphi	akhruphinə
2p	akhruptani	akhruptaninə	akhrupni	akhrupninə
3s	khæpta	khæptanə	khæpti	makhæpnə
3d	khæptasi	khæptasinə	khæpsi	makhæpsinə
3p	khæptani	khæptaninə	khæpni	makhæpninə

A₃: Reflexive verbs

1. *mimsina* vr. *mimsi* 'remember'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	mimto	mimotono	mimdu	mamimdunə
1di	mimsti	mimstinə	mimci	mamimcinə
1pi	mimti	mimtinə	mimki	mamimkinə
1de	mimtu	mimtunə	mimu	mamimunə
1pe	mimta	mimtanə	mimku	mamimkunə
2s	amimta	amimtanə	amimdi	amimdinə
2d	amimsti	amimstinə	amimci	amimcinə
2p	amimstani	amimstaninə	amimni	amimninə
3s	mimta	mimtanə	mimdi	mamimdinə
3d	mimsti	mimstinə	mimsi	mamimsinə
3p	mimtani	mimtaninə	ham-mimsi	ham-mimsinə

2. *taisina* vr. *taisi* 'keep for oneself'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	taistu	taistu	taisu	mataisu
1di	taisiti	taisitinə	taisiji	mataisijinə
1pi	taisikti	taisiktinə	taisikki	mataisikkinə
1de	taisitu	taisitunə	taisiju	mataisijunə
1pe	taisikta	taisiktanə	taisikku	mataisikkunə
2s	ataisti	ataistinə	ataisi	ataisinə
2d	ataisiti	ataisitinə	ataisiji	ataisijinə
2p	ataisitani	ataisitininə	ataisini	ataisininə
3s	taisti	taistinə	taisi	mataisinə
3d	taisiti	taisitinə	taisiji	mataisijinə
3p	hamtaisti	hamtaistinə	hamtaisi	hamtaisinə

3. *sursina* vr. *sursi* 'wash up'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	surstu	surstunə	sursu	masursunə
1di	sursiti	sursitinə	sursiji	masursijinə
1pi	sursikti	sursiktinə	sursikki	masursikkinə
1de	sursitu	sursitunə	sursiju	masursijunə
1pe	sursikta	sursiktanə	sursikku	sursikkunə
2s	asursti	asurstinə	asursi	asursinə
2d	asursiti	asursitinə	asursiji	asursijinə
2p	asursitani	asursitaninə	asursini	asursininə
3s	sursti	surstinə	sursi	masursinə
3d	sursiti	sursitinə	sursiji	masursijinə
3p	hamsursti	hamsurstinə	hamsursi	hamsursinə

4. *waisina* vr. *waisi* 'put jewellery on oneself'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	waistu	waistunə	waisu	mawaisunə
1di	waisiti	waisitinə	waisiji	mawaisijinə
1pi	waisikti	waisiktinə	waisikki	mawaisikkinə
1de	waisitu	waisitunə	waisiju	mawaisiju
1pe	waisikta	waisiktanə	waisikku	mawaisikkunə
2s	awaisti	awaistinə	awaisi	awaisinə
2d	awaisiti	awaisitinə	awaisiji	awaisijinə
2p	awaisitani	awaisitaninə	awaisini	awaisininə
3s	waisti	waistinə	waisi	mawaisinə
3d	waisiti	waisitinə	waisiji	mawaisijinə
3p	hamwaisti	hamwaistinə	hamwaisi	hamwaisinə

5. *hursina* vr. *hursi* 'bath'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	hurstu	hurstunə	hursu	mahursunə
1di	hursiti	hursitinə	hursiji	mahursijinə
1pi	hursikti	hursiktinə	hursikki	mahursikkinə
1de	hursitu	hursitunə	hursiju	mahursijunə
1pe	hursikta	hursiktanə	hursikku	mahursikkunə
2s	ahursti	ahurstinə	ahursi	ahursinə
2d	ahursiti	ahursitinə	ahursiji	ahursijinə
2p	ahursitani	ahursitaninə	ahursini	ahursininə
3s	hursti	hurstinə	hursi	mahursinə
3d	hursiti	hursitinə	hursiji	mahursijinə
3p	hamhursti	hamhurstinə	hamhursi	hamhursinə

6. *kəmsina* vr. *kəmsi* 'wear'

Pronoun	NPST	NEG-NPST	PST	NEG-PST
1s	kəmstu	kəmstunə	kəmsu	makəmsunə
1di	kəmsiti	kəmsitinə	kəmsiji	makəmsijinə
1pi	kəmsikti	kəmsiktinə	kəmsikki	makəmsikkinə
1de	kəmsitu	kəmsitunə	kəmsiju	makəmsijunə
1pe	kəmsikta	kəmsiktanə	kəmsikku	makəmsikkunə
2s	akəmsti	akəmstinə	akəmsi	akəmsinə
2d	akəmsiti	akəmsitinə	akəmsiji	akəmsijinə
2p	akəmsitani	akəmsitaninə	akəmsini	akəmsininə
3s	kəmsti	kəmstinə	kəmsi	makəmsinə
3d	kəmsiti	kəmsitinə	kəmsiji	makəmsijinə
3p	hamkəmsti	hamkəmstinə	hamkəmsi	hamkəmsinə

Appendix: C Name of language consultants

SN	Name	Age	Sex	Profession	Address	Education	Born in	Grown up in
1.	Nripa Rai	23	M	Study	Sapteswor-8, Chiurikharka	Bachelor	Sapteswor	Sapteswor
2.	Chatur Bhakta Rai	52	M	Teaching	Sapteswor-8, Chiurikharka	Master	Sapteswor	Sapteswor
3.	Elina Rai	31	F	Nurse	Makpa-6, Norung	Inter	Makpa	Makpa
4.	Kirti kumar Rai	21	M	Study	Makpa-6, Norung	Bachelor	Makpa	Makpa
5.	Tej Maya Rai	30	F	Study	Baksila-6, Halkhum	Master	Baksila	Baksila
6.	Asok Kumar Rai	40	M	Business	Jalepa-9, Kharbari	SLC	Jalepa	Jalepa
7.	Utsab Rai	18	M	Study	Jalepa-9, Kharbari	Inter	Kathmandu	dharan
8.	Saraswoti Rai	30	F	Study	Makpa-1, Makpa	Inter	Makpa	Makpa
9.	Prakash Rai	24	M	Study	Kharmi-4, Nakham	Bachelor	Kharmi	Kharmi
11.	Rikhisore Rai	52	M	Social service	Kharmi-3, Nibhare	SLC	Kharmi	Baksila
12.	Gunaraj Rai	34	M	Social service	Khadbari-11, Ratmate	Master	Mangtewa	Ratmate
13.	Jay Ram Rai	47	M	Business	Makpa-3, Bepla	Bachelor	Bepla	Bepla
14.	Dhan Prasad Rai	38	M	Social service	Patheka-4, Nakham	Bachelor	Nakham	Nakham
15.	Surye Bikram Rai	38	M	Teaching	Makpa-5, Ilima	Inter	Ilim	Ilim
16.	Man Kumari Rai	36	F	Service	Jalapa-9, Kharbari	S.L.C.	Khartamchha	Khartamchha