CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Background

Nepal accomadates an amazing cultural diversity and linguistic plurality. There exist 92 mother tongues in Nepal (CBS 2001). These languages have been grouped into four major language families: Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Dravidian and Austro-asiatic. Among the languages, Uranw-KudÞux spoken in Nepal is one of the unique languages that comes under Dravidian language family.

Uranw-KudÞux is spoken by Uranw people in the terai region of Nepal. Probably, this is a single language of Nepal that belongs to Dravidian language family. Uranw is the title or surname of the Uranw people who themselves prefer to call KudÞux and their language as 'KudÞux Kattha' (KudÞux language). Although they like to introduce their language as Uranw language among distinct language communities because they have been identified with the term 'JHANGAR/JHANGAD' as their caste name by the nation.

The term 'Jhangad/Jhangar' does not reflect the community or caste either literally or linguistically, but the community struggles its dominancy. The preferred term 'Uranw-KudÞux' relates the community with its historical origin. These people like to introduce their language as 'Uranw language' because it honours them. They pretend that their surname and language name would be the same so that they could easily be familiar among distinct language communities. Now, they have been struggling that if they say 'we are Uranw' then the outsiders do not understand what it means and go on enquiring a lot, it bothers them badly. They critisize the term 'Jhangad/Jhangar' that it would be no more on common tongues. Instead, they would call these people 'Uranw' or 'KudÞux'.

The total population of the Uranw native speakers is 28,615 (CBS: 2001). The Uranws dwell in the terai districts. They have been scattered in ten terai districts from east to west (CBS: 2001). The dense population of the community is in Sunsari, then in Morang, Jhapa, Siraha, Dhanusha, Bara, Parsa, and few of them have been migrated to Udaypur, Rauthat, Lalitpur, Kathmandu and even in Illam districts for their earnings. Wherever they live, they have been living in Nepali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Tharu, etc. predominant areas. So, most of them are bilinguals.

The Uranws are supposed to be Hindu by religion, it is because of Hindunization. They have been living for years in/among Hindu societies although they do not adopt the rules and regulations of Hinduism. They never use Vedas and Purans for worshipping gods and goddesses. Instead, they worship their ancestral gods, their forefathers and the nature i.e. trees, water, land, etc. Therefore, they prefer to call themselves as nature worshippers rather than idol worshippers. They have their own cultural feasts and festivals, rites and rituals and customs and cosmologies. The lifestyle and economy is solely dependent upon agriculture. So, most of them seem to be engaged in farming all the time. Very few Uranws are engaged in business, services and other occupations. Their economic condition is under poverty-line.

The Uranw-KudÞux is a pre-literate language. It has a very rich oral traditions and literatures. The Uranw-KudÞux is a highly marginalized language. It is not well docummented yet. That's why, the language needs to be studied, preserved and promoted.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Uranw-KudÞux is one of the least studied languages spoken in Nepal. This language community resides mainly in eastern Terai and is also found in western Terai in least numbers. As a Dravidian language, Uranw-KudÞux owns so many characteristics of the family. The verb morphology of any language is the core area of its grammar. So, the basic problem of this research is to study the verb morphology of the language. In the areas of verb morphology, this research is mainly oriented to the following problems:

- a) What are morphophonemic rules, morphological processes and morphological categories?
- b) What are tense, aspect, mood systems and agreement patterns?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The objective of the study is to analyze the morphology of Uranw-KudÞux verbs. Under the topic Verb Morphology, this research aims:

- a) to identify the categories of Uranw-KudÞux verbs.
- b) to analyze their morphology both derivational and inflectional processes.

1.4 Justification of the Study

It is clear from the previous studies cited in review that the verb morphology of Uranw-KudÞ□ux language has not been studied yet in details. The verb morphology is the core area of the language. It is necessary to study the verbal system of the language for writing its grammar.

This study will be a milestone in this field and very much significant for the community and academic field.

1.5 Delimitation of the Study

This study is concerned with the verb morphology of eastern part of Uranw-KudP\ux language. The tentative phonology and morphophonemic processes of Uranw-Kud\up>\ux have been encountered, which will be useful to go into the main chapter.

Uranw-KudÞ□ux language is more or less distributed over the Terai region from Jhapa in the east and Kailali in the west of Nepal. The language has its other dialects or not, it has not been studied yet. This research is limited to the verb morphology of the language spoken in Sunsari and Jhapa districts because the community is mainly found in Sunsari; and Uranws of Jhapa are closely contact to the Oraons of Ranchi, India.

1.6 Research Methodology

The following inductive steps have been followed throughout the research activities:

- (a) **Primary source**: data which have been used throughout the work, have been provided by the researcher himself. His native compitence about language has been useful for enough data. For uniformity and more accuracy, he also visited to the targeted village Development Committees from selected districts and has cross-checked the data.
- (b) Secondary source: Available references and textbooks related to Phonology and Morphology i.e. Katamba (1989), Gordon (1976), Bhandari & Bhandari (2004), Sapkota (2007), Grierson (1907), Emeneau (1975), Konow(), have been searched and spent enough time for extracting authentic evidences and related literatures as well as for theoretical knowledge. Sufficient time has been spent for purpose of systematizing the findings, searching for ancillary concepts and sources, and widening and comparing the knowledge.

1.7 Review of Literature

As theoretical insight is most important in research works, the researcher has also tried his best to sharpen and broaden it by reading several books of linguistics, related to Phonology, Morphology and theses related to verb morphology.

Katamba, Francis (1989): "An Introduction to Phonology" is the guide for the researcher to study the phonology of the language using morphophonological rules. According to the

phonological theory, this text is very much helpful in identifying the morphophonemic processes of the language.

Grierson (1907), *Linguistic Survey of India* vol. IV noted down a surface study of KudÞux language spoken in India. He compared the language with other Dravidian languages i.e. Tamil, Khargo, Malto, etc. of different places. He talked about Sociolinguistic aspect of the language to find out its dialects and sociolects. He also mentioned the population of kudÞux or Oraon people, their names what they are known and their language name estate-wise within the country.

Gordon Kent H. (1976), "A Phonology of Dhangar-Kurux": SIL, CNAS, TU is considered as a milestone of the language. It describes the phonetic and phonological aspects of the language. It also talks about Morphology, Semantics and lexical aspects so far. He found out altogether 34 consonant phonemes and 6 vowel phonemes. Of the total of 34 consonants 29 have been found in use of all the informants and the remaining 5 consonants have been found in the speech of few. The consonant system consists of 20 stops, 1 sibilant, 2 clear and 2 breathy nasals, 1 clear and 1 breathy alveolar vibrant, 1 uvular vibrant, 1 lateral and 5 approximants (2 clear and 3 breathy). So far, he has also mentioned kurux dialects (i.e. Dhanusha, Sunsari and Ranchi (Bihar)).

Emeneau (1975), having attempted Morphology of the language, talked of its morphological aspects and historical perspectives. There may be more information about the language in his contribution but the researcher is now unable to discuss them all because he did not find the book himself.

Sapkota S. (2007), A Sketch Grammar of Jhangar, M.A. dissertation contributes the language, its grammatical aspects i.e. lexical items, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and Sociolinguistic; and its speakers and population. In Phonology, he mentioned 31 consonant phonemes: 16 plosives, 3 nasals, 4 affricates, 1 trill, 1 flap, 3 fricatives, 2 approximants and 1 lateral; and 6 vowel phonemes. Of the total of 6 vowels, /i/ & /u/ are high, /e/, /ə/ & /o/ are mid and /a/ is low. Likewise, /i/ & /e/ are front, /ə/ & /a/ are central and /u/ & /o/ are back vowels.

Uranw, R.K. (2008), A Phonological Study of Uranw (Jhangad) Language for Developing its Writing System, also mentioned 31 consonant phonemes: 16 plosives, 3 nasals, 4 affricates, 1 trill, 1 flap, 3 fricatives, 2 approximants and 1 lateral; and 6 vowel phonemes. Of the

total of 6 vowels, /i/ & /u/ are high, /e/, /ə/ & /o/ are mid and /a/ is low. Likewise, /i/ & /e/ are front, /ə/ & /a/ are central and /u/ & /o/ are back vowels.

Here, Sapkota (2007) and Uranw (2008) show the same findings because the researcher himself was the language teacher for his language documentation and dissertation. So, that knowledge helped him to contribute his work on depending it.

1.8 Organization of the Study

The entire work is a study of Verb Morphology of Uranw-KudÞux language. But, it is not restricted to its linguistic aspect. Somehow, it tries to include social, cultural, and socioeconomic information. The whole work is mainly divided into five chapters. The first chapter is limited to the introduction of the study itself. The second chapter deals with the tentative phonology and nominal morphology of the language. The third chapter examines the morphophonemic processes of the language. The fourth chapter is the major chapter- 'Verb Morphology' which deals with both inflectional and derivational processes of the language in details. The fifth chapter concludes the whole work in brief.

CHAPTER 2

TENTATIVE PHONOLOGY AND NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

2.1 Phonology

The detailed research in phonological system of Uranw-KudÞux language has not yet been studied scientifically. The objective of this study is not to analyze the Uranw-KudÞux phonological system in details, however, the tentative sketch of its phonemes is as follows:

2.1.1 Vowel Phonemes

Uranw-KudÞux has totally six vowels with contrastive in their length. The native Dhangar–KudÞux vowel system consists of five 'active' and one 'relic' vowel (Gordon, 1976:77). But it is found to be contrastive between /ə/ and /a/. The vowel length is symbolized with /:/ sign. Among 6 vowels, /i/ & /u/ are high, /e/, /ə/ & /o/ are mid and /a/ is low. Likewise, /i/ & /e/ are front, /ə/ & /a/ are central and /u/ & /o/ are back vowels.

2.1.2 Minimal pairs

a) Short vowels

- 1. /ə/ vs /a/
 /səri/ 'sari or clothes'
 /sari/ 'sister-in-law'
- 2. / ə/ vs /e/ / əm/ 'water' /em/ 'we (Exclusive)'
- 3. /ə/ vs /i/ /əsən/ 'there' /isən/ 'here'
- 4. /a/ vs /o/
 /maxna/ 'to be dark/night'
 /moxna/ 'to eat, edible things'
- 5. /a/ vs /i/ /ad/ 'that' /id/ 'this'
- 6. /o/ vs /i/

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/onna/
                             'to eat or drink'
       /inna/
                     'today'
       /o/ vs /u/
7.
                     'one or a thing'
       /onta/
       /unta/
                     'opposite, against'
       Long vowels
b)
       /e/ vs /e:/
8.
                     'you suppose'
       /era/
                     '(you) look'
       /e:ra/
9.
       /i/ vs /i:/
       /biri/
                     'tobacco, smoking bidi'
       /bi:ri/
                     'sun, or late'
       /o/ vs /o:/
10.
       / dzora/
                            'a pair of, a couple of'
                            'a rope'
       /dzo:ra/
11.
       /u/ vs /u:/
                            'a fist, fight'
       /muka/
       /mu:ka/
                     'a knee'
       /e:/ vs /o:/
12.
       /e:ra/
                     'a goat'
                     'a bird'
       /o:ra/
       /o:/ vs /i:/
13.
       /kõ:ra/
                            'corner'
                     'hunger'
       /ki:ra/
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2.1.3 Vowel sequences:

Uranw has altogether ten possible sequences of vowels. They seem to be diphthongs.

The clear diphthongs found in this language are as follows:

a) <ee>/xəeka/ 'dried' /kəer/ 'anger'

b) <əu>

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/əula/
                     'that day'
                            ' a basket'
       /dəura/
c)
       <eo>
                            'invitation'
       /neõta/
                            'a kind of ritual performance'
       /xeõta/
d)
       <oe>
                            'being harvested'
       /xoera/
                     'being moistured or made something wet'
       /moera/
       <ii><
e)
       /bəi/
                     'mouth'
       /xəi/
                     'daughter-in-law'
f)
       <06>
                     'beaten'
       /ləotska/
                     'food being stale'
       /əõrarka/
       <ui>
g)
                     'nose'
       /muĩ/
                     'She harvests, i.e. crops, etc.'
       /xui/
       Some other sequences of vowels are as follows:
h)
       <eə>
       /kheədas/
                            ' He dies.'
       /neədas/
                            'He begs.'
       <ea>
i)
                            '(you) ask.'
       /nea/
                            '(you) tie.'
       /hea/
       <a>a>
j)
       /lədəa/
                                   '(you) load something.'
                                   '(you) steal.'
       /xərəa/
2.2.1 Consonants
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There are almost 31 consonant phonemes in the language. They can be shown in the form of phonemic inventory chart.

Table No.1: Classification of Consonant Phonemes (Pulmonic)

Place of articulation Manner of articulation		Bila	ıbial			Dei	ntal			Alve	eolai		Retroflex	Palatal	Velar		Glottal		
	V	'l	V	d	vl vd vl		/1	vd			I	V	ıl	V	d				
	Insp	Asp	Insp	Asp	Insp	Asp	Insp	Asp	Insp	Asp	Insp	Asp			Insp	Asp	Insp	Asp	
Plosive	p	p^h	b	b ^h	ţ	ţh	ď	$\boldsymbol{\dot{q}^h}$	t	th	d	d ^h			k	k ^h	g	g^h	
Nasal			m								n						ŋ		
Affricate									ts	tsh	dz	dz^h							
Trill											r								
Flap													r						
Fricative									S							X			h
Approximant			W											j					
Lateral											l								

2.2.1.1 Minimal pairs:

1. $/k/vs/k^h/$

/kəndo/ 'sitting mat' /kətta/ '(you) cross river'

 $/k^h$ əndo/ 'will cut down' $/k^h$ ətta/ 'bitter'

2. /k/ vs /g/

/kəri/ 'gripper' /kuga/ 'feel sleepy'

/gəri/ 'bull cart' /guga/ 'makes a child sleep'

3. $/k/vs/g^h/$

/ kog^ha/ 'bigger one'

/ gho gha/ 'maize'

4. $/g/vs/g^h/$

/gutsa/ 'let's go' /goda/ 'corner, secret place'

 $/g^hutsa/$ 'marbles' $/g^hoda/$ 'a bunch of...'

5. /k/ vs / ts/

/kəri/ 'gripper'

/tsəri/ 'supporter'

6. $/ts/vs/ts^h/$

/ tsəlki/ 'broom' /kətsi/ 'not completed'

 $/ \, ts^h \theta lki /$ 'naughty girl' $/ \, k\theta ts^h i /$ 'underwear'

7. /ts/ vs/dz/

/ tsadza/ '(you) choose'

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/tsãtsa/
                              'smelt bad'
8.
       /ts/ vs /dz<sup>h</sup>/
       /iyezt/
                                      /tsəddra/
                                                     'rooted up'
                       'supporter'
       / dzhəri/
                                      / dzʰəddra/
                                                     'She combed her hair.'
                       'rain'
9.
       / dz / vs / dz^h /
       / dzola/
                              'stream'
                                              /dzil/
                                                             'cash memo'
                                      /dzhil/
       / dzhola/
                       'bag'
                                                             'a kind of bird'
       /ts/ vs /b/
10.
       /tsə.a/
                              'give me'
                                                     / tsãtsa/
                                                                     'smelt bad'
       /bə.a/
                       'tell or say'
                                              /batsa/
                                                             'She said.'
       /g/ vs /m/
11.
       /getsts<sup>h</sup>a/
                       'far distance'
       /metsts<sup>h</sup>a/
                       'high or tall'
       /dz/ vs /t/
12.
       /dzəhəl/
                       'jail'
       /təhəl/
                              'work'
       /dz/ vs / t_/
13.
                       'froze something.'
       /dzəmtsa/
       / təmtsa/
                       'she dug kitchen garden.'
       /t/vs/t^h/
14.
                              'to stay to get something'
       /təkna/
       / t<sup>h</sup>əkna/
                       'a person's name'
       /t/ vs /d/
15.
       /tola/
                       'village'
                       'baltin'
       /dola/
       /t/ vs / d^h/
16.
       /toka/
                       'torn out or being hole in clothes'
       / d<sup>h</sup>oka/
                       'an entrance'
17.
       /d/vs/d^h/
       /diba/
                       'box or pack'
       /d<sup>h</sup>iba/
                              'money'
       /t/ vs / t /
18.
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/toka/
                     'a hole on clothes'
      / to:ka/
                            'you jump'
      /t/vs/t^h/
19.
      /t̪əmna/
                                                 /t̪ala/
                     'to dig with spade'
                                                               'lock'
      /tʰəmna/
                     'steps of ladder'
                                                 /thala/
                                                               'muddy soil'
20.
      /d/vs/d^h/
      /dasa/
                     'condition'
      /dhasa/
                            'a fishing net'
21.
      /r/ vs / d/
      /or.a/
                     'you blame someone'
                     'burn fire'
      /od.a/
22.
      /p/vs/p^h/
      /paka/
                            'you carry a child'
      /phaka/
                            'scrumb'
23.
      /p/ vs /b/
      /paka/
                            'you carry a child'
                            'you collect grain'
      /baka/
      /d^h/vs/t^h/
24.
      /dhəkna/
                     'lid'
      /t<sup>h</sup>əkna/
                     'to cheat'
      /p/vs/b^h/
25.
      /pita/
                     'kill someone'
      /bhita/
                            'highland'
26.
      /p/ vs /m/
                     'she took care'
      /posa/
      /mosa/
                            'mother's younger sister's husband'
      /b/vs/b^h/
27.
      /buktsa/
                     'she beat grains'
      /b<sup>h</sup>uktsa/
                     'a dog barked'
      /m/ vs /n/
28.
       /mənja/
                     'became/was'
       /nənja/
                            'she did'
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/n/ vs /ŋ/
29.
      /mun/
                    'a deep pit dug by flood'
      /muŋ/
                    'a kind of cereals or dal'
      /j/ vs / dz /
30.
      /əjo/
                    'mother'
      /ədzo/
                    'grandfather'
      /r/ vs / r/
31.
      /e:ra/
                    'you look'
      /e:ra/
                    'goat'
32.
      /r/ vs /l/
      /xer/
                    'a hen'
                    'a musical instrument of Uranws'
      /xel/
      / j/ vs /w/
33.
      /kaja/
                    'soul'
      /kawa/
                           'a crow'
      /h/ vs /s/
34.
      /hal/
                    'iron paved on bull carts' wheel'
      /sal/
                    'year'
35.
      /k/ vs /x/
      /kəssa/
                           'dirt of the body'
      /xəssa/
                           'massage oil on body '
      / k^h / vs /x /
36.
      /k<sup>h</sup>el/
                    'a game'
      /xel/
                    'a musical instrument of Uranws'
      /d/ vs / r/
37.
                           'a pit or a deep place'
      s/gədi/
                    'a cart or bull cart'
      /gəri/
```

2.2.1.2 Consonantal distribution system:

The Uranw consonant phonemes occupy in most of the configurations. Mostly plosives and some other liquids, fricatives are found in geminated forms. They are found on inaspirated consonants rather than aspirated ones.

Illustrations of the words based on consonantal distribution chart with their gloss illustrated above are as follows:

Table No.2: Consonantal distribution chart

	Environment						
S.N.	Phonemes	#-	V - V	- #	CC	- C	C -
1	k	+	+	+	+	+	+
2	k ^h	+	+	+		+	+
3	Х	+	+	+		+	+
4	g	+	+		+	+	+
5	g ^h	+	+	+			+
6	ŋ	-	-	+		+	
7	ts	+	+	+	+		+
8	ts ^h	+	+	+		+	+
9	dz	+	+	+	+	+	+
10	dz ^h	+	+	+		+	
11	t	+	+	+	+		+
12	t ^h	+	+	+		+	+
13	d	+	+	+	+		+
14	d ^h	+				+	+
15	r	+		+	+	+	
16	ţ	+	+	+	+	+	
17	ţ ^h	+			+	+	
18	ď	+	+	+		+	
19	ď _h	+	+	+	+	+	
20	n	+	+	+	+	+	
21	р	+	+	+	+		
22	p ^h	+			+	+	
23	b	+	+		+		
24	b ^h	+		+	+	+	
25	m	+	+	+	+		
26	j	+	+	+			
27	r	+	+	+	+	+	
28	1	+	+	+		+	
29	W	+	+		+		
30	S	+	+	+		+	
31	h		+	+		+	

Table No. 3: Words with English gloss based on consonantal distribution

S.N.	Environme						
	nt	# -	Gloss	V - V	Gloss	- #	Gloss
	Phonemes						
1	k	kəpre	Forehead	kuke	girl	pik	stool
2	k ^h	k ^h ẽs	blood	k ^h uk ^h i	cough	xek ^h	hand
3	Х	xotsol	bone	maxa	night	orox	nail
4	g	gaj	cow	logas	person		
5	g ^h	g ^h eg ^h	guitar			g ^h eg ^h	goitre
6	ŋ					siŋ	horn
7	ts	tsali	courtyard	betsa	play	tsits	fire
				dəts ^h i		mots	moustach
8	ts ^h	ts ^h ikna	sneeze	n	south	h	е
9	dz	dzəta	grinder	hedza	cholera	xədz	soil
10	dz ^h	dz ^h əŗi	rainfall		middle	ridz ^h	will
11	t	tali	tile	lote	lips	kot	coat
12	t ^h	t ^h əkna	to lie	b ^h ət ^h a	souther	pent ^h	pant
13	d	dola	bucket	xeden	to leg	xed	leg
14	d ^h	d ^h ilwa	cradle				
15	r					хаг	river
16	ţ	ţi:na	sweet	metas	male (man)	meţ	man
17	ţh	ţ ^h əla	mud				
18	ď	фali	cereal	xədəs	baby (m)	nad	devil
19	ď _p	₫ ^h uli	dust	əḍʰa	half	g əd ^h	plant juice
20	n	nin	you (sg)	ninim	you yourself	en	I
21	р	pũp	flower	pəpəla	butterfly	pũp	flower
22	p ^h	P ^h ũ:ŗi	wond				
23	b	bəlu	sand	tibi	ТВ		
24	b ^h	b ^h ənda	mud pot			lob ^h	greed
					you		
25	m	məke	maize	nimim	yourselves	nim	you (pl)
26	j			d ^h uĩjã	smoke	gaj	cow
27	r	radzi	world	nari	pulse	tsəer	four
28	l	leka	only	tsali	courtyard	xəl	farm
29	w			dawa	medicine		

30	S	sari	sister-in-low	kasa	zinc	as	he
31	h	hara	brother-in-low	kõhã	big	феh	body

T	T	T			T
СС	Gloss	- C	Gloss	C -	Gloss
		pək ^h na	stone	tsokk ^h a	she plucked
		moxna	to eat	əţxa	leaf
bəgge	very much	degna	to jump	xosga	thigh
				ləgg ^h a	a long stick
		rəŋtsa	she painted		
					she kicked
mutstsa	close (door)			ləţ ^h tsa	with leg
		getsts ^h	far	metsts ^h a	tall
ədzdzo	grandfather			bendza	wedding
		nudzna	pain		
kəttu	pot	bədz ^h ra	trapped into net	unta	opposite
		xətka	served	bənt ^h a	short man
gədda	buried (f)			bəndo	wild cat
		tədri	sword		
	murdered				
xoţţa	(f)	nurna	to hide		
oţţ ^h a	load	nu:t̞na	to put hand into sth.		
tsoddo	tiny	ləţʰna	to kick with leg		
		ləḍna	to load		
inna	today	bəḍ ^h na	name of person		
хорра	plant	tsind	ashes		
		ţupka	spit, having spit		
	to beat				
dzəbba	rice, grains	əbrar	they		
kəmmem	few/little	emba	tasty, sweet		
erra	sweep	mərtsa	chilli		
məlla	not, no	tsəlki	broom		

osga	mouse	
t ^h ihna	knee	

2.3 Syllable:

In Uranw, when a vowel is uttered alone or contiguous to one or more consonants, it is always sonorous and forms the center of the syllable. When a consonant begins with a syllable it is called the onset of that syllable. When consonants cluster closes the syllable, it is coda of that syllable .The syllable can either occur with 'zero' onsets (e.g. $\langle ad \rangle$ 'she', $\langle en \rangle$ 'I') or can occur with 'zero' coda (e.g. $\langle ne \rangle$ 'who', $\langle bai \rangle$ 'mouth') (Hockett, 1958:86). Uranw-KudÞux employs limited monosyllabic words with 'zero coda'.

2.3.1 Monosyllabics

Monosyllabics are categorized into open and close categories of syllable. A syllable is free (or open) when it ends in a vowel. A syllable which ends in a consonant is known as checked (or close) syllable.

Uranw employs very certain monosyllabic words with free/open syllable .For examples-

/ne/ 'who'
/bəi/ 'mouth'
/xəi/ 'daughter-in-law'
/mui/ 'nose'
/ma/ 'not /negation'

The close syllable is of the following types in Uranw-KudÞux, e.g.

a) VC: /əm/ 'water'
 b) CVC: /nim/ 'you (pl)'
 C) CVCC: /nerr/ 'snake'

2.4 Nominal Morphology

In this section, a brief description of Uranw-KudÞux nominal morphology is presented:

2.4.1 Noun Classes

2.4.1.1 Gender

The Uranw-KudÞux exhibits very less morphological gender system. The binary gender system viz. masculine and feminine is found in it. In addition to natural genders, it acquires grammatical genders. They are binary, too, i.e. Masculine and feminine.

2.4.1.1.1 Formation of Feminine nouns

Very few masculine nouns which end in /-os/, form their feminine by the substitution of /-e/ or /-ed/ for /-os/, e.g.

Masculine feminine

kukkos 'boy' kuke 'girl'

But, most of the nouns of this language are lexically contrastive, i.e.

Masculine		Feminine				
meţas	'man/husband'	mukk	'woman/wife'			
dzõxas	'young boy'	pello	'young girl'			
bəbus	'baby boy'	məja	'baby girl'			
alas	'male person'	ali	'female person'			
əddo	'ox'	gaj	'cow'			
mənxa	'he-buffalo'	b ^h əĩs	'buffalo'			

Some other masculine nouns denoting castes, occupations, trades, etc. form the feminine by the suffix marker /-ni/ which is probably loan of Indo-Aryan group, e.g.

Masculine		Femini	ne		
tsoras	'male thief'	tsorni		'female	e thief'
məstər	'male teacher'		məstə.	rni	'female teacher'
dəkdar	'male doctor'		dəkdə	rni	'female doctor'
məgərəs	'magar man'	məgər	ni	'magar	woman'
pəhərijas	'a man of the hill'	pəharı	ni	'a wom	an of the hill'

The single term indicates both masculinity and feminity of some insects, animals, birds, etc., e.g.

a single term	common for masculine/feminine
e:ŗa	'goat'
əlla	'dog'
berxa	'cat'
həţ ^h i	'elephant'
b ^h usri	'mosquito/es'
pen	'lause'

nərga 'bug'
xer 'hen'
o:ra 'bird'
həsa 'duck'
perma 'pigeon'
suga 'parrot'

2.4.1.2 . Agreement

Gender concord in Uranw-KudÞux is seen between subject and verb; rarely between noun and its modifiers, etc. The gender of a subject (i.e. noun or pronoun) whether it is singular or plural agrees with verbs. The part of subject or its entire form agrees with the verb of the sentence/clause, e.g.

a) as keras.

s kal-a -s

3SG.M.DIST go.PST.3SG.M

'He went.'

b) ad kerad.

ad kal -a -

3SG.F.DIST go.PST.3SG.F

'She went.'

c) xədər kalor.

xəd -ər kal -o -r

child.PL go.NPST.PL

'The children go/ will go.'

d) sitad məndi ondad.

sita -d məndi on -d -a -d

Sita.F rice eat. .PST.3SG.F

'Sita ate rice.'

e) raməs iskul bərtsas.

ram -s iskul bərts -a -s

Ram.M school come.PST.3SG.M

'Ram came to school.'

f) nin kerkaj.

nin kal-kaj

2SG go.PST.2SG.M

'You went.'

g) nin məndi undki.

nin məndi on -d -ki

2SG rice eat. PST.2SG.F

'You ate rice.'

2.4.1.3 Classifiers

Classifiers distinguish human and non-human (unmarked form) in it. There exist the markers i.e. $<dz^h > ana>$, <go pe>, <ta>, <tb > as classifiers in this language. The classifiers $<dz^h > ana>$ and <go pe> are identical for human, whereas <ta> is singular and <tb > ana is plural for non-human. Among the classifiers, the <tb > ana is only native marker for classifiers, and others are areal features from Indo-Aryan language. The classifiers do not contrast for genders, e.g.

a) ekdz^həna/gore alas

ek -dz^həna/gore al -əs

one.CLF person.3SG.M

'a man or a male person'

b) tsəerdz^həna/gore mukkar bərtsar.

tsəer -dzhəna/gore muk -ar bərts -a -r

four.CLF woman.PL come.PST.PL.

'The four women came.'

c) onta e:ra

onta e:ra

one.CLF goat

'a goat'

d) onta mən

onta mən

one.CLF tree

'a tree'

e) *duit ho mən k hətra.*

dui -tho mən khətr -a

two.CLF tree fall down.PST

'(The) two trees fell down.'

f) *dəst*^ho xer ketstsa.

dəs -tho xer kets -a

ten.CLF hen die.PST

'(the) ten hens died.'

g) onta kukkos

onta kukko -s

one.CLF boy.3SG.M

'a boy'

h) onta kuke

onta kuke -ф

one.CLF girl.F

'a girl'

From the above illustrations, it is clear that the morpheme / onta/ as a lexical classifier is unmarked for singular either for human vs non-human or masculine vs feminine. Thus, it is a general term for singular nouns.

2.4.1.4 Numerals

The Uranw-Kuḍux employs counting number system of ten which has been borrowed from Indo-Aryan basics, i.e. Maithili or Nepali, e.g.

ek 'one'

dui 'two'

tin 'three'

tsəer 'four'

pãts 'five'

 $ts^h \partial o$ 'six'

sat 'seven'

ath 'eight'

nəo 'nine'

dəs 'ten'

dərdzən 'of a dozon'

surhi 'of sixteen'

kuri 'of twenty'

However, counting number system is not more than kuri 'of twenty' to count more than twenty, they use borrowed terms i.e. *pətsas* 'fifty', *səj* 'hundred', *hədzar* 'thousand' and so on.

2.4.1.5 Number

The Uranw-Kuḍux exhibits binary number system i.e. singular and plural. The singular for 3rd person masculine is marked with /-s/ and feminine with /-d/. But, the /-d/ for feminine is no longer in existence, it is understood, e.g.

Masculine		Feminine					
kukkos	'boy'	kuked	'girl'				
bəbus	'baby boy'	<i>məjad</i> 'bal	oy girl'				
bohes	'father'	əjo(d̯)	'mother;				
kəkas	'paternal uncle'	kəki(d)	'aunt'				

The plurality is marked with various suffixes, i.e. /-r/ or $/-\partial r/$ or $/-\partial r/$ and $/-gutt \, {}^h\!i/$. These markers /-r/ or $/-\partial r/$ or $/-\partial r/$ or $/-\partial r/$ are restricted for plural human only. But, the marker $/gutt \, {}^h\!i/$ is common for both human and non-human plural. Although when $/gutt \, {}^h\!i/$ is used for human to make plural it is affixed with /-r/, e.g.

Singular		Plural	
alas	'a male person'	alar/alargutt ^h i	'persons/people'
kukkos	'a boy'`	kukkor	'boys'
kuke	'a girl'	kuker	'girls'
хәд	'a child'	xədər/gutt ^h i	'children'
e:ŗa	'a goat'	e:ŗagutt ^h i	'goats'
ali	'a woman'	alərgutt ^h i	'persons'
kukkos	'a boy'	kukkogutt ^h ir	'boys'

2.4.1.6 pronouns

Uranw-Kuḍux personal pronouns for 3rd person is also pluralized by the same marker /-r/ or /-ər/ or /-ar/, whereas the first person pronoun is lexically pluralized for inclusive and exclusive; and the second person is also lexically pluralized.

Uranw-Kuḍux personal pronouns with its case marking system is presented in the following table:

Table No. 4: Personal Pronouns of Uranw-Kudbux with various cases.

	First Person	rst Person			n	Third Person							
		Plural				Singular				Plural			
Case	Singular			Singular	Plural	Masculine		Feminine		Proximate	Distal		
		Exclusive	Inclusive			Proximate	Distal	Proximate	Distal				
Nominative	еп-ф	ет-ф	пат-ф	nin-ф	nim-ф	is-ф	as-ф	id-ф	ad-ф	ibṛar-ф	əbŗar-ф		
Accusative	eŋ-ən	em-ən	nəm-ən	niŋ-ən	nim-ən	is-in	as-in	id-in	əd-in	ibrar-in	əbrar-in		
Genitive	eŋ-haj	em-haj	nəm-haj	niŋ-haj	nim-haj	is-hi	as-hi	idi-hi	ədi-hi	ibrar-hi	əbrar-hi		
Dative	eŋ-ga/ gage	em-a/age	nəm-a/ aqe	niŋ- ga/gage	nim-a/age	is-ge	as-ge	idi-ge	ədi-qe	ibrar-	əbrar		
Locative	eŋ- haj-nu	em- haj-nu	nəm- haj-nu	nin- haj-nu	nim- haj-nu	is-hi-nu	as-hi-nu	idi-hi-nu	ədi-hi-nu	ibrar-hi-nu	əbrar-hi-nu		
Ablative	eŋ-haj-ţi	em- haj-ţi	nəm- haj-ţi	niŋ- haj-ţi	nim- haj-ţi	is-ţi	as-ţi	idi-ți	ədi-ţi	ibŗar-ţi	əbrar-ţi		
Instrument	eŋ-haj-ləke	em-haj- ləke	nəm-haj- ləke	niŋ-haj- ləke	nim-haj- ləke	is- ləke	as- ləke	idi- ləke	ədi- ləke	ibrar- ləke	əbrar- ləke		
Commutative		em-haj- səŋge/gəne	nəm-haj- səŋge/gəne	niŋ-haj- səŋge/ gəne	nim-haj- səŋge/gəne	is- səŋge/ gəne	as- səŋge/ gəne	idi- səŋge/ gəne	ədi- səŋge/ gəne	ibrar- səŋge/ gəne	əbrar- səŋge/ gəne		
Allative	eŋ-haj-ţəra	em-haj- təra	nəm-haj- təra	niŋ-haj- t̞əra	nim-haj- tara	is- ţəra	_	idi- təra	ədi- təra	ibŗar- ţəra	əbrar- təra		

2.4.1.7 Demonstrative pronouns:

In Uranw-Kudux, demonstrative pronouns are contrastive for both singular vs plural and proximal vs distal, e.g.

Proximal		<u>Distal</u>	<u>Distal</u>	
iḍ	'this'	aḍ	'that'	
ibra	'these'	əbra	'those'	

2.4.1.8 Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns in Uranw-Kudux are as follows:

Interrogative pronouns

ne
'who'
ekda
'which'
ekda/n
'which/whom'
nekan
'whom'
endra
'what'

ikla 'when' ekase/ekənne 'how' 'how much' kaj bəgge

2.4.1.9 Adjectives

The adjectives that modify the nouns in Uranw-Kudux are as follows:

adjectives Gloss bes 'good' mabes 'bad' tsəura 'wide' suiţ.u 'narrow'

'dried/ lean/ thin' xəeka

digha 'long' sənka/səni 'small' kohã 'big/great'

pəndru 'white'

'black' moxaro

xiska 'white skinned person'

 d^himi 'slow/soft' ţinna 'sweet/tasty'

Some derivational adjectives are also found in it, e.g.

a) **Noun to Adjective:**

d^hən *d*^hənik 'wealth' 'wealthy' kaerha 'angry' kaer 'anger' 'of the house' әӷра 'house' ərpata \longrightarrow ₫es 'country' desija 'foreigner' dz^hapa 'Jhapa' dz hapar 'belonging to Jhapa'

bik^h bik harka 'poisonous' 'poison'

b) Verb to Adjective

The Uranw-Kudux verbs produce adjectives by adding the perfective marker /-ka/ to the verb root, e.g.

Gloss root+PERF Gloss output

drink	on+ka	ondka	'drunk'
eat	mox+ka	mokka	'eaten'
play	bets+ka	bitska	'played'
see/look	e:r +ka	i:rka	'seen/looked'
listen	mendz+ka	mendzka	'listened'

While deriving adjectives from nouns, verbs, etc. some slight changes have occurred.

2.4.2.10 Adverbs

The Uranw-Kuḍux adverbials can be categorized in terms of time, place, manner, etc. in the following ways:

TIME: inna 'today'

nẽla 'tomorrow'

nelbendza 'the day after tomorrow'

tsero 'yesterday'

horbre 'the day before yesterday'

insal 'this year' iṭŋali 'last year'

mune sal 'the year before last year'

pisna 'next year'

LOCATIONS: isən 'here'

əsən 'there'

kinjã 'under/below'
hedde 'near/close'
tina 'right side'

tina 'right side' 'left side'

apəkk^he 'across'

MANNER: sərkhem 'fast/quickly'

dzoghem 'earlier' bi:ri 'late'

In addition to native manner adverbs, the borrowed forms are also found, e.g.

dzəldim 'earlier' hərdəm 'usually' *d*^hirem 'slowly' etc.

FREQUENCY: õdber/pher 'once'

ulla pitsts he 'daily/ day by day'

salesal 'yearly'

humri ulla 'everyday/ daily' etc.

Some derivational adverbs are also possible, i.e.

Adjective to Adverbs:

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>stem+</u>		<u>output</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
'good'	bes	\rightarrow	beskuna	'well'
'slow'	rəsem	\rightarrow	rəsesem	'slowly'
'fast'	dzəldi	\rightarrow	dzəldise	'quickly'

Noun to Adverbs:

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>stem +</u>		<u>output</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
'rest'	aram	\rightarrow	aramse	'slowly'
'day'	ulla	\rightarrow	ulla pitsts ^h e	'daily'
'year'	sal	\rightarrow	salesal	'yearly'

Summary

After the detailed analysis of the chapter, it is concluded that the phonology of the language is very rich. It has thirty-seven phonemes: six vowels with their length contrast and thirty-one consonant phonemes. Twenty-nine consonant phonemes are solely of Devanagari script but the two: velar-fricative /X/ and retroflex-flap /t/ are of its native features. This language consists of grammatical gender. The gender distinction inflects to the verb and the agreement occures between subject and verb. The classifiers in it distinguish human and non-human. Its numeral system is borrowed from Indo-Aryan group. This language exhibits binary number system: singular and plural. Personal persons distinct lexically for singular and plural for three persons. Deomestrative pronouns are of proximal and distal: /id/ and /ad/ respectively. The interrogative pronouns are lexically difference. Various adverbial forms exist for distinct adverbs.

CHAPTER 3

MORPHOPHONEMICS IN URANW-KUDÞUX

Morphophonemics or morphophonology is the phonemic variation in which morphemes undergo in combination with one another morpheme (Neupane 2000). In Uranw-KudÞux verb stems ending with different segments behave differently when another morpheme is affixed to it. Of course, mainly the vowel ending stems undergo certain modifications after the affixation process.

A detail study of morphophonemic processes of Uranw-KudÞux is not done here, however, for our purpose, only few stem final alternation and medial modification processes have been dealt with. They are as follows:

3.1 Assimilation

In assimilation, adjacent sounds frequently influence each other so that they become more alike (Crystal 1987). In Uranw-KudÞux, assimilation is observed when mid back vowel is followed by high back round vowel it is changed into high back round one, i.e.

 $o \rightarrow u /u$

- ♦ Vowel Harmony
- a) *onon*

on -on

drink.NPST.1SG.M

'I drink.'

b) unus

on -u -s

drink.NOML.3SG.M

'a male person who drinks'

c) unud

on -u -d

drink.NOML.3SG.F

'a female person who drinks'

d) muxus

mox -u -s

eat.NOML.3SG.M

'a male person who eats'

e) muxud

mox -u -d

eat.NOML.3SG.F

'a female person who eats'

f) muxur

mox -u -r

eat.NOML.PL

'the persons who eat'

♦ Deletion

It is common phenomenon (for languages) in Uranw-KudÞux which generally occurs in the speech-act participants, e.g.

<-*k*-> *deletion*

<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ondkan	ond.an	'I ate.'
mendzkan	mendz.an	'I heard/listened.'
pərtskan	pərts.an	'I read.'
tsitskan	tsits.an	'I gave.'

<-*a*-> *deletion*

batskan

The verb stem final low back vowel <-a> is deleted when a segment is added to it, i.e.

'I told.'

$moxa \rightarrow$	moxdan	'I eat.'
e:ra →	e:rdan	'I see/look.'
idza →	idzdan	'I stand.'
okka →	okdan	'I sit.'
tsoa →	tsoədan	'I wake up.'

bats.an

Summary

The morphophomenic processes of the language are not consistent. Sound changes, alternations and modifications do not occur consistently. They vary according to their environments and situations. So, a few of them have been encountered here as:

$$a \rightarrow \varphi$$
 /#

$$o \rightarrow u \ / u$$
 , etc.

CHAPTER 4

VERB MORPHOLOGY

4.0 Outline

4.1 Derivational Morphology

Derivational Morphology can be studied as valence related morphology: (i) valence increasing devices - causative (morphological and lexical), Transitivization and valence decreasing devices (i.e. Passivization, Nominalization, Anaphora).

4.1.1 Valence Increasing Devices

4.1.1.1 Causativization

(a) Morphological Causativization

Causativization is one of the valence increasing devices. I have come across mainly two types of morphological causativizations. They are illustrated as follows:

Type: 1

In this type of causativization, two overt arguments are needed i.e. subject and object, e.g.

1. a) en məndi ondkan. (Non-causative)

en məndi on -d -k -a -n

1SG rice eat. M.PST.1SG

' I ate rice.'

b) en xədən məndi ontatskan. (Causative)

en xəd -ən məndi on -tats -k -a -n

1SG child.DAT. rice eat.CAUS.M.PST.1SG

'I fed the child (rice).'

c) en məndi ond.an. (Non-causative)

en məndi on -d -φ -a -n

1SG rice eat. F.PST.1SG

' I ate rice.'

d) en xədən məndi ontats.an. (Causative)

en xəd -ən məndi on -tats -φ-a -n

1SG child.DAT rice eat.CAUS.F.PST.1SG

'I fed the child (rice).'

e) nin məndi ondkaj. (Non-causative)

nin məndi on -d -kaj

2SG rice eat. PST.2SG

'You ate rice.'

f) nin xədən məndi ontatskaj. (Causative)

nin xəd -ən məndi on -tats -kaj

2SG child.DAT. rice eat.CAUS.PST.2SG.M

'You fed the child (rice).'

g) nin məjan məndi ontatski. (Causative)

nin məja -n məndi on -tats -ki

2SG baby girl. DAT rice eat.CAUS.PST.2SG.F

' You fed the baby girl.'

h) as xədən məndi ontatsas. (Causative)

as xəd -ən məndi on -tats -a -s

3SG.M.DIST child.DAT rice eat.CAUS.PST.3SG.M

' He fed the child (rice).'

i) ad xədən məndi ontatsad. (Causative)

ad xəd -ən məndi on -tats -a -d

3SG.F.DIST child.DAT rice eat.CAUS.PST.3SG.F

The above illustrations (1b, d-i), show the <-tats> marker as causative marker and they contain double arguments. The subject verb agreement is distinct according to the person, number and gender.

Type: 2

In the second type of causativization, it takes two overt arguments and a covert one, e.g.

2. a) en niŋhajti xədəsin məndi ontabatatskan. (Causative)

en nin -haj -ti xəd -s -in məndi on -tabatats -k -a -n

1SG 2SG.GEN.CONJ child.M.DAT rice eat.DCAUS.M.PST.1SG

'I made someone feed the child rice.'

b) nim xədərin məndi ontabatatskar. (Causative)

nim xəd -r -in məndi on -tabatats -k -a -r

2PL child.PL.DAT rice eat.DCAUS.M.PST.PL

^{&#}x27;She fed the child rice.'

'You made someone feed the children rice.'

c) əbrər xədərin məndi ontabatatsar. (Causative)

əbrər xəd -r -in məndi on -tabatats -a -r 3PL child.PL.DAT rice eat.DCAUS.PST.PL

'They made someone feed the children rice.'

d) urbas nok^hrasti xələn ustabatatsas. (Causative)

urba -s nok^hra -s -ti xəl -ən us -tabatats -a -s

master.M servant.M.CONJ field.ACC plough.DCAUS.PST.3SG

'The master made the servant plough the field.'

e) urbni nəurjaţi kitsrin nortabatatsa. (Causative)

urb -ni nəurja -ti kitsri -in nor -tabatats -а -ф

master.F maid-servant.CONJ cloth.ACC wash.DCAUS.PST.3SG.F

In the above examples, the first agent is inactive but performs the action through the second subject of the main verb in the clause. The action is performed indirectly. It is clear from the examples (2.a-e).

In this language, the second subject and object can be kept covert and it is understood through the agreement of the main verb of the clause, e.g.

3. a) *em mexţabaţatskam. (Causative)*

(em) mex -tabatats -k -a -m

(1PL. EXCL) call.DCAUS.M.PST.1PL.EXCL

In example (3.a), the verb of the main clause expresses the double causatives. The main verb of the clause is restricted to the person, number and gender to perform different causativizations in the language. And such types of structures are very common in speech/conversation.

(b) Lexical Causativization

Apart from morphological causatives, the lexical causatives are also possible in this language, e.g.

4. a) en xədən tsutatskan. (Morphological)

en xəd -ən tsu -tats -k -a -n

^{&#}x27;The master(F) made the maid-servant wash her clothes.'

^{&#}x27;We made someone call somebody.'

1SG child.ACC sleep.CAUS.M.PST.1SG

' I made the child sleep. '

b) en xədən kidkan. (Lexical)

en xəd -ən kid -k -a -n

1SG child.ACC lay down.M.PST.1SG.

' I laid down the child. '

The above examples (4.a & b) are causatives, but (4.a) is morphological causative and (4.b) is lexical one. The former one is less frequent in speech and the latter one is more frequent.

4.1.2 Valence Decreasing Devices:

4.1.2.1 Passivization:

Passivization is one of the valence decreasing devices. Passive costructuions somehow demote the agent and promote the patient to a subject or topical position(Watters 1998:510). The passive marker exists in the language is <-tar->, e.g.

5. a) asti əsma moxtara. (Passive)

as -ti əsma mox -tar -a

3SG.M.DIST.CONJ bread eat.PASS.PST

'The bread was eaten by him.'

b) sukraţinu kiss pitţar.i. (Passive)

sukraţi -nu kiss pit -ţar -i

Dewali.LOC pig kill.PASS.NPST

'Pig is killed in Dewali.'

c) $n\tilde{e}la k^h \partial si xottar.o.$ (Passive)

nẽla k^həsi xot -tar -o

tomorrow he-goat kill.PASS.NPST

'The he-goat will be killed tomorrow.'

From the above examples (5.a-c) the passive marker<-*tar*-> is clear.

In this language, the intransitive verbs are also passivized, e.g.

6. a) *eŋhajṯi əlk^hṯara.*

en -haj -ti əlk^h -tar -a

1SF.GEN.CONJ laugh.PASS.PST

'It was laughed by me.'

b) *e:rtara.*

e:r -tar -a

look.PASS.PST

'It was looked.'

c) arin mextara.

ar -in mex -tar -a

3PL.ACC call.PASS.PST

'They were called.'

4.1.2.2 Nominalization:

Nominalization refers to the process of forming a noun from some other word-class, the derivation of a noun phrase from an underlying clause (Crystal 2003:314).

Nominalizations are those operations that allow a verb to function as a noun (Payne 1997:223).

Various languages can be nominalized in various ways. The major types of nominalizations existed in Uranw-KudÞux have been described and exemplified as follows:

4.1.2.2.1 Action Nominalizations

An action nominalization refers to the action, usually in the abstract, expressed by the verb root. The simplest way of zero $/-\phi$ / operating derivation can be considered to be a lexical process. This process, to some extent, is also possible in this language, e.g.

7. a) en kuda kadən.

en kuda-φ kal -də -n

1SG walk.NOM go.NPST.M.1SG

'I go for a walk/walking.'

b) ona kala.

ona-φ kal -a

eat.NOM go.IMP

'(You) go for food (dinner, supper,etc.).'

c) betsa kala.

betsa-φ kal -a

play.NOM go.IMP

'(You) go for dance.'

These examples illustrate that the lexical verbs i.e. kuda, ona and betsa in 7.a, b & c respectively inflect zero $/-\phi/$ marker to operate lexical nominalization.

In addition to lexical strategies with zero $/-\phi/$ operaters, action nominalizations can be performed morphologically in Uranw-KudÞux. The suffix morpheme /-na/ is operated to the verb root as nominalizor, e.g.

8. a) kudna sərirge bes məni.

kud -na sərir -ge bes mən -i walk.NOM body.DAT good be.NPST 'Walking is good for health.'

b) betsna dehən bərior kəm.i.

bets -na deh -ən bərior kəm -i

play.NOM body.ACC strong make.NPST

'Playing makes the body strong.'

c) tsixna mabes məni.

tsix -na ma -bes mən -i weep.NOM NEG.good be.NPST

'Weeping is bad.'

d) əlk^hna bes məni.

əlk^h -na bes mən -i

laugh.NOM good be.NPST

'Laughing is good (i.e. for health).'

In the illustrations from 8.d - g, the suffix morpheme /-na/ inflects to the verb root i.e. kud, bets, tsix and ∂lk^h for operating morphological action nominalizations.

4.1.2.2.2 Participant nominalizations:

A participant nominalization is a verb-based nominalization strategy that results in a noun that refers to one of the participants of a verb root (Payne 1997:225). Languages typically

employ various participant nominalization strategies. The functional differences among the various participant nominalization strategies have to do with which participant is referred to, e.g., one strategy forms nominalizations that refer to the agent of the verb root while another forms nominalizations that refer to the patient. These subsections provide description and exemplification of the participant nominalizations.

4.1.2.2.2.1 Agent nominalizations

A nominalization that refers to the agent of the nominalized verb is an agent nominalization (Payne 1997:226). In the case of Uranw-KudÞux, the underlying morpheme /-u/ exists as a morphological agent nominalizer. The /-u/ marker is incorporated with various suffixes to distinguish different person, number and gender. It has been described and exemplified in the following table:

Table No. 5: A nominal paradigm for the verb root bets 'play':

Persons	Pronouns	words/utterances	Glosses	Free translation
	en (SG)	bitsun	bits -u -n	'I am a player.'
	em (PL.EXCL)	bitsum	bits -u -m	'We are players.'
1st	nam (PL.INCL)	bitsuţ	bits -u -t̯	'We are players.'
	nin (SG)	bitsu	bits -u -ф	'You are a player.'
2nd	nim (PL)	bitsur	bits -u -r	'You are players.'
	as/is (SG.M)	bitsus	bits -u -s	'He is a player.'
	ad/id (SG.F)	bitsuḍ	bits -u -d̯	'She is a player.'
3rd	əbrar/ibrar (PL.H)	bitsur	bits -u -r	'They are players.'
	əbra/ibra (PL.NH)	bitsuḍ	bits -u -d̯	'They are players.'

4.1.2.2.2.2 Patient nominalizations:

A nominalization that refers to the patient of the nominalized verb is a patient nominalization (Payne 1997 :227). Sometimes morphological patient nominalizations are called past participles in English. So as in Uranw-KudÞux, the /-ka/ suffix is a patient nominalizer, e.g.

9. a) kerka səme makirri.

kal -ka səme ma -kir -i
go.PST.PRT time NEG.return.NPST
'The past time never returns.'

b) kəts^hnək^hrka makirri.

kəts^hnək^hr -ka ma -kir -i

speak.PST.PRT NEG.reurn.NPST

'The spoken never returns.'

4.1.2.2.2.3 Instrument nominalizations:

An instrument nominalization is a noun formed with a verb in which the noun refers to an instrument used to accomplish the act represented by the verb (Payne 1997:228). Instrument nominalizations are often formally identical to morphological action nominalizations. This is, in fact, true for Uranw-KudÞux, where the /-na/ suffix is used for both action and instrument nominalizations. For examples, let's consider the following:

10. a) əmxi motsna kətsija

əmxi mots -na kətsija

vegetable cut.INST.NOMsickle

'the sickle used for cutting vegetables'

b) onna t^hərija

on -na therija

eat.INST.NOMdish

'the eating dish/es'

c) digri əsna dənda

digri əs -na dənda

drum play.INST.NOM stick

'the sticks for beating drum/drum set'

d) tsah onna gəlsa

tsah on-na gəlsa

tea drink.INST.NOM cup

'the cup used for drinking tea (or the tea-cup)'

4.1.2.2.2.4 Locational nominalizations:

Many languages have strategies that form nominalizations that refer in a general way to some entity associated to a location where the activity described by the verb tends to occur. But, it is a little bit different in this language. Locational nominalization which is marked with the suffix /-na/ is often identical to action and instrument nominalizations in it, e.g.

11. a) onna ərpa

on -na ərpa

eat.LOC.NOM house

'the dining room'

b) okna dzəg.ha

ok -na dzəg.ha sit.LOC.NOM place

'the sitting place'

c) tsuţna ərpa

tsut -na ərpa sleep.LOC.NOM house

'the bedroom'

d) bisna dzəg.ha

bis -na dzəg.ha

sell.LOC.NOM place

'the market place'

In these examples, the /-na/ suffix has been employed as a locational nominalizer. It can be identified by the following noun phrase in the clause. Otherwise, the action, instrument and locational nominalizations do not differ from one another.

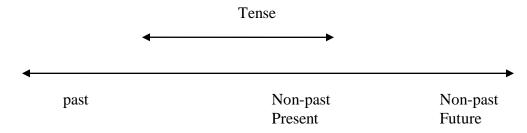
4.2 Inflectional Morphology

4.2.1 Tense

Tense reflects the time of he situaton referred to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking (Comrie 1989:2). Uranw-KudÞux language passesses a morphological distinction between past and non-past tenses. Uranw-KudÞux verbs are inflected to indicate these two tenses by means of various tense marking morphemes. The past tense refers to the situation or event prior to the present time/now, whereas the non-past tense refers to the situation/event of both present and future.

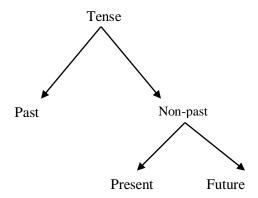
The past tense can further be extended to recent past (same day) and remote past (other day). The tense system in Uranw-KudÞux can be shown in the following diagram:

Diagram 1: Tense system in Uranw-KudÞux



The same idea is further employed in the following tree diagram:

Diagram: Tense System in Uranw-KudÞux



4.2.1.1 The Past Tense

Past tense emplies the event prior to the present situation. It does not say anything about the time period occupied by the event, its initiation and termination. It simply implies that the event does not hold at present.

The past tense in Uranw-Kud \triangleright ux is marked differently according to the person, number and gender. However, the past tense marker is <-a->. They are exemplified as follows:

- 12. a) en əsma mokkan. (Masculine)
 - en əsma mox -k -a -n
 - 1SG bread eat.M.PST.1SG
 - ' I ate bread.'
- b) en əsma mok^h.an. (Feminine)
 - en əsma mox -φ -a -n
 - 1SG bread eat.F.PST.1SG
 - ' I ate bread.'
- c) nin əsma mokkaj. (Masculine)
 - nin əsma mox-kaj
 - 2SG bread eat.PST.2SG.M
 - ' You ate bread.'
- d) nin əsma mukki. (Feminine)
 - nin əsma mox-ki
 - 2SG bread eat.PST.2SG.F
 - ' You ate bread.'

- e) as əsma mokk^has. (Masculine)
 as əsma mox -k^has
 3SG.M.DIST bread eat.PST.3SG.M
 ' He ate bread.'
- f) ad əsma mokk^ha(d). (Feminine) ad əsma mox-k^ha(d) 3SG.F.DIST bread eat.PST.3SG.F
 - ' She ate bread.'
- g) siţad keber mokk had. (Feminine)
 siţa -d keber mox -k had
 Sita.F coarse get.PST.3SG.F
 ' Sita got a coarse.'
- h) əbrar əsma mokk har.

əbrar əsma mox -k^har 3PL.DIST bread eat.PST.3PL

'They ate bread.'

i) nim əsma mokkar.

nim əsma mox-kar

2PL bread eat.PST.2PL

'You ate bread.'

From the above examples (12.a-i), the person, number and gender inflect differently to the verbs respectively. The examples represent the same day past. To express the other day past, the various time adverbials are used. No distinct marker is used to indicate the remote/distal (other day) past, e.g.

13. a) embas horbre bərtsas.

embas horbre bərts -a -s

My father the day before yesterday come.PST.3SG.M

'My father came the day before yesterday.'

b) it̪nali tsẽp mabərtsa.

iṭŋali tsẽp ma -bərts -a last year rain NEG.come.PST. ' It did not rain last year.'

In the above examples, the morpheme *horbre* in (13.a) indicates 'the day before yesterday', and the morpheme *iṭŋali* in (13.b) denotes 'the last year'. Thus, it is clear that the language has its single past tense that can further be studied as its aspects.

Table No. 6: A Verbal Paradigm of the Verb mox 'eat' for Past Tense:

Persons	Pronouns	words/utterances	Glosses	Free translation
	en (SG.M)	mokkan	mox -k -a -n	'I ate.'
	en (SG.F.)	mok ^h .an	mox -a -n	'I ate.'
	em (PL.M.EXCL)	mokkam	mox -k -a -m	'We ate.'
1st	em (PL.F.F.EXCL)	mok ^h .am	тох -ф -а -т	'We ate.'
	nam (PL.INCL)	mokkaţ	mox -k -a -ţ	'We ate.'
	nin (SG.M)	mokkaj	mox -a -j	'You ate.'
	nin (SG.F)	mukki	mox -k -i	'You ate.'
2nd	nim (PL.M)	mokkar	mox -k -a -r	'You ate.'
	nim (PL.F)	mokkaj	mox -a -j	'You ate.'
	as/is (SG.M)	mokk ^h as	mox -k ^h -a -s	'He ate.'
	ad/id (SG.F)	mokk ^h ad	mox -k ^h -a -d̯	'She ate.'
	əbrar/ibrar (PL.M)	mokk ^h ar	mox -k ^h -a -r	'They ate.'
3rd	əbraj/ibraj (PL.F)	mokk ^h aj	mox -k ^h -a-j	'They ate.'
	əbra/ibra (PL.NH)	mokk ^h a	mox -k ^h -a -ф	'They ate.'

4.2.1.2 The non-past tense

The non-past tense indicates the situation of present and future time. In Uranw-KudÞux, the non-past tense marker, as in the past, inflects to the finite verbs for both 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural numbers. For 3rd person masculine, it inflects but for 3rd person feminine does not.

The 3rd person feminine marker <- d>, which was in existence in past, is now avoided in speaking, e.g.

A. First Person:

For masculine:

14. a) en ərpa kalon.

en ərpa kal-o-n

1SG house go.NPST.M.1SG

' I go home. '

b) em ərpa kalom.

em ərpa kal-o-m

1PL.EXCL house go.NPST.M.1PL.EXCL

'We go home.'

c) nam ərpa kaloţ.

nam ərpa kal-o-t

1PL.INCL house go.NPST.M.1PL.INCL

'We go to house.'

In the above illustrations (14.a-c), the non-past tense marker <-*o*-> is used for masculine and the verbs agree only with the subject.

For Feminine:

15. a) en ərpa kalen.

en ərpa kal-e-n

1SG house go.NPST.F.1SG

' I go to house.'

b) em ərpa kalem.

em ərpa kal-e-m

1PL.EXCL house go.NPST.F.1PL.EXCL

'We go home.'

c) nam ərpa kaloţ.

nam ərpa kal-o-ţ

1PL.INCL house go.NPST.M.1PL.INCL

'We go to house.'

In the above illustrations (15.a & b), the non-past tense marker for feminine is <-e-> but for 1st person plural inclusive in (15.c) gender marker does not inflect for feminine.

B. Second Person:

The non-past tense marker is covert for 2nd person singular but the marker <-*o*-> is overt for 2nd person plural, e.g.

16. a) nin ərpa kale.

nin ərpa kal -ф -е

2SG house go.NPST.2SG

'You go home.'

b) nim ərpa kalor.

nim ərpa kal-o-r

2PL house go.NPST.2PL

' You go home.'

C. Third Person:

The non-past tense marker <-o-> is used for 3rd person singular and plural. The 3rd person singular feminine has $<-\phi->$ marking for agreement, e.g.

17. a) as ərpa kalos.

as ərpa kal-o-s

3SG.M.DIST house go.NPST.3SG.M

' He goes home.'

b) is ərpa kalos.

is ərpa kal-o-s

3SG.M.PROX house go.NPST.3SG.M

'He goes home.'

c) ad ərpa kalo(d).

ad ərpa kal-o-(d)

3SG.F.DIST house go.NPST.3SG.F

'She goes home.'

d) id ərpa kalo(d).

ig ərpa kal-o-(d)

3SG.F.PROX house go.NPST.3SG.F

'She goes home.'

e) əbrar ərpa kalor.

əbrar ərpa kal-o-r

3PL.DIST house go.NPST.3PL.DIST

'They go home.'

f) ibrar ərpa kalor.

ibrar ərpa kal-o-r

3PL.PROX house go.NPST.3PL.DIST

In the above examples (17.c & d), the marker $\langle -\dot{q} \rangle$ has been put into the bracket to indicate that the very morpheme had been in existence in past. But now, it is no longer in use.

The future events can also be expressed using present/non-past tense marker. The only difference between present and future is the time adverbial. To represent future tense the marker indicating the future time adverbial i.e. tomorrow, next year, etc. are used, e,g.

18. a) en nela məndi onon. (Future)

en nela məndi on -o -n

1SG tomorrow rice eat.NPST.1SG

In the above example (18.a), only the future time adverbial marker $n\tilde{e}la$ 'tomorrow' indicates that the utterance is in future tense otherwise it is present/non-past tense. Thus, this language contrasts only between past and non-past tense.

^{&#}x27;They go home.'

^{&#}x27;I will eat rice tomorrow.'

Table No. 7: A Verbal Paradigm for the Verb Root kal 'go' for the Non-past Tense:

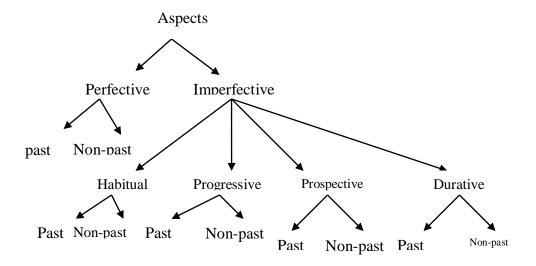
Persons	Pronouns	words/utterances	Glosses	Free translation
1st	en (SG.M)	kalon	kal -o -n	'I go.'
	en (SG.F.)	kalen	kal -e -n	'I go.'
	em (PL.M.EXCL)	kalom	kal -o -m	'We go.'
	em (PL.F.F.EXCL)	kalem	kal -e -m	'We go.'
	nam (PL.INCL)	kalom	kal -o -m	'We go.'
2nd	nin (SG.M)	kale	kal -ф -е	'You go.'
	nin (SG.F)	kaloe	kal -o -e	'You go.'
	nim (PL.M)	kalor	kal -o -r	'You go.'
	nim (PL.F)	kalor	kal -o -r	'You go.'
	as/is (SG.M)	kalos	kal -o -s	'He goes.'
	ad/id (SG.F)	kalod	kal -o -d̯	'She goes.'
	əbrar/ibrar (PL.M)	kalor	kal -o -r	'They go.'
3rd	əbraj/ibraj (PL.F)	kaloe	kal -o -r	'They go.'
	əbra/ibra (PL.NH)	kalo	kal -ф -о	'They go.'

4.2.2 Aspect:

Aspect has been defined as a grammatical category that refers to the way of temporal organization of the activity denoted by verbs (Crystal 1991:27). Aspect describes the internal temporal shape of events or states (Payne 1997:238). It is concerned with marking notions like the duration of an event, whether it is repetitive or not, whether it has a terminal boundary, etc. Aspects are, as Comrie (1998:3) says, different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.

In Uranw-KudÞux, aspects are of two types named perfective and imperfective. Each of them has been exemplified below:

Diagram No.: Aspects in Uranw-KudÞux:



4.2.2.1 Perfective Aspects:

Perfective aspect looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation (Comrie 1976:4). The suffix inflections $\langle -ka \rangle$ for masculine and $\langle -ki \rangle$ for feminine indicate the perfective marker. Both the existential 'be' verbs are inflected. The inflections agree with person, number and gender of the subject. Let us consider some examples below:

4.2.2.1.1 Past Perfective Aspect

- 19.a) en məndi ondkaratskan. (Masculine)
 - en məndi on -d -ka -rats kan

1SG rice eat. PERF.be.PST.1SG.M

'I had eaten rice.'

b) em məndi ondkaratskam. (Masculine)

em məndi on -d -ka -rats kan

1PL.EXCL rice eat. PERF.be.PST.1PL.M

'We had eaten rice.'

c) en məndi ondkirats.an. (Feminine)

en məndi on -d -ki -rats -an

1SG rice eat. PERF.be.PST.1SG.F

'I had eaten rice.'

d) nin undrkiratski əm. (Feminine)

nin ondr -ki -rats -ki əm

2SG bring.PERF.be.PST.2SG.F water

'You had brought water.'

e) as əsma mokkaratsas.

as əsma mox -ka -rats -as

3SG.M.DIST bread eat.PERF.be.PST.3SG.M

'He had eaten bread.'

f) ad bərtskiratsa. (Feminine)

ad bərts -ki -rats -a

3SG.F.DIST come.PERF.be.PST.3SG.F

'She had come.'

g) əbrar hətija kerkaratsar.

əbrar hətija kal-ka-rats-ar

3PL. market go.PERF.be.PST.3PL

'They went to market.'

For the details of the past perfective markers for different person, number and gender, let's have a look at the verb paradigm below:

Table No. 8 : A Verbal Paradigm of on 'eat' for Past Perfective Aspects.

Persons	Genders	Singular	Plural Number	
		Number		
	masculine	ondkaratskan	ondkaratskam(EXCL)	
			ondkaratskaţ (INCL)	
1st	Feminine	undkirats.an	undkirats.am(EXCL)	
			ondkarats.at̯ (INCL)	
	Masculine	ondkaratskaj	ondkaratskar	
2nd	Feminie	undkiratski	ondkaratskar	
	Masculine	ondkaratsas	ondkaratskar	
3rd	Feminine	undkiratsa	ondkaratskar	

From the table above, the past tense marker and numbers have inflected to the verb, whereas the Past Perfective Markers are contrastive i.e. the markers <-ka> and <-ki> for masculine and feminine respectively. Obviously, the gender is contrastive for 1st person both singular and plural, whereas for 2nd and 3rd persons only singular is contrastive, but plural is not.

4.2.2.1.2 Non-past Perfective

20.a) en məndi ondkarə.ədan. (Masculine)

en məndi on -d -ka -rə -dan

1SG rice eat. PERF.be.NPST.1SG.M

'I have eaten rice.'

b) em məndi ondkarə.ədam. (Masculine)

em məndi on -d -ka -rə -dam

1PL.EXCL rice eat. PERF.be.NPST.1PL.M

'We have eaten rice.'

c) en məndi ondkirəen. (Feminine)

en məndi on -d -ki -rə -en

1SG rice eat. PERF.be.NPST.1SG.F

'I have eaten rice.'

d) nin undrkirə.ədi əm. (Feminine)

nin ondr -ki -rə -di əm

2SG bring.PERF.be.NPST.2SG.F water

'You have brought water.'

e) as əsma mokkaratsas.

as əsma mox -ka -rə -as

3SG.M.DIST bread eat.PERF.be.NPST.3SG.M

'He has eaten bread.'

f) ad bərtskirə.i. (Feminine)

ad bərts -ki -rə -i

3SG.F.DIST come.PERF.be.NPST.3SG.F

'She has come.'

g) əbrar hətija kerkarə.ənar.

əbrar hətija kal-ka-rə -nar

3PL. market go.PERF.be.NPST.3PL

'They went to market.'

For the details of the non-past perfective markers for different person, number and gender, let's have a look at the verb paradigm below:

Table No. 9: A Verbal Paradigm of on 'eat' for Non-Past Perfective Aspects.

Persons	Genders	Singular	Plural Number
		Number	
1st		ondkarə.ədan	ondkarə.əḍam (EXCL)
	masculine		ondkarə.əḍat̯ (INCL)
		undkirə.en	undkirəem(EXCL)
	Feminine		ondkarə.aţ (INCL)
	Masculine	ondkarə.ədaj	ondkarə.ədar
2nd	Feminie	undkirə.ə <u>d</u> i	ondkarə.ədar
3rd	Masculine	ondkarəas	ondkarə.ənar
	Feminine	undkirəi	ondkarə.ənar

From the paradigm above, the non-past tense marker and numbers have inflected to the verb, whereas the Non-Past Perfective Markers are contrastive i.e. the markers <-ka> and <-ki> for masculine and feminine respectively. Obviously, the gender is contrastive for 1st person both singular and plural, whereas for 2nd and 3rd persons, only singular is contrastive, but plural is not.

4.2.2.2 Imperfective Aspects

Imperfectivity is not incompatible with perfectivity, and that both can be expressed if the language in question possesses the formal means to do so (Comrie 1976: 4, 24; cited in Parajuli 2005: 508, Contemporary Nepalese Linguisticse). The imperfective aspect is divided into habitual, progressive, prospective and durative aspects. Such imperfective aspects, except durative, are further subdivided into past and non-past respectively.

4.2.2.2.1 Habitual Imperative Aspect

4.2.2.2.1.1 Non-Past Habitual Aspect

It is expressed either by using temporal adverbs or without them, e.g.

21. a) *en humri ulla kempəs kadan.* (Masculine) en humri ulla kempəs kal-dan

1SG all day campus go.NPST.1SG.M

'I always go to Campus.'

b) nin hərdəm ərk^hi ondaj.

nin hərdəm ərk^hi on -daj

2SG always domestic wine drink.NPST.2SG.M

'You always drink domestic wine (or ale or homewine).'

c) en to humri ulla ∂k^h ra kalen. (Feminine)

en to humri ulla əkhra kal-en

1SG CLT all day temple go.NPST.1SG.F

'I always go to temple.'

d) ad hərdəm biri uni. (Feminine)

ad hərdəm biri on-i

3SG.F.DIST always tobacco smoke.NPST.3SG.F

'She always smokes tobacco.'

e) xədar sənninu bəra tsixnar.

xəd -ar sənni -nu bəra tsix -nar

child.PL small.LOC a lot weep.NPST.PL

'The children weep a lot in thier childhood.'

From the above illustrations, it is clear that the non-past habitual aspect can also be implemented without using temporal adverbs.

4.2.2.2.1.2 Past Habitual Aspect

The Past Habitual Aspect is not distinct from past progressive. To express past habitual, temporal adverbs i.e. *hərdəm, humri ulla,* etc. are employed, e.g.

22. a) en hərdəm tsīxaləkkan.

en hərdəm tsîx -alək -kan

1SG always weep.PROG.PST.1SG.M

'I always used to weep.'

b) nam sənninu səngem betsaləkkat.

nam sənni -nu səngem bets -alək -kat

1PL.INCL small.LOC together play.PROG.PST.1PL.M

'We used to play together in childhood.'

c) *dui bəris əgu embas ərk^hi onaləgias.*

dui bəris əgu embas ərk^hi on -aləg -as

two year before my father domestic wine drink.PROG.PST.3SG.M

'Two years ago, my father used to drink domestic wine.'

d) dzəmaninu nin bəra san edbə.aləkkaj.

dzəmani -nu nin bəra san ed -bə -alək -kaj young.LOC 2SG much power show.tell.PROG.PST.2SG.M 'You used to show much power in youth.'

From the above illustrations, it is exemplified that the past habitual aspect is not distinct, except its temporal adverbs, from past progressive aspect.

4.2.2.2.2 Progressive Imperfective Aspects

The progressive aspect can be expressed using the markers <-num> and <-alag> in the verb, which is followed by auxiliary (i.e. existential or identificational) 'be' verb for non-past tense. In the same way, the past progressive is also marked with <-num> and <-alak>, e.g.

4.2.2.2.1 Non-Past Progressive Aspect

23. a) en məndi unnumrə.ədan.

en məndi on -num -rə -dan

1SG rice eat.PROG.be.NPST.1SG.M

'I am eating rice.'

b) en məndi onaləgdan.

en məndi on -aləg -dan

1SG rice eat.PROG.NPST.1SG.M

'I am eating rice.'

c) nin məndi unnumrə.ədi.

nin məndi on -num -rə -di

2SG rice eat.PROG.be.NPST.2SG.F

'You are eating rice.'

d) nim məndi onaləgdar.

nim məndi on -aləg -dar

2PL rice eat.PROG.NPST.2PL

'You are eating rice.'

From the above illustrations, it is exemplified that the non-past progressive aspect is reflected by the markers i.e. <-num> and <-alag>. The tense is inflected to the verb. It is found that the auxiliary 'be' is covert for the non-past progressive marker <-alag> in the utterances.

4.2.2.2.2 Past Progressive Aspect

The past progressive aspect is expressed by using the markers <-num> and <-alək> in the verb. The marker <-num> is common to both past and non-past progressive aspect, e.g.

24. a) en məndi unnumratskan.

en məndi on -num -rats -kan

1SG rice eat.PROG.be.PST.1SG.M

'I was eating rice.'

b) en məndi unnumrats.an.

en məndi on -num -rats -an

1SG rice eat.PROG.be.PST.1SG.F

'I was eating rice.'

c) nin məndi unnumratski.

nin məndi on -num -rats -ki

2SG rice eat.PROG.be.PST.2SG.F

'You were eating rice.'

d) nin məndi onaləkki.

nin məndi on - alək -ki

2SG rice eat.PROG.PST.2SG.F

'You were eating rice.'

e) nam betsaləkka<u>t</u>.

nam bets -alək -kaţ

1PL.INCL play.PROG.PST.1PL.INCL

'We were playing.

f) nam betsnumratska<u>t</u>.

nam bets -num -rats -kat

1PL.INCL play.PROG.be.PST.1PL.INCL

'We were playing.'

From the above examples, it is clear that the auxiliary 'be' is covert when it is used with the past progressive marker $\langle -al\partial k \rangle$ in the utterances.

4.2.2.3 Prospective Imperative Aspect

In the prospective aspect, a state is related to some subsequent situations where someone is in a state of being about to do or on the point to do something (Comrie 1976: 64). In Uranw-KudÞux language, the prospective aspect is denoted by <-hot.en> preceded by the verb. It remains unchanged in both past and non-past prospective aspect. It is past if the verb is in past, and non-past if the verb is non-past, e.g.

25. a) as onos hoţ.en.

as on -os ho<u>t</u>.en
3SG.M.DIST eat.NPST.3SG.M PROS

'He may/will eat.'

b) əbrar betsor hot.en.

əbrar bets -or hor.en
3PL.DIST play.NPST.PL PROS

'They may/will play.'

c) əbrar kerar hot.en.

əbrar kal -ar hor.en
3PL.DIST go.PST.PL PROS

'They might/would play.'

d) as k^hiri tiŋkaratsas hot.en.

as k^hiri ţiŋ -ka -rats -as hoţ.en 3SG.M.DIST story tell.PERF.be.PST.3SG.M PROS

'He might have told a story.' or 'He was due to tell a story.'

In the above examples 25.a) and (b), the non-past progressive aspect is expressed, whereas in (c) and (d) it is expressed the past prospective aspect.

4.2.2.4 Durative Imperative Aspect

The durative aspective shows an action initiating prior to the next one. The morphological process marks the durative aspect in Uranw-KudÞux language. The perfective and progressive <-*ka*> and <-*alag*> or <-*alak*> followed by the marker <-*xəne*> are inflected to the verb, e.g.

26. a) en ukkaratskan xəne ad bərtsa.

en ok -ka -rats -kan xəne ağ bərts -a

1SG sit.PERF.be.PST.1SG.M while 3SG.F.DIST come.PST.3SG.F

'She came while I was sitting'

b) nim betsaləkkar xəne em bərtskam.

nim bets -alək -kar xəne em bərts -kam

2PL play.PROG.PST.2PL while 1PL.EXCL come.PST.1PL.EXCL

'While you were playing, we came.'

c) en ərpa bər.aləkkan xəne as iskul kalaləgias.

en ərə bər -alək -kan xəne as iskul

1SG house come.PROG.PST.1SG.M while 3SG.M.DIST school

kal -aləg -ias

go.PROG.PST.3SG.M

'While I was coming home, he was going to school.'

d) tsep bər.aləgia xəne en tsəekan.

tsep bər -aləg -ia xəne en tsəe -kan

rain come.PROG.3.F while 1SG get wet.PST.1SG.M

'I got wet while it was raining.'

From the above illustrations, it is clear that the durative aspect can be expressed in two ways using two different markers i.e. perfective $\langle -ka \rangle$ and progressive $\langle alag \rangle$ and $\langle -alak \rangle$ respectively. In 26.a), for intransitive verb $\langle -ka \rangle$ indicates the durative, while in (26.b) and (26.c), $\langle -alak \rangle$ indicates it and in (26.d), $\langle -alag \rangle$ shows the durative aspect in this language.

4.3 The verb 'be'

4.3.1 Auxiliary

An auxiliary verb is a verb which is based on another verb in a sentence, and which shows grammatical functions such as aspect, voice, mood, tense and person (Richard, J., et al, 1985: 23). According to Crystal (1994:35), an auxiliary is a verb which is subordinate to the chief lexical verb in a verb phrase, helping to express such grammatical distinctions as tense, aspect, and mood. So, auxiliary verb supplements the main verb of the sentence and it can stand as a verb as well. The different types of auxiliary verb 'be' found in Uranw-KudÞux language are mentioned as follows:

4.3.1.1 Existential Types:

Existence typically serves a preventive function i.e. to introduce participants onto discourse stage. Uranw-Kud \triangleright ux employs the marker $\langle -r\theta \rangle$ as the verb 'be' to introduce existential entity around, e.g.

27. a) əsən onta ərpa rəi.

əsən on-ta ərpa rə-i there one.CLF house be.NPST

'There is a house.'

b) əsən kohã iskul ratsa.

əsən kohã iskul rats -a there big school be.PST 'There was a high school.'

c) ad gaj ratsa.

ad gaj rats -a
DEMT.PRON.DIST cow be.PST

'That was a cow.'

d) əsən nerr rəi.

əsən nerr rə-i

there snake be.NPST

'There is a snake.'

4.3.1.2 Equative/equation Types:

Equative denotes a particular entity (the subject of the clause) is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominals, e.g.

28. a) ad iŋri hike.

ad iŋri hik-e

3SG.F.DIST my younger sister be.NPST

'She is my younger sister.'

b) as raməs hikdas

as ram -əs hik -das 3SG.M.DIST Ram.Mbe.NPST.3SG.M

'He is Ram.'

c) embas mastər hikdas.

embas mastər hik -das my father teacher be.NPST.3SG.M 'My father is a teacher.'

d) en əur nin kukko hikdat.

en əur nin kukko hik-dat

1SG CONJ 2SG boy be.NPST.1PL.INCL

'You and I are boys.'

e) ədin e:ra hike.

ədin e:ça hik-e

DEMT.PRON.SG.DISTgoat be.NPST

'That is a goat.'

4.3.1.3 Locational Types

The locational type of auxiliary is as same as existential and possession, e.g.

29. a) dzholani kitap rəi.

dz^hola -ni kiţap rə -i

bag.LOC book be.NPST

'There is a book in/inside the bag.'

b) en ərpanu rəen.

en ərpa-nu rə-en

1SG house.LOC be.NPST.F

'I am at home.'

c) tebulməijä kiţap rəi.

tebul -məijā kitap rə-i

table.LOC book be.NPST

'There is a book on the table.'

4.3.1.4 Possession Types

The possession type auxiliary 'have' is employed as same as locational and existential aux., e.g.

30. a) enga dhiba rəi.

en -ga d^h iba rə -i

1SG.DAT money be.NPST

'I have money.'

b) asge kiţap rəi.

as -ge kitap rə -i

3SG.MDIST.DAT book be.NPST

'He has a book.'

c) əbrarge gari rəi.

əbrar -ge gari rə -i

3PL.DIST.DAT vehicle be.NPST

'They have vehicles.'

d) nima/age bənduk rəi.

nim -a/age bənduk rə -i

2PL.DAT gun be.NPST

'You have a gun.'

e) ema/age bəgge xəl ratsa.

em -a/age bəgge xəl rats -a 1PL.EXCL.DAT a lot of farm-land be.PST.

'We had a lot of farm-land.'

4.4 Moods:

Mood describes the speaker's attitude towards a situation including the speaker's belief in its reality, or likelihood. It sometimes describes the speaker's estimation of the relevance of the situation to him or herself (Payne 1997:244).

Mood defines as a set of syntactic and semantic contrasts signalled by alternative paradigm of the verb, e.g. indicative, subjunctive, imperative. Semantically, a wide range of meanings is involved, especially attitudes on th part of the speaker towards the factual content of the utterance, e.g. uncertainty, definiteness, vagueness, possibility (Crystal 2003: 299).

Mood is an indication of what the speaker wants to do with the proposition in a particular discourse context. It is a grammatical reflection of the speaker's purpose in speaking (Bybee 1985:22). Uranw-Kudux verbs distinguish seven types of moods morphologically. They are briefly described as follows:

4.4.1 Indicative Mood

Indicative mood does not reflect in the verb in Uranw-KudÞux. A verb inflected for tense and aspect may indicate the truth value of the proposition, e.g.

31. a) en ərpa kalon.

```
en ərpa kal-o-n
1SG house go.NPST.M.1SG
'I go home.'
```

b) en əlk^hon.

c) as məndi onos.

```
as məndi on -o -s

3SG.M.DIST rice eat.NPST.3SG.M

' He eats rice.'
```

d) enda iskul kera.

```
eŋda iskul kal -a -ф
my daughter school go.PST.3SG.F
' My daughter went to school.'
```

e) o:ra urara.

```
o:ça uçar -a
bird fly.PST.
```

^{&#}x27;The bird flew.'

f) kətt hagutt hi dzəruri məni.

kəttha -gutthi dzəruri məni speech/language.PL important be.NPST

In the above examples (41.a-f), no special marker for indicative mood has been inflected to the verb although the tense and aspect inflected to it have been indicated.

4.4.2 Interrogative Mood:

Lyons (1974) provides the idea that interrogative sentences stand in contrast to declarative by virtue of their modality ... in the most languages, the syntactic distinction between declarative and interrogative sentences is not associated with a difference of verbal inflection or the selection of a particular auxiliaries but with the employment of various interrogative particles or pronouns, with a difference of word order, or with rising intonation (cited in Sapkota 2006:108).

Uranw-KudÞux has both declarative and interrogative in the same syntactic construction without any morphological particle but the latter is uttered with rising intonation, e.g.

32. a) *nin kurja hikdaj*∕?

nin kurja hik -daj

2SG lazybones be.NPST.2SG.M

' Are you a lazybones?'

b) nin esən kadaj?

nin esən kal-daj

2SG where go.NPST.2SG.M

'Where do you go?'

In the above example (32.a), a rising intonation is used for the emphasis on the final syllable of the verb in declarative sentence, while in (32.b) the wh-word esan 'where' is used in situ.

So, the interrogative mood, in Uranw-KudÞux, can be divided into two sub-categories viz. 'Yes/No' type and 'Wh-word' type.

^{&#}x27;Languages are important.'

4.4.2.1 Yes/No type

In Uranw-KudÞux, a de clarative sentence is uttered with rising intonation. Yes/No question in Dhangar (west of Koshi river) does not involve any syntactic process. It employs rising tone for it (Yadava 2001), e.g.

- 33. a) *nin məndi ondkarə.ədaj∧? (Masculine)*
 - nin məndi on -d -ka -rə -daj

2SG rice eat. PERF.be.NPST.2SG.M

'Have you eaten rice?'

b) *nin məndi undkirə.ədi*⊅? (Feminine)

nin məndi on -d -ki -rə -di

2SG rice eat. PERF.be.NPST.2SG.F

' Have you eaten rice?'

c) as hətija keras⊅? (Masculine)

as hətija kal -a -s

3SG.M.DIST market go.PST.3SG.M

' Did he go home?'

d) ad hətija kerad∕? (Feminine)

ad hətija kal -a -d

3SG.F.DIST market go.PST.3SG.F

' Did she go home?'

e) *əbrar betsaləgnar №?*

əbrar betsa -ləg -nar

3PL.DIST play.PROG.NPST.3PL

'Are you playing?'

f) en tsor hikdan⊅? (Masculine)

en tsor hik -dan

1SG thief be.NPST.1SG.M

'Am I a thief?'

g) *en tsor hiken⊅? (Feminine)*

en tsor hik-en

1SG thief be.NPST.1SG.F

'Am I a thief?'

h) inna birna rə.i⊅?

inna birna rə.i

today hot/warm be.NPST

'Is it hot/warm today?'

From the above illustrations (33.a-h), it is distinct that all the utterances contain not more than a rising intonation to express the Yes/No question. Thus, the use of rising intonation is obviously the Yes/No question type.

The negative Yes/No type of interrogative is also possible in this language, e.g.

34. a) *nin məndi ma one ?* ?

nin məndi ma-on-e

2SG rice NEG.eat.NPST.2SG.M

'Do you not eat rice?'

b) *əbrar ərpa mabərtsar*∕?

əbrar ərpa ma-bərts-a-r

3PL.DIST house NEG.come.PST.PL

' Did they not come ?'

In the above examples (34. a & b), the negative marker < *ma*-> is prefixed to the verb for interrogative-negative expression.

4.4.2.2 Wh-word type

The Wh-word type of question answers more openly than Yes/No type does. In such type of question, the additional question particles i.e. adverbials are added. In Uranw-KudÞux, wh-question words occur in situ i.e. in their original position (Yadava 2001), e.g.

35. a) nin ender nəndaj?

nin ender nən -daj

2SG what do.NPST.2SG.M

'What do you do?'

b) *niŋhaj ərpa esən rəi?*

nin -haj ərpa esən rə -i

2SG.GEN house where be.NPST

In the above examples 35. a & b, the wh-question words *ender* 'what' and *esən* 'where' make the utterances interrogative and they are used in situ, i.e. in the original place where the speaker seeks the answer.

The different question words are used in Uranw-KudÞux. They are *endra* 'what', *ne* 'who', *ikla* 'when', *ekase/ekənne* 'how', *enderge* 'why', *kaj bəgge* 'how much/many, etc. They also occur in situ, e.g.

36. a) ne bərtsa?

ne bərts -a

who come.PST

'Who came?'

b) nin ikla ərpa kale?

nin ikla ərpa kal-e

2SG when house go.NPST.2SG.M

'When do you go to house?'

c) məndi as ekase/ekənne ondas?

məndi as ekase/ekənne on -das

rice 3SG.M.DIST how eat.NPST.3SG.M

' How does he eat rice?'

d) bəbus enderge mabərtsas?

bəbu -s enderge ma -bərts -a -s

son.M why NEG.come.PST.3SG.M

'Why did the son not come?'

e) ninga kajt^ho e:ra rə.i?

nin-ga kajt^ho e:ra rə-i

2SG.GEN how many goat be.NPST

' How many goats do you have?'

f) ninga kajbəgge d^hiba rəi?

^{&#}x27;Where is your house?'

nin -ga kajbəgge d^hiba rə -i

' How much money do you have?'

g) niŋhaj name endra hike?

nin -haj name endra hik -e

2SG.GEN name what be.NPST

' What is your name?'

h) ninhaj ender name hike?

nin -haj ender name hik -e

2SG.GEN what name be.NPST

' What is your name?'

In the examples above except 36.g & h, all the question words have been used in uniformity. In the case of 36. g & h the different forms of wh-word for 'what' is used, the form *endra* 'what' is used in between *name* and *hike*, whereas the form *ender* 'what' is used in between *ninhaj* and *name*.

4.4.3 Imperative Mood

The imperative mood is the form of the verb in issuing direct command or order (Bybee 1985:171). As the imperative form of verbs or sentences express direct commands, instructions, orders, or requests, they all are entirely restricted to the second person subject.

Imperatives are the least marked forms of verbs in many languages of the world and so in the case of Uranw-KudÞux. Generally, there is <-a> marker in the verb for imperative mood. The following are the illustrations of imperative moods:

- 37. a) nin əsən kala. (order)
 - nin əsən kal-a

2SG there go.IMP

'(You) go.'

b) *nẽla bərke. (suggestion)*

něla bər -ke

tomorrow come.IMP

'Come tomorrow.'

c) (nim) hiri bara. (order)

(nim) hiri bar -a

(2PL) near/close come.IMP

'Come closer/nearer.'

d) $\partial b_i = \partial b_i = \partial b_i + \partial b_i = \partial b_i + \partial b_i = \partial$

əbrar -ge õd b^hənda botha tsə -a

3PL.ACC one pot domestic wine give.IMP

'Give them a pot of domestic wine.'

The above examples 37.a, c & d contain suffix marker $\langle -a \rangle$ for order/imperative for the time of speaking but in 37. b, the suffix marker $\langle -ke \rangle$ is suggestion/imperative for the future time.

38. a) bara.

bar -a

come.IMP

'Come.'

b) ərpaula okka.

ərpa -ula ok -a

house.LOC sit.IMP

'Sit inside the room.'

c) əsən kala.

əsən kal-a

there go.IMP

'Go there.'

d) enga əm ondra.

en -ga əm ondr -a

1SG.DAT water bring.IMP

'Bring me water.'

The above illustrations exemplify that there is not overt subject NP in the place of subject. since these commands are issued to the person present before the speaker, the subject is, obviously, the second person i.e. 'you' is understood.

The imperative mood marker for feminine is quite distinct from the masculine marker. For feminine, the imperative mood marker $\langle -aj \rangle$ is employed in Uranw-KudÞux, e.g.

```
39. a) kalaj. (Feminine)
      kal -aj
      go.IMP
       '(you) go.'
b)
      baraj. (Feminine)
      bər -aj
      come.IMP
      '(you) come.'
      ədin mexaj. (Feminine)
c)
      ad-in
                    mex -aj
      3SG.F.DIST
                    call.IMP
       'Call her.'
d)
      a mukkan menaj. (Feminine)
                           muk -an
                                         men -aj
      DEMT.ADJ.DIST
                           woman.ACC ask.IMP
       'Ask that woman.'
      Thus, the Uranw-Kudux imperative discloses masculine - feminine gender distinction as
in the above examples (39. a - d).
      It employs negative imperative mood by adding morphological negative marker < ma >
or <ama-> in the form of prefixation to the verb root, e.g.
40. a) mabara. (Masculine)
      ma -bər -a
      NEG.come.IMP
      'Don't come.'
      mabaraj. (Feminine)
b)
      ma -bər -aj
      NEG.come.IMP
      'Don't come.'
c)
       amaondr.a. (Masculine)
      ama -ondr -a
      NEG.bring.IMP
```

'Don't bring.'

d)

amaondr.aj. (Feminine)

ama -ondr -aj NEG.bring.IMP

'Don't bring.'

However, in Uranw-KudÞux, imperative mood can distinguish between command or order and request. For request, the particle /na/ is separately used just after the verb, e.g.

41. a) bəlin tisg.aj na.

bəli -n tisg -aj na door.DAT open.IMP REQ

'Please, open the door.'

b) bohe enga d^hiba tsə.a na.

bohe en -ga d^hiba tsə -a na father/dad 1SG.DAT moneygive.IMP REQ

'Dad, give me money, please.'

c) əjo dəige d^hiba tsiaj na.

əjo dəi -ge d^hiba tsə -aj na mother/mum elder sister.DAT money give.IMP REQ

'Mummy, give my elder sister money, please.'

4.4.4 Optative Mood:

Optative mood which marks something the speaker hopes for or wishes, would be marked by the suffixes like <-ke> and <-nek.a> for second, and third person respectively, e.g.

42. a) kohã al mənke! (Second person)

kohã al mən -ke great personbe.OPT

'May you be a great person!'

b) k^h ara ulla udzke! (Second person)

k^həra ulla udz -ke very long day live.OPT

'May you live long!'

c) k^h əra ulla udzanek.a! (Third person)

k^həra ulla udza -nek.a very long day live.OPT 'May s/he live long!'

d) kohã al mənanek.a! (Third person)

kohã al məna -nek.a

great person be.OPT

'May s/he be a great person!'

In the above examples, the subject 'you' and 's/he' haven't been used overtly, but they are rather understood. The optative markers <-ke> and <-nek.a> occur underlyingly for both second person singular/plural and third person singular. But, for third person plural, the morpheme /-n/ is added to the marker <-nek.a>, e.g.

43. a) *əbrar kohã mənanek.an!*

əbrar kohã məna-nek.a-n

3PL.DIST great be.OPT.PL

'May they be great (persons)!'

b) ibrar hũ kohã mənanek.an!

ibrar hũ kohã məna-nek.a-n

3PL.DIST CLT great be.OPT.PL

'May they be great (persons), too!'

4.4.5 Hortative Mood:

Hortative mood is the grammatical category of mood which expresses exhortation. In Uranw-Kud \triangleright ux to denote hortative mood, the marker <le> is separately used in initial position of the utterance. It is restricted to the first person plural exclusive and inclusive, e.g.

44. a) *le kaloţ.* (Inclusive)

le kal -o -t

HORT go.NPST.1PL.INCL

'Let us go.'

b) *le kalom.* (Exclusive)

le kal -o -m

HORT go.NPST.1PLEXCL

'Let us go.'

c) *le betso<u>t</u>. (Inclusive)*

le bets -o -t

HORT play.NPST.1PL.INCL

'Let's play.'

d) *le betsom.* (Exclusive) le bets -o -m

HORT play.NPST.1PL.EXCL

'Let's play.'

In the above examples, the hortative marker < le> is used to express exhortation with first person plural inclusive and exclusive only.

4.4.6 Subjunctive (Conditional) Mood:

Subjunctive (conditional) is commonly usd to express an attitude of uncertainty on the part of the speaker or a hypothetical situation (whaley 1997:221). This mood is expressed in Uranw-KudÞux by the conditional lexeme /dzədi/ probably a loan word from Indo-Aryan, and /hole/ that comes at the end of the dependent clause. The subjunctive moods are exemplified as follows:

45. a) dzədi nin mabərtskaj hole en makalon.

dzədi nin ma -bərts -kaj

COND 2SG NEG.come.NPST.2SG.M

hole en ma-kal-o-n

then 1SG NEG.go.NPST.M.1SG

'If you do not come, (then) I do not go.'

b) dzədi tsep puija hole bes xes ubdzar.o.

dzədi tsep pui-ja hole

COND rain rain.PST then

bes xes ubdza-ro

well paddy grow.NPST

'If it rain, then the paddy would grow well.'

c) dzədi tələp xək^hra hole

dzədi tələp xək^h -ra hole

COND salary get.PST then

'If salary got, then.....'

d) dzədi nin bəgge one hole nin bemar mənekale.

dzədi nin bəgge on-e

COND 2SG a lof of eat.NPST.2SG

hole nin bemar mən -e -kal -e

then 2SG sick be.NPST.2SG.go.NPST.2SG

From the examples above, the conditional mood marker $\langle dz \partial di hole \rangle$ go side by side in this language. In the absence of either one, the meaning is different.

4.4.7 Probabilative Mood:

Probability is how likely something is to happen. The probabilative marker is <-hot.en> in Uranw-KudÞux. It indicates the action or state described in the proposition is probably true. The illustrations are as follows:

46. a) as kirros hoţ.en.

as kir -os hoţ.en

3SG.M.DIST return.NPST.3SG.M PROB

'He might return.'

b) ad bidriki rəi hoten.

ad bidr -ki rə -i hoţen

3SG.F.DIST sleep.PERF aux.NPST PROB

'She might have slept.'

c) nin bər.e hoţ.en bə.aləkkan.

nin bər -e hot.en bə -a -ləg -ka -n

2SG come.NPST.2SG PROB tell. PROG.PST.M.1SG

'I was thinking that you might come.'

d) *əbrar bər.or hot.en.*

əbçar bər -o -r ho<u>t</u>.en 3PL.DIST come.NPST.PL PROB

'They might come.'

In the above examples, the probability marker <-hot.en> is employed to express probability in the language.

^{&#}x27;If you eat a lot, then you will be sick.'

4.5 Other Mood Markers

4.5.1 Ability

The ability expresses that the agent of the clause has the physical or mental capacity for action. In Uranw-Kud \triangleright ux, the suffixal marker $<-\tilde{o}g->$ is employed to express the ability. Let us look at the following examples:

47. a) en i nələk^hən nəna õgon.

en i nələk^h -ən nəna õg -o -n

1SG DEMT.ADJ.PROX work.ACC do ABI.NPST.1SG

'I can do this work.'

b) as xel əssa õgos.

as xel əssa õg-o-s

3SG.M.DIST a cultural musical instrument play ABI.NPST.3SG.M

'He can play a cultural musical instrument.'

c) nin helr.a õgdaj.

nin helr.a õg -daj

2SG swim ABI.NPST.2SG.M

'You can swim.'

d) ad dəndi para ügi.

ad dəndi para õg-i

3SG.F.DIST song aing ABI.NPST.3SG.F

'She can sing a song.'

In the above illustrations, the ability marker $<-\tilde{o}g->$ is used just after the main verb to express the capacity of the agent/doer in Uranw-Kud \triangleright ux.

4.6 Modality

Modality is used in grammatical and semantic analysis to refer to contrast in mood signalled by the verb and associated categories (Crystal 2003:295). This modality can be expressed in various ways, i.e.

4.6.1 Epistemic Modality

According to Crystal (2003:163): Epistemic modality is derived from modal logic and used by some linguists as part of a theoretical framework for the analysis of modal verbs and

related structures in laguuage. Epistemic logic is concerned with the logical structure of statements which assert or imply that propositions are known or believed e.g. the use of modals in sentences.

The modal marker <-pərar.o-> 'must' is employed for epistemic logic in Uranw-KudÞux. Consider the following examples:

48. a) xəddərge pər.a pərar.o.

xəd -ər -ge pər.a pərar -o

child.PL.DAT read EPIS.NPST

'The children must read.'

b) nok^hrarge təhaj urbarin seb.a pərar.o.

nokʰra-r-ge t̪əm-haj urba-r-in seb.a pəγar-o

servant.PL.ERG 3PL.GEN master.PL.ACC serve EPIS.NPST

'The servants must serve their masters.'

4.6.2 Deontic Modality

Deontic modality is concerned with the logic of obligation and permisson of the speaker's (Crystal 2003:130). It is expressed using the modals in sentences. Like English, Uranw-KudÞux employs <-hole> 'then' as deontic modality marker, e.g.

49. a) ninga bes ləggi hole nəna.

nin -ga bes ləg -i hole nəna

2SG.DAT well/good be.NPST DEO do.NPST

'If you like, (then) you can do.'

In the above example 49.a, the deontic marker <-hole> expresses the desire of the speaker and let permission to do as desire.

4.7 Pronominalization

Pronominalization, one of the morphological processes, is the process of imitating a partial or full phonetic form of pronouns with different case roles by the head of a phrase or sentence. The word 'Pronominalization' was coined by B.H. Hodgson (1897).

According to Grierson and Konow(1909): Pronominalization refers to the use of pronominal suffixes for indicating the person and number of the subject (and sometimes the

object as well) among Himalayan languages. Similarly, Kansakar (1993:168) notes that the phenomenon of pronominalization has to do with the affixation of pronouns - like formatives to the root verb to indicate agreement to the subject and the object (direct and/or indirect).

The Uranw-KudÞux is a Dravidian language. In it, the use of pronominal suffixes for indicating the person, number and gender of the subject (not the object). It is a simple pronominalized language (i.e. subject pronominalization).

Here, it is discussed the person, number and gender of speech act participants which are attached to the verb in Uranw-KudÞux below:

4.7.1 Person Marking

The person marking encodes the agent argument in Uranw-KudÞux. Let us consider the following examples:

50. a) en ningan i:rkan.

'I saw you.'

b) en asge d^hiba tsitskan.

'I gave him money.'

c) nin məndi one.

2SG rice eat.NPST.2SG

'You eat rice.'

d) as engage kitsri tsitsas.

3SG.M.DIST 1SG.DAT cloth give.PST.3SG.M

'He gave me clothes.'

In the above examples (50.a & b), as the first person is the highest ranking participant, a transitive configuration of the first person acting upon the third person yields the first person

agreement. The suffix $\langle -n \rangle$ encodes the reference of the first person participant, thus yielding the first person agreement. Similarly, in example (50.c), the second person subject pronoun agrees with the subject and so as example (50.d), the third person subject pronoun partly suffixed to the verb.

4.7.2 Number Marking

Uranw-KudÞux verbs are inflected for two categories of number namely singular and plural. Singular is zero $\langle -\phi \rangle$ marked because the personal pronouns in the language are all lexical items, not morphological. It is understood by the agreement pattern, whereas the plural is marked by $\langle -r \rangle$ for second and third person only. For the first person plural, the exclusive and inclusive marker $\langle -m \rangle$ and $\langle -t \rangle$ are inflected to the verbs respectively.

Let us look at the following examples below:

51. a) em e:ran ment.om. (Exclusive)

em e:ra -n ment -o -m

1PL.EXCL goat.ACC graze.NPST.1PL.EXCL

'We graze the goats.'

b) nam e:ran ment.ot. (Inclusive)

nam e:ra -n ment -o -t

1PL.INCL goat.ACC graze.NPST.1PL.INCL

'We graze the goats.'

c) nim məndi ondkar.

nim məndi on -d -k -a -r

2PL rice eat. M.PST.PL

'You(pl) ate rice.'

d) *əbrar ərpan bis.ar.*

əbrar ərpa -n bis -a -r

3PL.DIST house.ACC sell.PST.PL

'They sold their house/s.'

In the examples above 51.a, the exclusive marker <-m> is inflected; in 51.b, the inclusive marker <-t for first person plural, whereas in 51.c & d, the plural marker <-r>> for both second and third person plural inflect to the verbs respectively.

4.7.3 Gender Marking

Uranw-Kud \triangleright ux verbs inflect for two categories of grammatical gender i.e. masculine and feminine. They only inflect for singular number (not plural). The markers are distinct for different persons, e.g. the markers <-s> for third person masculine, <-d> for third person feminine and <-k> for first person masculine. But for second person gender does not inflect to the verb.

Let us look at the following examples:

- 52. a) en kerkan. (Masculine)
 en kal -k -a -n
 1SG go.M.PST.1SG
 'I went.'
- b) en ker.an. (Feminine)
 en kal -φ -a -n
 1SG go.F.PST.1SG
 'I went.'
- c) en kalon. (Masculine)
 en kal-o-n
 1SG go.NPST.M.1SG
 'I go.'
- d) en kalen. (Feminine)
 en kal -e -n
 1SG go.NPST.F.1SG
 'I go.'
- e) as kalos. (Masculine)
 as kal -o -s
 3SG.M.DIST go.NPST.3SG.M
 'He goes.'
- f) ad kalod. (Feminine)
 ad kal -o -d
 3SG.F.DIST go.NPST.3SG.F
 'She goes.'

In the above example 52.a, the first person singular masculine marker <-k> is overt, but in 52.d, it is covert. Similarly, in 52.b & c, for first person feminine marker is covert. However, in 52.e & f, the third person singular masculine and feminine is overt i.e. the markers <-s> and <-d> respectively.

Table No. 10: Summary table of Pronominalization.

Person	Singular	Plural	Pronominalized forms
	en 'I'		-n
		em 'We' (excclusive)	-m
First		nam 'We' (inclusive)	- <u>t</u>
	nin 'You'		-е, -j, d (F)
Second		nim 'You'	-г, -(d҉ər)
	as/is 'He' (M)		<i>-S</i>
	ad/id 'She' (F)		-d or -ф
Third		abrar/ibrar 'They'	-r

4.8 Negativization

A negative clause is one which asserts that some events, situations or state of affairs does not hold (Payne 1997:282). The Uranw-Kud \triangleright ux has a morphological negation system. It is prefixed to the verb by means of the negative morphemes <ama-> and <ma->. The prefixes <ama-> and <ma-> are the allomorphs. The negative morpheme /ma-/ is used to negativize the verb of the utterance either affirmative or interrogative, whereas to negativize the imperative utterances both morphemes /ama-/ and /ma-/ can be used alternatively.

Let us look at the following examples below:

53. a) en ərpa makalon.

en ərpa ma-kal-o-n

1SG house NEG.go.NPST.1SG

'I do not go to house.'

b) as maxərtsas.

as ma -xərts -a -s

3SG.M.DIST NEG.steal.PST.3SG.M

'He did not steal.'

c) ama/ma kala.

ama/ma kal -a

NEG go.IMP

'Don't go.'

d) nin enderge ərpa makerkaj?

nin enderge ərpa ma-kal-kaj

2SG why house NEG.go.PST.2SG.M

'Why did you not go to house?'

In the above examples 53.a, b & d, the negative morpheme /ma-/ has been inflected to negativize the affirmative and interrogative sentences, whereas in 53.c, the both negative morphemes /ma-/ and /ama-/ have been inflected to negativize the imperative statement.

Further more, the another morpheme /məla/ is used to negativize the affirmative and interrogative utterances, e.g.

54. a) en to məlakalon.

en to məla-kal-o-n

1SG CLT NEG.go.NPST.M.1SG

'I do not go.'

b) nin enderge məlabərtskaj?

nin enderge məla -bərts -kaj

2SG why NEG.come.PST.2SG.M

'Why didn't you come?'

Thus, it is clear from the above examples that both negative morphemes /ma/ and /məla/ are alternative forms and can be used to negativize the affirmative and interrogative sentences.

Summary

Verb morphology deals with derivatrional and inflectional processes. Causativation, as a valence increasing device is of two types: causatives and double causatives. The lexical causatives are also seen in the language. As valence decreasing derivces, passivization, nominalization and others are applied. The inflectional morphology has been encountered into various sections and subsections as tense, aspects, moods modality. Simple pronominalization is found in it. It empolys morphological negativization processes.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Uranw-KudÞux language belongs to the Dravidian language family. This language is spoken by the Uranw people who are called Jhanger/Dhangar by outsiders. These people have been living in the Terai districts; i.e. Sunsari, Morang, Jhapa, Siraha, Bara, Parsa, Rauthat, Dhanusha, Lalitpur, Kathmandu and even in Illam (CBS:2001). These people prefer to call themselves 'KudÞux' or 'Uranw' rather than Dhangar/Jhangar; and their language 'Uranw/KudÞux', too. Therefore, the researcher has named it as - 'Uranw-KudÞux' to present both people and language. In addition to mixed socio-culture around the community, it has preserved its unique linguistic properties of the language.

The phonological system of Uranw-KudÞux has preserved many characteristics of Dravidian family and, to some extent, it has borrowed some features from Indo-Aryan origins. It has thirty-seven phonemes, out of which thirty-one are consonant phonemes and six are vowel phonemes. These vowels contrast with their length. The consonants also contrast between aspiration and voicing. Breathy and non-breathy contrast is also phonemic. Therefore, it has four well defined sets of voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced unaspirated and voiced aspirated contrastive sounds. Both open and close syllables are possible in the language.

Uranw-KudÞux nominal employs the binary number system i.e. singular and plural. Personal pronouns show contrast of first, second and third person. The first person plural pronoun contrast between incluxive and exclusive. The markers '-t' and '-m' inflect for 1st person plural inclusive and exclusive respectively. The second person pronoun also distincts morphologically between singular and plural. but it lacks honorificity. Morphologically, the third person pronoun contrasts between masculine and feminine gender. The third person plural pronoun morphologically distincts from its singular. In syntactic operations, the gender between masculine and feminine is grammatically contrastive. Morphologically, there are two cases: direct and oblique. Both animate and inanimate things whether they are concrete or abstract show morphological gender distinction.

In Uranw-KudÞux, verbs have a very rich inflectional system. Verb stems can be classified into primitive, derivative and compound on the basis of its structural complexity. The primitive stems have simple structure. The derivative stems are polymorphemic. They are

obtained by affixing derivative suffix of different stems, verbal or non-verbal. The compound stems are also polymorphemic and have complex structure. They are formed by combining either a primitive verb stem or derivative verb stem with a verb or a noun or an adjective or an adverb with a verb. The compound stems are derived from the primitive ones by adding different modal and aspectual markers.

On the basis of the stem final segments, Uranw-Kud \triangleright ux verb stems can be grouped into vowel finals, a few, and maximally in consonant finals. The stem final <-a> is deleted before a consonant initial suffix. The <-d> is generally changed into <-r>> in the intervocalic position.

The verbs in Uranw-KudÞux show different inflected forms. As a pronominalized language, the first person singular, plural (inclusive an exclusive), second person singular and plural and third person singular and plural, both masculine and feminine for all three person forms are marked for pronominal subject. Pronominalization has a simple phenomenon in it. The number agreement for singular and plural is found in all three persons. Plurality in the three persons is distinct. However, first and second person plural pronouns are lexically distinct. The third person plural is marked with the <-r> or $<-\partial r/\partial r>$ marker.

The tense system in Uranw-KudÞux shows the two-way contrast i.e. PAST and NON-PAST. The tense markers for past and non-past are distinct for different persons. Sometimes, the pronominal suffixes and the tense marking suffixes are reduced into a single syllable.

There are different finite and non-finite verbal suffixes. Uranw-KudÞux verbs show the different morphological aspect marking system like progressive, habitual and prospective, and some other periphrastic aspects viz. present perfect and past perfect. The mood system in Uranw-KudÞux shows the distinction of imperative, optative, hortative, indicative and interrogative moods and there are some modal verbs and modal particles to show the modality in the language.

The process of negativization is simple i.e. the negative prefixes <-ma> or <-ma> or <-mala> or even <-malla>. The negative marker <-ma> or <-mala> is prefixed to the verb to negativize affirmative and interrogative sentences, while the alternative markers i.e. <-ma> or <-ma> or <-ma> or <-ma> are used to negativize the imperative sentences.

Causativization in Uranw-KudÞux is morphological. The causative markers <-tats-> and <-tabaṭats-> change the non-causatives into causative ones. The former marker is a single

causative marker, whereas, the latter one shows double causative in this language. The passivization is distinct from causative.

The passive marker <-tar-> passivizes the active sentences. The single marker <-tar-> is inflected for tense and gender. Since the language owns grammatical gender, it does not affect it at all. There exists simple pronominalization in it. Only the subject pronouns (as a part or full form) agree with the verb. The pronominalized forms for different person and gender have been illustrated in the related topic (see page 89).

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Appendix 1: List of Respondents

The following is the list of the people whom the researcher met with and interviewed for supporting his data. This task had been carried out during Oct.- Nov., 2007 for a project work of SIRF/SNV Nepal. The list contains both names and their respective addresses as follows:

S.N.	Respondents' Names	Addresses (VDC/ Municipality)	Age groups	Education
1.	Ms. Sharda Devi Uranw	Madhesha -9, Sunsari	25-30	literate
2.	Ms. Maya Kumari Uranw	Dumraha -8, Sunsari	30-35	illiterate
3.	Mr. Lelka Uranw	Dumraha -8, Sunsari	55-60	illiterate
4.	Ms. Ratni Devi Uranw	Pashchim Kushaha -1, Sunsari	60 +	illiterate
5.	Mr. Motilal Uranw	Inaruwa Municipality -7, Sunsari	60 +	illiterate
6.	Mr. Mangla Uranw	Prakashpur -5, Koshi	40-45	illiterate
		Tappu,(Garaiya), Sunsari		
7.	Umesh Kumar Uranw	Chhitaha -4, Sunsari	15-20	literate
8.	Miss Runa Kumari Uranw	Narsingh -3, Sunsari	15-20	literate
9.	Mr. Sampat Lal Uranw	Narsingh -2, Sunsari	25-30	literate
10.	Mr. Rajesh Kumar Uranw	Narsingh -7, Sunsari	35-40	literate
11.	Miss Rinku Kumari Uranw	Inaruwa Municipality -7, Sunsari	10-15	literate
12.	Mr. Birendra Uranw	Dangraha -5, Morang	40-45	literate
13.	Mr. Amir Lal Uranw	Babiyabirta -3, Morang	30-35	literate
14.	Mr. Dhruv Lal Uranw	Inaruwa Municipality -7, Sunsari	60 +	illiterate
15.	Ms. Sobani Devi Uranw	Inruwa Municipality -6, Sunsari	55-60	illiterate
16.	Mr. Dharmendra Uranw	Nakalbanda Tea Estate, Jhapa	35-40	literate
17.	Miss Aarti Uranw	Tokla Tea Estate, Mechinagar	20-25	literate
		Municipality - 13, Jhapa		
18.	Mr. Suman Uranw	Damak Municipality -15, Jhapa	30-35	literate
19.	Mr. Vimal Uranw	Buttabari -1, Anarmani, Jhapa	15-20	literate
20.	Mr. Sancharuwa Uranw	Tokla Tea Estate, Mechinagar	45-50	illiterate
		Municipality - 11, Jhapa		

Appendix 2: List of Key Respondents

The following list consists of the key respondents as follows:

S.N.	Respondents' Names	Addresses (VDC/ Municipality)	Age groups	Education
1.	Mr. Amir Lal Uranw	Babiyabirta -3, Morang	30-35	literate
2.	Ms. Sobani Devi Uranw	Inruwa Municipality -6, Sunsari	55-60	illiterate
3.	Mr. Motilal Uranw	Inaruwa Municipality -7, Sunsari	60 +	illiterate
4.	Mr. Lelka Uranw	Dumraha -8, Sunsari	55-60	illiterate
5.	Ms. Ratni Devi Uranw	Pashchim Kushaha -1, Sunsari	60 +	illiterate

Appendix 3: Swadesh 100 Word List

S.N.	Uranw-KudÞux	Gloss
1.	en	I
2.	nin(SG)/ nim(PL)	you
3.	nam(INCL)/em(EXCL)	we
4.	id	this
5.	ad	that
6.	ne	who
7.	eka/endra	what
8.	məlla	is not
9.	humri/gotte	all
10.	bəgge	much
11.	õd/onta	one
12.	<u>d</u> ui	two
13.	kohã	large
14.	digha	long
15.	sənni	small
16.	mukka	woman
17.	metas	man
18.	aləs	person
19.	indzo	fish
20.	о:га	bird
21.	əlla	dog
22.	pen	louse
23.	mən	tree
24.	bija	seed
25.	əţxa	leaf
26.	sir	root
27.	tsoppa	tree's bark
28.	tsəpta	skin

29.	əhça	flesh
30.	xẽs	blood
31.	xotsol	bone
32.	ne:ta	fat
33.	dima	egg
34.	siŋ	horn
35.	xola	tail
36.	tsutti	feather
37.	tsutti	hair
38.	kuk	head
39.	xebda	ear
40.	xən	eye
41.	muĩ	nose
42.	bəi	mouth
43.	pəll	teeth
44.	ţəţxa	tongue
45.	orox	nail
46.	xed	leg
47.	mu:ka	knee
48.	xek^h	hand
49.	kul	stomach
50.	tota/xeser	neck
51.	dudhi	breast
52.	p ^h ep ^h ra	lungs
53.	kəledzi	liver
54.	onna	drink
55.	moxna	eat
56.	xətsna	bite
57.	e:rna	see
58.	menna/səkʰ.ana	hear
59.	əxna	know

60.	bedrna	sleep
61.	k ^h eəna	die
62.	pitna	kill
63.	helrna	swim
64.	uŗarna	fly
65.	e:kna/kudna	walk
66.	bərna	come
67.	õt ^h arna	lay down
68.	okna	sit
69.	idzəna	stand
70.	tsiəna	give
71.	bə.əna/t̪eŋna	say
72.	bi:ŗi	sun
73.	tsəndo	moon
74.	binko	star
75.	əm	water
76.	tsẽp	rain
77.	pək ^h na	stone
78.	bəlu	sand
79.	d ^h ərţi/xədz	earth
80.	bəḍali	cloud
81.	d ^h ũjã	smoke
82.	tsind	ash
83.	məndi	rice
84.	o:lna	burn
85.	dahre	way/path
86.	xẽso	red
87.	balka rəŋ	yellow
88.	hərhjər	green
89.	pərta	hill
90.	pəndru	white

91.	moxaro	black
92.	maxoa	night
93.	ulla	day
94.	t ^h ənd ^h a/pəĩjã	cold
95.	nindka	full
96.	puna	new
97.	bes/nãpe	good
98.	gol/kirrka	round
99.	xəeka	dry
100.	name	name