# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

## 1. 1     Background

Nepal is composed of 123 languages and 125 ethnic groups with their own distinct linguistic and cultural properties (CBS 2012:4). Tharu, which is the largest indigenous community of the nation, is one of the components of the multi-ethnicity in Nepal. As the habitat of this tribe extends from Mechi to Mahakali, variations in their culture and language do exist. The Population and Housing Census 2011 (CBS 2012:4, 144) does not make any distinction among this ethnic group and enrolls all the Tharu varieties under the umbrella term, the Tharu. The total population of the Tharu is 17, 37, 470 which makes 6.6 percent of the total population of the nation. However, the Tharu speakers are reported to be 15, 29, 875 constituting 5.8 percent of the total population. Thus, the Tharu makes the fourth largest ethnic group in the nation in terms of population and language (CBS 2012:4). However, the cultural and linguistic diversity among this ethnic group is so great that some scholars like Kurt Meyer and Pamela Deuel (1999:146) find it "difficult to identify cultural patterns that are common to all Tharu, from the proverbial Mechi to Mahakali. It is very easy, however, to list the differences we found among the various subgroups". They are of the opinion that "the Tharus are many tribes who entered the Terai from different places over a long period of time. Indeed, many Tharus view each other as different and unmarriageable even though the British 'All India Survey' lumped them together as 'Tharu'" (Meyer & Deuel 1999:147).

Boehm (1998:3) classifies the Tharus in Nepal into four major groups based on the linguistic and cultural differences prevailing in this ethnic group: Rana Tharu, Dangaura Tharu, Chitoniya Tharu and Saptariya or Kochila Tharu, but Eppele et al. (2012:88-9) classify this group into five groups adding Kathariya Tharu to the former list.[1] Each of these languages has also been given a specific ISO code. As it is customary to use the same term for the language as it is used for the ethnic groups, the language they speak as the mother tongue is called the Tharu language. Thus, the term Tharu is an ethnonym that refers to both the ethnic group and the

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[1] See Eichentopf & Mitchell (2012:15-16) for more information on the Tharu varieties.

language they speak. Although the Tharu, the people and the language, have been broadly classified into four major groups as Rana, Dangaura, Chitoniya and Kochila or Saptariya Tharu[2], there is still controversy in the number of Tharu varieties due to the lack of any socio-linguistic survey of the Tharu varieties in the nation.

Dangaura Tharu is one of the Tharu groups residing in the Terai of the Mid- and Far-Western regions of Nepal. They are considered to have been originated from the Dang valley which lies in the present Dang-Deukhuri district of Nepal. It is the largest Tharu group in terms of its population and the geographical area it covers. Most studies conducted on the Tharu are centered on this group, especially on the Tharus living in the Dang district. However, Dangaura Tharu, which belongs to the Indo-Aryan language family, is still one of the least described and undocumented languages of the nation. Almost all the studies conducted so far focus on the social, cultural, and sociolinguistic aspects of this group. Some of the pure linguistic descriptions are Paudel (2052), Boehm (1998, 2008, 2012), Paudyal (2067 V.S., 2012) which deal only with some aspects of the language.

1.2    Statement of the problem

Dangaura Tharu is one of the Tharu varieties spoken in the Mid- and Far-Western Terai districts of Nepal. It is spoken by about 500000 people in Nepal (2003) (Epple et al. 2012:89). This variety is also spoken in several districts of northern India like Gorakhpur, Basti, Gonda, and Baharaich. For the promotion, preservation and standardization of a language, a comprehensive study of the system of the language is required. Although it is the most developed variety of the Tharu in terms of the domains of language use, no comprehensive study of this language has been done so far.  Therefore, there are a number of problems that need to be settled regarding the grammatical features of the Dangaura Tharu. This study makes an attempt to present a comprehensive analysis of the verb morphology, one of the core components of the grammar of a language. The problems dealt with here may be enumerated as:

i.       What are the types of verbal stems attested in the Dangaura Tharu?

ii.      What are the derivational processes used to derive verb stems, and inflectional processes used in different tenses, aspects, and moods, and modality?

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[2] However, Eppele et al. (2012:88-9) add the Kathariya Tharu to this list.

iii.    Are there any copular and modal verbs? If yes, what are they and how are they used?

## 1.3    Objectives of the study

The general objective of this study is to have a comprehensive study of the verb morphology of the Dangaura Tharu. The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

i.    To explore the types of verbal stems in Dangaura Tharu,

ii.    To analyze the derivational and inflectional processes, and the affixation strategy in different tenses, aspects, moods, and modality,

iii.    To point out the copular and modal verbs and analyze their uses functionally.

## 1.4    Literature review

Most of the studies conducted on the Tharu ethnic group are on the cultural aspect. However, there are some short articles and Master's theses dealing with language too. Some of the works available on the Tharu varieties are reviewed in this section. Linguistic studies of any of the Tharu varieties did not start until 1972 when Leal (1972a) and Leal (1972b) appeared.

Leal (1972a) is the pioneer of the linguistic studies of the Chitoniya Tharu. This is a collection of  words consisting of Swadesh's 100 word list, and the words belonging to different domains, such as human body parts, animals, plants, house and home, food and clothing, tools and instruments and metals, numbers and quantifier, emotions, diseases and super naturals, role and social structure, attributes- human, matter, space, dimension, form, and motion,- abstract relation and miscellaneous functions, and finally time, weather and geography making a list of 1073 words altogether. It is simply a glossary of the Chitoniya Tharu vocabulary without the gloss in English or Nepali. As it is simply a collection of vocabulary, there is no question of grammatical discussion of the language.

Leal (1972b) is an extensive work on the phonology of the Chitoniya Tharu. The work introduces Chitoniya Tharu and their language for the first time. The author defies Grierson's (1968b:311) statement that "there is not such a thing as Tharu language" and states that Chitoniya Tharu is "substantially different from Nepali and Bhojpuri" though it is much influenced by them (Leal 1972b:2). She finds it much closer to Bhojpuri than other Indo-Aryan languages.

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She gives the phonemic inventory of 34 consonants comprising voiced and aspirated forms of all the stops and affricates forming a four way contrast of *k, kʰ, g, gʰ, t, tʰ, d, dʰ, ʈ, ʈʰ, ɖ, ɖʰ, p, pʰ, b, bʰ, c, cʰ, j, jʰ*. The aspiration is extended to the nasals and liquids resulting in the breathy phonemes, such as *mʰ, nʰ, ŋʰ, lʰ, rʰ*. She also presents a vowel inventory consisting of six basic vowels: *i, e, u, o, ʌ, a*. All the vowels except ʌ have their nasalized forms as well (Leal 1972b:28). What she said about 40 years ago holds true even at the present. She observes no consonant clusters word-initially and word-finally in this language (Leal 1972b:7) which still holds true. However, she speaks no word about whether the cluster with the glides and trills in the initial position is permitted or not. Besides, she notes a very special feature of this language that the initial ʌ and *a* are produced as *yʌ* and *ya,* respectively, such as *ʌcar* 'pickle' is produced as *yʌcar*, and *agi* 'fire' is produced as *yagi.* We do have some examples of misunderstanding regarding the glosses in English in this study. For example, the word *dʰʌwʌr,* which refers to the moonlight, has been glossed as 'the moon', and *kwãɖa* and *murkʰʌ* have been glossed as 'kidney' and 'stupidity', but they stand for 'heart' and 'stupid' respectively. Similarly, some clauses used as examples have also been mistranslated. For example, *debʌhi* and *debʌhĩ* stand for '(you) will give' and '(I) will give' respectively but they have been translated otherwise (see Leal 1972b:29).

Paudel (2052 V.S.) is a comparative study of the Dangaura Tharu variety spoken in Dang valley. It has compared the Dangaura Tharu and Nepali languages in terms of gender, number, person, tense, aspect and mode. This will contribute a lot to the present study as it is concerned with the verb morphology.

Chaudhary (2056 V.S.) is a Grammar of Dangaura Tharu language written in the same language. It seems to be the first attempt to standardize Dangaura Tharu. However, it does not deal with the language from a linguistic perspective. It has adopted the traditional approach of writing a grammar of a language beginning with the parts of speech, their classification, tense and aspect, case and compounding and so on. This book is organized in eight chapters. The writer has also attempted to present the places of articulation of different sounds available in this language. For the purpose, he has used the Sanskrit tradition and placed them according to the Paninian principle of dividing the consonant sounds into seven classes: *kʌ bʌrgʌ, cʌ bʌrgʌ, ʈʌ bʌrgʌ, tʌ bʌrgʌ, pʌ bʌrgʌ, ushmʌ, ʌntʌstha* and has placed the consonant sounds accordingly.

We also find the derivation process of different words of this language. For example, the writer says that comparative and superlative forms of adjectives and adverbs are not found in the Dangaura Tharu. Instead, separate particles- *wʌhise* and *sʌbse* are used to form comparative and superlative forms respectively. A process of pluralization has also been discussed. A particle '*hũkrʌ'* or the suffixes *-n, -wan* are added to the root such as:

| Singular | Plural |
|---|---|
| *apʌn* '2SG.Hon.' | *ʌpnʌ hũkrʌ* '2PLHon.' |
| *lʌrki* 'a girl' | *lʌrkin* 'girls' |
| *cʰawa* 'son' | *cʰawʌn* 'sons' |

Chaudhary also discusses eight types of cases attested in Dangaura Tharu. A noticeable point here is that this variety has a compound case marking system. There are two case markers used in a single root to indicate a single case, such as :

r*ukʰwamse kʰʌsnũ*

r*ukʰwa -m -se      kʰʌs -n -ũ*

tree -LOC- ABL    fall -PST -1SG

'I fell down the tree.'

Regarding the nominative case, the writer seems to be in confusion. He says that a case marker *se* is used to indicate nominative case and has given some examples. But in my field study it was found that no case marker is used for nominative case. The case marker he has talked about is used in the passive construction. Besides, the examples he has given are not appropriate to the situation.

The verb paradigms, used in different tenses and aspects, have been discussed but the morphological processes used to derive those forms have not been mentioned. For example: he says the past form is formed by adding *-nu, -li, -lya, -la-* to the root and gives examples like *mʌi gʌinu, hʌmrʌ gʌili* and so forth but does not show the morpheme breaks indicating the roots and suffixes. This discussion does not distinguish tense markers from the inflectional suffixes and lumps them together. Nor does this grammar deal with the salient features of language like phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. As it deals with only the Dangaura variety of the Tharu language, it will certainly contribute to the present study.

Dahit (2061V.S.) is another noteworthy publication on the way to standardize this language. Though it has been called the Tharu dictionary, it seems to be the dictionary of

Dangaura Tharu and not that of the Tharu language as a whole. Although the editor thinks 'except the conjugation of verbs and a few lexical items, all the lexical items are the same in all the varieties of this language', the field observation shows that there are considerable variations in these varieties.

Chaudhary (2005) is a sketch Grammar of the Saptariya variety of the Tharu language. In this study, the researcher has included chapters on Phonology, Morphology and Syntax of the Saptariya Tharu. Eight vowels and 29 consonant phonemes are reported to be practiced in this dialect. Aspiration is contrastive in all the stops and affricates. Alveolar trill, alveolar lateral, bilabial glide and palatal glide are also found. There are three nasal consonants: bilabial, alveolar and velar, and seven types of syllable patterns in this language.

The researcher has also reported that different case markers are used to indicate different cases such as *-ke* for dative and genitive, *-se* for instrumental, *sange* for comitative, *-dis* or *-disa* for directive, *-me* for locative, and *ø* is used for nominative case (2005:27). In addition to the discussion of phonology, morphology and syntax, he has collected Swadesh 100 word list and basic word list with grammatical categories and meaning in English. This is the first attempt to sketch a grammar of Saptariya Tharu, following a linguistic approach. It is a good attempt to standardize the Saptariya variety of this language. However, as it is simply a sketch, it is not complete in itself and further study is required to make a complete grammar of this language. As it is the sketch grammar of the Saptariya variety, it will not have any contribution to the proposed study.

Paudyal (2067 V.S.) discusses the forms and functions of the copular verb 'be' in the Dangaura Tharu. It comprises four different sections. The first section presents the national scenario of the Tharu ethnic group with linguistic and cultural diversity. In the next two sections, there is a detailed discussion on different morphological processes for deriving finite forms of the 'be' verb in all the tenses. The copular verb in the Dangaura Tharu has three different forms: *hui-, ba-* and *rʌhʌ-*. In the sense of identification the verb *hui-* is used in the present and future tenses, whereas in the locational sense, *ba-* is used in the present and *rʌhʌ-* is used in the future tense. In the past tense, the locational and identificational distinction is neutralized and the single form *rʌhʌ-* is used. The verb agrees with the person, number, gender and the level of honorificity of the subject. The inflectional suffixes used in the present tense are mainly the vowel segments- *ũ, -i, -o, -ʌ, -a.* The alveolar voiceless stop *-ʈ* is the present tense marker, whereas *-l* and *-n* are

the past markers, and *-b* is the future marker. A remarkable feature of this language is that it has three levels of honorificity- honorific, mid- honorific and non-honorific. For example, there are three forms of pronouns to refer to the addressee- the non-honorific *ʈʌĩ,* mid-honorific *ʈũ*, and honorific *ʌpnʌ*. As it deals with the copular constructions in the Dangaura Tharu, it will certainly be useful to the present study.

Paudyal (2010) concentrates on the verbal morphology and discusses various morphological processes occurring during the derivational and inflectional processes in Chitoniya Tharu. It has been reported that Chitoniya Tharu has three tenses: present, past, and future with distinctive tense markers: *-l-* past marker, *-kʰ-* and *-s-* present markers, and *-b-* and *-t-* future markers. The agreement is controlled by the number, person, and the level of honorificity of the subject. There is an in-depth analysis of the morphophonemic alterations that occur during the suffixation process. These alterations may be phonologically, morphologically or sometimes lexically governed. Besides, it discusses some cases of suppletion, such as the suppletion of *ja* 'go' into *ge-* in the past tense. Four aspects are discussed here- progressive, perfective, durative and prospective. The progressive and perfective aspects are attested in all the tenses, the prospective aspect is exhibited in the past and present tenses, and the durative aspect is used only in the past. The durative aspect is coded with a particle *-kʰuni* attached to the progressive form of the verb. Similarly, the prospective aspect is coded in the prospective particle *-hĩke,* affixed to the progressive form, in the past and the present tenses. In addition, six different moods like declarative, interrogative, imperative, probabilative, optative and conditional moods, and the copular verb forms in different tenses are discussed in detail.

This study also has some limitations. First of all, it is mainly based on the elicited data which are not considered appropriate to study the complex aspects of language like tense and aspect. Secondly, it is reported that passive structures are not exhibited in this language, but such constructions are grammatically possible and are attested in practice, though less frequently. Although it is a preliminary study of the verbal morphology of Chitoniya Tharu, it will certainly be a strong resource for the proposed study.

Eppele et al. (2012) is the result of the collaborative efforts between the SIL *Ethnologue* and the Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. It is a bilingual English-Nepali volume consisting of a comprehensive listing of 124 languages (spoken and sign) spoken in

Nepal "including 120 living languages and four reported as having no known mother tongue speakers" (Eppele et al. 2012:1). One of the noticeable points of this volume is that it has identified a new language *Dotyali* with an ISO code [dty], which had been regarded as a dialect of Nepali till date. "It is a mother tongue and de facto *lingua franca* (italic original) in the Far Western Region". Another significant point of this volume is that it has listed five languages under the umbrella term Tharu: Chitoniya Tharu, Dangaura Tharu, Kathariya Tharu, Kochila Tharu and Rana Tharu, which we do not find in the report of Population and Housing Census 2011. According to Eppele et al. (2012:88), Dangaura Tharu is an Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Eastern zone, unclassified language. It is spoken in Rupandehi, Kapilvastu, districts of Lumbini zone, Dang-Deukhuri district of Rapti zone, Banke, Bardiya and Surkhet districts of Bheri zone, Kailali district of Seti zone and Kanchanpur district of Mahakali zone of Nepal. To sum up, Eppele et al. (2012) provides us with much information in the catalogue form about all the languages of Nepal including the Tharu varieties, but it lacks in detailed analysis of the grammatical features of each and every language.

Dhakal (2013) is a documentation of Rana Tharu, one of the Tharu languages, which is "the first grammatical description of this magnitude". It aims at "documenting the Rana Tharu language" and presents a brief description of phonology, morphology, and syntax of this language. This research report has been organized in three parts: part one presents the grammatical description of the language; part two constitutes different types of interlinearized texts presented in four lines- text, morpheme break, glosses and free translation, and part three gives a list of Rana Tahru- Nepali – Englih Glossary consisting of about 2100 words.

In Rana Tharu the inflectional suffixes are portmanteau morphemes. According to Dhakal (2013:94), "Rana Tharu tense marker cannot be teased apart from the PNG markers". It follows two tense system: past and non-past. "The present and future tense can be lumped together as they do not contrast morphologically" (Dhakal 2013:93). Regarding the non-past tense, the researcher himself does not seem to be very clear. He states that "since the morphological encoding of the non-past tense is not very clear, this deserves some detailed discussion". His confusion is clearly expressed when he says "if future time is indicated, this is expressed by *ənŋo*" (Dhakal 2013:97) which indicates the presence of future tense in the language as in other Tharu varieties like Dangaura, Chitoniya, and Kochila (Saptariya).

As we have noticed, none of the works reviewed here studies the verb morphology of the Dangaura Tharu. So, a need of the linguistic study of different grammatical aspects of the Dangaura Tharu was strongly felt, and it is hoped that this study has satisfied the need to some extent.

## 1.5 Significance of the study

In the present context when there is still a confusion regarding the distinctiveness of the Tharu varieties, the present study will certainly have a great significance. The significance of the present study can be enumerated as follows:

i. This study is the first descriptive study of the Dangauraa Tharu verb morphology, and, therefore, is a great linguistic achievement for the Tharu communities in general and for the Dangaura Tharu in particular.

ii. As this study is the first attempt to present an analytic description of the Dangaura Tharu verb morphology, it will be a great linguistic source for further researches in any of the Tharu varieties,

iii. Verb morphology is one of the core aspects of the grammatical description of a language. Therefore, it will have a great significance for the linguists interested in typological studies,

iv. In the present context when multilingual education system is getting a greater pace, it will certainly be of great importance for the syllabus designers, text book writers, language teachers, and the language learners as well.

v. It is believed that this study will have a great contribution to the promotion, preservation, documentation, and standardization of the Dangaura Tharu language.

## 1.6 Methodology

This study is based on both the primary and secondary resources employed for the collection of the data. Scholarly articles, journals and reference materials were consulted for theoretical discussions. The methodology used for this presentation is described under three different topics: theoretical framework, data collection and management and analysis of the data.

### 1.6.1　Theoretical framework

This thesis has been prepared keeping both the types of readers of grammar: those who are interested in language learning, and the professional linguists who consult grammars to obtain typological or theoretical information (Noonan 2006:353) in consideration. Theoretically, it is a descriptive presentation of Dangaura Tharu verb morphology. Givón (1984, 2001a, 2001b) were taken as the guideline for the overall theoretical concept for the presentation of the verbal morphology, though Timberlake (2007), Comrie (1976, 1985), Dahl (1985), and Payne (1997) were also consulted for specific topics. The consulted texts are referred to at the beginning of the discussion.

### 1.6.2　Data collection and management

The present study is based on both the kinds of texts: elicited and natural, collected from Tulsipur municipality, Ward No. 6, Barwa Gau of the Dang district during my one month's stay in July-August 2070. Although most of the examples are from the natural texts, elicited texts are also used as examples in case the examples from the natural texts are not available. Having recorded the texts, they were transcribed and interlinearized in the Toolbox programme. The collected data were cross-examined before finalizing the analysis.

### 1.6.3　Analysis of the data

Finally, the collected texts, natural and elicited, were analyzed with the help of the Toolbox. The transcribed texts were interlinearized with morpheme breaks, equivalent glosses and free translation in English. The examples are presented in four different lines. The first line is the natural text which is followed by the morpheme breaks in the second line. The third line gives glosses in English and the fourth line contains free translation of the text. Different grammatical features of the language are analyzed with the help of the interlinearized texts in the Toolbox.

### 1.7　Limitations of the study

The present study has concentrated on the morphological structures and inflectional processes exercised to get different forms of the verbs in different tense, aspect, mood and modality. Thus, it has confined within the derivational and inflectional processes in different tense, aspect, mood and modality of the verb in Dangaura Tharu. Although the linguistic area of

the Dangaura Tharu variety extends from Rupandehi to Kanchanpur districts, this study is based on the Tharu spoken in the Tulsipur municipality of the Dang district. The variations found in other speech communities are not taken into consideration.

1. 8.    The outline of the study

This thesis has been organized in six chapters and three appendices. The first chapter as usual is Introduction that introduces the thesis. The second chapter concentrates on verb stems, and the third chapter deals with the tense and aspect system in Danguara Tharu. Mood and modality are discussed in the fourth chapter, and the copula verbs and their functions are described in the fifth chapter. The sixth chapter summarizes thesis and presents the findings of the study.  The copular verb paradigms are given in appendix A, and the appendix B comprises the verb paradigms of different types of verbs. The sample text of Dangaura Tharu is presented in appendix C.

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# CHAPTER 2

# VERB STEMS

2.0.    Outline

This chapter concentrates on the internal structure of the verb stems and their classification in Dangaura Tharu. It consists mainly of five sections with subsections where required. The first section (2.1) defines verb morphology, whereas the second section (2.2) deals with the phonological shape of the verb stems. The sections (2.3) and (2.4) discuss the verbal constellation with different structural possibilities and the phonological and morphological structures of the verb stems respectively. Finally, the section (2.5) summarizes the findings of the chapter.

2.1.    Verb morphology

Morphology is a branch of linguistics that studies the word formation process. The main concern of morphology is the study of word formation, how different constituents are organized into a word. According to Haspelmath and Sims (2010:3), "Morphology is the study of the combination of morphemes to yield words". Morphological analysis, therefore, "consists of the identification of parts of words, or more technically, constituents of words. It primarily consists in breaking up words into their parts and establishing the rules that govern the co-occurrence of these parts" (Haspelmath and Sims 2010:3).

Morphology is generally classified into two types: inflectional morphology, the study of inflections, and derivational morphology, the study of word formation. While analyzing the verb morphology we will discuss both of these types of morphology in Dangaura Tharu verbs.

In Dangaura Tharu the verbs are inflected for person, number, gender, tense, aspect and mood. A verb stem, on the basis of its internal structure, can be simple, derivative and complex. A simple stem consists only of the root, whereas a derivative stem contains the root plus affixes. Such verbs are derived from other grammatical categories like adjectives, nouns, verbs, and adverbs. A compound verbal stem, on the other hand, is a root followed by one or more derivational elements. The verbs in Dangaura Tharu are complex in nature. They inflect to

contrast between first, second and third persons, singular and plural numbers and different aspects of different tenses and mood. Similarly, honorificity also plays an important role in determining the form of the verb. In this chapter we will analyze this complexity in Dangaura Tharu verb with examples along with the canonical shape and verbal constellation.

2.2     Verb stems: Phonological shape

The phonological shape of the verb stem is generally presented in canonical shape. The Danguara Tharu verb stem in its simple form is commonly monosyllabic and has the phonological shape CVC. It has only a few verbs that begin with vowel sounds.

(i)     CV:

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ga-* | 'to sing' | *kʰa-* | 'to eat' |
| *pi-* | 'to drink' | *ja-* | 'to go' |
| *de-* | 'to give' | *rui-* | 'to weep' |
| *mu-* | 'to die' | | |

(ii)    CVC:

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| *bin-* | 'to weave' | *bʰeṭ* | 'to meet' |
| *bur-* | 'to drown' | *bʰuj-* | 'to roast' |
| *ḍyakʰ-* | 'to see' | *kor-* | 'to dig' |
| *pʰar-* | 'to chop' | *pucʰ-* | 'to ask' |
| *puh-* | 'to flow' | *sʌr* | 'to rot' |
| *sikʰ-* | 'to learn' | *suṭ* | 'sleep' |
| *syak* | 'be able to' | *sut-* | 'to sleep' |

(iii)   CVCV:

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| *bʌṭa-* | 'to tell' | *hera-* | 'to lose' |
| *gira-* | 'to make something fall' | *kʌra-* | 'to make one do' |
| *kʰʌsa-* | 'drop' | *kʰʌwa-* | 'to feed' |
| *lʌga-* | 'to plant' | *lʌha-* | 'to bathe' |
| *sikʰa-* | 'to make one learn' | | |

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(iv)    CVCVC:

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| *bʌḍʌl-* | 'to change' | *bʌhar-* | 'to sweep' |
| *jʰʌgʌr-* | 'fight / quarrel' | *nikʌr-* | 'to come out' |
| *nikar-* | 'to bring out' | *nihur-* | 'to stoop' |
| *pʌkʌr-* | 'to catch' | | |

(v)    CVCCV:

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| *cʰaḍḍe-* | 'to dismiss' | *jʌrma-* | 'to give birth to' |
| *kʌrḍe* | 'to do for others' | | |

(vi)    CVCVCV:

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| *kʰʌsaḍe-* | 'to drop for others' | *giraḍe-* | 'to drop for others' |
| *sunaḍe-* | 'to tell' | *ḍekʰaḍe-* | 'to show' |

(vii)    VC:

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| *an-* | 'to bring' | *ũgʰ-* | 'to doz' |
| *uʈʰ-* | 'to stand' | | |

(viii)    VCC:

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| *upʰʌr-* | 'to jump' | *ukʰʌr* | 'to come off' |

2.3    Verbal constellation

The stem and other grammatical features like tense, aspect and concord are the constituents that enter into the verb category. The internal configuration of Dangaura Tharu verbal constellation is presented below.

Formulation:

V (NEG) STEM ((+ ASPECT+BE) +TENSE) + CONCORD.

In this structure of verb phrase, we can see that NEG, ASPECT, BE and TENSE are all optional and only the STEM and CONCORD are obligatory. The summary of the Verb Phrase can be extended as follows:

1.    NEG +STEM+ ASPECT + TENSE+ CONCORD

(1)    a.    *hʌmrʌ kʌlwa ni kʰaiʈi*

             hʌmrʌ  kʌlwa  ni       kʰa -ʈ -i

             1PL     lunch  NEG    eat -PRS -1PL

             'We are not having lunch.'         (ELCTD_ PG.429)

2.     STEM + ASPECT + BE + TENSE + CONCORD

(2)    a.    *hʌmrʌ kʌlwa kʰʌiʈi baʈi*

             hʌmrʌ  kʌlwa  kʰa -ʈi      ba -ʈ -i

             1PL     lunch  eat -PROG  be -PRS -1PL

             'We are having lunch.'      (ELCTD_ PG.428)

3.     NEG + STEM + TENSE + CONCORD

(3)    a.    *mʌhihʌnʌ ɖʰʌrʈʰa ki ni ɖʰʌrʈʰa?*

             mʌi    -hi     -hʌnʌ  ɖʰʌr -ʈʰ -a         ki     ni     ɖʰʌr -ʈʰ -a

             1SG   -EMPH  -ACC   keep -PRS -3SG.NH   or    NEG    keep -PRS -3SG.NH

             'Whether he will keep me (with him) or not...'      (FR_YRC.130)

4.     STEM + TENSE + CONCORD

(4)    a.    *sʌŋʰari mʌhihʌnʌ bʌhuʈ sʌhʌyog kʌrlo*

             sʌŋʰari mʌi -hʌnʌ bʌhuʈ  sʌhʌyog   kʌr -l  -o

             friend  1SG -ACC  very   help       do -PST -2PL.MH

             'Friend, you helped me a lot.'      (CJ_DLC.037)

5.     NEG + STEM + CONCORD

(5)    a.    *nahĩ sʌsurʌwa jin suʈo*

             nahĩ   sʌsurʌwa     jin     suʈ -o

             NEG   father-in-law  PROH   sleep -IMP

             'No, father-in-law, do not sleep.'      (FR_YRC.116)

6.     STEM + CONCORD

(6)     a.     *u apʌn kʰʌina uca ekkʌ gʰʌri kʰʌsaḍeho ṭʌrʌ*

| u | apʌn | kʰai -na | uca | ek -kʌ | gʰʌri | kʰʌsa - ḍe -ho | ṭʌrʌ |
|---|------|----------|-----|--------|-------|----------------|------|
| that | REFL | eat -INF | thing | one -EMPH | moment | drop - give -IMP | down |

'Please drop down the thing that you are eating for a moment.'     (CJ_DLC.010)

In the examples (1-6) we have different structures of the verb phrase. In (1), the verb phrase *ni kʰaiṭi* comprises *ni*, a negative marker, *kʰa*, a stem, *-ṭ*, tense and aspect marker, and *-i*, a concord marker indicating first person plural concord. Similarly, in (2), the verb phrase *kʰʌiṭi baṭi* consists of *kʰa*, a stem, *-ṭi*, a progressive marker*, ba*, 'be', *-ṭ*, a tense marker and *-i*, a concord marker. The verb phrase in (3) *ni ḍʰʌrṭʰa* is made of a negativisor *ni*, a stem *ḍʰʌr*, a tense marker -*ṭʰ*, and a concord marker *-a* indicating an agreement with a third person singular non-honorific subject. In the example (4), the verb phrase *kʌrlo* is comprised of a stem *kʌr-*, a tense marker - *l* and a second person mid-honorific concord marker *-o*. The verb phrase in (5) *jin suṭo* comprises a negative morpheme *jin*, a stem *suṭ*, and a concord marker *-o*. Finally, the verb phrase *kʰʌsaḍeho* is composed of a compound stem- *kʰʌsaḍe* to which the concord *-ho* is affixed.

Thus we notice that the verb phrase in Dangaura Tharu has differernt six internal structures in which the negative morpheme, which is optional, always holds the first position, and the second position is always occupied by the stem, an obligatory element of the verb phrase. The stem is always followed by aspectual or modal suffixes and the concord marker always holds the final position of the verb phrase.

2.4     Structural classification of the verb stem

The structural pattern of the verbs in Dangaura Tharu can be studied under two categories:

2.4.1   Phonological classification

Based on the morphological behavior during the inflectional processes verb stems in Dangaura Tharu can be classified into two types: vowel final stems and consonant final stems. As it can be seen in Chitoniya Tharu, the consonant final stems do not undergo much morphophonemic alternations during the inflectional processes, as illustrated in (8a-b), whereas the vowel final stems get more modifications in the process, especially the *a -ending* verb stems,

as illustrated in (9a-b). Dangaura Tharu has much more consonant final stems than the vowel final ones. Most of the *a-ending* stems in the following list are the causative stems which are derived by adding the causative marker *-a* to the base form. Some of the verb stems, consonant as well as vowel final ones, are listed in (7) and illustrated in (8) and (9).

(7)   a.   Vowel final stems

| *bʌta-* | 'to tell' | *ga-* | 'to sing' |
| *hera-* | 'to lose' | *ja-* | 'to go' |
| *kʰa* | 'to eat' | *mu* | 'die' |
| *pi-* | 'to drink' | *rui-* | 'to cry |

   b.   Derived vowel final stems

| *bʌna-* | 'to make' | *cʌla-* | 'to drive' |
| *jʌrma-* | 'to bear' | *kʰʌwa-* | 'to feed' |
| *lʌga-* | 'to wear, to plant' | *pʌrʰa-* | 'to teach' |
| *pʌka* | 'to cook' | *pʌsʌra-* | 'to spread' |
| *pʌṭʰa-* | 'to send' | *sukʰa-* | 'to make dry' |
| *sikʰa* | 'to make someone learn' | | |

   c.   Consonant final stems

| *bʌhar-* | 'to sweep' | *bin-* | 'to weave' |
| *bisʌr-/ bʰul* | 'to forget' | *bur-* | 'to drown' |
| *ḍʰʌr-* | 'to put' | *ḍʌur-* | 'to run' |
| *gir-* | 'to fall' | *jʌg-* | 'to wake up' |
| *kʰwaj* | 'to search' | *mar-* | 'to beat/ kill' |
| *nyaŋ* | 'to walk' | *kʌh-* | 'to say' |
| *kʌr-* | 'to do' | *kor-* | 'to dig' |
| *pis-* | 'to grind' | *sikʰ-* | 'to learn' |
| *ṭur-* | 'to break / pluck' | *uṭʰ-* | 'to stand' |

(8)   a.   *uhi ḍin nãc pʰen hʌmrʌ kʌrṭʰi*

u  -hi        ḍin    nãc      pʰen  hʌmrʌ  kʌr -ṭʰ -i

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG -EMPH | day | dancing also | 1PL | do -PRS -1PL | |

'On the same day, we perform dancing also.'    (TNY_YRC.046.074)

b.  *mʌi apʌn kʌʈʰahʌnʌ yahã ʌnʈyʌ kʌrʈʰu ɖʰʌnyʌbaɖ*

| mʌi | apʌn | kʌʈʰa -hʌnʌ | yahã | ʌnʈyʌ | kʌr -ʈʰ -ũ | ɖʰʌnyʌbaɖ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | REFL | story -ACC | here | ending | do -PRS -1SG, | thanks |

'I finish my story here. Thank you.'    (CJ_DLC.044)

(9)   a.  *yi kʰir bʰaʈ mʌi kʰʌibũ*

| yi | kʰir | bʰaʈ | mʌi | kʰa -b -ũ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| this | rice pudding | rice | 1SG | eat -FUT -1SG |

'I will eat this rice and pudding.'    (FR_YRC.073)

b.  *ʈʌ ab jʌiʈi rʌlʌ wosʈʌhə̃ lʌihʌr*

| ʈʌ | ab | ja -ʈi | rʌh | -l | -ʌ | wosʈʌhə̃ | lʌihʌr |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PRT | now | go -PROG | remain | -PST | -3PL.NH | like that | parental home |

'Now they were going to her parental home.'    (FR_YRC.061)

As stated above, the consonant final stem *kʌr* in *kʌrʈʰi* and *kʌrʈʰũ* (8a-b) remains unchanged during the inflectional process, whereas the vowel final stem *kʰa* and *ja* in (9a-b) undergo morphophonemic modifications while deriving the finite forms *kʰʌibũ* and *jʌiʈi rʌlʌ*. However, it is only the *a*-ending stems that get such modifications. Other stems ending with the front high and mid high vowels like *i* and *e* do not get such modifications, as given in (10a-b).

(10)   a.  *uhorse hʌmrʌ ʈʰaru mʌnʌi ʌnnʌ ɖan ɖeʈʰi*

| uhorse | hʌmrʌ | ʈʰaru | mʌnʌi | ʌnnʌ | ɖan | ɖe -ʈʰ -i |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| therefore | 1PL | Tharu | man | grains | donation | give -PRS -1PL |

'That's why we Tharus donate grains.'    (TNY_YRC.046.064)

b.  *magʰʌk ɖinse gʰamʌk jʌrʌm leʈʰa*

| magʰ -ʌk | ɖin -se | gʰam -ʌk | jʌrʌm | le -ʈʰ -a |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Magh -GEN day -ABL   sun -GEN   birth    take -PRS -3SG.NH

'Heat is born on the day of Magh.      (TNY_YRC.046.007)

In the examples (10a-b) the roots  *ḍe* in *ḍeṭʰi* 'give -PRS  -1PL' and *le* in *leṭʰa* 'take -PRS -3SG.NH' do not undergo any modifications during the inflectional process.

### 2.4.2   Morphological classification

Based on the internal morphological structure, Dangaura Tharu exhibits three types of verb stems: simple, derived, and compound.

i.      Simple stems

Simple stems are comprised of single roots. The citation form of all the types of verbs in Dangaura Tharu ends with *-na,* which also forms an infinitival form of the verb. The remaining part after removing the infinitival suffix is the root. Most of the simple stems in Dangaura Tharu are monosyllabic. The simple verb stems are listed in (11).

| (11) | Infinitival form | Gloss | Verb Stem | Infinitival form | Gloss | Verb Stem |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *kʌrna* | 'to do' | *kʌr-* | *dʰʌrna* | 'to catch' | *dʰʌr-* |
| | *piṭna* | 'to beat' | *piṭ-* | *huina* | 'to be' | *hui-* |
| | *ruina* | 'to weep' | *rui-* | *pʌrʰna* | 'to read' | *pʌrʰ-* |
| | *pʌrna* | 'to have to' | *pʌr-* | *pucʰna* | 'to ask' | *pucʰ-* |
| | *sikʰna* | 'to learn' | *sikʰ-* | *ṭurna* | 'to break/pluck' | *ṭur-* |

ii.     Derived stems

Dangaura Tharu verbal stems may also be derived from nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs. The stems derived from verb are mostly the causative forms which are discussed under a separate title 'causative stems' below. Some of the derived stems are listed in (12).

(12)    a.      Verbs derived from nouns

| | Noun | gloss | derived stem | | finite forms | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *baṭ* | 'a talk' | *bʌta-* 'to tell' | | *bʌṭoilʌs* | ((FR_YRC.091) |

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b.      Verbs derived from adjectives

        Adjective      gloss          derived stem

        *sukʰa*            'dry'            *sukʰa-* 'make dry'

Some of the derived verbs are illustrated in (13a-b).

(13)   a.      *ṭʌĩ ka bʌṭoilya aj?*

        ṭʌĩ        ka      bʌṭa -l   -ya            aj

        2SG.NH   what  say   -PST -2SG.NH      today

        'What did you say today?'              (FR_YRC.091)

        b.      *u gʌmcʰase bʰuṭla sukʰʌiṭi ba*

        u        gʌmcʰa -se      bʰuṭla sukʰ          -a      -ṭi          ba

        3SG     towel -INST      hair    become dry -CAUS -PROG      be -PRS -3SG

        'She is drying her hair with a towel.'  (ELCTD_ PG.215)

iii.    Causative stems

        As in Chitoniya Tharu, Dangaura Tharu causative stems are formed by affixing a causative marker *-a* to the stem. Some of the causative stems are listed in (14). The causative stems get morphophonological permutations before adding inflectional suffixes. The differences can be noticed in the pairs of sentences in (15a-b) and (15c-d).

(14)          Root            gloss           causative stem          gloss

              *pʌrʰ*            'to read'       *pʌrʰa*                   'to teach'

              *kʌr*             'to do'         *kʌra*                    'to make others do'

              *gir*             'to fall'       *gira*                    'to make something fall'

              *kʰa-*            'to eat'        *kʰʌwa-*                  'to feed'

(15)   a.      *ṭʌ oṭṭʰʌhə̃ hũkrʌ baṭciṭ kʌrlʌ*

              ṭʌ        oṭṭʰe -hə̃          hũkrʌ baṭ - ciṭ          kʌr -l  -ʌ

              PRT     there -EMPH    3PL    talk - EXPR      do   -PST -3PL.NH

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'They talked at the same place.'        (FR_MRC.022)

b.    *u rʌjwa ḍosrʌ pʰe ab apʌn ṭʰaũk sʌkku mʌnʌin jʌmma kʌrʌilʌ*

| u | rʌjwa | ḍosrʌ | pʰe | ab | apʌn | ṭʰaũ -k | sʌkku | mʌnʌi -n |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG | king | after that | also | now | REFL | place -GEN | all | man -ACC |

| *jʌmma* | *kʌr -a -l -ʌ* |
|---|---|
| gathering | do -CAUS -PST -3PL.NH |

'Then the king assembled all the people of his palace.'        (SR_PRC.025)

c.    *ṭʌ ṭʰik ba kʌrʌm*

| ṭʌ | ṭʰik | ba | kʌr -m |
|---|---|---|---|
| PRT | right | be -PRS -3SG | do -1SG.FUT |

\

'Okay, I will do.'        (FR_MRC.256)

d.    *mʌi hũkʌn homework kʌrʌim*

| mʌi | hũkʌn | homework | kʌr -a -m |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | 3PL.DAT | homework | do -CAUS -1SG.FUT |

'I will make them do (their) homework.'        (ELCTD_ PG.163)

In these examples, we can see that the simple stem *kʌr* in *kʌrlʌ* (15a) and *kʌrʌm* (15c) becomes *kʌrʌi* in *kʌrʌilʌ* (15b) and *kʌrʌim* (15d) during the inflectional process.

iv.    Compound stems

Compound verb stems in Dangaura Tharu are comprised of a noun, adjective or verb plus a verb. Some of the compound verb stems in Dangaura Tharu are listed in (16a-c) and illustrated in (17a-b).

(16)    a.    Noun + verb

| Noun | gloss | verb | gloss | compound stem | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *sʌllah* | 'suggestion' | *ḍe'* | 'to give' = | *sʌllahʌde* | 'suggest' |
| *ḍʰyan* | 'attention' | *ḍe* | 'to give' = | *ḍʰyanḍe* | 'pay attention' |

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|       |        |        |           |         |                |                     |
|-------|--------|--------|-----------|---------|----------------|---------------------|
| *biswas* | 'belief' | *kʌr* | 'to do' = | *biswaskʌr* | 'believe' |

(b)    Verb + Verb

| *kʰʌsa* | 'to drop' | *ḍe* | 'to give' = | *kʰʌsaḍe-* | 'to drop for others' |
| *cʌl* | 'to move' | *ja* | 'to go' = | *cʌlagilʌs* | 'go -PST -3SG.NH' |
| *a* | 'to come' | *ja* | 'to go' = | *agilʌs* | 'come - PST -3SG.NH' |
| *pʌkʌr* | 'to catch' | *le* | 'to take' = | *pʌkʌrle-* | 'to catch' |

(c)    Adjective + Verb

| *mʌja* | 'good' | *man* | 'to feel' = | *mʌjaman-* | 'to feel good' |
| *nʌmma* | 'long' | *hui* | 'to be' = | *nʌmmahui-* | 'to be long' |
| *sugʰʌr* | 'clean' | *kʌr* | 'to do' = | *sugʰʌr kʌr-* | 'to clean' |

(17)  a.  *mʌhihʌnʌ ṭʰʌrwa mʌja mʌnṭʰa ki ni mʌnṭʰa*

mʌi -hʌnʌ  ṭʰʌrwa      mʌja  mʌn -ṭʰ -a          ki    ni    mʌn -ṭʰ -a

1SG -ACC   husband   good   feel -PRS -3SG.NH   or   NEG   feel -PRS -3SG.NH

'Whether my husband will feel comfortable with me or not'.          (FR_YRC.129)

b.  *ḍusra u bʌgʰwa u cʌṭuryai giḍrʌhʌnʌ pʌkʌrlelis*

ḍusra   u     bʌgʰwa   u        cʌṭuryai  giḍra -hʌnʌ   pʌkʌr -le -l -is

then   3SG   tiger       3SG     clever    jackal -DAT   catch -take -PST -3SG.NH

'Then the tiger caught the clever jackal.'       (CJ_DLC.028)

Thus we notice that Dangaura Tharu exhibits simple, derived, and compound verbal stems.

## 2.5    Summary

We have discussed the internal phonological as well as morphological structures of the verb stems in Dangaura Tharu in this chapter. We have noticed that Dangaura Tharu verb stems have eight different phonological shapes and that there are only a few verbs stems that have a vowel sound in the initial position. Based on the verbal constellation, it has six types of verb

phrase structures which we have discussed with examples. As usual Dangaura Tharu has vowel as well as consonant final stems. Although it seems to be quite simple and so obvious, the classification is of significance because of the morphophonological alterations that are caused by the final sound of the verb stems. The vowel final verb stems undergo considerable morphophonological alterations during the inflectional processes, whereas consonant final ones do not. Finally, we have also seen that Dangaura Tharu verb stems can be simple, compound and derived.

◈

# CHAPTER 3

# TENSE AND ASPECT

## 3.0    Outline

This chapter fully concentrates on tense and aspect system in Dangaura Tharu. It has been organized in three main sections. The first section (3.1) discusses the tense system, where (3.1.1) discusses the present tense, (3.1.2) the past tense, and (3.1.3) the future tense. The next section (3.2) is devoted to the aspect system in this language. The subsections (3.2.1) through (3.2.6) discuss different types of aspectual patterns attested in the language. Finally, the section (3.3) summarizes the findings of the discussion in this chapter.

## 3.1    Tense

Tense is the relation between sequences of events expressed by the verb and our concept of time. For Timberlake (2007:283), tense is a "deictic operation that locates events and their contextual occasion with respect to the here and now of the speech." Bhat (1999:13) considers the tense marking suffixes as tense. He states that "tense is an inflectional marker of the verb used for denoting the temporal location of an event (or situation)." Thus, tense is the grammatical form that indicates whether the action took place prior to the moment of utterance (past tense), is contemporaneous with it (present tense), or subsequent to it (future tense).

The most common tense system in most of the NIA languages is past, present and future (Masica 1991:279). Dangaura Tharu follows the most common NIA system with three tenses exhibiting distinct verb forms to indicate the actions taking place in different temporal situations.

## 3.1.1    Present tense

The present tense is realized in Dangaura Tharu in the form of present markers. The present tense markers are -ṭ-, an alveolar voiceless stop, and- ṭʰ, an alveolar voiceless aspirated stop, which are affixed to the verb root before the inflectional suffixes are attached. The tense marker -ṭ is always used with the copular verb 'be', which has two forms: *ba* and *hui,* whereas the -ṭʰ, is used with other lexical verbs as illustrated in (1a-c). The inflectional suffixes *-ũ, -i, -o, -ya,* -ʌ are almost the same in all the tenses and are determined by the number, person, and

honorificity of the argument in the subject position.

(1)  a.  *jʌṭrʌ pʰe priṭʰvi bʰʌr bʌnsuʌr baṭo ao*

jʌṭrʌ pʰe       priṭʰvi bʰʌr   bʌnsuʌr   ba -ṭ -o          a  -o

as much as     earth   fill up  wild pig   be - PRS -2PL.MH   come -IMP

'Come, as many wild pigs there are in this earth, come.'     (FR_MRC.285)

  b.  *hʌ̃ mʌi huiṭũ*

hʌ̃        mʌi     hui -ṭ -ũ

yes      1SG     be -PRS -1SG

'Yes, I am.'              (FR_MRC.237)

  c.  *kaṭ mar hʌmrʌ nʌi kʌrṭʰi hʌmrʌ*

kaṭ      mar      hʌmrʌ nʌi      kʌr -ṭʰ -i       hʌmrʌ

cut      kill      1PL      NEG     do -PRS -1PL   1PL

'We do not sacrifice animals (lit. do cutting and killing).'     (TNY_YRC.046.043)

In these examples, we notice that in the verbs *baṭo* 'be -PRS -2PL.MH ' and *huiṭũ* 'be -PRS -1SG' in (18a-b), the tense marker is *ṭ,* whereas *ṭʰ* is used as present marker in *kʌrṭʰi* 'do -PRS -1PL' (18C).

A noticeable point in Dangaura Tharu is that it has three levels of honorificity in the second person: Non-Hon, Mid-Hon, and Hon, and two levels of honorificity in the third person: Non-Hon and Hon. As in many of the Indo-Aryan languages, plurality goes with the honorificity even in Dangaura Tharu. The first person plural form is used for second person honorific singular subject and the second person non-honorific plural form is used for mid-honorific singular subject. The examples in (2a-c) illustrate the situation. However, the non-honorific singular verbs have distinct forms in both second (2a) and third person (2d).

(2)  a.  *ṭʌ̃ nʌi lehʌṭʰya ṭʌ cʰawa ab ka kʌrna ho*

ṭʌ̃        nʌi      le -hʌ -ṭʰ -ya      ṭʌ cʰawa ab      ka      kʌr -na      ho

2SG.NH   NEG   take -PRS -2SG.NH   PRT son     now   what   do -INF   be pRS.3SG.NH

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'What can be done if you do not accept, my son?'     (FR_YRC.040)

b.  *kakʌrʌ yi lʌṭra nikarṭʰo?*

ka    kʌr -ʌ    yi   lʌṭra    nikar   -ṭʰ -o

what   do -PURP   this   sandals   take out -PRS  -2PL.MH

'Why do you take off these sandals?'         (FR_YRC.050)

c.  *ʌpnʌ ṭʌ ḍerakʌ bʰagʌs kʌrṭʰi?*

ʌpnʌ            ṭʌ    ḍera -kʌ      bʰag   -s         kʌr -ṭʰ -i

2SG.HON         PRT    be afraid -SEQ run away -PROB   do  -PRS -1PL

'You seem to be running away being afraid.'         (CJ_DLC.016)

d.  *ḍusrʌ u bʌgʰwa u cʌṭuryai giḍrʌhʌnʌ pʌkʌrlelis*

ḍusrʌ  u    bʌgʰwa  u        cʌṭuryai giḍra -hʌnʌ    pʌkʌr -le -l  -is

then   that  tiger    that    clever   jackal -ACC   catch -take -PST -3SG.NH

'Then the tiger caught the clever jackal.'     (CJ_DLC.028)

The sentences in (2a-c) illustrate the use of different verb forms in different level of honorificity. The addressee in (2a) is a non-honorific form *ṭʌĩ* '2SG.NH ' and so the verb *lehʌṭʰya* 'take -PRS -2SG.NH' contains the non-honorific suffix *-ya.* Similarly, the use of mid-honorific suffix *-o* in *nikarṭʰo* 'take out -PRS -2PL.MH'  shows that the addressee in (2b) is understood to be *ṭũ*, a mid-honorific second person singular pronoun. Likewise, the subjects *ʌpnʌ* '2SG.HON' (2c) and *u bʌgʰwa* 'that tiger' (2d) take different forms of verbs like *kʌrṭʰi* 'do -PRS -1PL' and *pʌkʌrlelis'*catch -take -PST -3SG.NH' respectively.

3.1.2   The past tense

Even in the past tense, Dangaura Tharu has two distinct tense markers *-n*, in the first person singular, and *-l* elsewhere. The tense markers, *-n* and *-l*, are directly attached to the verb root before the inflectional affixes are applied, as illustrated in (3a-b).

(3)   a.   *mʌi ṭʌ ʌisin ʌisin kammʌ ʌinũ*

mʌi   ṭʌ     ʌisin   ʌisin    kam -mʌ   a  -n  -ũ

|  | 1SG | PRT | like this REDUP | work -LOC | come -PST -1SG |

'I came for such a work.'     (FR_MRC.190)

b.   *hʌmʌn sʌhʌyog kʌrlo*

hʌmrʌ -hʌnʌ     sʌhʌyog     kʌr -l   -o

1PL -DAT         help         do   -PST -2PL.MH

'You helped us.'     (FR_MRC.121)

c.   *ʈʌĩ ka kʌhʌlya pʌʈohiya?*

ʈʌĩ       ka       kʌh -l   -ya         pʌʈohiya

2SG.NH what     say -PST -2SG.NH   daughter-in-law

'What did you say daughter-in-law?'     (FR_YRC.085)

In the example (3a), the verb *ʌinũ* ' come-PST -1SG' is comprised of a past marker -*n* because the subject is the first person singular pronoun, whereas in (3b-c), the verbs *kʌrlo* 'do -PST -2PL.MH' and *kʌhʌlya* 'say-PST -2SG.NH' contain the past marker -*l* because the subjects in these sentences are other than the first person singular.

A special feature of infixing is noticed in the past form of the copular verb *rʌh* 'remain' in this language. The tense markers -*l* or -*n* is infixed before the final consonant before the inflectional affixes are applied. Thus, the stem for the inflections is -*rʌlʌh,* or *rʌnʌh.* The examples are given in (4a-d).[3]

(4)   a.   *mʌi ʈwar babak hʌr kucʰ ɖinʌk lag lel rʌnũ*

mʌi ʈwar     baba -k     hʌr     kucʰ ɖin -ʌk     lag le -l     rʌh -n -ũ

1SG 2SG.GEN father -GEN plough some day-GEN  for take -PRF  remain-PST-1SG

'I took your father's plough for a few days.'     (ELCTD_ PG.241)

b.   *hʌmrʌ yi kammʌ a rʌli*

hʌmrʌ yi     kam -mʌ     a       rʌh -l -i

1PL     this     work -LOC     come   remain -PST -1PL

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[3] See (Paudyal 2067 V.S.) for details.

'We had come for this purpose.'        (FR_MRC.169)

c.      *uhinʌ ʈʌ sʌkku cij sʌmʌsya rʌlʌs*

u -hʌnʌ   ʈʌ    sʌkku   cij    sʌmʌsya   rʌh -l   -ʌs

3SG -DAT  PRT   all     thing  problem   remain -PST -3SG

'She had problems of everything.'      (FR_YRC.127)

d.      *ʈʌ ḍosrʌ pʰer jaiʈ rʌlʌhʌ*

ʈʌ       ḍosrʌ        pʰer   ja -ʈi      rʌh -l  -hʌ

PRT     after that    also   go -PROG    remain -PRF -3PL.NH

'Then he was going again.'      (FR_MRC.126)

The examples in (4a-d) illustrate that the final consonant of the verb *rʌh* 'remain' can be optionally omitted, as it is omitted in the examples (4a-c) but retained in (4d).

### 3.1.3   The future tense

Masica (1991:88-91) discusses several future markers -g-, -l-, -b-, -h-, -in the NIA languages.[4] As in many of the NIA languages, many future markers coexist in Dangaura Tharu. It employs *-m-* in the first person singular (optional), *-h-* in the third person, and *-b-* elsewhere, which are attached to the root before inflecting other suffixes.[5] The personal suffixes are affixed to the stem consisting of the root plus tense marker, as illustrated in (5a-b).

(5)     a.      *kʌisin baʈ kʌrʌ sekbo?*

kʌisin baʈ    kʌr -ʌ      sek    -b -o

how    talk   do -PURP    be able to -FUT -2PL.MH

'How will you be able to talk (to her)?'        (FR_MRC.175)

b.      *ʈũhin pʰe kʰʌibũ*

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[4] "The *-g-* Future is confined to Hindi and Punjabi, and associated dialects (Braj, Hariynvi, Bundeli, Dogri) and some forms of Eastern Rajasthani. ...The *-l-* Future is more widely spread (Marathi- Konkani, Rajasthani, Nepali, most of Central and West Pahari) and more problematic". The *-b-* Future "prevails in the Eastern languages and reaches as far as Awadhi" (Masica 1991:288).
[5] Masica (1991:289) considers that the future marker *-b-,* which is found in many of the NIA languages like Marwari, Bhili, Bundeli, Braj, Awadhi, Bhojpuri and Maithili, is the descent of the OIA future passive 'participle of obligation' or gerundive *tʌbya*, and the *-h-* as the representation of the OIA Future marker -s- or -S.

ʈũ -hʌnʌ    pʰe    kʰa -b -ũ

2SG.MH -DAT  also    eat -FUT -1SG

'I will eat you too.'    (FR_MRC.145)

c.    *u kalʰ bʌjar jʌihi*

u        kalʰ        bʌjar        ja -h -i

3SG      tomorrow    market       go -FUT -3SG.NH

'He will go to market tomorrow.'    (ELCTD_ PG.442)

d.    *u rʌjwa pʰe kʌlʌ rʌhʌ ki jʌhã saʈ bʌhina huihĩ wahãse bʰwaj kʌrʌibũ*

u        rʌjwa  pʰe    kʌh -lʌ        rʌh -ʌ                ki

that     king   also   say -PRF       remain -3SG.NH        that

jʌhã     saʈ    bʌhini hui -h -ĩ      wahã -se   bʰwaj   kʌr -a -b -ũ

where    seven  sister be -FUT -3PL   there -ABL marriage do -CAUS -FUT -1SG

'That king had also said that where there are seven sisters he would marry his sons with them.'    (FR_MRC.009)

Both *b*-future and *h*-future are used in these examples. We see that in the verbs like *sekbo* 'be able to -FUT -2SG.MH' (5a), *kʰʌibũ* 'eat -FUT -1SG' (5b), and *kʌrʌibũ* 'do -CAUS -FUT -1SG' (5d) use *b*-future, whereas the verbs like *jʌihi* 'go -FUT -3SG.NON.HON' (5C) and *huihĩ* 'be -FUT -3PL' (5d) use *h*-future because they agree with the third person subjects in these sentences.

However, with the first person singular subject, a different inflectional suffix -*m* is optionally used. It is mutually exclusive with the regular vocalic suffix- *ũ*. The suffixes differ in that the vocalic suffix is attached to the stem consisting of the root plus tense marker, whereas the consonantal suffix is inclusive of both the tense and person marker and is appended directly to the root. Thus, in the first person singular, we have two alternative forms, as illustrated in (6).

(6)    a.    *yi kʰir bʰaʈ mʌi kʰʌibũ*

yi       kʰir           bʰaʈ     mʌi    kʰa -b -ũ

this     rice pudding   rice     1SG    eat -FUT -1SG

'I will eat the rice and pudding.'        (FR_YRC.073)

b.    *baba mʌi ʈʌ yi ʈwar pʌʈohiya mʌi nʌi lem*

baba   mʌi   ʈʌ   yi   ʈwar   pʌʈohiya         mʌi   nʌi   le -m

father   1SG   PRT   this   2SG.GEN   daughter-in-law   1SG   NEG   take - FUT.1SG

'Father, I will not accept this daughter-in- law of yours.'    (FR_YRC.034)

Besides, the third person verbs inflect differently from the regular inflections. A non-nasalized high front vowel -*i* is used in non-honorific singular form, whereas a nasalized one is used in honorific forms irrespective of the number, as in (7).

(7)    a.    *u kalʰ bʌjar jʌihĩ*

u       kalʰ         bʌjar     ja -h  -ĩ

3SG    tomorrow   market    go -FUT -3SG.Hon

'He will go to market tomorrow.'              (ELCTD_ PG.441)

b.    *u kalʰ bʌjar jʌihi*

u       kalʰ         bʌjar     ja -h  -i

3SG    yesterday   market    go -FUT -3SG.NH

'He will go to market tomorrow.'       (ELCTD_ PG.442)

The difference between the singular non-honorific form and the singular honorific and plural forms is indicated by the presence or absence of the nasalization on the personal suffix- *i* as exemplified in (7a-b).

Thus, in the discussion, we have observed that the Dangaura Tharu has three tenses with distinct tense markers in each tense. The copula verbs in the present tense take a tense marker -*ʈ*, whereas other lexical verbs take -*ʈʰ*. Similarly, there are two tense markers -*l*, and -*n* in the past tense too. The first person singular verb takes the marker -*n,* and the rest take -*l*. We have two markers in the future as well: *h* in the third person, and -*b* elsewhere. The concord markers are the same in all tenses except in third person future tense.

3.2     Aspect

Aspect is one of the inherent categories of the verb. In the most general sense, aspect is concerned with the relationship between the states of the world and the time within a single event. According to Comrie (1976:3), "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of  a situation", and according to Bhat (1999:43),  it is "a temporal structure of an event, i.e. the way in which the event occurs in time (on going or completed, beginning, comtinuing or ending, iterative or semelfactive, etc.)."[6] Payne (1997:238-43) discusses eleven types of aspects that may be attested in a language, whereas Timberlake (2007:287) states "much of what is called aspect can be described in terms of four operators: progressive, iterative, perfect, and perfective."

Dangaura Tharu has a very complex aspectual system. Following Comrie (1976), Dahl (1985), Payne (1997), (Givón 2001) and Timberlake (2007), the aspectual system in the Dangaura Tharu is discussed in this section.

3.2.1   Imperfective aspect

In the imperfective aspect, the situation is viewed from 'inside' as an ongoing process (Bhat 1999:45-6; Payne 1997:239). The imperfective aspect is classified into two subtypes: Habitual and Progressive (Givón 2001:289; Comrie 1976:25), which are dealt with here separately.[7]

i.      Habitual

For Givón (2001:286) the habitual aspect is "an event or state that either occurs always or repeatedly, or whose event time is left unspecified", and for Comrie (1976:39) it is "a habit, a characteristic situation that holds at all times". Dangaura Tharu exhibits no specific morphological structures for the habitual actions in the present[8]. As in many of the world languages (Comrie 1985:39), the present form of the verb is used to express the present habit, as

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[6] Dahl (1985:69), on the other hand, defines aspect in binary terms and states that "the most important aspects are perfective, imperfective, progressive, and the group of categories treated under the heading 'Habitual and generics''.
[7] Masica (1991:269) points out that "the Habitual/Continuous distinction, which appears to be spreading, is found in Hindi, Nepali, Bhojpuri, Magahi, Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, Eastern Rajasthani, Lamani, Gojri, Braj (optional), Bundeli, Punjabi, a few West Pahari dialects (Kului, Mandeali), Sindhi, and with some qualification, in Assamese".
[8] However, Paudyal (2014:174) notices no habitual morphology in Chitoniya Tharu, one of the Tharu varieties spoken in the Chitwan district of Nepal. It is only the tense marker and the time adverbial that indicate the habitual sense.

in (8a-b), whereas to express the past habit the concord markers are directly attached to the verb root along with the use of past time adverbial in the sentence. In such sentences, no tense marker is used. The examples in (8c-d) illustrate the situation.

(8)  a.  *hũkrʌ pʰʌlpʰul pʰe lʌgiṭʰʌ*

   *hũkrʌ pʰʌlpʰul pʰe lʌgi -ṭʰ -ʌ*

   3PL  fruits  also plant -PRS -3PL.H

   'They grow fruits too.'  (ELCTD_ PG.0113)

  b.  *yi jʌnni mʌnʌiyã mʌnʌin kʰʌiṭa yi ṭʌ*

   *yi  jʌnni mʌnʌiyã mʌnʌi -hʌnʌ kʰa -ṭ -a    yi  ṭʌ*

   this wife man  man -DAT eat -PRS -3SG.NH this  PRT

   'This woman eats a human corpse.' (FR_YRC.024)

  c.  *mʌi cʰoṭim ṭũhin kʰubse piṭũ*

   *mʌi  cʰoṭi -m  ṭũ -hʌnʌ  kʰub -se    piṭ -ũ*

   1SG  small -LOC 2SG.MH -DAT very much -MANN beat -1SG

   'I used to beat you a lot when you were small.' (ELCTD_ PG.446)

  d.  *ṭũ mʌhin cʰoṭim kʰubse gʌriyao*

   *ṭũ   mʌi -n  cʰoṭi -m  kʰub -se    gʌriya -o*

   2SG.MH 1SG -DAT small -LOC very much -MANN scold -2PL.MH

   'You used to scold me a lot when I was small.' (ELCTD_ PG.444)

The verbs *lʌgiṭʰʌ* 'plant -PRS -3PL.H' and *kʰʌiṭa* 'eat -PRS -3SG.NH' in (8a-b) are in the present tense but express habitual meaning. However, the verbs in (8c-d) *piṭũ* 'beat -1SG' and *gʌriyao* 'scold -2PL.MH ' have special morphology where the agreement markers are appended directly to the verb root without using any tense marker, which is specific to habitual past.

ii. Progressive

The progressive aspect refers to an activity in progress. It implies an ongoing dynamic process with the connotation of temporariness and incompleteness. Thus incompleteness and

temporariness are the features of progressive aspect. The progressive aspect in Dangaura Tharu, as in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:201), is attested in all the tenses: present, past and future. The morphological processes of the progressive aspect in different tenses are discussed in the paragraphs to come.

a.    Past progressive

The past progressive indicates an action in progress prior to the time of speaking. It generally locates the state of affairs at a point on the time line prior to the moment of speech or writing. As Dahl (1985:101) states "there is quite a strong tendency for PROG to be marked periphrastically, most often by auxiliary constructions" in many of the world languages, Dangaura Tharu follows the same tendency. The past progressive in Dangaura Tharu is realized in the form of the progressive marker - *ṭi* affixed to the verb root along with the appropriate form of the copular verb *rʌh* 'remain' in the past tense used as an auxiliary.[9] The examples in (9a-b) are illustrative.

(9)    a.    *ṭʌ ab jʌiṭi rʌlʌ wosṭʌhə̃ lʌihʌr*

ṭʌ        ab        ja -ṭi        rʌh -l        -ʌ        wosṭʌhə̃        lʌihʌr

PRT        now        go -PROG        remain -PST -3PL.NH        like that        parental home

'Now they were going to her parental home.'        (FR_YRC.061)

b.    *mwar baba ekṭʰo ḍʰʌkiya binṭi rʌlʌhʌ*

mwar        baba        ek -ṭʰo        ḍʰʌkiya        bin -ṭi        rʌh -l -hʌ

1SG.GEN        father        one -NCLF        basket        weave -PROG        remain -PST -3PL

'My father was weaving a basket.'        (ELCTD_ PG.425)

b.    Present progressive

Present progressive refers to the state of affairs in which "the event itself is occurring at the time of speech" (Givón 2001:352). Dangaura Tharu exhibits a complex morphological process in the present progressive. Present progressive is realized in two different forms: one

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[9] Masica (1991:274) states that there is a tendency in Indo-Aryan languages to use the verb *rʌh* 'remain' with a conjuctive particles to indicate the sense of contiuity. This feature is noticed in Dangaura Tharu in the past and future tenses only.

using the progressive marker -ṭi with the verb root, and the appropriate form of the copula verb that functions as an auxiliary, as in (10a-b), and the other, affixing the non-verbal predicate present tense marker- ṭ[10] to the verb root before applying the inflectional suffixes, as in (11a-b).[11] Thus, the verbs like kʰaiṭũ/kʰaiṭo, kʰaiṭi, kʰaiṭya are derived. The examples are in (10) and (11).

(10)  a.  *mʌi kʌlwa kʰʌiṭi baṭũ*

  mʌi  kʌlwa kʰai -ṭi  ba  -ṭ  -ũ

  1SG  lunch  eat -PROG  be  -PRS  -1SG

  'I am having my lunch.'  (ELCTD_ PG.427)

  b.  *hʌmrʌ kʌlwa kʰʌiṭi baṭi*

  hʌmrʌ kʌlwa kʰa -ṭi  ba -ṭ  -i

  1PL  lunch  eat -PROG  be -PRS -1PL

  'We are having lunch.'  (ELCTD_ PG.428)

(11)  a.  *hʌmrʌ ṭʌ yahã jaiṭi*

  hʌmrʌ ṭʌ  yahã  ja -ṭ -i

  1PL  PRT  here  go -PRS -1PL

  'We are going here (a place).'  (FR_MRC.053)

  b.  *wokʌr gʰʌr jaiṭi kʌhʌl*

  wokʌr  gʰʌr  ja -ṭ -i  kʌh -l

  3SG.GEN  house  go -PRS -1PL  say -PST.3SG.NH

  'We are going to her house, (he) said.'  (FR_MRC.163)

    Thus, present progressive aspect in Dangaura Tharu is realized in two different ways. The examples in (10a-b) illustrate the use of progressive marker along with the auxiliary verb,

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[10] Dangaura Tharu has two tense markers in present: -ṭ, and -ṭʰ. Non-verbal predicates use -ṭ, whereas the verbal predicates use -ṭʰ as a rule. However, the non-verbal present marker -ṭ is used as the progressive marker too in the present tense.
[11] However, present progressive in Chitoniya Tharu is realized in the form of progressive marker- yi affixed to the verb root, followed by a copular verb bʌḍ 'be' functioning as auxiliary (See Paudyal 2014:175).

whereas (11a-b) illustrate that present progressive can be expressed without the use of auxiliary verb. Expressing the progressive aspect without an auxiliary is a unique feature of Dangaura Tharu. A point to be noted here is that the non-verbal predicate present marker -*ʈ* functions as the progressive marker as well, as illustrated in (11a-b).

c.     Future progressive

The progressive aspect in future refers to the state of affairs in progress at a time subsequent to the time of speech or writing. The future progressive in Dangaura Tharu is marked by the progressive form of the verb followed by appropriate form of the copula verb *rʌh* 'remain' in future, which functions as an auxiliary. The examples in (12a-b) are illustrative.

(12)    a.     *mʌi mijʰni kʰʌiʈi rʌhʌm*

mʌi     mijʰni  kʰai -ʈi      rʌh  -m

1SG     snacks  eat -PROG   remain - FUT.1SG

'We will be having snacks.'             (ELCTD_ PG.431)

b.     *hʌmrʌ mijʰni kʰʌiʈi rʌbi*

hʌmrʌ  mijʰni  kʰa -ʈi      rʌh  -b  -i

1PL     snacks  eat -PROG   remain -FUT -1PL

'We will be having snacks.'    (ELCTD_ PG.432)

3.2.2   Perfective

The term 'perfective' contrasts with the term 'imperfective' and denotes a situation viewed in its entirety, without regard to internal temporal constituency (Comrie 1976:12). Dalh (1985:79) states that "a PFV verb will typically denote a single event, seen as an unanalyzed whole, with a well defined result or end state located in the past."[12] Thus, the perfective is the aspect that indicates the completion of an action, and so, is realized in the form of the past tense. The perfetive aspect in Dangaura Tharu, like "in the majority of the cases" (Dahl 1985:139), is expressed morphologically. It is realized in the past form of the verb. The past form is marked

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[12] However, Payne (1997:239) and Timberlake (2007:293) define this aspect on functional basis. According to them, the perfective aspect  "is the aspect of a narrative".

with the past marker *-l*,[13] suffixed to the verb root, which in turn is followed by the inflectional endings agreeing with the person, number and honorificity of the subject.[14] The sentences in (13a-b) illustrate the perfective aspect in Dangaura Tharu.

(13)  a.  *ḍosrʌ u pahar gʌilʌ*

ḍosrʌ      u      pahar    ja -l  -ʌ

after that  that   across   go -PST -3PL.NH

'Then (they) went across (the river).'          (FR_MRC.066)

b.  *wakʌr sʌsurʌwa mʌjase suṭlʌs*

wakʌr       sʌsurʌwa        mʌja -se    suṭ -l  -ʌs

3SG.GEN father-in-law good -ABL  sleep -PST -3SG

'Her father-in-law slept well.'          (FR_YRC.132)

The verbs *gʌilʌ* 'go -PST -3PL.NH ' and *suṭlʌs* 'sleep -PST -3SG' in (13a-b) respectively present the actions of going and sleeping as a 'complete whole' and so they are in perfective aspect.

### 3.2.3   Perfect

Perfect aspect normally describes a currently relevant state brought about by the situation (normally an event) expressed by the verb (Payne 1997:239-40). A prefect situation can be viewed from various contextual occasions. "When the contextual occasion is the time of speech, it is a present perfect. If the contextual occasion is moved into the future or the past, one gets a future perfect or a past perfect (or pluperfect)" (Timberlake 2007:292). In the following paragraphs we discuss the perfect aspect in different tenses in Dangaura Tharu.

a.   Present perfect

The perfect in present describes a situation in which the event/action is complete but has its relation with the moment of speaking. It shows a "relation between present state and past situation" (Comrie 1976:53). The present perfect in Dangaura Tharu is realized in two different forms. One is the form of a complex predicate in which a separate verb *rʌkʰna* 'to put' is used as

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[13] Chitoniya Tharu has a similar tense marker in the past (Paudyal 2011:105).
[14] See (Paudyal 2012) for a detailed discussion on tense in the Dangaura Tharu.

an explicator and inflects according to the person, number, and honorificity of the subject. The explicator is directly compounded with the root of the verb and no morphophonological alterations occur. The examples in (14a-b) illustrate the situation.

(14)   a.   *mʌĩ ṭũhinʌ ekṭʰo sugʰʌr jʰulwa kin rʌkʰnũ*

mʌĩ        ṭũ -hʌnʌ        ek -ṭʰo     sugʰʌr     jʰulwa   kin rʌkʰ -n  -ũ

1SG       2SG.MH -DAT   one -NCLF   beautiful   clothes  buy keep -PST -1SG

'I have bought a beautiful frock for you.'        (ELCTD_ PG.225)

b.   *ʌṭra ḍʰer rupya pʰen lan rʌkʰli*

ʌṭra                    ḍʰer    rupya pʰen    lan    rʌkʰ        -l  -i

this much             much   money also    bring keep   -PST -1PL

'We have brought so much money today also.'              (FR_YRC.136)

In both of these examples we notice the use of the complex predicates *kinrʌkʰnũ* (14a) and *lanrʌkʰli* (14b) which inflect according to the subjects *mʌi* 'I' and *hʌmrʌ* 'we', which is understood contextually in (14b), respectively.

What Dahl (1985:129) says about perfect aspect in natural languages is exactly applicable to Dangaura Tharu.[15] It is expressed periphrastically even in this language. It is realized in the participial form of the main verb followed by a copular verb in present as auxiliary, as Timberlake (2007:292) and Dahl (1985:129) state.[16] The examples in (15a-b) demonstrate how Dangaura Tharu uses the participial form of the main verb followed by a copula verb *ba* 'be' to express present perfect aspect.

(15)   a.   *ṭʌĩ akasse girṭi ṭorʌiyã ḍekʰlʌ baṭya?*

ṭʌĩ            akas -se     gir -ṭi      ṭorʌiyã    ḍekʰ -lʌ        ba -ṭ -ya

2SG.NH     sky -ABL    fall -PROG   star        see   -PRF      be -PRS -2SG.NH

'Have you seen a star falling from the sky?    (ELCTD_ PG.238)

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[15] "Perfect is rather consistently marked periphrastically. Typically constructions involving a copular or some auxiliary together with some past participle or similar form of the verb, are used" (Dahl 1985:129).

[16] In many of the world languages, "perfects are commonly expressed by periphrastic morphology. Perfects develop historically by agglutination of particles like 'already' or from the verbs meaning 'finish' or 'arrive' or the like, or from constructions with auxiliaries and particles or verbal nouns expressing result or possessions" (Timberlake 2007:292; Dahl 1985:129).

b. *sʌkku jʌnʌ milkʌnʌ bʌiṭʰʌl baṭʌ*

    sʌkku  jʌnʌ     mil -kʌnʌ   bʌiṭʰ -ʌl   ba -ṭ -ʌ

    all    NCLF    meet -SEQ   sit -PRF   be -PRS -3PL.NH

    'All of them have lived together.'     (FR_YRC.144)

In both the sentences (15a-b), the main verbs *ḍekʰlʌ* 'see -PRF' and *bʌiṭʰʌl* 'sit -PRF' are in the participial form and are followed by the copula verb *ba* 'be'. To express the present perfect aspect the copula verb is always in present.

b.       Past perfect (Pluperfect)

Past perfect is also known as pluperfect. It is the combination of the perfect aspect and past tense. The effect of this combination is to shift the deictic center form 'now' to some point in the past (Payne 1997:240). This aspect indicates the temporal state of the event that was complete prior to a 'point in the past'. It expresses "a relation between a past state and an even earlier situation" (Comrie 1976:53). The pluperfect aspect in the Dangaura Tharu is really complex. Based on the emphasis the speaker wants to place on, it has three different expressions.

The common form with neutral emphasis is derived by using the participial form of the verb followed by a copula verb *rʌh* 'remain' which carries the agreement features along with the tense marker. In such cases, the copula verb is always in the past tense. It is to be noted that it is the copula verb that distinguishes between the present and past perfect. The examples in (16a-b) illustrate the situation.

(16)   a.     *oḍʰna bicʰʌuna hũkrʌ boklʌ ni rʌlʌhʌ*

            oḍʰna  bicʰʌuna  hũkrʌ   bok -lʌ     ni    rʌh -l -hʌ

            sheet   bed      3PL    carry -PRF   NEG   remain -PST -3PL.NH

            'They had not taken any bedding with them.'     (FR_YRC.111)

   b.     *miṭiŋ ṭʌ bʌlʌilʌ rʌlʌhʌ ṭʌ*

            miṭiŋ     ṭʌ    bʌla -lʌ    rʌh -l -hʌ  ṭʌ

            meeting  PRT  call -PRF   remain -PST -3PL.NH PRT

            '(The king) had summoned a meeting.'    (FR_MRC.215)

In the examples (16a-b), the main verbs *boklʌ* 'carry -PRF' and *bʌlʌilʌ* 'call -PRF' are in participial forms which are followed by the past forms of the copula verb *rʌh* 'remain'.

Another expression emphasizes on the completion of the action. In this case a complex predicate constituting the main verb and an explicator *sek* 'finish' will form a stem to which another explicator *rʌkʰ* 'keep' functioning as an auxiliary is attached. In such cases the main verb either is in its base form, as in (17a) or in the form of sequential converb, as in (17b). Moreover, it is the final explicator that carries the tense and agreement markers. To express the pluperfect aspect, the verb is always in the past tense. The examples are given in (17a-b).

(17)  a.  *mʌi kam kʌrkʌ gʰʌrʌ aiber mwar lʌrka pʌrka suṭsekrʌkʰlʌhʌ*

| *mʌĩ* | *kam* | *kʌr -kʌ* | *gʰʌrʌ* | *a -ber* | *mwar* | *lʌrka pʌrka* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | work | do -SEQ | house | come -DUR | 1SG.GEN | boy REDUP |

*suṭ - sek    -rʌkʰ   -l   -hʌ*
sleep - finish -keep   -PST  -3PL

'When I returned home from work, my children had already slept.' (ELCTD_ PG.154)

b.  *sʌkkujʌ aggʌhẽ bʰaṭ kʰakʌ sekrʌkʰlʌhʌ*

| *sʌkku -jʌ* | *aggʌhẽ* | *bʰaṭ* | *kʰa -kʌ* | *sek* | *rʌkʰ -lʌ -hʌ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| all  -NCLF | already | rice | eat -SEQ | finish | keep  -PRF -3PL |

'All the members had already had their meal.'          (ELCTD_ PG.156)

These examples illustrate two different forms of the verbs: one a complex predicate in which both *sek* and *rʌkʰ* function as explicators (17a), and the other in which the notional main verb *kʰa* 'eat' is used as sequential converb to indicate the completion of the action, and *sek* 'finish' has been used as the grammatical main verb to which *rʌkʰ* 'to keep' is appended as an explicator (17b).

In addition, we have a third expression that emphasizes on the state of affairs that emerges after the completion of the event. It is realized in the participial form of the complex predicate with *sek* 'finish' as an explicator followed by the copula verb *rʌh* 'remain' as an auxiliary carrying the tense and concord markers.[17] The complex predicate in such expressions function as adjectives qualifying the state. The examples in (18a-b) are illustrative.

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[17] In many of the world languages, "perfects are commonly expressed by periphrastic morphology. Perfects develop historically by agglutination of particles like 'already' or from the verbs meaning 'finish' or 'arrive' or the like, or

(18)  a.  *mʌi kʌlwa kʰaseklʌ rʌnʌhũ*

      mʌĩ         kʌlwa      kʰa -sek -lʌ          rʌh -n -ũ

      1SG         lunch       eat -finish -PCPL      remain -PST -1SG

      'I had already taken my lunch.'   (ELCTD_ PG.433)

    b.  *hʌmrʌ kʌlwa kʰaseklʌ rʌlʌhi*

      hʌmrʌ      kʌlwa      kʰa - sek -lʌ       rʌh -l -i

      1PL         lunch       eat - finish -PCPL    remain -PST -1PL

      'We had already taken our lunch.'         (ELCTD_ PG.434)

The expressions presented in (18a-b) indicate the states /situations when the action in the proposition had already taken place. If we take the participial form of the verb as adjective of the state, we can also interpret it as a clause consisting of a nonverbal adjectival predicate in which the copula *rʌh* 'remain' functions as a verb.

c.      Future perfect

The perfect aspect in future refers to the contextual situation when an event or state will be complete before a given time in future. It expresses "a relation between a future state and a situation prior to it" (Comrie 1976:53). In Dangaura Tharu this aspect is also realized in the form of a complex predicate which constitutes three verbs: the main verb with semantic function, a modal verb *sek* 'finish' with aspectual function and an explicator verb *rʌh* 'remain' with the role of an auxiliary verb carrying the tense marker and the inflectional suffixes. The main verb with the modal *sek* is in the participial form. This construction is exactly like the third expression of the pluperfect aspect except the tense marker. The examples in (19a-b) demonstrate the situation.

(19)  a.  *mʌi kʌlwa kʰaseklʌ rʌhʌm*

      mʌi     kʌlwa  kʰa -sek   -lʌ       rʌh -m

      1SG     lunch   eat -finish -PCPL   remain -FUT.1SG

      'I had taken my lunch.'   (ELCTD_ PG.433)

    b.  *hʌmrʌ kʌlwa kʰaseklʌ rʌbi*

      *hʌmrʌ     kʌlwa    kʰa -sek -lʌ          rʌh      -b   -i*

---

from constructions with auxiliaries and particles or verbal nouns expressing result or possessions" (Timberlake 2007:292; Dahl 1985:129).

<div align="center">

1PL    lunch    eat -finish -PCPL    remain -FUT -1PL

'We will have taken our lunch.'   (ELCTD_ PG.434)

</div>

### 3.2.4  Completive and Inceptive

Completive and Inceptive aspects, also called 'phasal aspects' (Payne 1997:240), express the completion and beginning of an event. The completive aspect may be perfect completive like 'he has finished working' and perfective completive like 'he finished working'. On the contrary, inceptive aspect expresses the starting point of an event such as 'she began working '(Payne 1997:240). As these aspects are mainly governed by the semantics of the lexical verbs, Givón (2001a:287-8) calls them lexical aspects. In Dangaura Tharu both of these aspects are attested. The inceptive aspect in Dangaura Tharu is realized in the form of the lexical verb *lag* 'start' to which the inflectional suffixes are affixed (20 a-b).[18]

(20)   a.    *uhã kʌuwa basʌ lagʌl*

          Uhã    kʌuwa bas -ʌ       lag -l

          there   crow   crow -PURP    start -PST.3SG.NH

          'A crow started to crow there.'     (FR_YRC.066)

     b.    *apʌn pʌṭohiyahʌnʌ pʰen gʰʌrʌ lanʌ lagʌl*

          apʌn    pʌṭohiya  -hʌnʌ    pʰen   gʰʌrʌ lan -ʌ        lag -l

          REFL   daughter-in-law -DAT also   house  bring -PURP   start -PST.3SG.NH

          'He started to bring his daughter-in-law back to his own house.'   (FR_YRC.106)

Completive aspect, on the other hand, is expressed by using a compound verb consisting of *wora* 'finish' plus *sek* 'finish' (21a), or main verb in base form plus *sek* 'finish' to which the tense marker and personal suffixes are added, as in (21b).

(21)   a.    *hũkrʌ apʌn kam  worasyakʌlʌ*

          hũkrʌ    apʌn      kam        wora -sek -l -ʌ

          3PL      REFL      work       finish -finish -PST -3PL

          'They finished their work.' (ELCTD_ PG.434)

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[18] Kachru (2006:152) notices the inceptive auxiliary *lʌg* 'start' in Hindi.

<div align="center">

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</div>

b.  *hʌmrʌ beri kʰasekli*

    hʌmrʌ     beri     kʰa -sek -l -i

    1PL      dinner  eat -finish -PST -1PL

    'We have taken our dinner.'   (ELCTD_ PG.435)

The Inceptive and completive aspects are not only distinct in the selection of the lexical verb, but also in the structural pattern. The inceptive auxiliary *lag* 'start' always takes the purposive form (20a-b), whereas the completive auxiliary *wora* 'finish' is always used in its base form (21a). Thus they are different in internal formal structure also.

### 3.2.5 Punctual

Punctual aspect is comprised of punctual verbs which have no internal temporal duration. According to Comrie (1976:42), "punctual situations do not have any duration, not even duration of a very short period". They occur in an instant. That may be the reason why Payne (1997:241) prefers using a term 'instantaneous' to refer to this aspect. Punctual aspect is also concerned with the semantics of the verb selected. In Dangaura Tharu, there also exist such punctual expressions indicating punctuality. As it is a lexical aspect, it may be expressed in any tense. The examples in (22a-b) illustrate the situation.

(22)    a.     *her ṭʌ sʌŋʰari u apʌn kʰʌina uca ekkʌ gʰari kʰʌsaḍeho ṭʌrʌ*

             her    ṭʌ       sʌŋʰari u    apʌn     kʰai -na   uca

             look   PRT    friend that  REFL     eat -INF   thing

             ek -kʌ        gʰari       kʰʌsa - ḍe -ho     ṭʌrʌ

             one -EMPH  moment  drop - give -IMP  down

             'Look my friend; please drop down the thing that you are eating for a moment.' (CJ_DLC.010)

    b.     *ṭʌ u kʌuwa sikar giraḍehʌl*

             ṭʌ      u        kʌuwa sikar   gira -ḍe       -l

             PRT    that    crow   meat    drop -give - PST.3SG.NH

             'The crow dropped the flesh.' (CJ_DLC.012)

In these sentences, the verbs- *kʰʌsaḍeho* and *giraḍehʌl* refer to instantaneous events. Other verbs like *-herʌina* 'to lose', *ṭuṭna* 'to break', *ṭurna* 'to pluck', *kaṭna* 'to cut', *marna* 'to kill', all refer to punctual events and the use of such verbs expresses punctual aspect.

### 3.2.6 Iterative

Iterative aspect refers to the situation when a punctual verb is used in progressive form and indicates the repetition of the same event. "With inherently punctual verbs like 'cough', the progressive implies iterativity, with non-punctual verbs like 'run', the progressive implies continuity" (Payne 1997:241). However, Comrie (1976:27) considers iterativity as "the repetition of the situation, the successive occurrence of several instances of the given situation".

Iterativity in Dangaura Tharu is not limited to the use of punctual verbs as Payne (1997:241) asserts. Instead it includes the 'repetition of the situation' as Comrie (1976:27) says, without any concern with the types of the verbs. It is realized in the use of progressive form followed by an auxiliary *rʌh* 'remain' which carries the tense and concord markers. In Dangaura Tharu iterativity is attested in all the tenses. But the morphological distinction between iterativity and continuity can be seen in the present tense only, where the use of *rʌh* 'remain' indicates iterativity and that of *ba* 'be' expresses continuity.[19]

(23)  a.  *hũkkabʰʌrna mʌnʌi hʌrek baṭmʌ hõ cahĩ kʌhʌti rʌho*

　　　　hũkkabʰʌr -na　　mʌnʌi　hʌrek　baṭ -mʌ　　hõ　cahĩ　kʌh -ṭi　　rʌh -o

　　　　respond -ADJLZ　man　every　talk -LOC　yes　PRT　say -PROG　remain -IMP

　　　　'The responding person keep on saying 'yes' on every statement.'　(SR_PRC.005)

　　b.  *mʌi apʌn mamakʌ gʰʌr jʌiṭi rʌṭʰũ*

　　　　mʌi　　apʌn　mama　　　　-kʌ　　　gʰʌr　ja -ṭi　　　rʌh -ṭʰ -ũ

　　　　1SG　　REFL　maternal uncle -GEN　house　go -PROG　remain -PRS -1SG

　　　　'I frequently go to my maternal uncle's house.'　　　(ELCTD_ PG.437)

However, in the past and future tenses there is no such morphological distinction. It is the context that gives clue to the sense.  The sentences (24a-b) illustrate the iterative meaning of the event verb *kʰa* 'eat' and *a* 'come'.

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(24)  a.  *mʌi ek bʌrʌs ʈʌk sʌḍḍʌ birwa kʰʌiʈi rʌnũ*

| mʌi | ek | bʌrʌs | tʌk | sʌḍḍʌ | birwa | kʰʌ | -iʈi | rʌh | -n | -ũ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | one | year | TERM | always | medicine | kʰa | -PROG | remain | -PST | -1SG |

'I kept on taking medicine regularly for a whole year.'  (ELCTD_ PG.438)

b.  *mʌi ʈũhin bʰyaʈʌ sʌḍḍʌ aiʈi rʌhʌm*

| mʌi | ʈũ -hʌnʌ | bʰyaʈ -ʌ | sʌḍḍʌ | a | -ʈi | rʌh | -m |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | 2SG.MH -DAT | find -PURP | always | come | -PROG | remain | -1SG.FUT |

I will keep on coming to see you'. (ELCTD_ PG.439)

## 3.3  Summary

In this chapter, we have noticed that Dangaura Tharu has distinct and complex morphological processes regarding tense and aspect. Like most of the NIA languages, Dangaura Tharu follows three tense system with distinct tense markers in each tense. The copula verbs in the present tense take a tense marker *-ʈ*, whereas other lexical verbs take *-ʈʰ*. Similarly, there are two tense markers *-l*, and *-n* in the past tense too. The first person singular verb takes the marker *-n,* and the rest take *-l.* We have two markers in the future as well: *h* in the third person, and *-b* elsewhere. The concord markers are the same in all tenses except in third person future tense where the plural and honorific subject takes the nasalized form of the high front vowel *-ĩ* and the sungular and non-honorific subject takes the nonnasalized form. Dangaura Tharu exhibits the expressions indicating several aspects like imperfective, including habitual and progressive, perfective, perfect, pluperfect, completive, inceptive and iterative which we have discussed in detail here.

❖

# CHAPTER 4

# MOOD AND MODALITY

4.0     Outline

Having discussed the tense system in the previous chapter, we proceed to deal with how the modal and attitudinal functions are expressed in Dangaura Tharu. This chapter is organized in three main sections and several subsections. The first section (4.1) discusses the modal functions, where the subsections (4.1.1) through (4.1.5) discuss different moods attested in Dangaura Tharu. The next section (4.2) is devoted to modality. The subsections (4.2.1) through (4.2.6) deal with the types of attitudinal expressions in this language. Finally, the findings of the chapter are summarized in (4.3).

4.1     Mood

Mood, according to Dixon (2010:96), is a property of a sentence and deals with the speech acts of three recurrent types: declarative, imperative, and interrogative. For Palmer (1986:21) mood is a "morphological category of verb like tense and aspect". Bybee and Fleischman (1995:2) define it as "a formally grammaticalized category of the verb which has a modal function".  Thus, mood is an inherent verbal category like tense and aspect, and is expressed mostly though structural patterns, and verbal selections. Different modal expressions in Dangaura Tharu are discussed in this section.

4.1.1   Imperative mood

In Dangaura Tharu, the imperative mood is embodied in different verbal suffixes based on the number and honorific status of the addressee and the temporal aspect of the proposition. As in many of the Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991:476), Dangaura Tharu has two sets of verbal suffixes that distinctly indicate whether the command or request is to be carried out at the moment of speaking or later in future.[20] The morphological structures of the immediate and non-immediate imperatives, as Watters's (2002:309) calls them, in Dangaura Tharu, are discussed in the following paragraphs.

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[20] Watters (2002:309-10) classifies the imperatives into two types: immediate imperative, to be carried out at the moment of speaking, and non-immediate imperative, to be carried out later.

i.         Immediate imperative[21]

According to Watters (2002:309), the immediate imperative "addresses the current problem and elicits an immediate response". Unlike in Chitoniya Tharu,[22] Dangaura Tharu imperatives differ only in the honorificity status of the listener and the temporal immediacy of the action to be carried out. The imperative markers are irrespective of the sound in the final position of the verb root. The immediate imperative in the Dangaura Tharu is marked by *-i* in honorific case irrespective of the number, by *-o* in mid-honorific case in both the numbers, and by zero marker *-ø* in singular and *-o* in plural in non-honorific case. The examples in (1a-c) illustrate the situation.

(1)     a.     *u rupya nikarkʌ lʌijao kʌhʌʈa*

             u      rupya  nikar  -kʌ    le  -ja -o      kʌh -ʈ -a

             that    money take out -SEQ  take -go -IMP  say -PRS -3SG.NH

             '(The crow) asks us to dig up the money and take it.'     (FR_YRC.094)

    b.     *lyo suno ʈʌ*

             lyo     sun -o       ʈʌ

             PRT    hear -IMP     PRT

             'Okay, listen.'       (SR_PRC.002)

    c.     *ʈʌĩ aju ja ki aju ja pʌʈʰae*

             ʈʌĩ    aju    ja -ø     ki   aju    ja -ø     pʌʈʰa -e

             2SG.NH today  go -IMP    that  today   go -IMP    send -PURP

             'You go to send her (back to her parents' home) today.'     (FR_YRC.038)

    d.     *ʈʌĩ jin bol ʌʈʈʰʌse kʌikʌnʌ kʌuwahʌnʌ kʌhʌl*

             ʈʌĩ    jin    bol -ø      ʌʈʈʰʌ -se   kʌh -kʰʌnʌ kʌuwa -hʌnʌ    kʌh -l

             2SG.NH PROH  speak -IMP   here -ABL   say -SEQ    crow -ACC   say -PST.3SG.NH

             '(The woman) asked the crow not to crow from there'.     (FR_YRC.084)

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[21] The terms "immediate" and "non-immediate" imperative are borrowed from Watters (2001:310).
[22] See (Paudyal 2014:183-4) for details of imperative mood in Chitoniya Tharu.

The example in (1a) is an extract of a narrative in which a crow is telling a girl to dig up a pitcher which is full of money and is buried under the tree. As it is a speech of a crow, the narrator uses mid-honorific form *lʌijao* 'take -go -IMP'. Similarly, in (1b) the narrator uses *suno* 'hear -IMP' because he is asking the children to listen to him as he is going to tell a story. But the examples in (1c-d) use zero imperative in vowel final and consonant final verbs like *ja* 'go -IMP' and *bol* 'speak -IMP' respectively.

ii.     Non-immediate imperative

Like Chitoniya Tharu, Dangaura Tharu has distinct imperative markers for the command or request to be carried out later, in future. Unlike Chitoniya Tharu, it uses the future marker *-b* followed by the concord marker *-i* in both the numbers in honorific case, *-ho* in mid-honorific case (2a-b) and *-is* in singular (2c) and *-ho* in plural in non-honorific case (2d). The examples in (2a-d) are illustrative.

(2)     a.      *mʌi agʌ agʌ jʌim t̃ũ pacʰʌ pacʰʌ jʌiho*

        mʌi     agʌ     agʌ     ja -m         t̃ũ       pacʰʌ pacʰʌ    ja -ho

        1SG     before before go -1SG.FUT    2SG.MH after    after    go -IMP

        'I will go first and you follow me.'    (CJ_DLC.021)

      b.      *pʰer ɖosrʌ apʌn rʌjwa lekʌ ʌiho*

        pʰer     ɖosrʌ apʌn   rʌjwa le -kʌ       a -ho

        also     then    REFL   king    take -SEQ   come -IMP

        'And come back with your king.'     (SR_PRC.042)

      c.      *t̪ʌ hira t̪ʌ̃ĩ lejais murɖa mʌi kʰʌim*

        t̪ʌ      hira      t̪ʌ̃ĩ      le -ja -is      murɖa mʌi    kʰa -m

        PRT    diamond 2SG.NH take -go -IMP     corpse 1SG     eat -1SG.FUT

        'You take the diamond and I will eat the corpse" said the jackal.    (FR_YRC.012)

      d.      *t̪urʰʌ pʰer hũkka cahĩ mʌjase bʰʌrʌho*

        t̪urʰʌ    pʰer     hũkka     cahĩ   mʌja -se     bʰʌr -ho

2PL      also     response   PRT   good -MANN        fill up -IMP

'You respond well.'              (SR_PRC.008)

The examples in (2a-d) clearly demonstrate that the imperative mood is indicated by the imperative marker *-ho* in mid-honorific and non-honorific plural and by *-is* in non-honorific singular context. In (2a-b) the speaker uses the imperatives *jʌiho* 'go -IMP' and *ʌiho* 'come -IM' because the listeners are *ʈũ* '2SG.MH' and *ʈurʰʌ* '2PL' respectively. But the speaker in (2c) uses *lejais* 'take -go -SG.FUT.IMP' because the listener is *ʈʌĩ* '2SG.NH'.

The summary of the imperative markers in Dangaura Tharu is given in the table 4.1.

Table 4.1      Imperative markers in Dangaura Tharu

| Honorificity level | Imperative markers | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Immediate | | Non-immediate | |
| | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural |
| Honorific | *-i* | *-i* | *-bi* | *-bi* |
| Mid-Hon. | *-o* | *-o* | *-ho* | *-ho* |
| Non-Honorific | *-ø* | -o | *-is* | *-ho* |

### 4.1.2   Prohibitive mood

Prohibitive mood refers to the situation of negative command. However, the prohibitive construction does not permit the negative morphemes like *ni,* or *nʌi* in Dangaura Tharu. Instead, a separate prohibitive particle- *jin*[23] is required which always precedes the verb in imperative form. The prohibitive marker is the same irrespective of the temporal aspect, as in (3a-b).

(3)      a.      *nahĩ sʌsurʌwa jin suʈo*

nahĩ     sʌsurʌwa      jin     suʈ -o

NEG     father-in-law   PROH   sleep -IMP

'No, father-in-law, do not sleep.'       (FR_YRC.116)

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[23] It sounds quite similar to the prohibitive marker *jʰin* in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2014:189) and *jun*.in Darai (Dhakal 2011:160) .

b.  *hə̃ ṭurʰʌ hũkkabʰʌrʌ jin cʰoḍoho*

hə̃      ṭurʰʌ    hũkkabʰʌr -ʌ    jin      cʰoḍ -ho

yes     2PL     respond -INF    PROH    leave -IMP

'Okay, you do not stop responding.'   (SR_PRC.003)

In both of these examples (3a-b), the same prohibitive particle *jin* is used though the temporal contexts are different. The example (3a) is an immediate prohibitive, whereas (3b) is a non-immediate one.

### 4.1.3  Hortative mood

According to Watters (2002:309), the hortative mood makes the hearer to "go ahead and do X casting off any inhibitions that might prevent him/her". Genetti (2007:341) defines the hortative construction in the same line and says that it "is used to exhort a group of people including the speaker to action". The hortative mood in Dangaura Tharu is characterized by a morpheme *-ũ* directly attached to the verb root, as illustrated in (4a-b).

(4)    a.    *burwa ṭʌ ab suṭũ kʌhʌṭa*

burwa      ṭʌ     ab      suṭ -ũ            kʌh -ṭ -a

old man  PRT  now    sleep -HORT    say -PRS -3SG.NH

'The old man says if he can sleep now.'        (FR_YRC.114)

b.    *mʌi ka sʌhʌyog kʌrũ ṭuhihʌ?*

mʌi      ka      sʌhʌyog        kʌr -ũ          ṭũ        -hʌnʌ

1SG    what    help             do -HORT      2SG.MH -DAT

'What shall I do for you?'      (FR_MRC.150)

The verbs *suṭũ* 'sleep -HORT' (4a) and *kʌrũ* 'do -HORT' (4b) express hortative mood.

### 4.1.4  Desiderative mood

The desiderative mood expresses the desire of the speaker to do the action denoted by the verb in the desirerative form. In Dangaura Tharu, the desirative mood is realized in the form of *-is,* or *-ʌs* directly attached to the verb root.  The examples in (5a-b) clarify the situation.

(5)   a.   *mwar baṭ sunḍeṭʰʌ kʌikʌnʌ mʌhin pʰer bʌṭois lʌgṭʰa*

mwar      baṭ   sun -ḍe -ṭʰ -ʌ            kʌh -kʰʌnʌ

1SG.GEN   talk  hear -give -PRS -3PL.NH   say  - SEQ

mʌi -hʌnʌ     pʰer    bʌṭa -is        lʌg -ṭʰ -a

1SG -DAT      also    say -DESID      feel -PRS -3SG.NH

'Thinking that you are listening to me, I also like to tell the story.'  (SR_PRC.007)

b.   *ʌpnʌ ṭʌ ḍerakʌ bʰagʌs kʌrṭʰi?*

ʌpnʌ      ṭʌ    ḍera -kʌ        bʰag  -ʌs             kʌr -ṭʰ -i

2SG.HON   PRT   be afraid -SEQ  run away - DESID   do  -PRS  -1PL

'You seem to be willing to run away being afraid of something.'     (CJ_DLC.016)

It is noticeable that the desiderative suffixes *-is* or *-ʌs* are not interchangeable. It is the sound at the final position of the verb that determines which suffix is to be used. Vowel-ending verbs use *-is*, whereas the consonant-ending verbs prefer *-ʌs*. The example in (5a) contains a vowel-ending verb *bʌṭa* 'tell', whereas the one in (5b) contains a consonant-ending verb *bʰag* 'run away '.

## 4.1.5   Conditional mood

The conditional mood in Dangaura Tharu is realized in the form of the conditional conjunction *kʌlʌse* 'if' which comes at the end of the conditional clause. Sometimes, a particle *ṭʌ* can also be used but it does not have any conditional connotation. We have variations regarding the verb form in protasis and apodosis. In the present condition, the verb in the protasis is in the present tense and the one in apodosis may be in future or hortative. The examples in (6a-b) illustrate the situation.

(6)   a.   *mʌhihʌnʌ yahã gʰʌrʌm nʌi rʌhʌ ḍeṭʰo kʌlʌse ṭʌ mʌi rʌhʌke pʰen ka kʌrũ ṭʌ yahã?*

mʌi -hʌnʌ     yahã   gʰʌrʌ -m     nʌi   rʌh -ʌ       ḍe -ṭʰ -o

1SG -DAT      here   house -LOC   NEG   live -INF    give -PRS  -2PL.MH

kʌlʌse ṭʌ      mʌi   rʌh -ke      pʰen   ka    kʌr -ũ          ṭʌ        yahã

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| if | PRT | 1SG | live -SEQ | also | what | do -HORT | PRT | here |

'If you do not let me live here in this house, what can I do living here?'

(FR_YRC.047)

b.  *ṭʌĩ nʌi jʌiṭʰya kʌlʌse hʌmrʌ lanḍebi nʌi*

| ṭʌĩ | nʌi | jʌi -ṭʰ -ya | kʌlʌse | hʌmrʌ | lan -ḍe -b -i | nʌi |

| 2SG.NH | NEG | go -PRS -2SG.NH | if | 1PL | bring -give -FUT -1PL | NEG |

'Okay, if you are not going, we will bring for you.'          (FR_MRC.031)

Both of these examples are the extracts of two different narratives. We notice that the protasis in both of these extracts is in present tense using the verbs *ḍeṭʰo* 'give -PRS -2PL.MH' (6a) and *jʌiṭʰya* 'go -PRS -2SG.NH' (6b), but the verbs in the apodosis are in hortative *kʌrũ* 'do -HORT' and future form *lanḍebi* 'bring -give -FUT -1PL' respectively.

However, in future condition, both the protasis and the apodosis are in future tense. The conditional marker *kʌlʌse* comes between the two clauses functioning as the conditional conjunction, as illustrated in (7a-b).

(7)  a.  *mʌi sʌrap ḍebũ kʌlʌse ṭʌĩ kʰʌmbʰa ni rʌhʌjʌibya*

| mʌi | sʌrap | ḍe -b -ũ | kʌlʌse |

| 1SG | curse | give -FUT -1SG | if |

| ṭʌĩ | kʰʌmbʰa | ni | rʌh -ja -b -ya |

| 2SG.NH | pillar | NEG | remain -go -FUT -2SG.NH |

'If I curse you, you will not remain a pillar.'     (FR_MRC.259)

b.  *yeḍi worʌibya kʌlʌse mʌi sʌrap ḍem*

| yeḍi | wora -b -ya | kʌlʌse | mʌi | sʌrap | ḍe -m |

| if | finish -FUT -2SG.NH | if | 1SG | curse | give -1SG.FUT |

'If you are finished, I will curse you.'          (FR_MRC.082)

It is to be noticed that the conditional conjunction *yeḍi* 'if' in Nepali is also used in Dangaura Tharu as a borrowing. Besides, the verbs in both the clauses *sʌrap ḍebũ* 'curse give -

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FUT -1SG' and *ni rʌhʌjʌibya* 'NEG  remain -go -FUT -2SG.NH' (7a) and *worʌibya* 'finish -FUT -2SG.NH' and *sʌrap ḍem* 'curse give -1SG.FUT' (7b) are in future tense.

In future condition, the verb in apodosis may also be in imperative mood, as the examples in (8a-b) illustrate.

(8)     a.     *bʌlaim kʌlʌse ʌibi ṭʌ mwar sʌhʌyog kʌrbi*

bʌla -m          kʌlʌse a -b -i          ṭʌ     mwar     sʌhʌyog     kʌr -b -i

call -FUT.1SG if          come -FUT -2H     PRT  1SG.GEN  help          do -FUT -2H

'If I call you, please come and help me.'          (FR_MRC.134)

        b.     *yeḍi ṭũhar ʌptʰaro pʌri kʌlʌse hʌmʌn kʌho*

yeḍi     ṭũhar     ʌptʰaro     pʌr -i          kʌlʌse hʌmʌn     kʌh -o

if       2SG.GEN  difficult  happen -3SG.NH  if        1PL.DAT     say -IMP

'If you will have any problem, tell us.'          (FR_MRC.108)

In both of these examples, the verbs in the conditional clauses (protasis) are in future tense *bʌlaim* 'call -FUT.1SG' (8a) and *ʌptʰaro pʌri* 'difficult happen -3SG.NH' (8b), and the ones in apodosis *sʌhʌyog kʌrbi* 'help do -FUT -2H' (8a) and *kʌho* 'say -IMP' (8b) are in non-immediate imperative mood.[24]

4.2     Modality

Modality is basically "the grammaticalization of the speaker's attitude and opinion" (Palmer 1986:16). According to Givón (2001a:300), the speaker's attitude must be based on two types of judgments: Epistemic judgment, which is concerned with truth, probability, certainty, belief, and evidence, and Evaluative (deontic) judgment concerned with desirability, preference, intent, ability, and obligation. Watters (2002:285) defines it on Givón's line and says that "modality is partially concerned with the epistemic categories of realis/irrealis, necessity, possibility, obligation, permission, certainty, etc. and includes the kinds of notions translated by the words like 'can', 'must' and 'should'".

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[24] See (4.1.1) for details of imperative mood.

Modality, in the world languages, can be expressed in various ways: morphologically, syntactically or by using modal verbs or separate particles or simply intonation (Bybee and Fleischman 1995:2; Palmer 1985:18). Modality in Dangaura Tharu is realized in the form of modal verbs and, sometimes, in the use of separate particles. There are attested five types of modalities in Dangaura Tharu: possibility, permission, ability, necessity and obligation, which are discussed in this section.

4.2.1   Possibility

The notion of modality in Dangaura Tharu is primarily expressed with the modal verbs used as vector verbs in complex predicates. The notion of possibility is expressed with a complex predicate comprising a modal verb *sek/syak* 'be able to' following the main verb in purposive or base form. The modal verb carries the tense and agreement markers, as exemplified in (9a-b).

(9)     a.     *panik bʰiṭʌr ṭʌ kãṭ hui syakṭʰa*

               pani -k        bʰiṭʌr  ṭʌ     kãṭ     hui    sek   -ṭʰ -a

               water -GEN     in      PRT    thorn   be     POSSIB -PRS  -3SG.NH

               'There may be thorns in the water.'           (FR_YRC.054)

        b.     *gwarʌmʌ gʌrʌ seki*

               gwar -mʌ       gʌr  -ʌ         sek   -i

               leg -LOC       pierce -PURP    POSSIB -3SG.NH

               'It might pierce into (your) foot.'      (FR_YRC.056)

The finite verbs *hui syakṭʰa* 'be POSSIB -PRS -3SG.NH' (9a) and *gʌrʌ seki* 'pierce -PURP POSSIB -3SG.NH' (9b) express possibility of the actions expressed by the lexical verbs *hui* 'be' and *gʌr* 'pierce'.

4.2.2   Permission

The notion of permission in Dangaura Tharu is realized in the use of the verbs *pa* 'be allowed to' and *sek* 'be able to'. In fact, these verbs are used as modal verbs only to carry the tense and agreement markers. The main verbs, which always precede the modals, are in base form or in purposive form, as the examples in (10a-b) illustrate.

(10)  a.  *yi jʌŋgʌlmʌ sʌkkujʌnʌ gʰãs kaʈʌ pʌiʈʰʌn*

yi    jʌŋgʌl -mʌ   sʌkku -jʌnʌ  gʰãs  kaʈ -ʌ      pa         -ʈʰ    -ʌn

this   forest -LOC   all -NCLF    grass  cut -PURP   be allowed to  -PRS   -PL

'Everyone is allowed to mow in this jungle.'          (ELCTD_ PG.458)

b.  *ab ʈũ gʰʌr jai sekbo*

ab      ʈũ        gʰʌr    ja -i          sek     -b -o

now   2SG.MH   house   go -PURP       be able to -FUT -2PL.MH

'Now you can go home.'        (ELCTD_ PG.456)

In the example (10a-b), the main verbs *kaʈʌ* 'cut -PURP' and *jai* 'go -PURP' are in purposive forms which are followed by the modals *pʌiʈʰʌn* 'be allowed to -PRS -PL' and *sekbo* 'be able to - FUT -2PL.MH' which carry the tense markers -*ʈʰ* and -*b*  and agreement marker -*ʌn* and -*o* respectively.

### 4.2.3  Ability

The explicator *sek* is a most productive vector verb even in Dangaura Tharu. It can be used in order to express possibility, permission and physical or mental ability. In this case also, it is preceded by the purposive or root form of the content verb, as illustrated in (11a-b).

(11)  a.  *kʌrʌ sekʈʰya ki nahĩ kʌikʌ kʌhʌl*

kʌr -ʌ        sek        -ʈʰ  -ya      ki    nahĩ   kʌh -kʌ     kʌh -l

do -PURP    be able to -PRS -2SG.NH    that  NEG   say -SEQ   say -PST.3SG.NH

'He asked whether he will be able to do or not.'        (FR_MRC.301)

b.  *jʌʈrʌ pʰe gʌhʌ ɖʌrʌm ʈʌĩ uʈarʌ sekbya?*

jʌʈrʌ            pʰe  gʌhʌ   ɖar -m          ʈʌĩ       uʈar -ʌ       sek -b  -ya

as much as    also  riddles  put -1SG.FUT   2SG.NH   solve -INF   can-FUT -2SG.NH

'Can you solve all the riddles that I ask you?'        (FR_MRC.238)

Both types of abilities are expressed in these examples. The modal *sek* expresses the physical ability in (11a) and mental ability in (11b).

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### 4.2.4 Necessity

Epistemic necessity in Dangaura Tharu is realized in the form of a vector verb *pʌr* which can be preceded by an absolute form or a purposive form of the content verb, but not by the verb root, as in (12a-b). Necessity can also be expressed through the use of a verb *cahi* 'is needed' which is always in the third person singular future form, as illustrated in (12c).

(12) a. *u pʰula lekə ai pərəl*

u     pʰula     le -kə     a -i     pər -əl

that     flower     take -SEQ     come -ABS     have to -PTCP

'You must come bringing the flower.'     (FR_MRC.101)

b. *kʌisik kʌrʌ pʌri?*

kʌisik     kʌr -ʌ     pʌr -i

how     do -PURP     have to -3SG.NH

'What shall we have to do?'     (FR_MRC.166)

c. *mʌhin kucʰ sʌmʌsya pʌri kʌlʌse ʈũhʌn cahi kʌlʌse mʌi bʌloim*

mʌi -hʌnʌ     kucʰ     sʌmʌsya     pʌr -i     kʌlʌse

1SG -DAT     some     problem     have to -3SG.NH     if

ʈurʰʌ -hʌnʌ     cahi     kʌlʌse     mʌi     bʌla -m

2PL -DAT     need     if     1SG     call -1SG.FUT

'If I have some problems, if I need you, I will call you.'     (FR_MRC.123)

In the examples (12a-b), the vector verb *pər* 'have to' is preceded by the absolute form *gʰəlai* and the purposive form *kʌrʌ* respectively. However, in (12c), the notion of necessity is expressed with the particle *cahĩ*.

### 4.2.5 Obligation

Deontic obligation in Dangaura Tharu is encoded by using the vector verb *pʌr* following the infinitival form of the content verb. As usual, the inflectional suffixes are affixed to the vector verb *pʌr,* as illustrated in (13a-b).

(13)  a.  *ṭuhihʌ ekṭʰo bʰwaj kʌrʌ pʌri*

      ṭũ -hʌnʌ     ek -ṭʰo     bʰwaj     kʌr -ʌ     pʌr -i

      2SG.MH -DAT  one -NCLF    marriage  do -PURP    have to -3SG.NH

      'You have to do one more marriage.'     (FR_MRC.097)

    b.  *u kʰʌmbʰʌwamʌ u ḍuḍʰ ṭʌṭʰyamʌ lekʌ cʌhurʌ pʌri*

      u      kʰʌmbʰʌwa -mʌ  u  ḍuḍʰ    ṭʌṭʰya - mʌ

      that   pillar -LOC     that  milk   dish -LOC

      le -kʌ      cʌhur -ʌ     pʌr -i

      take -SEQ    climb up -PURP  have to -3SG.NH

      'You have to climb up the pillar taking the milk in a dish.'    (FR_MRC.255)

The examples (12a-c) and (13a-b) show that epistemic necessity and deontic obligation can be encoded in the same morphological structure in Dangaura Tharu, except the use of *cahi* which can be used only to express necessity.

4.2.6  Hearsay

The notion of second hand knowledge, also known as Hearsay, is realized in the form of a particle *hũ* 'it is said' in Dangaura Tharu.[25] We have plenty of such expressions in our corpus as it is so frequently used in narrative discourses. This particle is always distributed at the final position of a clause. Some examples extracted from the corpus are given (14a-b).

(14)  a.  *ṭʌ u lʌḍyamʌ ekṭʰo ḍiuṭa rʌhʌ hũ*

      ṭʌ     u     lʌḍya -mʌ   ek -ṭʰo    ḍiuṭa    rʌh -ʌ     hũ

      PRT    that  river -LOC   one -NCLF   god   live -3SG.NH  HEARS

      'It is said that there was a God in that river.'    (FR_MRC.044)

    b.  *ekṭʰo gʌiya rʌhʌlis hũ*

      ek -ṭʰo gʌiya   rʌh -l -is      hũ

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[25] In Chitoniya Tharu, this notion of hearsay is expressed through the use of a particle *sunte* meaning 'it is heard' (Paudyal 2014:197).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| one -NCLF | cow | live -PST -3SG.NH | HEARS |

'It is said that there was a cow.'        (FR_MRC.242)

The speakers of both of the sentences are not sure about the propositions they are going to make. They are saying so based on what they have heard. This feature is used to distinguish the first hand knowledge from the second hand information.

## 4.3    Summary

In this chapter we have observed the mood and modality system in Dangaura Tharu. We have discussed several modal expressions indicating imperative, prohibitive, hortative, desiderative and conditional moods attested in this language. Imperative expressions make a distinction between the immediate action and the delayed one. Similarly, the prohibitive mood requires a separate negativizor *jin* which is only used in prohibitive mood. Dangaura Tharu exhibits distinct markers for hortative and desiderative moods: *ũ* for hortative and *-ʌs* and *-is* for desiderative. Moreover, the conditional mood is indicated by a conditional marker *kʌlʌse* which is used after the conditional clause (protasis). We have also discussed the epistemic and deontic expressions like possibility, permission, ability, necessity, obligation and hearsay in Dangaura Tharu in this chapter. Dangaura Tharu uses a single modal verb *sek* or *syak* 'be able to' to express possibility, permission, and ability, for permission there is another modal verb *pa* 'be allowed to'. For necessity and obligation, we have another modal *pʌr* 'have to' and for hearsay a separate particle *hũ*.

❖

# CHAPTER 5

# THE COPULA VERB

5.0     Outline

Having discussed tense, aspect, mood and modality in the earlier chapters, we here proceed to deal with the copula verb constructions in Dangaura Tharu. This chapter has been organized in four sections. The first section (5.1) concentrates on the copula verbs used in nonverbal predicate constructions in Dangaura Tharu, where the subsections (5.1.1), (5.1.2) and (5.1.3) discuss the copula forms used in present, past and future tenses respectively. The second section (5.2) discusses the copula forms used in verbal predicate clauses as auxiliary verbs, whereas the third section (5.3) analyzes the agreement system in this language. The findings of the discussion are summarized in (5.4).

5.1     The copula verb

Copula verbs have several functions. The general semantic functions of the copula verbs are identifying, defining, describing, or locating an entity, and referring to general or universal truth. They link the Copula Complement (nominal, adjectival, or locative predicate) with the "core arguments, Copula Subjects" (Dixon 2010:159). The copula verbs in Dangaura Tharu can play two grammatical roles: that of a main verb and of an auxiliary verb. Different morphological structures of the Dangaura Tharu copula verbs  in both roles are discussed in this section.

5.1.1     The present forms- *ba/hui/rʌh*

While discussing clause types, Dryer (2007:224-5) points out that nonverbal clauses generally have three types of predicates that are copulated by a copula verb. They are nominal predicates, adjectival predicates, and locative predicates. Unlike English in which a single verb 'be' is used with all the three types of non-verbal predicates, Dangaura Tharu employs three different forms of copula verbs for the purpose: *ba*, *hui* and *rʌh* 'be'. Unlike most of the languages in which adjectival predicates take the same copula as the nominal one (Dryer 2007:230), Dangaura Tharu employs different copulas for adjectival and nominal predicates. Analogous to Nepali, Dangaura Tharu uses one copula *ba* for adjectival and locative predicates

(1a-b) and the other *hui* for  nominal one (1c-d). Dangaura Tharu, like Nepali, has special feature in that in most of the languages of the world where different copulas are used for differnt predicates, it is the nominal and adjectival predicates that share a common copula and the locative takes a differnt one (Dryer 2007:239). But Dangaura Tharu locative predicate shares a copula with adjectival predicate, and the nominal predicate is isolated. However, the selectional distinction is in the present tense only.

(1)   a.   *pʌʈʰʌra ãkʰʌr ba ki gulgul ba kʌcʰu nʌ uhihʌnʌ pʌʈa cʌllʌs*

pʌʈʰʌra   ãkʰʌr     ba              ki      gulgul ba

stone     hard       be -PRS -3SG   or      soft   be -PRS -3SG

kʌcʰu            nʌ      u -hʌnʌ       pʌʈa          cʌl -l  -ʌs

anything         NEG     3SG -DAT      knowledge     move -PST -3SG

'He could not feel whether the stone was hard or soft.'        (FR_YRC.124)

b.   *jʌʈrʌ pʰe priʈʰvi bʰʌr bʌnsuʌr baʈo ao*

jʌʈrʌ            pʰe      priʈʰvi bʰʌr     bʌnsuʌr    ba -ʈ -o           a   -o

as much as       also     earth   all      wild pig   be -PRS -2PL.MH    come -IMP

'As many wild pigs there are in this earth, come.'               (FR_MRC.285)

c.   *ʈʌ ʈʌĩ huiʈya?*

ʈʌ       ʈʌĩ        hui -ʈ -ya

PRT      2SG.NH     be -PRS -2SG.NH

'Okay, is it you?'              (FR_MRC.236)

d.   *h̃ʌ mʌi huiʈ̃ũ*

h̃ʌ        mʌi     hui -ʈ -ũ

Yes      1SG     be -PRS -1SG

'Yes, I am.'              (FR_MRC.237)

It is to be noted that the copula verb *ba* does not take a tense marker, nor an inflectional ending in third person singular non-honorific form as in (1a), but in other cases it takes the

present marker *ṭ* and  agreement markers as in (1b). In the example (1a), the copula verb *ba* links the adjectival predicates *ãkʰʌr* 'hard' and  *gulgul* 'soft' with the copula subject *pʌṭʰʌra* 'stone'. In (1b), it is the locative predicate *priṭʰvi bʰʌr* 'in the world' that is linked with the copula subject *bʌnsuʌr* 'wild pigs'. Similarly, the copula verbs *huiṭya* 'be -PRS -2SG.NH' and *huiṭũ* 'be -PRS -1SG' in (1c-d) link the copula complements, which are absent in the clauses, with the copula subjects *ṭʌĩ* and *mʌi*.

Another copula verb which is used for describing different entities, and expressing universal or habitural truth in Dangaura Tharu is *rʌh* 'remain'. The final consonant of the copula is omitted before the tense marker is attached. The examples in (2a-b) are illustrative.

(2)     a.     *hamar cʌurʌk ṭika rʌṭʰa*

               hamar      caur -ʌk      tika      rʌh   -ṭʰ -a

               1PL.GEN   rice -GEN    Tika     remain -PRS  -3SG.NH

               'Our Tika is made up of rice.'           (TNY_YRC.046.056)

        b.     *swan hʌrḍyar o mʌhʌŋ rʌṭʰa*

               swan   hʌrḍyar  o     mʌhʌŋ        rʌh      -ṭʰ     -a

               gold    yellow   and   expensive    remain -PRS  -3SG.NH

               'Gold is yellow and expensive.'              (ELCTD_ PG.066)

In the examples (2a-b), the copular verb *rʌṭʰa* 'remain -PRS -3SG.NH' has a descriptive function. It is used to describe an object *swan* 'gold' as being *hʌrḍyar* 'yellow' and *mʌhʌŋ* 'expensive', and to express a general truth about the *tika* they use on the occasion of Maghi.

 5.1.2   The past form - *rʌh*

Although three different forms of the copula verb are used with nominal, adjectival and locative predicates in the present tense, the distinction between identification, description, and location is neutralized in the past tense in Dangaura Tharu. The only copula verb *rʌh* 'remain' is used with all the types of predicates.[26] What is peculiar in Dangaura Tharu is that we find the use

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[26] Interestingly, Dryer (1997:232) talks about a Lango language, a Nilotic language spoken in Uganda, which uses a different copula, meaning  'stay', in the past or future tense. Typologically, Dangaura Tharu seems very close to this language.

of insertion of the tense marker in the past tense. The tense marker is inserted before the final consonant, and the inflectional suffixes are affixed to the stem that is formed after the insertion of the tense marker. The examples are given in (3a-d).

(3)  a.  *ḍuṭʰo nʌi ṭinṭʰo bʌṭʰiniyã rʌlʌhʌ*

ḍui -ṭʰo    nʌi   ṭin -ṭʰo      bʌṭʰiniyã    rʌh -l  -hʌ

two -NCLF  NEG  three -NCLF    girl        live -PST -3PL.NH

'There were two, no, three young girls.'      (PLS.2.005)

b.  *pʌhile hũkrʌ bʌḍa gʌrib rʌlʌhʌ bicarʌn*

pʌhile hũkrʌ  bʌḍa   gʌrib   rʌh -l  -hʌ           bicarʌn

before 3PL    much   poor   remain -PST -3PL.NH   poor!

'They were so poor before that.'              (FR_YRC.140)

c.  *pʰir u jun kuṭni buḍʰiyakṭʰe rʌlʌhʌ...*

pʰir   u      jun    kuṭni  buḍʰiya -k  -ṭʰe           rʌh -l  -hʌ

again  3SG    who    Kunti  old woman -GEN -LOC   live -PST -3PL.NH

'Again those who were with the old woman called Kutni...'      (FR_MRC.222)

We notice that the same copula *rʌh* is used with all the types of predicates in (3a-c). The sentence in (3a) contains a nominal predicate *bʌṭʰiniyã* 'young girl', (3b) consists of an adjectival predicate *gʌrib* 'poor' and (3c) is comprised of a locative predicate *kuṭni buḍʰiyakṭʰe* 'at the old woman's' but all the sentences use the same copula *rʌh* 'remain'.

Sometimes, especially in the third person singular non-honourific form, the tense marker is omitted and the inflectional suffixes are affixed directly to the root *rʌh,* as in (4a-b).

(4)  a.  *u bisʌina ṭʰaũmʌ ekṭʰo pipʌrʌk rukʰwa rʌhʌ*

u      bisʌi -na  ṭʰaũ -mʌ   ek -ṭʰo    pipʌr -ʌk   rukʰwa    rʌh -ʌ

that   rest -INF   place -LOC  one -NCLF  Pipal -GEN   tree        remain -3PL.NH

'At that resting place there was a Pipal tree.'      (FR_YRC.065)

b.	*bʰʌugʌn kʌna sə̃pwa u lʌɖyamʌ rʌhʌ*

b{ʰ}ʌugʌn	kʌh -na	sə̃pwa u	lʌɖya -mʌ	rʌh -ʌ

Bhaugan	say -INF	snake that	river -LOC	live -3SG.NH

'There lived a snake called Bhaugan in the middle of the river.'	(FR_MRC.045)

5.1.3	The future form- *rʌh/hui*

Dangaura Tharu exhibits a distinction between the nominal, adjectival and locative predicates in future tense. The locational predicates take the copula *rʌh* 'remain', whereas the nominal or adjectival predicates take the copula *hui* 'become'. This disctinction is not attested in the Chitoniya Tharu where all the types of predicates take the same copula *hʌkʰ* 'be' with a tense marker in future. The tense marker is appended to the verb root before the agreement markers are affixed. The examples are given in (5).

(5)	a.	*ʈʌĩ ais na, mʌi oʈʈʰehẽ rʌhʌm*

ʈʌĩ	a -is	na	mʌi	oʈʈʰe -hẽ	rʌh -m

2SG.NH	come -SG.FUT.IMP	PRT	1SG	there -EMPH	remain -FUT.1SG

'You please come. I will be there.'	(ELCTD_ PG.459)

b.	*ʈũ kisan huibo*

ʈũ	kisan	hui -b -o

2SG.MH	farmer	be -FUT -2PL.MH

'You will be a farmer.'	(Paudyal 2067 V.S.:203)

The copular verb paradigm in all tenses is given in the table 5.1.

Table 5.1    Copular verb paradigm in Dangaura Tharu

| Person | | Present | | Past | | Future | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | **Singular** | **Plural** | **Singular** | **Plural** | **Singular** | **Plural** |
| **1ˢᵗ Person** | | *baṭũ/huiṭũ* | *baṭi/huiṭi* | *rʌnʌhũ* | *rʌlʌhi* | *rʌhʌm* | *rʌbi* |
| **2ⁿᵈ** | **Hon.** | *baṭi/huiṭi* | *baṭi/huiṭi* | *rʌlʌhi* | *rʌlʌhi* | *rʌbi* | *rʌbi* |
| | **Mid-Hon.** | *baṭo/huiṭo* | *baṭo/huiṭo* | *rʌlʌho* | *rʌlʌho* | *rʌbo* | *rʌbo* |
| | **Non-Hon.** | *baṭya/huiṭya* | *baṭo/huiṭo* | *rʌlʌhya* | *rʌlʌho* | *rʌbya* | *rʌbo* |
| **3ʳᵈ** | **Hon.** | *baṭʌ (M)/huiṭʌ* *baṭi (F)/huiṭi* | *baṭʌ/huiṭʌ* | *rʌlʌhʌ (F)* *rʌlʌhi (F)* | *rʌlʌhʌ* | *rʌhĩ* | *rʌhĩ* |
| | **Non-on.** | *ba/ho* | *baṭʌ/huiṭʌ* | *rʌhʌ* | *rʌlʌhʌ* | *rʌhi* | *rʌhĩ* |

## 5.2    Copula verb used as auxiliary

Copula verbs are used as auxiliary verbs mainly in progressive and perfect aspects. Dangaura Tharu exhibits two copula verbs *ba* and *rʌh* which are also used as auxiliary verbs. The copula form *ba* is used as auxiliary in the present progressive, as in (6a), and in the participial construction of the present perfect[27], as in (6b). Similarly, *rʌh* is used in the past and future progressive and pluperfect aspects as in (7a-c).

(6)    a.    *u jʌnnimʌnʌiyã apʌn lʌrkʌnʌ ḍuḍʰ kʰʌwʌiṭi ba*

u    jʌnnimʌnʌiyã apʌn    lʌrka -n -hʌnʌ    ḍuḍʰ    kʰa -a -ṭi         ba

that    woman    REFL    boy -PL -DAT    milk    eat -CAUS -PROG    be -PRS -3SG

'The woman is feeding her baby milk.'        (ELCTD_ PG.096)

b.    *sara mʌnʌi juṭʌl baṭʌ*

sara    mʌnʌi    juṭ -ʌl         ba -ṭ -ʌ

all    man    gather -PTCP    be -PRS -3PL.NH

---

[27] See (3.2.3) for the details of the partiipial construction in the present perfect.

'All the people have gathered.'        (FR_MRC.258)

(7)    a.    *mwar baba ḍin bʰʌr kam kʌṛti rʌhʌl*

mwar        baba      ḍin -bʰʌr           kam       kʌr -ṭi          rʌh -l

1SG.GEN    father    day -throughout    work      do -PROG        remain -PST.3SG.NH

'My father was working throughout the day.'        (ELCTD_ PG.266*)*

    b.    *mwar ḍai jʰulwa ḍʰuiṭi rʌhi*

mwar        ḍai          jʰulwa      ḍʰui -ṭi        rʌh -i

1SG.GEN    mother      clothes      wash -PROG    remain -FUT.3SG.Non.Hon

'My mother will be washing clothes.'        (ELCTD_ PG.173)

    c.    *ekṭʰo mʌnṭri kʌhʌl ki pʰʌlana ṭʰaũ gʌil rʌho ki nahĩ?*

ek -ṭʰo            mʌnṭri          kʌh -l              ki      pʰʌlana        ṭʰaũ

one -NCLF        minister        say -PST.3SG.NH    that    someone        place

ja -il      rʌh -o            ki        nahĩ

go -PRF    remain -2PL.MH    or        NEG

'One of the ministers asked whether (they) had gone to a particular place.'
(FR_MRC.228)

These examples illustrate that *ba*-form and *rʌh*-form of the 'be' verb can be used as auxiliary verb in Dangaura Tharu. As illustrated in *kʰʌwʌiṭi ba* 'eat -CAUS -PROG' (6a), and *juṭʌl baṭʌ* 'gather -PTCP be -PRS -3PL.NH' (6b), the *ba*-form is used in the present progressive and participial construction of the present perfect respectively. Similarly, the *rʌh* -form is used in past and future progressive, as illustrated in *kʌṛti rʌhʌl* *'*do -PROG remain -PST.3SG.NH' (7a) and in *ḍʰuiṭi rʌhi* 'wash -PROG remain -FUT.3SG.Non.Hon ' (7b), and pluperfect aspect, as in *gʌil rʌho* 'go -PRF remain -2PL.MH ' (7C).

## 5.3    Verb agreement

Dangaura Tharu verbs agree with the number, person, gender and honorificity of the subject argument. The inflectional suffixes in all the tenses and aspects are the same, except in

the future tense third person in which it has specific suffixes- *-hĩ* and *-i*. Dangaura Tharu has three levels of honorificity: Honorific, Mid-Honorific, and Non-Honorific in the second person and two levels- Honorific and Non- Honorific in the third person. Similarly, it has gender distinction in the third person honorific and non-honorific senses.[28] The examples in (8) illustrate the agreement system in Dangaura Tharu.

(8)    a.    *ţũhin pʰe kʰʌibũ*

ţũ -hʌnʌ        pʰe      kʰa -b -ũ

2SG.MH -DAT    also     eat -FUT -1SG

'I will eat you too.'    (FR_MRC.145)

b.    *le ţʌ ţʌĩ nʌi jʌiţʰya kʌlʌse hʌmrʌ lanḍebi*

le    ţʌ    ţʌĩ      nʌi    jʌi -ţʰ -ya        kʌlʌse hʌmrʌ lan -ḍe -b -i

PRT  PRT  2SG.NH  NEG  go -PRS -2SG.NH  if        1PL      bring -give -FUT -1PL

'Okay, if you are not going, we will bring for you.'            (FR_MRC.031)

c.    *ţũ pʰer rani pʌrlo*

ţũ          pʰer  rani          pʌr              -l  -o

2SG.MH    also   queen        happen to be   -PST -2PL.MH

'You also happen to be a queen.'    (SR_PRC.036)

d.    *u gʌhʌ ʌpnʌ sekbi ki nʌĩ kʌrʌ kam?*

u      gʌhʌ  ʌpnʌ      sek -b -i    ki    nʌĩ    kʌr -ʌ    kam

that    riddles 2SG.HON  can -FUT -2H  or    NEG    do -INF  work

'Whether you can do the riddle or not.'    (FR_MRC.196)

e.    *ţʌ u ka ka gʌhʌ ḍʌrţʰʌ*

ţʌ      u      ka      ka      gʌhʌ    ḍʌr -ţʰ  -ʌ

PRT    3SG    what    what    riddles  put -PRS -3SG.Hon

[28] See the tabel 5.1 also.

'(Let's us see) What riddles he presents.'        (FR_MRC.195)

f.    *mʌhihʌnʌ ʈʰʌrwa mʌja mʌnʈʰa ki ni mʌnʈʰa*

mʌi -hʌnʌ   ʈʰʌrwa    mʌja   mʌn -ʈʰ -a           ki ni    man -ʈʰ   -a

1SG -DAT    husband   good   agree -PRS -3SG.NH   or  NEG   agree -PRS -3SG.NH

'Whether my husband will take it easy or not.'        (FR_YRC.129)

g.    *mwar babu bʌrʌ mʌja cʰayi parʌkʰlyaha*

mwar      babu   bʌrmʌja    cʰayi      pa -rʌkʰ -l  -ya     -ha

1SG.GEN   sister   very good   daughter   bear -keep -PST -3SG.NH.F -3SG.NH.F

'My sister had got a beautiful daughter.'        (ELCTD_ PG.152)

Here we have the examples of all the inflectional suffixes that go with the agreement system in Dangaura Tharu. The verb in (8a) *kʰʌibũ* 'eat -FUT -1SG' agrees with the subject *mʌi* '1SG' which is understood from the context. Similarly, (8b) contains two verbs *lanɖebi* ' bring -give -FUT -1PL' and *jʌiʈʰya* 'go -PRS -2SG.NH' which agree with the first person plural subject *hʌmrʌ* and second person non-honorific subject *ʈʌĩ* respectively. The verbs *pʌrlo* 'happen to be -PST -2PL.MH' (8C) and *sekbi* 'can -FUT -2H' (8d) agree with the second person mid-honorific subject *ʈũ* and honorific one *ʌpnʌ* respectively. Similarly, the verbs *ɖʌrʈʰʌ* (8e), *mʌnʈʰa* (8f) and *parʌkʰlyaha* (8g) agree with the third person singular honorific (8e), non-honorific (8f) and non-honorific feminine gender subjects (8g).

The agreement pattern in all the tenses is given in the table 5.2.

Table 5.2    Agreement Pattern in Dangaura Tharu

| Person | | Present | | Past | | Future | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | **Singular** | **Plural** | **Singular** | **Plural** | **Singular** | **Plural** |
| **1st Person** | | *-ũ* | *-i* | *-ũ* | *-i* | *-ũ* | *-i* |
| **2nd** | **Hon.** | *-i* | *-i* | *-i* | *-i* | *-i* | *-i* |
| | **Mid-Hon.** | *-o* | *-o* | *-o* | *-o* | *-o* | *-o* |
| | **Non-Hon.** | *-ya* | *-o* | *-ya* | *-o* | *-ya* | *-o* |
| **3rd** | **Hon.** | *-ʌ (M)* <br> *-i (F)* | *-ʌ* | *-ʌ (M)* <br> *-i (F)* | *-ʌ* | *-ĩ* | *-ĩ* |
| | **Non-Hon.** | *-ʌs/-is/-a* | *-ʌ* | *-ʌs/-is* | *-ʌ* | *-i* | *-ĩ* |

## 5.4    Summary

In this chapter we have noticed that copula verbs in Dangaura Tharu can be used in verbal and non-verbal predicate constructions. Danguara Tharu makes a distinction between nominal, adjectival and locative predicates. Analogous to Nepali and Chitoniya Tharu, Dangaura Tharu isolates nominal predicate in the use of copula verb. Adjectival and locative predicates share the same copula form *ba*, whereas nominative predicates take another form *hui*. However, the functional distinction is neutralized in the past and future tenses. The copula forms *rʌh* and *hui* are used in the past and future tenses respectively irrespective of the types of predicate they are used with. Moreover, Dangaura Tharu also exhibits evidences of copula verbs used as auxiliary verbs. Such copula forms are *ba* in present progressive and participial perfect, and *rʌh* in past and future progressive and pluperfect aspects. We have also analyzed the agreement system in this language. Almost all the inflectional suffixes are the same in all the tenses except in future tense with third person subject where nasalization makes a distinction between singular and plural form of the verb.

◇

# CHAPTER 6

# SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.0     Summary and conclusion

Tharu is an umbrella term that incorporates all the communities of this indigenous group dwelling in the 22 Terai and inner Terai districts of Nepal and some bordering districts of India. Furthermore, this nomenclature stands for both the ethnic group and the language they speak. Although no comparative and comprehensive sociolinguistic study of this ethnic group has been done so far, based on the explicit cultural and linguistic differences, there is a tendency to classify them into several cultural and linguistic classes, such as Rana, Dangaura, Chitoniya, and Kochila or Saptariya Tharu. Dangaura Tharus are considered to have been originated from the Dang Valley of Mid-western Nepal and in the course of time migrated to the east and west, mostly to the west. Now they are living in the Terai districts such as Rupandehi, Taulihawa, Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Surkhet, Kailali, and Kanchanpur. This thesis is a report of a study of Dangaura Tharu verb morphology conducted on the basis of some elicited and natural texts recorded in Ward No. 6 of Tulsipur municipality, Dang.

In this thesis, we have discussed the internal phonological as well as morphological structures of the verb stems in Dangaura Tharu. We have noticed that Dangaura Tharu verb stems have eight different phonological shapes. Most of the verb stems begin with consonant, though a very small number of verbs that begin with vowel are also attested. Based on the verbal constellation, it has six types of verb phrase structures which we have discussed with examples. Furthermore, Dangaura Tharu has vowel as well as consonant final stems. Although it seems to be quite simple and so obvious, the classification is of a great significance because of the morphophonological alterations that are caused by the final sound of the verb stems. The vowel final verb stems undergo considerable morphophonological alterations during the inflectional processes, whereas consonant final ones do not. In addition, we have also analyzed the verb stems in terms of their internal structure, such as simple, compound and derived.

Having analyzed the internal structure of the verb stems, we have discussed the tense system in Dangaura Tharu. We have noticed that Dangaura Tharu has distinct and complex

morphological processes regarding tense and aspect. Like most of NIA languages, the Dangaura Tharu follows three-tense system with distinct tense markers in each tense. A peculiar feature has been noticed here. It has two tense markers in the present tense: -ṭ for the copula and -ṭʰ for other lexical verbs. Similarly, there are two tense markers in the past tense too: -l and -n. The first person singular verb takes the marker -n, and the rest take -l. It has two markers in the future as well: h in the third person, and -b elsewhere. The concord markers are the same in all the tenses except in third person future tense where the plural and honorific subject takes the nasalized form -ĩ and the singular and non-honorific subject takes the nonnasalized form of the high front vowel -i. Dangaura Tharu exhibits the expressions indicating several aspects like imperfective, including habitual and progressive, perfective, perfect, pluperfect, completive, inceptive and iterative which have also been discussed with examples in chapter three.

We have observed that Dangaura Tharu exhibits the instances of expressions indicating different mood and modality, such as imperative, prohibitive, hortative, desiderative and conditional moods, and the epistemic and deontic modalities like possibility, permission, ability, necessity, obligation and hearsay. Dangaura Tharu makes a distinction between immediate and delayed imperatives. It has distinct markers -i, -o and ɸ for immediate imperatives and -bi, -ho and -is for delayed ones. The prohibitive mood requires a separate marker *jin* which is exclusively used in prohibitive mood. Similarly, Dangaura Tharu exhibits distinct markers for hortative and desiderative moods: ũ for hortative and -ʌs and -is for desiderative. Moreover, the conditional mood is indicated by a conditional marker *kʌlʌse* which is used after the conditional clause (protasis). Dangaura Tharu uses a single modal verb *sek* or *syak* 'be able to' to express possibility, permission, and ability, though there is another modal verb *pa* 'be allowed to' for permission. For necessity and obligation, a separate modal verb *pʌr* 'have to' is attested and a separate particle *hũ* embodies the hearsay concept that indicates that the proposition is not first-hand information.

The copula verbs in Dangaura Tharu can be used in verbal and non-verbal predicate constructions. Danguara Tharu makes a distinction between nominal, adjectival and locative predicates. Analogous to Nepali and Chitoniya Tharu, Dangaura Tharu isolates nominal predicate in the use of copula verb. Adjectival and locative predicates take the copula form *ba*, whereas nominal predicates take *hui*. However, the functional distinction is neutralized in the past and future tenses where the copula forms *rʌh* and *hui* are used respectively irrespective of

the types of predicate they are used with. Moreover, Dangaura Tharu also exhibits evidences of copula verbs used as auxiliary verbs. Such copula forms are *ba* in present progressive and participial perfect, and *rʌh* in past and future progressive and pluperfect aspects. We have also analyzed the agreement system in this language. Almost all the inflectional suffixes are the same in all the tenses except in future tense where the nasalized and nonnasalized forms of the high front vowel *i* make a number distinction. Plural and honorific singular subjects take the nasalized form, whereas singular and non-honorific subjects take the nonnasalized one.

Although it is simply the linguistic analysis of the verb morphology, one of the componants of grammar, of Dangaura Tharu, we have noticed that it has specific morphological features  to embody the inherent verbal categories like tense, aspect, mood, and modality, and has specific inflectional suffixes that are peculiar to this language. Even on the basis of this study, it can be said that Dangaura Tharu is a distinct language which has its own distinct linguistic features.

◈

# Appendix A

## The Copular Verb Paradigm (Nominal)

| Person | | Present | | Past | | Future | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural |
| 1st Person | | *huiʈũ* | *huiti* | *rʌnʌhũ* | *rʌlʌhi* | *huim/huibũ* | huibi |
| 2nd | Hon. | *huiti* | *huiʈi* | *rʌlʌhi* | *rʌlʌhi* | *huibi* | *huibi* |
| | Mid-Hon. | *huiʈo* | *huiʈo* | *rʌlʌho* | *rʌlʌho* | *huibo* | *huibo* |
| | Non-Hon. | *huiʈya* | *huiʈo* | *rʌlʌhya* | *rʌlʌho* | *huibya* | *huibo* |
| 3rd | Hon. | *huiʈʌ (M)* <br> *huiti (F)* | *huiʈʌ* | *rʌlʌhʌ (M)* <br> *rʌlʌhi (F)* | *rʌlʌhʌ (M)* <br> *rʌlʌhi (F)* | *hũhĩ* | *hũhĩ* |
| | Non-Hon. | *ho* | *huiʈʌ* | *rʌhʌ* | *rʌlʌhʌ* | *hui* | *hũhĩ* |

## Copular Verb Paradigm (Locative /Adjectival)

| Person | | Present | | Past | | Future | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural |
| 1st Person | | *baʈũ* | *baʈi* | *rʌnʌhũ* | *rʌlʌhi* | *rʌhʌm* | *rʌbi* |
| 2nd | Hon. | *baʈi* | *baʈi* | *rʌlʌhi* | *rʌlʌhi* | *rʌbi* | *rʌbi* |
| | Mid-Hon. | *baʈo* | *baʈo* | *rʌlʌho* | *rʌlʌho* | *rʌbo* | *rʌbo* |
| | Non-Hon. | *baʈya* | *baʈo* | *rʌlʌhya* | *rʌlʌho* | *rʌbya* | *rʌbo* |
| 3rd | Hon. | *baʈʌ (M)* <br> *baʈi (F)* | *baʈʌ* | *rʌlʌhʌ (F)* <br> *rʌlʌhi (F)* | *rʌlʌhʌ* | *rʌhĩ* | *rʌhĩ* |
| | Non-Hon. | *ba* | *baʈʌ* | *rʌhʌ* | *rʌlʌhʌ* | *rʌhi* | *rʌhĩ* |

# Appendix B

## Verb Paradigms of Different Types of Verbs in Different Tenses

### Consonant ending verb *kʌr* 'do'

| Person | | Present | | Past | | Future | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural |
| 1ˢᵗ Person | | *kʌrṭʰũ* | *kʌrṭʰi* | *kʌrnũ* | *kʌrli* | *kʌrʌm* | *kʌrbi* |
| 2ⁿᵈ | Hon. | *kʌrṭʰi* | *kʌrṭʰi* | *kʌrli* | *kʌrli* | *kʌrbi* | *kʌrbi* |
| | Mid-Hon. | *kʌrṭʰo* | *kʌrṭʰo* | *kʌrlo* | *kʌrlo* | *kʌrbo* | *kʌrbo* |
| | Non-Hon. | *kʌrṭʰya* | *kʌrṭʰo* | *kʌrlya* | *kʌrlo* | *kʌrbya* | *kʌrbo* |
| 3ʳᵈ | Hon. | *kʌrtʰʌ (M)* *kʌrtʰi (F)* | *kʌrṭʰʌ* | *kʌrlʌ (M)* *kʌrli (F)* | *kʌrlʌ* | *kʌrʌhĩ* | *kʌrʌhĩ* |
| | Non-Hon. | *kʌrṭʰa* | *kʌrṭʰʌ* | *kʌrʌl* | *kʌrlʌ* | *kʌri* | *kʌrʌhĩ* |

All the verbs ending with a consonant follow this pattern. In the verbs of this type no morphophonemic alterations occur in the verb roots during the inflectional process.

### Vowel ending verb *kʰa* 'eat'

| Person | | Present | | Past | | Future | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural |
| 1ˢᵗ Person | | *kʰʌitʰũ* | *kʰʌiṭʰi* | *kʰʌinũ* | *kʰʌili* | *kʰʌim* | *kʰʌibi* |
| 2ⁿᵈ | Hon. | *kʰʌiṭʰi* | *kʰʌiṭʰi* | *kʰʌili* | *kʰʌili* | *kʰʌibi* | *kʰʌibi* |
| | Mid-Hon. | *kʰʌiṭʰo* | *kʰʌiṭʰo* | *kʰʌilo* | *kʰʌilo* | *kʰʌibo* | *kʰʌibo* |
| | Non-Hon. | *kʰʌiṭʰya* | *kʰʌiṭʰo* | *kʰʌilya* | *kʰʌilo* | *kʰʌibya* | *kʰʌibo* |
| 3ʳᵈ | Hon. | *kʰʌitʰʌ (M)* *kʰʌitʰi (F)* | *kʰʌitʰʌ* | *kʰʌilʌ* | *kʰʌilʌ (M)* *kʰʌilĩ (F)* | *kʰʌihĩ* | *kʰʌihĩ* |
| | Non-Hon. | *kʰʌiṭʰa (M)* *kʰʌiṭʰya (F)* | *kʰʌiṭʰʌ* | *kʰail* | *kʰʌilʌ* | *kʰai* | *kʰʌihĩ* |

# Appendix C
## Dangaura Tharu Text

cʌṭuryai giḍʌrʌk bʌṭkohi (A story of a clever jackal)

Narrator: Dephulal Chaudhary

Tulsipur Municipality -4, Dang.

CJ_DLC.001

*mwar naũ ḍepʰulal cʌudʰʌri ho*

| mwar | naũ | ḍepʰulal | cʌudʰʌri | ho |
|------|-----|----------|----------|-----|
| 1SG.GEN | name | Dephulal | Chaudhary | be.PRS.3SG.NH |

'My name is Dephulal Chaudhary.'

CJ_DLC.002

*aj hʌmrʌ bes ʌpʰismʌnʌ baṭi*

| aj | hʌmrʌ | bes | ʌpʰis | -mʌ | ba -ṭ -i |
|-----|-------|------|-------|------|----------|
| today | 1PL | BASE | office | -LOC | be-PRS -1PL |

'Today we are at the BASE office.'

CJ_DLC.003

*mʌi ekṭʰo cʌṭuryai giḍrʌk kʌṭʰa kʌhʌ jʌiṭũ*

| mʌi | ek -ṭʰo | cʌṭuryai | giḍra -ʌk | kʌṭʰa | kʌh -ʌ | ja -ṭ -ũ |
|------|---------|----------|-----------|-------|---------|-----------|
| 1SG | one -NCLF | clever | jackal -GEN | story | say -PURP | go -PRS -1SG |

'I am going to tell a story callled a Clever Jackal.'

CJ_DLC.004

*ekṭʰo gaũmʌnʌ cʌṭuryai giḍra kʌna rʌhʌ*

| ek | -ṭʰo | gaũ | -mʌnʌ | cʌṭuryai | giḍra | kʌh -na | rʌh -ʌ |
|-----|------|------|--------|----------|-------|---------|---------|
| one | -NCLF | village | -LOC | clever | jackal | say-INF | live -3PL |

'There lived a jackal called Chaturyai giḍra in a village.'

CJ_DLC.005

*u giḍra bʌhuṭ cʌkcʌk kʌrna*

| u | giḍra | bʌhuṭ | cʌkcʌk | kʌr -na |
|-----|-------|-------|--------|---------|
| that | jackal | very | naughty | do -INF |

'The jackal was very naughty.'

CJ_DLC.006

*u giḍra ek ḍin ekṭʰo kʌriya kʌuwahʌnʌ upʌr rukʰwamʌ sikar kʰaiṭi ḍyakʰʌl*

| u | giḍra | ek | ḍin | ek | -ṭʰo | kʌriya | kʌuwa | -hʌnʌ | upʌr |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| that | jackal | one | day | one | -NCLF | black | crow | -DAT | up |

| rukʰwa | -mʌ | sikar | kʰai | -ṭi | ḍyakʰ | -l |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| tree | -LOC | meat | eat | -PROG | see | -PST.3SG.NH |

'One day the jackal saw a black crow up in the tree eating flesh.'

CJ_DLC.007

*ṭʌ u ḍekʰkʌnʌ uhinʌ lwabʰ lʌglis*

| ṭʌ | u | ḍekʰ | -kʌnʌ | u | -hʌnʌ | lwabʰ | lʌg | -l | -is |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PRT | that | see | -SEQ | 3SG | -DAT | greed | feel | -PST | -3SG.NH |

'He became greedy to see that.'

CJ_DLC.008

*giḍra kʌhʌl ki we sʌŋʰariya ṭʌĩ ka kam kʌrṭʰya?*

| giḍra | kʌh | -l | ki | we | sʌŋʰariya | ṭʌĩ | ka | kam | kʌr | -ṭʰ | -ya |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| jackal | say | -PST.3SG.NH | that | VOC | friend | 2SG.NH | what | work | do | -PRS | -2SG.NH |

'Addressing the crow as friend the jackal asked what he does.'

CJ_DLC.009

*mʌi ṭʌ sikar kʰʌiṭũ kʌike kʌhʌl*

| mʌi | ṭʌ | sikar | kʰai | -ṭ | -ũ | kʌh | -ke | kʌh | -l |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | PRT | meat | eat | -PRS | -1SG | say | -SEQ | say | -PST.3SG.NH |

I am eating flesh said the jackal.

CJ_DLC.010

*her ṭʌ sʌŋʰari u apʌn kʰʌina uca ekkʌ gʰari kʰʌsaḍeho ṭʌrʌ*

| her | ṭʌ | sʌŋʰari | u | apʌn | kʰai | -na | uca | ek | -kʌ | gʰari | kʰʌsa- | ḍe | -ho | ṭʌrʌ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| look | PRT | friend | that | REFL | eat | -INF | thing | one | -EMPH | moment | drop- | give | -IMP | down |

'Look my friend, please drop down the thing that you are eating for a moment.'

CJ_DLC.011

*mʌi ṭũhin bʌhuṭ sʌhʌyog kʌrʌm kʌike kʌhʌl*

| mʌi | ṭũ | -hʌnʌ | bʌhuṭ | sʌhʌyog | kʌr | -m | kʌh | -ke | kʌh | -l |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | 2SG.MH-DAT | very | help | do | -1SG.FUT | say | -SEQ | say | -PST.3SG.NH |

'I will help you a lot said (the jackal).'

CJ_DLC.012

*ṭʌ u kʌuwa sikar giraḍehʌl*

| ṭʌ | u | kʌuwa | sikar | gira | -ḍe | -l |
|----|---|-------|-------|------|-----|-----|
| PRT | that | crow | flesh | drop | -give | -PST.3SG.NH |

'The crow dropped the flesh.'

CJ_DLC.013

*ṭʌ ḍusrʌ giḍra u sikar kʰail kʰail ḍusrʌ uhihʌnʌ sʌhʌyog ni kʌikʰʌnʌ u bʰagʌ lagʌl*

| ṭʌ | ḍusra | giḍra | u | sikar | kʰa -l | | kʰa -l |
|----|-------|-------|---|-------|--------|--|--------|
| PRT | then | jackal | that | meat | eat -PST.3SG.NH | | REDUP |

| ḍusrʌ | u -hʌnʌ | sʌhʌyog | ni | kʌr -kʰʌnʌ | u | bʰag | -ʌ | lag | -l |
|-------|---------|---------|----|----------|----|-----|----|-----|-----|
| then | 3SG -DAT | help | NEG | do -SEQ | 3SG | run away | -INF | start | -PST.3SG.NH |

'Then the jackal ate the flesh and started to run without helping him.'

CJ_DLC.014

*ekṭʰo muswa u ḍʌgʌrimʌ ḍyakʰʌl*

| ek | -ṭʰo | muswa | u | ḍʌgʌri | -mʌ | ḍyakʰ | -l |
|----|------|-------|---|--------|-----|-------|-----|
| one | -NCLF | mouse | that | road | -LOC | see | -PST.3SG.NH |

'A mouse saw him on the way.'

CJ_DLC.015

*ṭʌ u muswa kʌhʌl ki sʌŋʰari ʌpnʌ kakʌr cʌliṭʰo?*

| ṭʌ | u | muswa | kʌh -l | ki | sʌŋʰari | ʌpnʌ | kakʌr | cʌla -ṭʰ -o |
|----|---|-------|--------|----|---------|------|-------|-------------|
| PRT | that | mouse | say -PST.3SG.NH | that | friend | 2SG.HON | why | walk -PRS -2PL.MH |

'Addressing the jackal as friend, the mouse asked why he was running.'

CJ_DLC.016

*ʌpnʌ ṭʌ ḍerakʌ bʰagʌs kʌrṭʰi?*

| ʌpnʌ | ṭʌ | ḍera | -kʌ | bʰag | -s | kʌr -ṭʰ -i |
|------|----|------|-----|------|----|------------|
| 2SG.HON | PRT | be afraid | -SEQ | run away | -DESID | do -PRS -1PL |

'You seem to be willing to run away being afraid of something.'

CJ_DLC.017

*nʌhĩ nʌhĩ sʌŋʰari mʌhihʌnʌ ḍance bisai pʌrnas ba*

| nʌhĩ | nʌhĩ | sʌŋʰari | mʌi -hʌnʌ | ḍance | bisʌi | pʌr | -na | -s | ba |
|------|------|---------|-----------|-------|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|

NEG        NEG       friend    1SG -DAT a little rest   have to -INF -DESID     be -PRS -3SG

'No, no my friend. I have to take some rest.'

CJ_DLC.018

*uhorse hʌṭar ba*

uhorse       hʌṭar       ba

therefore   hurry      be -PRS.3SG

'That's why I am in a hurry.'

CJ_DLC.019

*mʌhin bisʌina ṭʰaũ ḍekʰaḍeho*

mʌi -hʌnʌ bisʌi -na       ṭʰaũ    ḍekʰ -a     -ḍe -ho

1SG -DAT    rest -INF      place  see   -CAUS -give -IMP

'Please, show me a resting place.'

CJ_DLC.020

*kʌikʰʌnʌ kʌhʌber ṭʌ u muswa kʌhʌl*

kʌr -kʰʌnʌ    kʌh -ber      ṭʌ       u      muswa kʌh -l

do -SEQ      say -DUR     PRT    3SG    mouse  say  -PST.3SG.NH

'At the same time the mouse said.'

CJ_DLC.021

*sʌŋʰari yeḍi mwar kʌhʌl mʌnṭʰi kʌlʌse mʌi agʌ agʌ jʌim tũ pacʰʌ pacʰʌ jʌiho*

sʌŋʰari       yeḍi     mwar    kʌh -l           mʌn -ṭʰ -i

friend       if       1SG.GEN say -PST.3SG.NH agree -PRS -1PL

kʌlʌse mʌi    agʌ     agʌ    jʌi -m        tũ       pacʰʌ   pacʰʌ      jʌi -ho

if     1SG    before REDUP go -1SG.FUT   2SG.MH after     REDUP    go -IMP

'Hey friend, if you believe me, I go ahead and you follow me.'

CJ_DLC.022

*uhã bʌra mʌja bisʌina ṭʰaũ ba kʌikʰʌnʌ ṭʌ muswa agʌ agʌ nyaŋal*

uhã     bʌra    mʌja   bisʌi -na       ṭʰaũ  ba

there   very   good  rest -NMLZ    place  be -PRS -3SG

kʌh -kʰʌnʌ ṭʌ   muswa agʌ        agʌ    nyaŋ -l

say -SEQ  PRT mouse before     before walk  -PST.3SG.NH

'Saying that there is really a very good resting place the mouse started to walk ahead.'

CJ_DLC.023

*u giḍra muswak pacʰʌ pacʰʌ gʌil*

| u | giḍra | muswa -k | pacʰʌ | pacʰʌ | ja -l |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| that | jackal | mouse -GEN | after | REDUP | go -PST.3SG.NH |

'The jackal followed the mouse.'

CJ_DLC.024

*u ek ṭʰaũ jakʰʌnʌ bʌra onrar ṭʰaũ jakʰʌnʌ*

| u | ek | ṭʰaũ | ja -kʰʌnʌ | bʌra | onrar | ṭʰaũ | ja -kʰʌnʌ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG | one | place | go -SEQ | very | dark | place | go -SEQ |

'He reached a very dark place.'

CJ_DLC.025

*ḍusra oho sʌŋʰari yi tʰaũ bʌra mʌja bisʌina ba*

| ḍusra | oho | sʌŋʰari | yi | ṭʰaũ | bʌra | mʌja | bisʌi -na | ba |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | EXCL | friend | this | place | very | good | rest -NMLZ | be.PRS.3SG |

'Then, hey friend, this is a very good resting place.'

CJ_DLC.026

*onrar ṭʰaũmʌ lejaiber uhã ekṭʰo bʌgʰwa rʌhʌ*

| onrar | ṭʰaũ -mʌ | leja -ber | uhã | ek -ṭʰo | bʌgʰwa | rʌh -ʌ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dark | place -LOC | take -DUR | there | one -NCLF | tiger | live -3PL.NH |

'In the dark place there was a tiger.'

CJ_DLC.027

*ṭʌ u cʰoṭi moṭi muswa ʌpnʌ swaṭṭʌ cʰoṭmoṭ uca bilwamʌ pʌiṭʰgil*

| ṭʌ | u | cʰoṭi | moṭi | muswa | ʌpnʌ | swaṭṭʌ | cʰoṭmoṭ | uca | bilwa -mʌ | pʌiṭʰ -ja -l |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PRT | 3SG | small | | mouse | 2SG.HON | ONO | small | thing | hole -LOC | enter -go -PST.3SG.NH |

'Then the small mouse got into a small hole.'

CJ_DLC.028

ḍusra u bʌgʰwa u cʌṭuryai giḍrʌhʌnʌ pʌkʌrlelis

| ḍusra | u | bʌgʰwa | u | cʌṭuryai | giḍra -hʌnʌ | pʌkʌr -le | -l | -is |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | that | tiger | that | clever | jackal -ACC | catch -take | -PST | -3SG.NH |

'Then the tiger caught the clever jackal.'

CJ_DLC.029

*ɖosrʌ u cʌʈuryai giɖrʌhʌnʌ u bʌgʰwa apʌn ahara bʌnalehʌl*

| ɖosrʌ | u | cʌʈuryai | giɖra -hʌnʌ | u | bʌgʰwa | apʌn | ahara | bʌna -le | -l |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | that | clever | jackal -ACC | that | tiger | REFL | food | make -take | -PST .3SG.NH |

'Then the tiger ate the clever jackal (Lit. made it his food).'

CJ_DLC.030

*ɖosrʌ muswa pʰir nikʌrkʰʌnʌ uhʌ ɖʌgʌr gʰumʌber u kʌuwa ɖyakʰʌl*

| ɖosrʌ | muswa | pʰir | nikʌr -kʰʌnʌ | u -hʌ | ɖʌgʌr |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | mouse | again | come out -SEQ | that -EMPH | way |

| gʰum | -ber | u | kʌuwa | ɖyakʰ | -l |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| return | -DUR | that | crow | see | -PST .3SG.NH |

'While the mouse was coming back, the crow saw him.'

CJ_DLC.031

*oho sʌŋʰari kʌhãse aiʈo?*

| oho | sʌŋʰari | kʌhã -se | a -ʈ -o |
|---|---|---|---|
| EXCL | friend | where -ABL | come -PRS -2PL.MH |

'Hey friend, where are you coming from?'

CJ_DLC.032

*hero sʌŋʰari ka kʌrna ho?*

| her -o | sʌŋʰari | ka | kʌr -na | ho |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| look -IMP | friend | what | do -INF | be.PRS.3SG.NH |

'Look my friend, what is to be done?'

CJ_DLC.033

*u cʌʈuryai giɖra ʈũhar kʰʌiʈi kʰʌiʈi bʰag kʰoskʰʌnʌ kʰʌiber mʌhinʌ bʌra ɖukʰʌ lagʌl*

| u | cʌʈuryai | giɖra | ʈũhar | kʰai -ʈi | kʰai -ʈi | bʰag | kʰos -kʰʌnʌ | kʰa -ber |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| that | clever | jackal | 2SG.GEN | eat -PROG | eat -PROG | share | snatch -SEQ | eat -DUR |

| mʌi -hʌnʌ | bʌra | ɖukʰʌ | lag -l |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG -DAT | very | pain | feel -PST .3SG.NH |

'I felt so sad to see the clever jackal grab your food while you were eating.'

CJ_DLC.034

*mʌi ʈũhin sʌhʌyog pʰer kʌrʌm kʌikʰe kʌhʌl*

| mʌi | ʈũ | -hʌnʌ | sʌhʌyog | pʰer | kʌr -m | kʌh -kʰe | kʌh -l |
|------|-----|--------|----------|------|---------|-----------|---------|
| 1SG | 2SG.MH | -DAT | help | also | do -1SG.FUT | say -SEQ | say -PST .3SG.NH |

'He also said that he would help you.'

CJ_DLC.035

*ʈʌ sʌhʌyog kʌrʌ ni ɖyakʰkʰʌnʌ mʌhin bʌra ɖukʰʌ lagʌl*

| ʈʌ | sʌhʌyog | kʌr -ʌ | ni | ɖyakʰ -kʰʌnʌ | mʌi -hʌnʌ | bʌra ɖukʰʌ | lag -l |
|-----|----------|---------|-----|--------------|-----------|------------|--------|
| PRT | help | do -INF | NEG | see -SEQ | 1SG -DAT | very sorrow | feel - PST.3SG.NH |

*kʌikʰʌnʌ u muswa kʌuwahʌnʌ kʌhʌl*

| kʌh | -kʰʌnʌ | u | muswa | kʌuwa -hʌnʌ | kʌh -l |
|------|---------|-----|--------|--------------|---------|
| say | -SEQ | that | mouse | crow -ACC | say - PST.3SG.NH |

'The mouse told the crow that he felt so sad not to see the clever jackal help him.'

CJ_DLC.036

*ʈʌ kʌuwa ʈiʈʰ lʌglis*

| ʈʌ | kʌuwa | ʈiʈʰ | lʌg -l | -is |
|-----|--------|------|---------|-----|
| PRT | crow | pity | feel -PST | -3SG.NH |

'The crow felt pity (for the mouse).'

CJ_DLC.037

*sʌŋʰari mʌhihʌnʌ bʌhuʈ sʌhʌyog kʌrlo*

| sʌŋʰari | mʌi -hʌnʌ | bʌhuʈ | sʌhʌyog | kʌr -l | -o |
|----------|-----------|--------|----------|---------|-----|
| friend | 1SG -DAT | very | help | do -PST | -2PL.MH |

'Friend you helped me a lot.'

CJ_DLC.038

*mʌhihʌnʌ ʈʰʌgʌl mʌnʌihʌnʌ ʈʌ bʌgʰwak ahara ʈʌ bʌnʌilo*

| mʌi -hʌnʌ | ʈʰʌg -ʌl | mʌnʌi -hʌnʌ | ʈʌ | bʌgʰwa -k | ahara | ʈʌ | bʌna -l -o |
|-----------|----------|--------------|-----|------------|--------|-----|-------------|
| 1SG -DAT | cheat -PTCP | man -DAT | PRT | tiger -GEN | food | PRT | make -PST -2PL.MH |

'You made the person who cheated me the tiger's food.'

CJ_DLC.039

*ab mʌi ʈũhin sʌhʌyog kʌrʌm kʌikʰʌnʌ ɖosrʌ u kʌuwa*

| ab | mʌi | ʈũ | -hʌnʌ | sʌhʌyog | kʌr -m | kʌh -kʰʌnʌ | ɖosrʌ | u | kʌuwa |
|-----|------|-----|--------|----------|---------|-------------|--------|-----|--------|

| now | 1SG | 2SG.MH | -DAT | help | | do -1SG.FUT | say -SEQ | | then | that | crow |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

*uhʌ muswak lagi pʰir muswak kʰʌina ahara lanke ḍehʌl*

| u | -hʌ | muswa -k | lagi | pʰir | | muswa -k | kʰa -na | ahara | lan -ke | ḍe -l |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| that -EMPH | | mouse -GEN | for | again | | mouse -GEN | eat -INF | food | bring -SEQ | give -PST.3SG.NH |

'I will help you now. Then the crow brought some food for the mouse.'

CJ_DLC.040

*ṭʌ hũkrʌ sʌŋʰari sʌŋʰari bʌnlʌ*

| ṭʌ | hũkrʌ | sʌŋʰari | sʌŋʰari | bʌn | -l | -ʌ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PRT | 3PL | friend | friend | become | -PST | -3PL.NH |

'Then they became friends.'

CJ_DLC.041

*u kʌuwa o muswa miṭ miṭ saino pʰe bʌnʌilʌ*

| u | kʌuwa | o | muswa | miṭ | miṭ | saino | pʰe | bʌna | -l | -ʌ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG | crow | and | mouse | friend | friend | relation | also | make | -PST | -3PL.NH |

'The crow and the mouse made the ritual friendship relation between them.'

CJ_DLC.042

*ṭʌ ʌisin ki hʌmrʌ pʰen ek ʌurʌjʌn sʌŋʰʌriya bʌnakʰʌnʌ*

| ṭʌ | ʌisin | ki | hʌmrʌ | pʰen | ek | ʌurʌjʌn | sʌŋʰʌriya | bʌna -kʰʌnʌ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PRT | like this | that | 1PL | also | one | others | friend | make -SEQ |

*kʌunõjʌn ṭʰʌgna ka kʌṭʰʌ bemani kʌrna nʌi kʌikʰʌnʌ*

| kʌunõjʌn | ṭʰʌg -na | ka | kʌh -ṭʰ | -ʌ | bemani | kʌr -na | nʌi | kʌr -kʰʌnʌ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| someone | cheat -INF | what | say -PRS | -3PL.NH | dishonest | do -INF | NEG | do -SEQ |

*ek apʌsmʌ milkʌ kam kʌrna yi kʌṭʰak rʌhʌsyʌ huiṭ*

| ek | apʌs mʌ | mil -kʌ | kam | kʌr -na | yi | kʌṭʰa -k | rʌhʌsyʌ | hui -ṭ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| each | other -LOC | meet -SEQ | work | do -INF | this | story -GEN | essence | be -PRS.3SG.NH |

'The theme of the story is that we should make each other our friends and should not cheat anyone.'

CJ_DLC.043

*ʌṭṭʰese hʌmrʌ sʌŋʰari bʌnli*

| ʌṭṭʰe -se | hʌmrʌ | sʌŋʰari | bʌn | -l | -i |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| here -ABL | 1PL | friend | become | -PST | -1PL |

*kʌlʌse ek ʌurʌjʌn ṭʰʌgʌ ni huiṭ*

| kʌh | -lʌ | -se | ek | ʌurʌjʌn | ṭʰʌg | -ʌ | | ni | hui | -ṭ |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|------|-----|---|-----|-----|-----|
| say | -PRF | -ABL | one | others | cheat | -PURP | | NEG | be | - PRS.3SG.NH |

*kʌna yi kʌṭʰa bujʰʌiṭʰa.*

| kʌh | -na | yi | kʌṭʰa | bujʰ | -ṭʰ | -a |
|-----|-----|-----|-------|------|-----|-----|
| say | -INF | this | story | understand | -PRS | -3SG.NH |

'If we become friends at this moment, we would not cheat others. This is what this story says.'

CJ_DLC.044

*mʌi apʌn kʌṭʰahʌnʌ yahã ʌnṭyʌ kʌrṭʰũ ḍʰʌnyabaḍ*

| mʌi | apʌn | kʌṭʰa | -hʌnʌ | yahã | ʌnṭyʌ | kʌr | -ṭʰ | -ũ | ḍʰʌnyabaḍ |
|-----|------|-------|-------|------|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----------|
| 1SG | REFL | story | -DAT | here | ending | do | -PRS | -1SG | thanks |

'I finish my story here. Thank you.'

◈

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