

I: Language and People

This study aims at analyzing the verb morphology of Rana Tharu mainly spoken by Rana Tharus residing in Dekhat Bhuli, Kalaupur and Kalkatta villages of Kanchanpur and Urma, Jugeda and kailali gun villages of Kailali districts of Nepal. Despite its small size, Nepal is famous in the world as it accommodates an amazing cultural, ethnic and linguistic asserts. Nepal is proved to be a stock place for languages because of linguistic plurality. It can be taken as a research center or the laboratory for language researchers. Despite the lack of rigorous researches on the field, the National Population and Housing Census report of 2011 has indentified 123 distinct languages used by different ethnic groups as their mother tongue. According to the 2011 public census, Tharu population is 1,737,470 comprising 5.8% of the total population of Nepal but no clear distribution of population in accordance with their clans is known till date. Meanwhile, the ethnic organization entitled Nepal Rana Tharu Soceity estimates 250,000 Rana Tharus living in Kailali and Kanchanpur. Besides, a number of languages have been reported as unknown languages because of the lack of adequate knowledge and research. Such multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual settings confer Nepal to a peculiar position on the linguistic map of the world. Most of the languages are not codified in Nepal. Therefore, they are used only for day to day communication in spoken form

The Rana Tharu belongs to a group of languages usually called the Indo-Aryan. The Indo-Aryan languages are the subgroup of the Indo-European family of languages.

The form of language spoken by the Rana Tharu people is known as the Rana Tharu, a dialect of the Tharu language. However, Regmi, Dan Raj and Gopal Thakur suggest that Rana Tharu is a separate language. (7) In 2009 Lewis, Paul lists four

dialects of the Tharu language, namely Rana Tharu, Dangaura Tharu, Chitwania Tharu, and Morangiya or Kochila Tharu, after this in 1998 according to her the division of the Tharu dialects is similar to Boehm, Edward. He has used the word lists from four Tharu varieties; they are Rana, Dang, Chitwan and morang for phonological reconstruction. The anthropological accounts available in the Rana Tharu indicate that the Rana Tharu people speak a distinct language. The information obtained from the community members shows that Tharus are concentrated in Laxmipur and Shankarpur VDC's and in Dhangadi municipality in Kailali district. Neither the Census 2001 showed varieties of neither Tharu language, nor 2011 Census had differentiated any varieties of Tharu spoken in Nepal. The census thus fails to differentiate the varieties of Rana and Dangaura Tharu in Kailali and Kanchanpur. The population of these two dialects of Tharu is lumped together without showing the precise distinction between them.

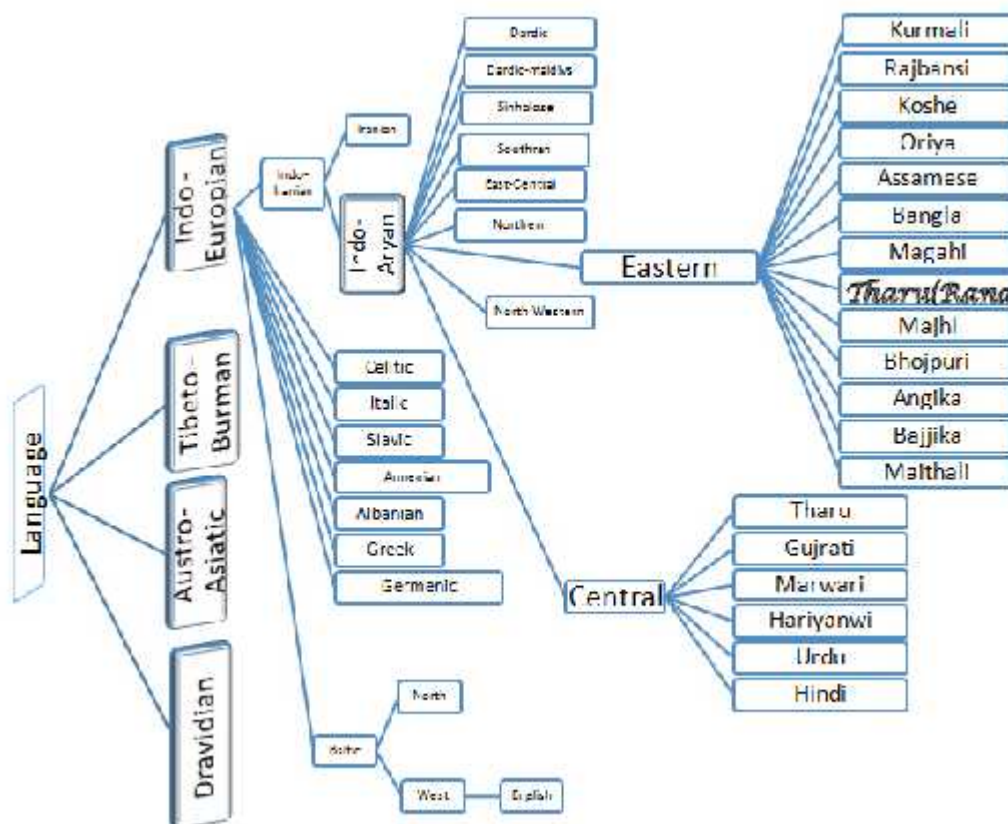
The spread of Rana Tharu in Nepal is observed in the districts of Kailali and Kanchanpur and so on in the adjacent Indian bordering territories of Uttara khanda and Uttar pardesh. It's language written in Devanagari script, the alphabet almost coincident with the spoken sounds.

Map1: The geographical location of the Rana Tharu speech community.



Source: SIL International, 2012

Diagram1: Position of Rana Tharu among the Indo-Aryan languages of Nepal



Source: The report of National languages policy Recommendation commission-
English Translation (Dhakal, Dubi Nanda 88)

Rana Tharu dialect is independent and rich language in itself. This is one of the distinct language of Nepal and India. It has also spread almost every corner of the world. In the Nepalese government media, Radio Nepal broadcasts a five minute daily news bulletin and a one hour weekly program.

The study has its own problems on which the research activity is based. The verb morphology of any language is the core area of grammar. Thus, the basic problem of this research is to study the verb morphology of Rana Tharu language. Specifically, this research is oriented to the following problems

1. How are tense, aspect and mood/ modality realized in the language?

2. How are the valence changing devices such as causativization and passivization realized in the complex of the verb in Rana Tharu?
3. What is the role of auxiliaries in the complex of the verb in Rana Tharu?

The objectives of this research are to analyze the morphology of Rana Tharu verbs. To meet the objectives, the researcher is oriented to solve the problems stated in “Statement of the problem” Section. More specifically, the main objectives of the study are:

- a) To analyze tense, aspect, mood and modality patterns in the language;
- b) To examine valence changing devices in Rana tharu; and
- c) To look at the role of auxiliaries in the complex of the verb in Rana Tharu?

The verb morphology of Rana Tharu hasnot been carried out in Nepal till now. In Nepal some linguists have done some research in Rana Tharu, but these researches are not related with solely verb morphology of Rana Tharu. Some few work is done linguistically in this language. Though inside and outside Nepal, the books on the grammar of Rana Tharu is found, but these books do not describe the Rana Tharu Verb morphology in detail.

The Linguistic study of Rana Tahru is in a very early stage in terms of description, research and analysis. Owing to this situation the detailed phonological, morphological and syntactic analysis of the Rana Tharu is not available till the date.

Grierson,G.A. Notes that “The tharus in the Naini Tal area speak "ordinary western Hindi of the locality”. (311) Grierson thus suggests that the Rana Tharu resembles western Hindi.

In 1999 Sirvastava, S.K. on the basis of his detailed anthropological field work, shows the cultural information about Rana Tharu. His study was mainly based on Naini Tal region of India.

Gautam, Rajesh and Ashok k. thapa magar note that “The tharu language spoken in Dang, Kailali and Kanchanpur shows high similarities with Awadhi and Hindi just as the tharu spoken in Saptari have high similarity with Maithali” (328). Their views towards the Rana Tharu are similar to Grierson.

Breton Page, J refers to Hindi when he notes that “Rana Tharu is close to Hindustani dialects” (86).

Srivastava notes that “The Rana Tharu speak a language which draws from the stocks of hindi and its other forms , namely , kanaugi and Brajbhaka , Kumaonese and Hindi”(14).

The study is fully based on the data taken from the Rana Tharu native speakers from Kailali and Kanchanpur districts. Data collection with the native speakers is the primary sources for the research .some of the data have been included from the secondary sources such as books, reports, journals, and some other related texts.

Following techniques and tools are used:

- a) Primary resources: The primary resource of the data collection is oral texts and recording from different native speakers.
- b) Secondary resources: Books, Articles, reports, internet, journals and CBS report in Rana Tharu are the secondary resources of the data collection.

Tools for data collection are:

- Recorded story
- Questionnaire
- Wordlists

Review of the literature shows that some foreign scholars have done much in the linguistic classification of Rana Tharu languages but only some few works is done in Nepal. Since the verb morphology of any language is the core area of grammar, this study attempts to work in this field. The very study will help to recognize, analyze and comprehend Rana Tharu Verb morphological categories. The verbal morphology of Rana Tharu will contribute to promote and preserve the language under study. It will help to support the Rana Tharu community in their endeavour to develop and promote the use of the language and to encourage the continuation of its use by the future generation.

This study is restricted to the verb morphology of Rana Tharu. The data for the study are collected by the native speaker of Rana Tharu from Kailali and Kanchanpur districts as well as some of the data are collected from the secondary sources like sociolinguistic survey of Rana Tharu and census report.

II: Verb Morphology

Inflectional Morphology

Inside this section I will talk about tense, aspect, mood and modality. Tense is a grammatical category used to indicate temporal aspects of verb that has also to agree with the time adverbial in a sentence. According to Cormie, Bernad “Tense reflects the time of the situation referred to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking” (2). Abbi defines “tense indicates the temporal location of an event or a state. In other words, the category, tense indicates the time of the predication in relation to some particular moment. This moment is typically the moment of speaking or writing the utterance. Tense thus indicates whether the event happened prior to the moment of speaking (past tense), is contemporaneous with it (present tense) or subsequent to it (future tense)” (7). Chaudhary, Mahesh Kumar has mentioned that “past, present and future are the three tenses found in Tharu language, of which past and future are the most used and the present least used. Present and future are overlapping in regularities” (VI). He further claims, “since so called future tense is used predominately event to refer to present. Present has retained existence that it is used to predict and refers to present time. Tharu language possesses tense carrying morphemes which are suffixed to the verb stem, showing a morphological distinction between past and non-past tenses. In other words, Tharu verbs, like Maithili, are inflected to indicate these two tenses by means of various tense marking morphemes. Here, non-past tense refers to the situation/ event of both present and future. And the past tense can further be extended to recent past (same day) and remote past (other previous day). There are three persons: first, second, third, two numbers: Singular and Plural, and honorificity is also there in the Tharu language” (35).

The idea of tense system in Rana Tharu can be shown in the following way:

Figure no.1: Tense system in Rana Tharu

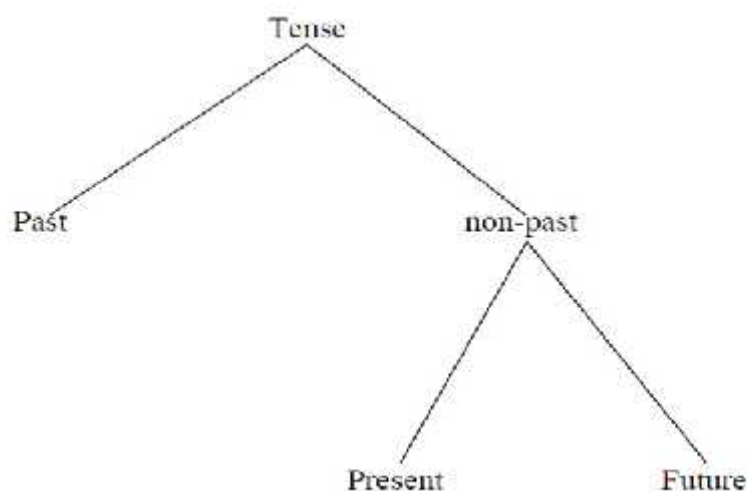
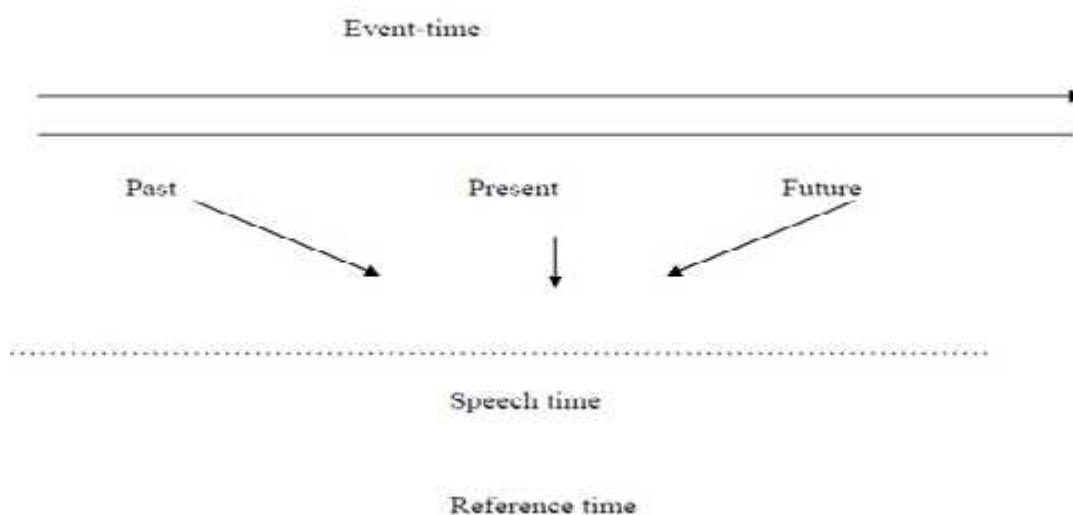


Figure no.2: Tense and temporal anchoring



The past tense implies the event prior to the present situation. It does not state anything about the time period occupied by the event, its initiation and termination. It simply implies that the event does not hold at present. According to Givón, Talmy “past tense shows the event prior to the present situation and does not say anything about the time period occupied held at present. Past tense simply locates the situation in question prior to the present moment and says nothing about whether the past situation occupies just single point prior to present moment or indeed the whole of

time”(286). Comrie says that “Tharu language, past time is marked by using different inflections to the stem of verb or verb” (41).

There are two ways of expressing past tense in Rana Tharu. They are morphological and periphrastic. Morphologically past tense marker is *-o, -e, -i*. The suffix *o* is not only past tense marker but also a gender marker. This is thus portmanteau suffix According to Haspelmath, martin and Andrea D. Sims “There are some these types of suffixes which expresses person, number and gender” (64). In this language tense marker cannot be separated from person, number, and gender (PNG) markers.

The past tense in this language is often expressed with verb ‘*g o*’ which is in fact the past form of ‘*dza*’ *go*. Since the past tense is also expressed periphrastically. These are illustrated with the examples below.

(1) a. *m e bhat khao*

m e bhat Kha -o

I rice Eat -PST-1.Sg

‘I ate rice.’

b. *h m bhat khae*

h m bhat Kha -e

We rice Eat -PST-1Pl

‘We ate rice.’

c. *tu bhat khai*

tu bhat kha -i

you Rice eat -PST-2SGF.NH

‘You ate rice.’

d. *tu s b bhat khe*

tu s b bhat kha -e

you -pl rice -eat -PST- 2pl

‘You ate rice.’

e. *ba bhat khao*

ba bhat kha -o

h/she rice eat -PST- 3SG.NH

‘He ate rice.’

f. *dzin bhat khai*

dzin bhat kha -i

they rice eat -PST-3(SG/PL)F/H

‘They ate rice.’

From the examples above it is clear that the past tense marker in Rana Tharu is different according to number and person. In this language the honorificity will also affect the tense marker those all types of past tense marker of Rana Tharu are presented in the following table.

Table1: The verb ‘Kha’ in the Past tense

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1 st	-o	-e
2 nd non-honorific	-i	-i
2 nd honorific	-e	-e
3 rd non-honorific	-o	-o

3 rd honorific	-i	-i
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As mentioned above, the non-past tense refers to the situation /event which is not past, but recent and further both. So, Rana Tharu verbs inflected non-past marker can be analyzed using the present tense and the past tense as well.

The present tense refers to the situations or events at the present time now. The present tense is formed by participle /-t/ which is attached to the verb stem followed by present auxiliary. This is similar to Hindi. The present tense indicates the habitual action (represented action/natural phenomena) the present tense is similar to the non-past habitual. Following are the examples:

(2) a. *m e bhat khat h ~ u*

m e bhat kha -t h ~u

I rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES-1. SG

‘I eat rice.’

b. *h m bhat khat h ~ e*

h m bhat kha -t -h ~ e

we rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES-1.PL

‘We ate rice.’

c. *t e bhat khat h e*

t e bhat kha -t -h e

you rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES-2.SG.NH

‘You eat rice.’

d. *tum bhat khat h u*

tum bhat Kha -t -h u
 you rice Eat -IMPF -be-PRES-2.SG.H
 ‘You eat rice.’

e. *tus b bhat khat h u*

tu/tum -s b bhat kha -t -h u
 you -PL rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES-2.PL(H/NH)
 ‘You eat rice.’

f. *u bhat khath e*

u bhat kha -t -h e
 h/she rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES-3SG.NH
 ‘S/he eats rice.’

g. *us b bhat khath ~i*

u -s b bhat kha -t -h ~i
 h/she -PL rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES -3.PL
 ‘They eat rice.’

h. *l ~u a bhat khath i*

l ~u a bhat khe -t -h i
 boy rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES -3. SG
 ‘The boy eats rice.’

From the examples above it is clear that the present tense marker in Rana Tharu is different according to number and person. In this language the honorificity will also

affect the tense marker. Those all types of present tense marker of Rana Tharu are presented in the following table.

Table2: The verb ‘Kha’ in the Present tense

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1 st	- <i>~u</i>	- <i>~e</i>
2 nd non-honorific	- <i>e</i>	- <i>u</i>
2 nd honorific	- <i>u</i>	- <i>u</i>
3 rd non-honorific	- <i>e</i>	-
3 rd honorific	- <i>i</i>	- <i>~i</i>

The future tense refers to the situation or event after the present time/now. Katamba, Francis has mentioned that “The future tense is subsequent to the present situation or moment i.e. what has not yet taken place” (220). As the distinct form present tense inflected markers with verb are existing in the Rana Tharu language, so is the case with the future tense.

The following examples shows that /-o/and /-e/clearly bear the meaning of future moment/probability, however it sometimes draws the meaning of past. The future time is indicated by - *ng/-g* which may inflect different number person and gender. The future tense marker /-g/ may be preceded by vowels like /-o/. The future tense may occur with future time adverbial.

(3)a. *m e bhat kham go*

m e bhat kha -m g -o

I rice eat -FUT -1. SG

‘I will eat rice.’

b. *h m bhat kham ge*

h m bhat kha -m g -e

we rice eat -FUT -1.PL

‘We will eat rice.’

c. *t e bhat kha ego*

t e bhat kha -eg -o

you rice eat -FUT -2.SG.NH

‘You will eat rice.’

d. *tum bhat kha ige*

tum bhat kha -ig -e

you rice eat -FUT -2.SG.H

‘You will eat rice.’

e. *tus b bhat kha ige*

tu/tum -s b bhat kha -ig -e

you -pl rice eat -FUT -2.PI(H/NH)

‘You will eat rice.’

f. *u bhat kha ego*

u bhat kha -eg -o

h/she rice eat -FUT -3SG.NH

‘S/he will eat rice.’

g. *ba bhat khaih ~e*

ba bhat kha - ih ~ -e

h/she rice eat -FUT -3SG.H

‘He/she will eat rice.’

h. *dzin bhat kha ege.*

dzin bhat kha - eg -e

they rice eat - FUT -3PL(H/NH)

‘They will eat rice.’

From the examples above it is clear that the future tense marker in Rana Tharu is different according to number and person. In this language the honorificity will also affect the tense marker. Those all types of future tense marker of Rana Tharu are presented in the following table.

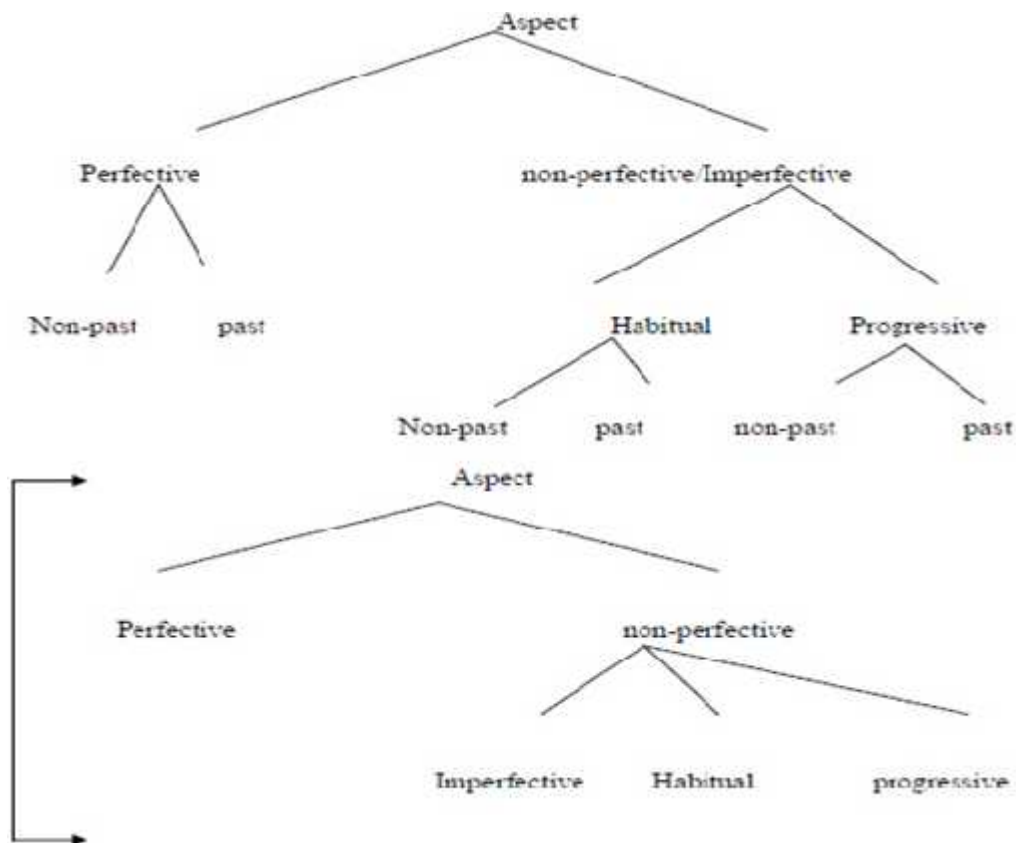
Table 3: The verb ‘kha’ in the future tense

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1 st	-o	-e
2 nd non-honorific	-o	- e
2 nd honorific	-e	- e
3 rd non-honorific	-o	-e
3 rd honorific	-e	-e

Payne, Thomas E. says that tense is associated with the sequence of events in real time, aspect with the internal temporal structure of a situation, while mode relates the speaker’s attitude towards the situation or the speaker’s commitment to the

probability that the situation is true” (97). This means aspect is a grammatical category used to mark how the action / activity denoted by a verb take place, i.e. verb temporal distribution. According to Bhat, D.N.S. as quoted in Panye, maintains that “Indo-Aryan languages are aspect prominent; while Dravidian languages are tense prominent and Tibeto-Burman languages are mood prominent” (20). Regarding Tharu language, aspect along with tense and mood is also highly inflected and realized with its verb forms, i. e. it has also different aspects denoting different temporal structures of a situation in the past and in the non-past tenses. It can be as:

Figure3. Aspect in general Aspect

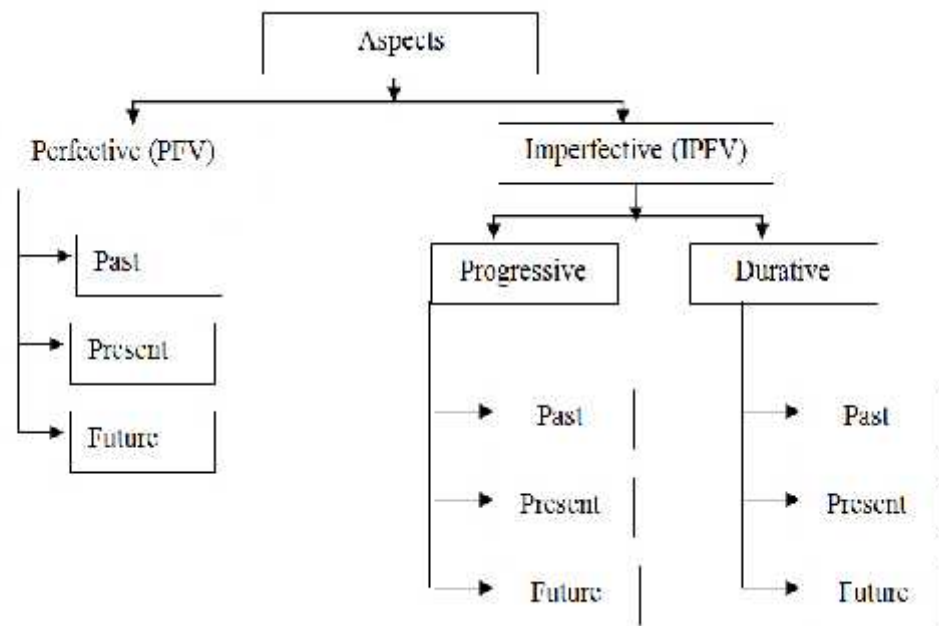


According to Crystal, David “Aspect has been defined as a grammatical category that refers to the way of temporal organization of the activity denoted by verbs” (27). According to Payne “Aspect describes the internal temporal shape of events or states” (238). It is concerned with marking notions like the duration of an

event whether it is repetitive or not, whether it has a terminal boundary, etc. Comrie says that Aspects are “The different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (3).

There are some grammatical aspects that are found in Rana Tharu. They include perfect Habitual and progressive. In Rana Tharu aspects are of two types named perfective and imperfective. Imperfective aspect can be further extended in morphologically distinct two subcategories: progressive and durative (habitual). Rana Tharu exhibits a complex aspectual system. Apart from the major categories and subcategories of aspects the figure below shows the combinations of aspects and tenses in Rana Tharu.

Figure 4: Types of grammatical aspect.



According to Payne “Perfective aspect is the situation viewed in its entirety, independent of tense. The main events of a narrative are normally recounted in perfective aspect, where as collateral, explanatory, descriptive material occurs in various non-perfective aspects (e.g., imperfective, progressive, habitual)” (239). Similarly According to Cormie “Perfective aspect looks at the situation from

outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation” (4).

It has been found that Rana Tharu expresses the perfective aspect, as in following example.

(4) a. *m e khao h ~u*

m e kha - o h ~u

I eat -PRF.M -be-PRES-1.SG

‘I have eaten.’

b. *m e khao r h ~u*

m e kha - o r h ~u

I eat -PRF.M -be-PST-1. SG

‘I had eaten.’

c. *l ~uda khao r h e*

l ~uda kha - o r h -e

boy eat -PRF.M.SG.NH -be-PST -3.Sg(NH)

‘The boy has eaten.’

d. *l ~udan khae r h ~e*

l ~uda-n kha - e r h ~e

boy-PL eat -PRF(PL) -be-PST -3.Sg(PL)

‘The boys have eaten.’

e. *m e gh rme b ithi h ~u.*

m e gh r-me b ith-i h ~u.

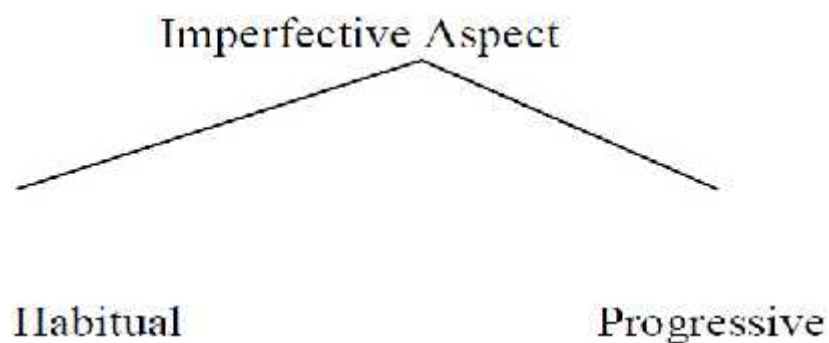
I House-Loc Sit-PRF.F - be.PRES.1SG

‘I have set at home.’

In above examples the perfect aspect is coded by suffix /-o/. The perfect marker /-o/ is suffixed to the verb and this is followed by auxiliary *h - or rh* - for present perfect and past perfect respectively. The suffix /-e/ has cumulative meaning of perfect, and plural. Similarly the perfect marker /-o/ inflects as /-i/ when it agrees with the feminine subject.

“According to Payne “In imperfective aspect the situation is viewed from ‘inside’ as an ongoing progress” (239). Similarly According to Cormie “Imperfectivity is not incompatible with perfectivity, that both can be expressed if the language in question possesses the formal means to do so” (4, 24; cited in Parajuli , Krishna Prashad 508). This means imperfective is a reference to the internal temporal structure situation, viewing a situation from within. It can look both backward towards the start of the situation and forward towards the end of the situation. It is also appropriate of the situation in one that lasts through all time, without any beginning and without any end, i.e. the imperfective aspect pays crucial attentions to the internal structure of the situation. Based on Payne, imperfective aspect is subdivided into two types: habitual and progressive.

Figure 5: Types of imperfective aspect.



According to Payne “Habitual aspect expressed an assertion that a certain type of event, such as Rudyard walking to school, regularly takes place (i.e. is indicated by actual events) from time to time” (240). For Givón the habitual aspect is “an event or state that either occurs always or repeatedly, or whose event time is left unspecified” (286) and for Comrie it is “A habit, a characteristic situation that holds at all times” (39). This does not imply that an instance of the event is taking place now. We can divide the habitual aspect of Rana Tharu in two categories past habitual and non-past habitual.

This aspect is expressed by the presence or absence of adverbs. We can see this in the following examples:

(5) a. *m e bhat khatr m go*

m e bhat kha -t -r -m g -o

I rice eat - IMPF -be -FUT -1. SG

‘I will always eat rice.’

b. *h m bhat khatr m ge*

h m bhat kha -t -r -m g -e

we rice eat - IMPF -be -FUT -1.PL

‘We will (always) eat rice.’

c. *m e bhat khatr h ~ u*

m e bhat kha -t -r h ~u

I rice eat - IMPF -be -be-PRES-1. SG

‘I use to eat rice.’

d. h m *bhat khatr h ~ e*

h m bhat kha -t -r -h ~ e

We rice eat - IMPF -be -be-PRES-1.PL

‘We use to eat rice.’

From the above examples we can say that the non-past habitual aspect in Rana Tharu is formed by suffix /-t/ and /- t/ while the vowel ending stem simply host the suffix /-t/, /- t/ is attached to the verb and end in consonant. This is followed by auxiliary ‘be’ with finite morphology.

(6) a. m e *bhat khatr o*

m e bhat kha -t -r -o

I rice eat - IMPF -be -PST-1. SG

‘I used to eat rice.’

b. h m *bhat khatr e*

h m bhat kha -t -r -e

We rice eat - IMPF -be -PST-1PL

‘We used to eat rice.’

c. tu *bhat khatr i*

tu bhat kha -t -r -i

you rice eat - IMPF -be -PST-2SGF.NH

‘You used to eat rice.’

d. tu s b *bhat khatr e*

tu s b bhat kha -t -r -e

you -pl rice -eat - IMPF -be -PST- 2PL

‘You used to eat rice.’

e. *ba bhat khatr o*

ba bhat kha -t -r -o

h/she rice eat - IMPF -be -PST- 3SG.NH

‘He used to eat rice.’

From the above examples we can say that the non-habitual aspect in Rana Tharu is formed by suffix /-t/ and /- t/ while the vowel ending steam simply host the suffix /-t/ and /- t/ is attached to the verb and end in consonant. This is followed by auxiliary ‘be’ with finite morphology. It shows that vowel /-e/ is required only with the consonant ending steams. Sometimes the habitual aspect is also expressed periphrastically. The verb steam is followed by *k r-t* ‘do IMPF’ and copula *r h* ‘be.PST’ follows in the past tense. Sometimes the habitual aspect is also formed by *dza* ‘go’

Payne states “continuative or progressive aspect implies an ongoing, dynamic process. This is opposed to sativa aspect, which implies no change overtime. Continuative or progressive aspect is distinguished from habitual in that continuative or progressive refers to actual events, whereas habitual expressive the general truth that some event takes place from time to time” (240). It means the progressive aspect refers to activity /action in progress, i.e. goes on happening without any stoppage for a certain period, either at present or in past. The auxiliary ‘be’ plus the present participle of the verb is a grammaticalised progressive aspect in English. Let’s see how it is marked in Rana Thaur in the following examples:

The non-past progressive aspect means the aspect which indicates that the work is continue or in the progress .See how this type of aspect is expressed in the Rana Tharu in the following examples.

(7)a. *m e bhat kha tr m go*

m e bhat kha - t -r -m g -o

I rice eat - PROG -be -FUT -1. SG

‘I will be eating rice.’

b. *h m bhat kha tr m ge*

h m bhat kha - t -r -m g - e

we rice eat -PROG -be -FUT -1.PL

‘We will be eating rice.’

c. *m e bhat kha tr h ~ u*

m e bhat kha - t -r h ~u

I rice eat - PROG -be -be-PRES-1. SG

‘I’m eating rice.’

d. *h m bhat kha tr h ~ e*

h m bhat kha - t -r -h ~ e

we rice eat - PROG -be -be-PRES-1.PL

‘We are eating rice.’

In the above examples the progressive marker is - *t* if verb stem ends in consonant and /-*t*/ if they end in vowels. This is followed by *h ~e* to encode the present progressive.

The past progressive aspect is that which talks about the work was in the progress in past time. It is realized in the same way as the past imperfective in this language. Following are the examples of this aspect in Rana Tharu.

(8) a. *m e bhat kha tr o*
 m e bhat kha - t -r -o
 I rice eat - PROG -be -PST-1. SG
 ‘I was eating rice.’

b. *h m bhat kha tr e*
 h m bhat kha - t -r -e
 we rice eat - PROG -be -PST-1PL
 ‘We were eating rice.’

c. *tu bhat kha tr i*
 tu bhat kha - t -r -i
 you rice eat - PROG -be -PST-2SGF.NH
 ‘You were eating rice.’

d. *tu s b bhat kh tr e*
 tu s b bhat kha - t -r -e
 you -pl rice -eat - PROG -be -PST- 2PL
 ‘You were eating rice.’

e. *ba bhat kha tr o*
 ba bhat kha - t -r -o

h/she rice eat - PROG -be -PST- 3SG.NH

‘He was eating rice.’

f. dzin bhat kha tr i

dzin bhat kha - t -r -i

they rice eat - PROG -be -PST-3(SG/PL)F.NH

‘They were eating rice.’

g. *dzinpanipitr h e*

dzin pani pi -t -r -h e

they water drink - PROG -be -PST-3(SG).NH

‘They were eating rice.’

In the above examples the progressive marker is - *t* if verb stem ends in consonant and /-t/ if they end in vowels. This is followed *r h ~e* to encode the past progressive.

The terms mode, mood and modality are often used interchangeably, though some linguists make distinctions among these terms. Mode describes the speakers’ attitude towards a situation including the speakers’ belief in its reality. It defines as a set of syntactic and semantic contrasts signaled by alternative paradigm of verb, e.g. imperative. Semantically, a wide range of meanings is involved, especially attitudes on the part of the speaker towards the factual content of the utterance, e.g. uncertainty, definiteness, vagueness, possibility.

Payne says that “Mood describes the speaker's attitude towards a situation including the speaker's belief in its reality, or likelihood it is sometimes the speaker's estimation of the relevance of the situation to him or herself” (244).

Crystal, D. Writes “Mood defines as a set of syntactic and semantic contrasts signaled by alternative paradigm of the verb, e.g. indicative, subjunctive, imperative. Semantically, a wide range of meanings is involved, especially attitudes on the part of the speaker towards the factual concept of the utterances, e.g. uncertainty, definiteness, vagueness, possibility” (299).

According to Bybee, John and Suzanne Fleischman “Mood is an indication of what the speaker wants to do with the proposition in a particular discourse context it is a grammatical reflection of the speaker's purpose in speaking” (22).

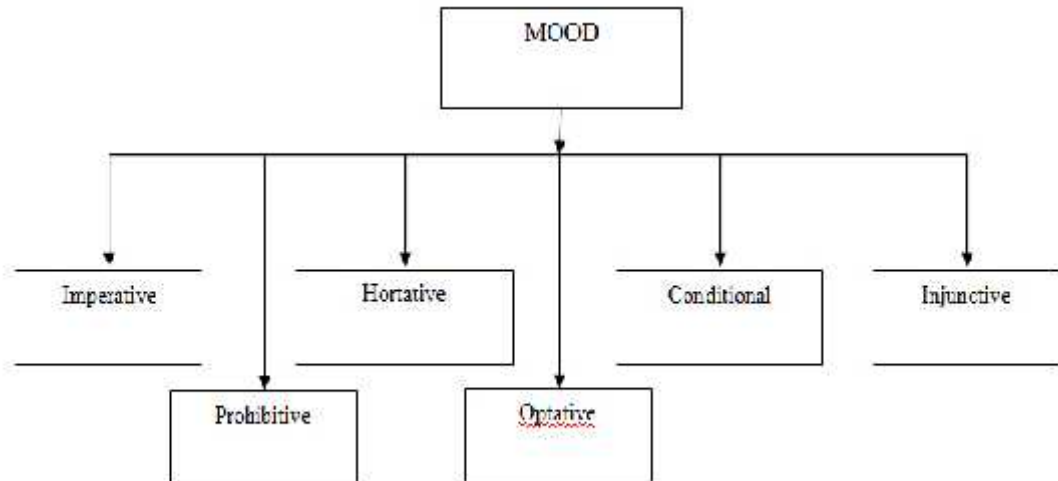
Mood, according to Dixon, R.M.W. is “A property of a sentence and deals with the speech acts of three recurrent types: declarative, imperative, and interrogative” (296).

For Palmer, F.R. mood is “A morphological category of verb like tense and aspect” (21).

Bybee and Fleischman define it as "a formally grammatical category of the verb which has a modal function” (22).

In Rana Tharu, there are six types of moods which can be shown as follows:
There are six types of moods in Rana Tharu .They are imperative, prohibitive, hortative, optative, conditional and injunctive.

Figure 6: Types of mood in Rana Tharu.



The imperative mood conveys an order or a request: the speaker commands (or requests) the addressee to realize the event. According to Collins, Harper “People use the imperative mood when they give a very clear order or instruction or advice or a warning or appealing someone to do something or rarely in explanation.”(198).

There are some ways of forming imperative mood in Rana Tharu. The basic way of forming imperative is by using bare infinitive. It codes non honorific singular imperative. The Rana Tharu makes the distinction between singular and plural imperative. Let’s see how they are formed in the following examples.

(9) a. *moke ki ab de*

mo ke kitab de

I -Acc book give.IMP.NH.SG

‘Give book to me.’

b. *be tsme b i h*

be ts -me b i h

bench -LOC sit.IMP.NH.SG

‘Sit on the bench.’

c. *be tsme b i h o*

be ts -me b i h - o

bench -LOC sit - IMP.PL

‘Sit on the bench.’

d. *be tsme b i h o*

be ts -me b i h - o

bench -LOC sit - IMP. SG.H

‘Please Sit on the bench.’

e. *tum dz aldi dzab o.*

tum dz aldi dza -b o.

you quickly go -IMP.H

‘Please go quickly.’

f. *kela khab o*

kela kha -b o

banana eat -IMP.PL

‘Please eat Banana.’

In the above examples the honorific imperative is also formed with - *o* or -*e*. The suffix - *o* is added to the verb stems to change it into honorific imperative if the verb stems end in consonants and -*b o* is added if they end in vowels.

The following examples are taken from instructions given to students in textbooks.

They are drawn from the textbooks prepared for multilingual education.

g. *dzo a milab o*

dzo a mil -a -b o

match match -CAUS -IMP.H

‘Match the sentences.’

h. *katha sunab o*

katha sun -a -b o

story hear -CAUS -IMP.H

‘Tell us stories.’

i. *Khali hiham bh r o*

khali hiha me bh r - o

blank place -LOC Fill -IMP.PL

‘Fill in the gaps.’

We find the same markers in the above examples also. Honorific imperative is formed with - *o or -e*. The suffix - *o* is added to the verb stems to change it into honorific imperative if the verb stems end in consonants and -*b o* is added if they end in vowels.

The prohibitive is marked with *m t-* Massica, Colin P. notes, “Sanskrit did have an additional ‘prohibitive’ or ‘proactive’ particle *ma-* used in negative commands and some other contexts” (389). He notes that its various forms survive in the center and west. Following are the examples:

(10)a. *m tb i he*

m t -b i h -e
 PROH -sit -PROH
 ‘Don’t sit.’

b. *b i hem t*

b i h -e -m t
 sit -EMPH -PROH
 ‘Don’t sit.’

c. *ab e m t*

ab e -b e -m t
 come -PROH -PROH
 ‘Don’t come.’

d. *khab e m t*

kha -b e m t
 eat -PROH PROH
 ‘Don’t eat.’

In the above examples prohibitive is formed with prohibitive marker *m t-* prefixing to the verb and the part of the prohibitive marker *-e.* appearing at the end of the verb.

The Hortative mood expresses the speakers intention for doing or starting something .In English it is formed by Let’s.The hortative marker in Rana Tharu are -
m e and *h ~u.* Let’s see how they are formed in this language in the following examples.

(11)a. *t o be k hi s itae lem e.*

t o b e k h -i s itae le -m e.
 then those Say -PST.3.TR rest take -HORT
 ‘Then they said, ‘Let’s take a rest.’

b. *pim e*
 pi -m e
 drink -HORT
 ‘Let’s drink.’

From the above examples we can conclude that the hortative marker is -m e and h ~u.

Optative mood generally refers to the wish, desire or hope. In an optative construction, the speaker desires an event of some participant; usually blessings and curses are expressed. Let’s see how this type of mood is expressed in Rana Tharu in the following examples.

(12)a. *m r dza*
 m r dza
 die go
 ‘May you die!’

b. *s d dzabe*
 s d dzabe
 spoil go
 ‘May you die!’

From the above examples we can conclude that the optative mood is not morphologically realized. Instead, Rana Tharu expresses it periphrastically with the help of ‘*dza*.’

Conditional mood consists of antecedent (or a condition and a consequent) and a consequent. The antecedent represents the event described by the If clause while the consequent represents the event described by the then-clause. The conditional mood is morphologically marked by using the use of conditional particle. Following are the examples of conditional (Subjunctive) mood in Rana Tahru.

(13)a. *mehe b rs ego t o m e nao go*

mehe b rs - ego t o m e na -o g -o
 rain rain -FUT.3SG.M.NH -PRT I NEG -come -FUT.1SG
 ‘If it rains, I will not come.’

b. *kutta hoego t o m e nao go*

kutta ho -ego t o m e na -o g -o
 dog become -FUT.3SG.NH -PRT I NEG -come -FUT.1SG
 ‘If there is dog, I will not come.’

c. *mehe b rs to t o m e naa to*

mehe b rs - to t o m e Na -a - to
 rain Rain -HYPO.COND -PRT I NEG -come -HYPO.COND
 ‘If it had rained, I would not have come.’

d. *t e bul ito t e m e ito*

t e bul -ito t e m e -ito
 you call -COND -PRT I come -COND
 ‘If you had called me, I would have come.’

In the above examples the simple conditional mood is expressed by making use of the conditional particle -t o. The verb in the main clause may be in the present tense, or imperative. The hypothetical conditional, on the other hand, is formed differently. Hypothetical conditions are formed by marking the verb with the suffix- to or -to. The main clause is also marked with the same suffix.

This type of mood expresses the self-questions in Rana Tharu. The injunctive mood is -m ~u or - ~u in Rana Tharu. Following are the examples.

(14)a. *m e kela kham ~u*

m e kela kha -m ~u

I banana eat -INJ

‘Shall I eat banana?’

b. *m e som ~u*

m e so -m ~u

I sleep -INJ

‘Shall I sleep?’

c. *m e b i h ~u*

m e b i h - ~u

I Sit -INJ

‘Shall I sit?’

d. *m e dza dzhola k ha~ dh r ~u*

m e dza dzhola k ha~ dh r - ~u

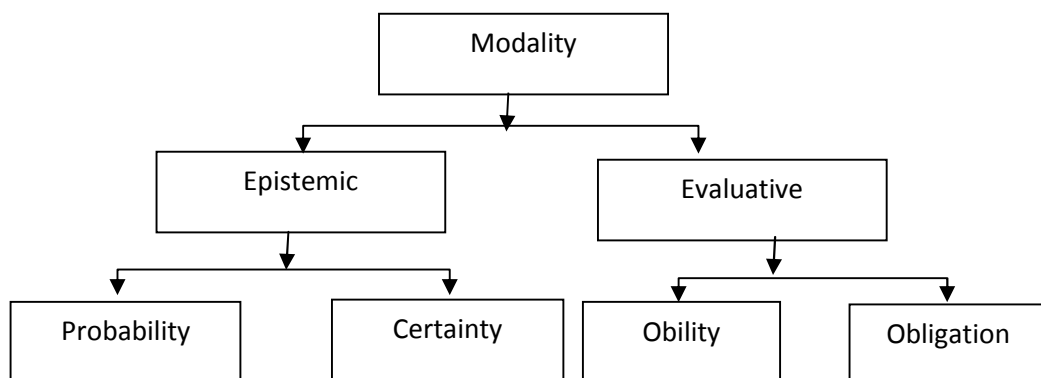
I this bag where keep -INJ

‘Where shall keep this bag?’

From the above examples we can say that the injunctive mood in Rana Tharu are -
m \tilde{u} and - \tilde{u} . Among these the consonant ending verb took the marker - \tilde{u} and the
vowel ending verb took the marker m \tilde{u} but in some exceptional cases like example
(14) c. and (14) d. the marker is - \tilde{u} .

According to Givón “The categories of the modality code the speaker’s
judgments concerning the propositional information indicated by special grammatical
marking in the verb. Modality interacts with any of the tenses, either in the same
morpheme or in combinations of morphemes. Rana Tharu modality system can be
analyzed in terms of the main distinction between epistemic and evaluative (deontic)
judgment” (300). The main categories of the modality can be further elaborated into
subcategories in Rana Tharu. The major categories and subcategories of modality in
Rana Tharu are shown below:

Figure 7: The categories and subcategories of modality in Rana Tharu



The main function of epistemic modality is to indicate the degree of
commitment of the speaker to the truth or future truth of the proposition. The
epistemic modality has the whole proposition in their scope. In Rana Tharu epistemic
modality includes probability and certainty.

The main function of this mood is to indicate that the situation described in the proposition is probably true. It is marked by adding future tense markers to the auxiliary *ho* '-be'. Let's see how this type of modality is formed in Rana Tharu in the following examples:

(15)a. *m e sajd kha tr m go*

m e sajd kha - t -r -m g -o
 I -PROB eat - PROG -be -FUT -1. SG
 'I may be eating.'

In this example it is marked by adding future tense markers to the auxiliary '*ho*'

It denotes that the speaker is emphasizing that the proposition is true. In Rana Tharu the marker of certainty is <*dzrur*>. It is directly attached to the root of the verb. It may be combined with any of the tenses whether in the same morpheme or in the combinations of other morphemes. Let's see how it functions in Rana Tharu in the following examples.

(16)a. *m e dzrur padm go*

m e dzrur pad -m g -o
 I certain read -FUT -1. SG
 'I will certainly read.'

b. *u dzrur pad ego*

u dzrur pad - eg -o
 h/she certain read -FUT -3SG.NH
 'He will certainly read.'

c. *tum dzrur pad ige*

tum dzrur pad - ig -e

you certain read -FUT -2.SG.H

‘You certainly read.’

In the above examples the certainty is marked by ‘dzrur’.

The main function of evaluative (deontic) is to describe internal or external ability of the willful agent with respect to the completion of the predicate situation. They may be combined with any of the tenses, either in the same morpheme or in combinations of the morphemes. In Rana Tharu there are two evaluative modalities which are coded by verbal affixes. They include ability and obligation.

The ability indicates that the agent of the verb has the mental or physical ability to complete the action of the main verb. It is indicated in the complex of the verb by suffix <-s k>. The following are the examples.

(17)a. *ram pads kth e*

ram pad s k - t -h e

ram read can -IMPF -be-PRES-3SG.NH

‘Ram can read.’

b. *tu pad s ki*

tu pad s k -i

you read can -PST-2SGF.NH

‘You could read.’

- c. *m e pad s km go*
 m e Pad s k -m g -o
 I read can -FUT -1. SG
 ‘I will be able to read.’

From the above examples we can say that the ability is marked by ‘s k’ in Rana Tharu.

The obligation indicates that the agent is obliged to perform the action of the verb. It is indicated in the complex of the verb by suffix <- n>, and the subject is marked with ACC/DAT marker <-ko>. Following are the examples.

- (18)a. *m erko dzisebi pad n parm go*
 m er ko dzisebi pad - n par -m g -o
 I -DAT/ACC any how read -to Aux -FUT -1.SG
 ‘I have to read.’

- b. *t e dzisebi pad n par ego*
 t e dzisebi pad - n par - eg -o
 you any how read -to Aux -FUT -2.SG.NH
 ‘You had to read.’

From the above examples we can say that the obligation is indicated in the complex of the verb by suffix <- n>, and the subject is marked with ACC/DAT marker <-ko>.

Rana Tharu contrast between past, present, and future Tense. The past and future tense in Rana Tharu are both morphologically and periphrastically expressed whereas present tense is only morphologically.

There are two ways of expressing past tense in Rana Tharu. They are morphological and periphrastic. Morphologically past tense marker is *-o, -e, -i*. The suffix *-o* is not only past tense marker but also a gender marker. The past tense is often expressed with verb '*g o*' which is in fact the past form of '*dza*' go. Since the past tense is also expressed periphrastically.

The present tense is formed by participle *-t* which is attached to the verb stem followed by present auxiliary. The future time is indicated by *- ng/-g* which may inflect different number person and gender. The future tense marker *-g* may be preceded by vowels like *-o*. The future tense may occur with future time adverbial.

There are some grammatical aspects that are found in Rana Tharu. They include Perfect, Habitual and progressive.

The perfect aspect is coded by suffix *-o*. The perfect marker *-o* is suffixed to the verb and this is followed by auxiliary *h - or rh* - for present perfect and past perfect respectively. The suffix *-e* has cumulative meaning of perfect, and plural. Similarly the perfect marker *-o* inflects as *-i* when it agrees with the feminine subject.

The habitual aspect is formed by suffix *-t* and *- t* while the vowel ending stem simply host the suffix *-t*, *- t* is attached to the verb and end in consonant. This is followed by auxiliary 'be' with finite morphology. The progressive marker is *- t* if verb stem ends in consonant and */-t/* if they end in vowels.

There are six types of moods in Rana Tharu. They are imperative, prohibitive, hortative, optative, conditional and injunctive. In the same way there are two types of modality: epistemic and evaluative.

Derivation and Valence Changing Operation

Bickel, Balthasar and Nichols, Johanan point out that “Derivation is a lexical matter in which choices are independent of the grammatical environment” (169).

Derived word generally denote different concept from their base: leaflet refers to different thing from leaf. Derivational categories do from separate words.

Derivational morphology is often is placed closer to the root than inflectional morphology. Derivational morphology change the word class of the base lexeme i.e. nouns can be derived from verbs, adjectives from nouns, and so on. In such case of derivation, term denominal (derived from noun), deverbal (derived from the verb) and deadjectival (derived from an adjective) are used. Thus, the main feature of derivational morphology is to create new words from new concepts. Verbs are derived from same or other categories i.e. they are derived from verbs /nouns/adjectives etc. In Rana Tharu some verbs are derived from adjectives. We can see them in the following examples.

Table 4: Some examples of derived verbs in Rana Tahru.

Adjectives		Derived Verbs	
p t ro	‘thin’	p t rban	‘make thin’
dubro	‘thin’	dubran	‘become thin’
mo o	‘fat’	mo oan	‘be fat’
ula a	‘be inside out’	ula ban	‘make something inside out’
edo	‘bent’	edban	‘make something bent’
bemar	‘be sick’	bemaran	‘make someone sick’
behos	‘be unconscious’	behosan	‘make someone unconscious’
udzjaro	‘bright’	udzjarban	‘make something bright’

tu o	'broken'	tu ban	'make something broken'
tito	'chilly hot'	tit ban	'make chilly hot'
rito	'empty'	rit ban	'make empty'
tsim ro	'hard'	tsim rban	'make something hard'
t tto	'hot'	t ttoban	'make something hot'
l mbo	'long'	l mboban	'make something long'
hilo	'loose'	hil ban	'make something loose'
k pti	'low minded'	k ptiban	'make someone low minded'
m tti	'soil'	m tti n	'make spoil'
k o	'sour'	k oban	'make something sour'
phut	'break'	phutban	'make something break'
phat	'break'	phatban	'make something break'
phor	'break'	phorban	'make something break'
sukho	'dry'	sukh ban	'make something dry'

Payne points that; “Causative constructions (or causatives) are the linguistic instantiations of the conceptual notion of causation” (175-176). A causative is a linguistic expression that contains in semantic/logical structure a predicate of cause, one argument of which is a predicate expressing an effect. Similarly according to Palmer, F.R. “Causative doesn’t promote a term but adds a new argument that represents the notional causer which can be considered as having the new grammatical role of causer, placing it in subject position, while demoting the original subject to oblique or peripheral status” (994). Causative construction is a universal phenomenon found across all the languages of the world. Causatives can be divided into three types: lexical, morphological and periphrastic analytic. A morphological

causative is one kind of valance increasing operations. In Rana Tharu lexical and morphological two kind of causativization is also possible.

In Rana Tharu causativization can also be found in meaning level. In this language two different words are used to express causative meanings. We can find this kind of causativization in Rana Tharu only in few verbs some of them are given in the following examples.

Table 5: Some examples of lexical causativization

dzan	'to go'	p han	'to send'
hon	'to become'	b nan	'to make'
b i h n	'to stay'	dh r n	'to keep'
kud n	'to run'	du an	'to run other'
an	'to come'	bolan	'to call'
miln	'to meet'	vitan	'to make meet with other'
phir n	'to visit around'	ghuman	'to make visit around'

(19)a. *mir l lo gh r dzao.*

mir l lo gh r dza -o
 my sister home go -PST.1SG
 'My sister went to home.'

b. *m e l loko gh r p hao.*

m e l lo -ko gh r p h -a -o
 I sister -ACC home send -CAUS -PST.1SG
 'I sent my sister to home.'

c. *mir putr fil hoo*

mir putr fil ho -o
 my son fail become -PST.1SG
 ‘My son becomes failed.’

d. *mast r mir putr ko fil b nao*

mast r mir putr fil b n -a -o
 teacher my son fail make -CAUS -PST.1SG
 ‘Teacher made my son failed.’

In the above examples two different verbs are found giving the meaning of causative. So we can say that in this language the causative is also formed lexically or by changing the verb.

f. *m e~ putrke m rao.*

m e putr m r -a -o
 I son die -CAUS -PST.1SG
 ‘I caused my son dead.’

Payne points out that “Morphological causatives involve a productive change in the form of the verb and it should be derived by a rule that can be applied to many other verbs in the language.” (177-178) thus, in morphological causativization the addition in root is always productive. In Rana tharu also this kind of causative can be found by different causative markers. We can see them in the following examples.

(20)a. *be tsme b i ho*

be ts -me b i h -o
 bench -LOC sit -PST.1SG

‘Sat on the bench.’

b. *be tsme b i hao*

be ts -me b i h -a -o

bench -LOC sit -CAUS -PST.1SG

‘Made someone to sit on the bench.’

c. *ch o u o*

ch o u -o

bird fly -PST.1SG

‘Bird flew.’

d. *tum ch oke u ao*

tum ch o -ke u -a -o

you bird -ACC fly -CAUS -PST.1SG

‘You made bird to fly.’

e. *mir putr m ro*

m e putr m r -o

I son die -PST.1SG

‘My son dead.’

f. *m e~ putrke m rao.*

m e putr m r -a -o

I son die -CAUS -PST.1SG

‘I caused my son dead.’

g. *mor topi giro*

mor topi gir -o

my hat fall -PST.1SG

‘My hat fell.’

h. *m e~ mor topi girao*

m e mor topi gir -a -o

I my hat fall -CAUS -PST.1SG

‘I caused my hat fall.’

The above given examples are of the consonant ending verbs which can be changed into causative by adding ‘-an’ to the verb root. Similar kind of consonant ending verb and their causative form are given in the following table.

Table 6: Some examples of causativation of consonant ending verbs

bhidz n	‘to drench’	bhidzan	‘to make drench’
m r n	‘to die’	mar n	‘to make kill’
u n	‘to die’	u an	‘to make die’
gir n	‘to fall’	giran	‘to make fall’
dub n	‘to sink’	duban	‘to make sink’
to n	‘to break’	to an	‘to make break ’
ts l n	‘to walk’	ts lan	‘to make walk’
nats n	‘to dance ’	n tsan	‘to make dance ’
p n	‘to read’	p an	‘to make read ’
pit n	‘to beat’	pitan	‘to make beat’

b i h n	'to sit down'	b i han	'to make sit down'
k ^h ul n	'to boil '	k ^h ulan	'to make boil'
u h n	'to stand up '	u han	'to make stand up'
mil n	'to meet'	Milan	'to make meet'
bol n	'to talk'	bolan	'to make talk'
m r n	'to die '	m ran	'to make die'
rop n	'to plant '	ropan	'to make plant'
gir n	'to fall'	giran	'to make fall'

On the other hand in Rana Tharu there is different rule for the causativization in vowel ending verbs. I can see the causativization process of such types of vowel ending verbs on this language in the following examples.

(21)a. *m e bhatpaka-o*

m e bhat paka -o

I rice cook -PST.1SG

'I cooked rice.'

b. *m e bh ejase bhat pakabao*

m e bh eja -se bhat paka -ba -o

I brother -ABL rice cook -CAUS -PST.1SG

'I got my brother to cook rice.'

c. *m e bhat khao*

m e bhat kha -o

I rice eat -PST.1SG

'I ate rice.'

d. *m e b tstsake bhat kh bao*

m e b tsts a -ke bhat kh -ba -o

I child -ACC rice eat -CAUS -PST.1SG

‘I feed the child rice.’

e. *m e dari k t ro*

m e dari k t r -o

I beared shave -PST.1SG

‘I shaved the beard.’

f. *m e bh ejase dari k t rbao*

m e bh eja -se dari k t r -ba -o

I brother -ABL beared shave -CAUS -PST.1SG

‘I got my brother shave my beard.’

g. *m e pani pio*

m e pani pi -o

I water drink -PST.1SG

‘I drink the water.’

h. *m e Putrke pani pibao*

m e putr -ke pani pi -ba -o

I son -ACC water drink -CAUS -PST.1SG

‘I got my son to drink the water.’

i. *merko mat tshuo*

mer -ko mat tshu -

I -ACC NEG touch -PRES.1SG

‘Don’t touch me.’

j. *tor b tstsako merko mat tshuban*

tor b tstsako -ko mer -ko mat tshu -ba -n

your child -ACC I -ACC NEG touch -CAUS -PRES.1SG

‘Don’t make your son to touch me.’

We can see in above examples the vowel ending verbs are changed into causative by adding -‘ban’ to the verb root. Similar kind of vowel ending verbs and their causative forms are presented in the following table.

Table 7: Some examples of causativation of vowel ending verbs

bu n	‘to sow’	buban	‘to make someone sow’
si n	‘to sew’	siban	‘to make someone sew’
ki n	‘to buy’	ki ban	‘to make someone buy’
pi n	‘to drink’	pi ban	‘to make someone drink’
tshun	‘to touch’	tshuban	‘to make someone touch’
khan	‘to eat’	kh ban	‘to make someone eat’
m nan	‘to agree’	m naban	‘to make someone agree’
dikkan	‘to become angry’	dikk ban	‘to make someone become angry’
Milan	‘to match’	milaban	‘to make someone match’
dzutan	‘to gathered’	dzutaban	‘to make someone gathered’
dubran	‘to become thin’	dubranban	‘to make someone become thin’
pakan	‘to cook’	pakaban	‘to make someone cook’

tsdan	'to ride'	tsdaban	'to make someone ride'
trikan	'to crake'	trikaban	'to make someone crake'
r ptan	'to drive away'	r ptaban	'to make someone drive away'
Bhutan	'to extinguish'	bhutaban	'to make someone extinguish'

Passivization is an opposite phenomenon to causativization in terms of syntax.

When passivization takes place, the subject noun phrase is either demoted to postpositional phrase or dropped. According to Katamba "Passivization is one of the valence decreasing devices (268-269)". Let's see what is the passivization process in Rana Tharu in the following examples.

(22)a. *m e bhat khat h ~ u*

m e bhat kha -t h ~u

I rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES-1.SG

'I eat rice.'

b. *m e bhat khal o*

m e bhat kha -l o

I rice eat -PASS

'The rice was eaten by me.'

c. *m e ts o dekho*

m e ts o dekh -o

I bird see -PST.1SG

'I saw the bird.'

- d. *ts o dekhil o*
 ts o dekh -il o
 bird see -PASS
 'The bird was seen.'
- e. *m e muso maro*
 m e muso mar -o
 I rat kill -PST.1SG
 'I killed rat.'
- f. *muso marl o*
 muso mar -l o
 rat kill -PASS
 'The rat is killed.'
- g. *m e bhat kham go*
 m e bhat kha -m g -o
 I rice eat -FUT -1.SG
 'I will eat rice.'
- h. *m e bhat khal o*
 m e bhat kha -l o
 I rice eat -PASS
 'I will eat rice.' (passive)

- i. *m e horime gh r dzau go*
 m e hori -me gh r dza -u g -o
 I hori -LOC home go -FUT -1.SG
 ‘I will go home in Hori.’
- j. *m e horime gh r dzal o*
 m e hori -me gh r dza -l o
 I hori -LOC home go -PASS
 ‘I will go home in Hori.’ (Passive)
- k. *mor putr p h ego*
 mor putr p - eg -o
 my son read -FUT -3.SG.NH
 ‘My son will read.’
- l. *mor putr p hl o*
 mor putr p -l o
 my son read -PASS
 ‘My son will read.’ (Passive)
- m. *m e misaula p kau go*
 m e Misaula p ka -u g -o
 I Misaula cook -fut -1. SG
 ‘I will cook Misaula.’

- n. *m e misaula p kal o*
 m e misaula p ka -l o
 I misaula Cook -PASS
 'I will cook Misaula.' (Passive)
- o. *m e be tsme b i hu go*
 m e be ts -me b i h -u g -o
 I bench -LOC sit -FUT -1.SG
 'I will sit on bench.'
- p. *m e be tsme b i l o*
 m e be ts -me b i h -l o
 I bench -LOC sit -PASS
 'I will sit on bench.' (Passive)

I can clearly see in the above given examples that the passive is formed by adding '-l o' and '-il o' suffixes to the verb root. Only in some few feminine subject markers '-ileo' is used otherwise in most of the cases the suffix '-l o' is the passive marker of Rana Tharu language.

In Rana Tharu the verb can be derived from adjectives by adding suffix -ban. In the same way the causativation process is also found in this language. There are two kind of causativation process in Rana Tharu. Among those two processes we can found lexical causativation in only few verbs but morphological causativation is more productive. There are different markers of morphological causativation. Those markers are different according to the ending of the verb. In consonant ending verbs the suffix '-an' is added and in vowel ending verbs the suffix '-ban' is added. I also find the passivization in this language. The passive marker is the suffix '-l o' and '-il o'. Mostly for passive the suffix '-l o' is used and in some feminine subjects the marker '-il o' is also used.

III: Auxiliary Verbs

I find both principal and modal auxiliary in Rana Tharu. In this language there are six types of principal auxiliary verbs which are tabled in the following table.

Table8: List of main auxiliaries in Rana Tharu.

<i>h -</i>	present
<i>r -</i>	present
<i>r h -</i>	Past
<i>r -</i>	Past
<i>r -</i>	Future

From the above list of principal auxiliary verbs of Rana Thaur we can know the past present and the future form of the auxiliary verbs in Rana Tharu. Let's see how they are used in language in the following examples.

(23)a. *m e gh rme b ithi h ~u.*

m e gh r-me b ith-i h ~u.

I House-Loc Sit-PRF.F - be.PRES.1SG

'I have set at home.'

b. *m e khao h ~u*

m e kha -o h ~u

I eat -PRF.M -be-PRES-1.SG

'I have eaten.'

c. *h m bhat khat h ~e*

h m bhat kha -t -h e

we rice eat - IMPF -be-PRES-1.PL

'We ate rice.'

- d. *t e bhat khat h e*
 t e bhat kha -t -h e
 you rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES-2.SG.NH
 'You eat rice.'
- e. *tum bhat khat h u*
 tum bhat kha -t -h u
 you rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES-2.SG.H
 'You eat rice.'
- f. *l ~u a bhat khath i*
 l ~u a bhat khe -t -h i
 boy rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES -3. SG
 'The boy eats rice.'

These are the examples of present tense sentences of Rana Tharu. From above examples I can say that 'h -' is the present form of 'be verb' in Rana Tharu. The following are also the example of present tense sentences of Rana Tharu. Lets see which type of auxiliary marker is used in the following examples.

- g. *m e bhat khatr h ~u*
 m e bhat kha -t -r h ~u
 I rice eat -IMPF -be -be-PRES-1. SG
 'I use to eat rice.'
- h. *h m bhat khatr h ~e*
 h m bhat kha -t -r -h ~e

we rice eat - IMPF -be -be-PRES-1.PL

‘We use to eat rice.’

From above examples we can say that *r* -is also the the presesnt form of ‘be verb’ in Rana Tharu. Lets see which types of be verbs are used in the past tense of Rana Tharu language.

i. m e khao r h ~u

m e kha - o r h ~u

I eat -PRF.M -be-PST-1. SG

‘I had eaten.’

j. l ~uda khao r h e

l ~uda kha - o r h -e

boy eat -PRF.M.SG.NH -be-PST -3.Sg(NH)

‘The boy has eaten.’

k. l ~udan khae r h ~e

l ~uda-n kha - e r h -~e

boy-PL eat -PRF(PL) -be-PST -3.SG(PL)

‘The boys have eaten.’

From above examples I can say that *r h* - is thepast form of ‘be verb’ in Rana Tharu.

I can find another type of be verb in past tense of this language. lets see in the following examples:

l. h m *bhat khatr e*

h m bhat kha -t -r -e

we rice eat - IMPF -be -PST-1PL

‘We used to eat rice.’

m. *tu bhat khatr i*

tu bhat kha -t -r -i

you rice eat - IMPF -be -PST-2SGF.NH

‘You used to eat rice.’

n. *tu s b bhat khatr e*

tu s b bhat kha -t -r -e

you -pl rice -eat - IMPF -be -PST- 2PL

‘You used to eat rice.’

From above examples I can say that -r -is also the past form of ‘be verb’ in Rana Tharu. Similarly in the following example I have presented the form of , ‘be verb’ in future tense of Rana Tharu.

o. *ba bhat khatr o*

ba bhat kha -t -r -o

h/she rice eat - IMPF -be -PST- 3SG.NH

‘He used to eat rice.’

p. *h m bhat khatr m ge*

h m bhat kha -t -r -m g - e

We rice eat - IMPF -be -FUT -1.PL

‘We will (always) eat rice.’

q. *m e bhat khatr m go*

m e bhat kha -t -r -m g -o

I rice eat -IMPF -be -FUT -1. SG

‘I will always eat rice.’

From above examples I can say that *r* - is the future form of ‘be verb’ in Rana Tharu.

In Rana Tharu we can also find the modal auxiliaries. Some of them is listed in the table below.

Table9: List of modal auxiliaries in Rana Tharu

<i>d</i> -	‘permission’
<i>hud</i> -	‘making an attempt’
<i>pa</i> -	‘getting permission’
<i>r</i> -	‘ability’
<i>l g</i> -	‘starting/progress’

Let’s see how these modal auxiliaries are used in the sentences on the following examples.

(24)a. *m i itto bhat khan ar go*

m e itto bhat kha -n ar - g -o

I this much rice eat -INF finish -FUT -1.SG

‘I can eat this much rice.’

In this example *ar* ‘finish’ differs from lexical meaning. This shows the abilitative function.

b. *u g ijake ghas d i*

u g ija -ke d ghas -i

h/she cow -ACC give grass -PST.F.N.H

‘He gave grass to the cow.’

c. *u uske l loko bhat kha n d i*

u us -ke l lo -ko bhat kha -n d -i

h/she his/her -ACC sister -ACC rice eat -INF give -PST.F.N.H

‘He permitted his sister to eat rice.’

In above first example the verb *d* gives the lexical meaning of give. In next example it gives the meaning of permission.

d. *ba paiso hud o*

ba paiso hud -o

he money look for -PST.M.N.H

‘He looked for the money.’

e. *ba moke h gn hud o*

ba mo -ke h g - n hud -o

he I -ACC cheat -INF look for -PST.M.N.H

‘He tried to deceive me.’

In above first example the verb *hud* gives the lexical meaning of search. In next example it is used as compound verb.

f. *bake bhuk lako*

ba -ke bhuk lag -o

he -ACC hunger feel -PST.M.N.H

‘He was hungry.’

g. *bh eja iskul dzan ligo*

bh eja iskul dza -n lag -o

brother school go -INF feel -PST.M.N.H

‘Brother began to go to school.’

In above first example the verb ‘*lag*’ gives the lexical meaning of feeling but in next example it gives the meaning of event in progress.

h. *m i bhat khan ligo.*

m e bhat kha -n lag -o

I rice eat -INF feel -PST.M.N.H

‘I began to eat rice.’

In this example also the verb ‘*lag*’ gives the meaning of event in progress.

In Rana tharu we can two types of auxiliaries that are principal auxiliaries and modal auxiliaries. The principal auxiliary in this language is different according to tense. ‘h -’and ‘r -’are the present form in the same way ,‘r h -’,‘andr -’are the past form similarly‘r -’ is the future form of principal auxiliary.On the other hand this language has modal auxiliaries also .The marker of modal auxiliaries in this language are *d -*, *hud,-pa-*, *r-*,and*l g-*.These markers have different role according to situation .For permission the marker *d -*,For making an attempt *hud-*,For getting permission *pa-*,For ability *r-*,and similarly for starting any work or progress of any work the marker *l g-* is used.

IV: Conclusion

The study entitled 'Verb Morphology' in Rana Tharu analyzes the verb system of Rana Tharu. This research is descriptive in nature. The data are taken from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data are used from daily life conversation, which is used for data analysis. Similarly the secondary data are applied from both published and unpublished materials. The basic sentence list is used as a primary source as well native speakers voice is also recorded in the form of story like 'holi, misaula, sat^{hi}'. The required data are manually internalized.

Rana Tharu has grammatical gender and two number system i.e., singular and plural. It has morphological causativization in which affixation and phonological processes are used.

Rana Tharu contrast between past, present, and future Tense. The past and future tense in Rana Tharu are both morphologically and periphrastically expressed whereas present tense is only morphologically.

There are two ways of expressing past tense in Rana Tharu. They are morphological and periphrastic. Morphologically past tense marker is *-o, -e, -i*. The suffix *o* is not only past tense marker but also a gender marker. This is thus portmanteau suffix. There are some these type of suffixes which expresses person, number and gender. In this language tense marker cannot be separated from person, number, and gender (PNG) markers.

The past tense is often expressed with verb 'g o' which is in fact the past form of 'dza' go. Since the past tense is also expressed periphrastically.

The present tense is formed by participle *-t* which is attached to the verb stem followed by present auxiliary. This is similar to Hindi. The present tense indicates the

habitual action (represented action/natural phenomena) the present tense is similar to the non-past habitual.

The future time is indicated by - *ng/-g* which may inflect different number person and gender. The future tense marker -*g* may be preceded by vowels like -*o*. The future tense may occur with future time adverbial.

There are some grammatical aspects that are found in Rana Tharu. They include present Habitual and progressive.

The perfect aspect is coded by suffix -*o*. The perfect marker -*o* is suffixed to the verb and this is followed by auxiliary *h - or rh -* for present perfect and past perfect respectively. The suffix -*e* has cumulative meaning of perfect, and plural. Similarly the perfect marker -*o* inflects as /-*i*/ when it agrees with the feminine subject.

The habitual aspect is formed by suffix -*t* and - *t* while the vowel ending steam simply host the suffix -*t*, - *t* is attached to the verb and end in consonant. This is followed by auxiliary 'be' with finite morphology. It shows that vowel -*e* is required only with the consonant ending steams. Sometimes the habitual aspect is also expressed periphrastically. The verb steam is followed by *k r-t* 'do IMPF' and copula *r h* 'be.PST' follows in the past tense. Sometimes the habitual aspect is also formed by *dza* 'go'.

The progressive marker is - *t* if verb steam ends in consonant and -*t* if they end in vowels. This is followed by *h ~e and r h ~e* to encode the present and past progressive respectively. The progressive aspect also conveys the meaning of immediate future, or the action which is going to take place in immediate future.

There are six types of moods in Rana Tharu .They are imperative, prohibitive, hortative, optative, conditional and injunctive.

There are some ways of forming imperative mood in Rana Tharu. The basic way of forming imperative is by using bare infinitive. The Rana Tharu makes the distinction between singular and plural imperative. The honorific imperative is also formed with - *o* or -*e*. The suffix - *o* is added to the verb stems to change it into honorific imperative if the verb stems end in consonants and -*bo* is added if they end in vowels.

The prohibitive is marked with *m t-* Prohibitive is formed with prohibitive marker *m t-* prefixing to the verb and the part of the prohibitive marker -*e*. appearing at the end of the verb. Similarly the hortative marker is -*me* and *h ~u*. examples follow. The optative mood is not morphologically realized. Instead, Rana Tharu expresses it periphrastically with the help of *dza*. The conditional mood is morphologically marked by using the use of conditional particle. The simple conditional mood is expressed by making use of the conditional particle *to*. The verb in the main clause may be in the present tense, or imperative. The hypothetical conditional, on the other hand, is formed differently. Hypothetical conditions are formed by marking the verb with the suffix- *to ro -to*. The main clause is also marked with the same suffix. The injunctive mood is -*m ~u* or - *~u* in Rana Tharu.

In this language, I can see the derived verb. The verb in this language can be derived from adjectives by adding suffix -*ban*. In the same way the causativation process is also found in this language. There are two kind of causativation process in Rana Tharu. Among those two process we can found lexical causativation in only few verbs but morphological causativation is more productive. There are different markers of morphological causativation. Those markers are different according to the ending of the verb. In consonant ending verbs the suffix ‘-an’ is added and in vowel ending verbs the suffix ‘-ban’ is added. I can also find the passivization in this language. The

passive marker is the suffix ‘-l o’ and ‘-il o’. Mostly for passive the suffix ‘-l o’ is used and in some feminine subjects the marker ‘-il o’ is also used.

Finally about the auxiliary verbs of Rana tharu I can see two types of auxiliaries those are principal auxiliaries and modal auxiliaries. According to tense there are different markers for principal auxiliary in this language. ‘h -’and ,‘r -’are the present form in the same way ,‘r h -’,and r -’are the past form similarly‘r -’ is the future form of principal auxiliary.On the other hand this language has modal auxiliaries also .The marker of modal auxiliaries in this language are *d -* , *hud-*,*pa-* , *r-*,and*l g-*.These markers have different role according to situation .For permission the marker *d -* , For making an attempt *hud-*, For getting permission *pa-*,For ability *r-* ,and similarly for starting any work or progress of any work the marker *l g-*is used.

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APPENDIX A

Basic Sentences

(1) *m e bhat khao*

m e bhat kha -o

I rice eat -PST-1.SG

'I ate rice.'

(2) *h m bhat khae*

h m bhat kha -e

we rice eat -PST-1Pl

'We ate rice'.

(3) *tu bhat khai*

tu bhat kha -i

you rice eat -PST-2SGF.NH

'You ate rice.'

(4) *tu s b bhat khe*

tu s b bhat kha -e

you -pl rice eat -PST- 2pl

'You ate rice.'

(5) *ba bhat khao*

ba bhat kha -o

h/she rice eat -PST- 3SG.NH

'He ate rice.'

(6) *dzin bhat khai*

dzin bhat kha -i

they rice eat -PST-3(SG/PL)F/H

‘They ate rice.’

(7) *m e bhat khat h ~ u*

m e bhat kha -t h ~u

I rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES-1.SG

‘I eat rice.’

(8) *h m bhat khat h ~ e*

h m bhat kha -t -h ~ e

we rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES-1.PL

‘We ate rice.’

(9) *t e bhat khat h e*

t e bhat kha -t -h e

you rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES-2.SG.NH

‘You eat rice.’

(10) *tum bhat khat h u*

tum bhat kha -t -h u

you rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES-2.SG.H

‘You eat rice.’

(11) *tus b bhat khat h u*

tu/tum -s b bhat kha -t -h u

You -pl rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES-2.PL(H/NH)

‘You eat rice.’

(12) *u bhat khath e*

u bhat kha -t -h e

h/she rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES-3SG.NH

‘S/he eats rice.’

(13) *us b bhat khath ~i*

u -s b bhat kha -t -h ~i

h/she -pl rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES -3.PL

‘They eat rice.’

(14) *l ~u a bhat khath i*

l ~u a bhat khe -t -h i

boy rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES -3. SG

‘The boy eats rice.’

(15) *m e bhat kham go*

m e bhat kha -m g -o

I rice eat -fut -1. SG

‘I will eat rice.’

(16) *h m bhat kham ge*

h m bhat kha -m g -e

We rice eat -FUT -1.PL

‘We will eat rice.’

(17) *t e bhat kha ego*

t e bhat kha -eg -o

you rice eat -FUT -2.SG.NH

‘You will eat rice.’

(18) *tum bhat kha ige*

tum bhat kha -ig -e

you rice eat -FUT -2.SG.H

‘You will eat rice.’

(19) *tus b bhat kha ige*

tu/tum -s b bhat kha -ig -e

you -pl rice eat -FUT -2.PL(H/NH)

‘You will eat rice.’

(20) *u bhat kha ego*

u bhat kha -eg -o

h/she rice eat -FUT -3SG.NH

‘S/he will eat rice.’

(21) *ba bhat khaih ~e*

ba bhat kha - ih ~ -e

h/she rice eat - FUT -3SG.H

‘He/she will eat rice.’

(22) *dzin bhat kha ege.*

dzin bhat kha - eg -e

they rice eat - FUT -3PL(H/NH)

‘They will eat rice.’

(23) *m e khao h ~u*

m e s - o h ~u

I eat -PRF.M -be-PRES-1. SG

‘I have eaten.’

(24) *m e khao r h ~u*

m e kha - o r h ~u

I eat -PRF.M -be-PST-1. SG

‘I had eaten.’

(25) *l ~uda khao r h e*

l ~uda kha - o r h -e

Boy eat -PRF.M.SG.NH -be-PST -3.SG (NH)

‘The boy has eaten.’

(26) l̃udan khae r h̃e
 l̃uda-n kha -e r h -̃e
 boy-pl eat -PRF(PL) -be-PST -3.SG(PL)
 ‘The boys have eaten.’

(27) m e gh rme b ithi h̃u.
 m e gh r-me b ith-i h̃u.
 I house-Loc sit-PRF.F - be.PRES.1SG
 ‘I have set at home.’

(28) m e bhat khatr m go
 m e bhat kha -t -r -m g -o
 I rice eat - IMPF -be -FUT -1.SG
 ‘I will always eat rice.’

(29) h m bhat khatr m ge
 h m bhat kha -t -r -m g -e
 we rice eat - IMPF -be -FUT -1.PL
 ‘We will (always) eat rice.’

(30) m e bhat khatr h̃u
 m e bhat kha -t -r h̃u
 I rice eat - IMPF -be -be-PRES-1. SG
 ‘I use to eat rice.’

(31) *h m bhat khatr h ~ e*

h m bhat kha -t -r -h ~ e

we rice eat - IMPF -be -be-PRES-1.PL

‘We use to eat rice.’

(32) *m e bhat khatr o*

m e bhat kha -t -r -o

I rice eat - IMPF -be -PST-1. SG

‘I used to eat rice.’

(33) *h m bhat khatr e*

h m bhat kha -t -r -e

we rice eat - IMPF -be -PST-1.PL

‘We used to eat rice.’

(34) *tu bhat khatr i*

tu bhat kha -t -r -i

you rice eat - IMPF -be -PST-2SGF.NH

‘You used to eat rice.’

(35) *tu s b bhat khatr e*

tu s b bhat kha -t -r -e

you -pl rice -eat - IMPF -be -PST- 2.PL

‘You used to eat rice.’

(36) *ba bhat khatr o*

ba bhat kha -t -r -o

h/she rice eat - IMPF -be -PST- 3SG.NH

‘He used to eat rice.’

(37) *m e bhat kha tr m go*

m e bhat kha - t -r -m g -o

I rice eat - PROG -be -FUT -1. SG

‘I will be eating rice.’

(38) *h m bhat kha tr m ge*

h m bhat kha - t -r -m g - e

we rice eat -PROG -be -FUT -1. SG

‘We will be eating rice.’

(39) *m e bhat kha tr h ~ u*

m e bhat kha - t -r h ~u

I rice eat - PROG -be -be-PRES-1. SG

‘I’m eating rice.’

(40) *h m bhat kha tr h ~ e*

h m bhat kha - t -r -h ~ e

we rice eat - PROG -be -be-PRES-1.PL

‘We are eating rice.’

(41) *m e bhat kha tr o*
m e bhat kha - t -r -o
I rice eat - PROG -be -PST-1. SG
'I was eating rice.'

(42) *h m bhat kha tr e*
h m bhat kha - t -r -e
we rice eat - PROG -be -PST-1.PL
'We were eating rice.'

(43) *tu bhat kha tr i*
tu bhat kha - t -r -i
you rice eat - PROG -be -PST-2SGF.NH
'You were eating rice.'

(44) *tu s b bhat kh tr e*
tu s b bhat kha - t -r -e
you -pl rice -eat - PROG -be -PST- 2.PL
'You were eating rice.'

(45) *ba bhat kha tr o*
ba bhat kha - t -r -o
h/she rice eat - PROG -be -PST- 3SG.NH
'He was eating rice.'

(46) *dzin bhat kha tr i*

dzin bhat kha - t -r -i

they rice eat - PROG -be -PST-3(SG/PL)F.NH

‘They were eating rice.’

(47) *dzinpanipitr h e*

dzin pani pi -t -r -h e

they water drink - PROG -be -PST-3(SG).NH

‘They were eating rice.’

(48) *moke ki ab de*

mo -ke kitab de

I -Acc book give.IMP.NH.SG

‘Give book to me.’

(49) *be tsme b i h*

be ts -me b i h

bench -LOC sit.IMP.NH.SG

‘Sit on the bench.’

(50) *be tsme b i h o*

be ts -me b i h - o

bench -LOC sit - IMP.PL

‘Sit on the bench.’

(51) *be tsme b i h o*

be ts -me b i h - o

bench -LOC sit - IMP. SG.H

‘Please Sit on the bench.’

(52) *tum dz aldi dzab o.*

tum dz aldi dza -b o

you quickly go -IMP.H

‘Please go quickly.’

(53) *kela khab o*

kela kha -b o

banana eat -IMP.PL

‘Please eat Banana.’

(54) *m tb i he*

m t -b i h -e

PROH -sit -PROH

‘Don’t sit.’

(55) *b i hem t*

b i h -e -m t

sit -EMPH -PROH

‘Don’t sit.’

(56) *ab e m t*

ab e -b e -m t

come -PROH -PROH

‘Don’t come.’

(57) *khab e m t*

kha -b e m t

eat -PROH PROH

‘Don’t eat.’

(58) *t o be k hi s itae lem e.*

t o be k h -i s itae le - m e

then those say -PST.3.TR rest take -HORT

‘Then they said, ‘Let’s take a rest.’

(59) *pi m e*

pi -m e

drink -HORT

‘Let’s drink.’

(60) *m r dza*

m r dza

die go

‘May you die!’

(61) *s d dzabe*

s d dzabe

spoil go

‘May you die!’

(62) *mehe b rs ego t o m e nao go*

mehe b rs - ego t o m e na -o g -o

rain rain -FUT.3SG.M.NH -PRT I NEG -come -FUT.1SG

‘If it rains, I will not come.’

(63) *kutta hoego t o m e nao go*

kutta ho -ego t o m e na -o g -o

dog become -FUT.3SG.NH -PRT I NEG -come -FUT.1SG

‘If there is dog, I will not come.’

(64) *mehe b rs to t o m e naa to*

mehe b rs - to t o m e na -a - to

rain rain -HYPO.COND -PRT I NEG -COME -HYPO.COND

‘If it had rained, I would not have come.’

(65) *t e bul ito t e m e ito*

t e bul -ito t e m e -ito

you call -COND -PRT I come -COND

‘If you had called me, I would have come.’

66) *m e sajd kha tr m go*

m e sajd kha - t -r -m g -o

I -PROB eat - PROG -be -FUT -1.SG

'I may be eating.'

(67) *m e kela kham ~u*

m e kela kha -m ~u

I banana eat -INJ

'Shall I eat banana?'

(68) *m e som ~u*

m e so -m ~u

I sleep -INJ

'Shall I sleep?'

(69) *m e b i h ~u*

m e b i h - ~u

I sit -INJ

'Shall I sit?'

(70) *m e dza dzhola k ha~ dh r ~u*

m e dza dzhola k ha~ dh r - ~u

I this bag where keep -INJ

'Where shall keep this bag?'

(71) *m e dzrur padm go*

m e dzrur pad -m g -o

I certain read -FUT -1.SG

'I will certainly read.'

(72) *u dzrur pad ego*

u dzrur pad - eg -o

h/she certain read -FUT -3SG.NH

'He will certainly read.'

(73) *tum dzrur pad ige*

tum dzrur pad - ig -e

you certain read -FUT -2.SG.H

'You certainly read.'

(74) *ram pad s kth e*

ram pad s k - t -h e

ram read can -impf -be-PRES-3SG.NH

'Ram can read.'

(75) *tu pad s ki*

tu pad s k -i

you read can -PST-2SGF.NH

'You could read.'

(76) *m e pad s km go*

m e pad s k -m g -o

I read can -FUT -1.SG

‘I will be able to read.’

(77) *m erko dzisebi pad n parm go*

m er -ko dzisebi pad - n par -m g -o

I -DAT/ACC any how read -to Aux -FUT -1.SG

‘I have to read.’

(78) *t e dzisebi pad n par ego*

t e dzisebi pad - n par - eg -o

you any how read -to Aux -FUT -2.SG.NH

‘You had to read.’

(79) *mir l lo gh r dzao.*

mir l lo gh r dza -o

my sister home go -PST.1.SG

‘My sister went to home.’

(80) *m e l loko gh r p hao.*

m e l lo -ko gh r p h -a -o

I sister -ACC home send -CAUS -PST.1.SG

‘I sent my sister to home.’

(81) *mir putr fil hoo*
mir putr fil ho -o
my Son fail become -PST.1.SG
'My son becomes failed.'

(82) *mast r mir putr ko fil b nao*
mast r mir putr fil b n -a -o
teacher my son fail make -CAUS -PST.1.SG
'Teacher made my son failed.'

(83) *be tsme b i ho*
be ts -me b i h -o
bench -LOC sit -PST.1.SG
'Sat on the bench.'

(84) *be tsme b i hao*
be ts -me b i h -a -o
bench -LOC sit -CAUS -PST.1.SG
'Made someone to sit on the bench.'

(85) *ch o u o*
ch o u -o
bird fly -PST.1.SG
'Bird flew.'

(86) *tum ch oke u ao*
tum ch o -ke u -a -o
you bird -ACC fly -CAUS -PST.1.SG
'You made bird to fly.'

(87) *mir putr m ro*
m e putr m r -o
I son die -PST.1.SG
'My son dead.'

(88) *m e~ putrke m rao.*
m e putr m r -a -o
I son die -CAUS -PST.1.SG
'I caused my son dead.'

(89) *mor topi giro*
mor topi gir -o
my hat fall -PST.1.SG
'My hat fell.'

(90) *m e~ mor topi girao*
m e mor topi gir -a -o
I my hat fall -CAUS -PST.1.SG
'I caused my hat fall.'

(91) *m e bhatpaka-o*

m e bhat paka -o

I rice cook -PST.1.SG

‘I cooked rice.’

(92) *m ebh ejasebhat pakabao*

m e bh eja -se bhat paka -ba -o

I brother -ABL rice cook -CAUS -PST.1.SG

‘I got my brother to cook rice.’

(93) *m e bhat khao*

m e bhat kha -o

I rice eat -PST.1.SG

‘I ate rice.’

(94) *m e b tstsake bhat kh bao*

m e b tsts a -ke bhat kh -ba -o

I child -ACC rice eat -CAUS -PST.1.SG

‘I feed the child rice.’

(95) *m e dari k t ro*

m e dari k t r -o

I beared shave -PST.1.SG

‘I shaved the beard.’

(96) *m e bh ejase dari k t rbao*

m e bh eja -se dari k t r -ba -o

I brother -ABL beared shave -CAUS -PST.1.SG

‘I got my brother shave my beard.’

(97) *m e pani pio*

m e pani pi -o

I water drink -PST.1.SG

‘I drink the water.’

(98) *m e Putrke pani pibao*

m e putr -ke pani Pi -ba -o

I son -ACC water drink -CAUS -PST.1.SG

‘I got my son to drink the water.’

(99) *merko mat tshuo*

mer -ko mat tshu -

I -ACC NEG Touch -PRES.1.SG

‘Don’t touch me.’

(100) *tor b tstsako merko mat tshuban*

tor b tsa -ko mer -ko mat tshu -ba -n

your child -ACC I -ACC NEG touch -CAUS -PRES.1.SG

‘Don’t make your son to touch me.’

(101) *m e bhat khat h ~ u*

m e bhat kha -t h ~u

I rice eat -IMPF -be-PRES-1.SG

‘I eat rice.’

(102) *m e bhat khal o*

m e bhat kha -l o

I rice eat -PASS

‘The rice was eaten by me.’

(103) *m e ts o dekho*

m e ts o dekh -o

I bird see -PST.1.SG

‘I saw the bird.’

(104) *ts o dekhil o*

ts o dekh -il o

bird see -PASS

‘The bird was seen.’

(105) *m e muso maro*

m e muso mar -o

I rat kill -PST.1.SG

‘I killed rat.’

(106)

muso mar -l o

rat kill -PASS

‘The rat is killed.’

(107) *m e bhat kham go*

m e bhat kha -m g -o

I rice eat -FUT -1.SG

‘I will eat rice.’

(108) *m e bhat khal o*

m e bhat kha -l o

I rice eat -PASS

‘I will eat rice’. (passive)

(109) *m e horime gh r dzau go*

m e hori -me gh r dza -u g -o

I hori -LOC home go -FUT -1.SG

‘I will go home in Hori.’

(110) *m e horime gh r dzal o*

m e hori -me gh r dza -l o

I hori -LOC home go -PASS

‘I will go home in Hori. (Passive)’

(111) *mor putr p h ego*

mor putr p - eg -o

my son read -FUT -3.SG.NH

‘My son will read.’

(112) *mor putr p hl o*

mor putr p -l o

my son read -PASS

‘My son will read.’ (Passive)

(113) *m e misaula p kau go*

m e misaula p ka -u g -o

I misaula cook -fut -1.SG

‘I will cook Misaula.’

(114) *m e misaula p kal o*

m e misaula p ka -l o

I misaula Cook -PASS

‘I will cook Misaula.’ (Passive)

(115) *m e be tsme b i hu go*

m e be ts -me b i h -u g -o

I bench -LOC sit -FUT -1.SG

‘I will sit on bench.’

(116) *m e be tsme b i l o*

m e be ts -me b i h -l o

I bench -LOC sit -PASS

‘I will sit on bench.’(Passive)

(117) *m i itto bhat khan ar go*

m e itto bhat kha -n ar - g -o

I this.much rice eat -INF finish -FUT -1.SG

‘I can eat this much rice.’

(118) *u g ijake ghas d i*

u g ija -ke ghas d -i

h/she cow -ACC grass give -PST.F.N.H

‘He gave grass to the cow.’

(119) *u uske l loko bhat khan d i*

u us -ke l lo -ko bhat kha -n d -i

h/she his/her -ACC sister -ACC rice eat -INF give -PST.F.N.H

‘He permitted his sister to eat rice.’

(120) *ba paiso dhu~do*

ba paiso hud -o

he money look for -PST.M.N.H

‘He looked for the money.’

(121) *ba moke h gn hudo*

ba mo -ke h g - n hud -o

he I -ACC cheat -INF look for -PST.M.N.H

‘He tried to deceive me.’

(122) *bake bhũk lako*

ba -ke bhũk lag -o

he -ACC hunger feel -PST.M.N.H

‘He was hungry.’

(123) *bh eja iskul dzan lako*

bh eja iskul dza -n lag -o

brother school go -INF feel -PST.M.N.H

‘Brother began to go to school.’

(124) *m i bhat khan lako.*

m e bhat kha -n lag -o

I rice eat -INF feel -PST.M.N.H

‘I began to eat rice.’

APPENDIX B

Index of Grammatical Morphemes

Morpheme	Gloss	Use
- ija/-b ija	NMLZ	Normalize
-ai	NMLZ	Normalize
-ija	NMLZ	Normalize
-i	DIM	Diminutive
-baro	NMLZ/ AGP	normalizer, agentive participle
- n/-n	PL	Plural
-ija	FEM	Feminine
-in	FEM	Feminine
- n	CLF	classifier (non-human)
-dz ni	CLF	classifier (human)
-ke	DAT/ACC	dative/accusative
-me	LOC	locative case
-r	GEN	genitive case
-se	INST	instrumental case
-s	COM	comitative case
-ijaro/-ijari	ADJV	Adjectivizer
-eha/- ija	ADJV	Adjectivizer
-i	ADJV	Adjectivizer
-ora/-o	ADJV	Adjectivizer
-o/-no	EMPH	Emphatic

-se	CMPR	Comparative
-o	PST,1SG	past, first person, singular
-o	PST.3SG.M.NH	perfect, third person singular, masculine, non-horrific
-o	1SG	first person, singular
-o	PST.3SG.NH	perfect, third person singular, masculine, non-horrific
-o	PST.3SG.NH	perfect, third person singular, masculine, non-horrific
-o	3SG	third person, singular, non-horrific
-e	PST.1PL	past, first person, plural
-e	PRF.1.PL	perfect, first person, plural
-e	1.PL	first person, plural
-e	PST.2SG.H	past, second person singular, honorific
-e	PRF.2SG.H	perfect, second person singular, honorific
-e	2SG.H	second person singular
-e	PST.2.PL	past, second person, plural (honorific/non-honorific)
-e	PRF.2.PL	perfect, second person, plural (honorific/non-honorific)
-e	2.PL	second person, plural (honorific/non-honorific)

-i	PST.2.F.NH	past, second person, feminine, non-honorific
-i	PRF.2.F.NH	perfect, second person, feminine, non-honorific
-i	2.F.NH	second person, feminine, non- honorific
-i	PST.3.F.NH	past, third person, feminine, non- honorific
-i	PRF.3.F.NH	perfect, third person, feminine, non-honorific
-i	3.F.NH	third person, feminine, non- honorific
-ī	PST.3.F.H	past, third person, feminine, honorific(singular/plural)
-ī	PRF.3.F.H	perfect, third person, feminine, honorific(singular/plural)
-ī	3.F.H.	third person, feminine, honorific(singular/plural)
-e	PST.3.SG.H	past, third person, singular, honorific
-e	PER.3.SG.H	perfect, third person, singular, honorific
-e	3.SG.H	third person, singular, honorific
-e	PST.3.PL	past, third person, plural (honorific/non-honorific

-e	PRF.3.PL	past, third person, plural (honorific/non-honorific)
-e	3.PL	third person, plural (honorific/non-honorific)
- t	SIM	Simultaneous
-t	IMPH/HAB	imperfective/habitual
-o	PRF.M	perfect (masculine)
-i	prf.f	perfect, feminine
-ietsiko	Imi	Imminent
- n	Inf	Infinitive
-a	Imp	Imperative
-e	imp.hon	imperative, honorific
-b o	imp.hon/imp.pl	imperative,honorific/imperative, plural
-ie	imp.fut.nh	imperative, future, nonhonorific
-io	imp.fut.pl	imperative, honorific, plural
-a	Caus	Causative
m t-	Proh	Prohibitive
- ĩ /-hũu	Hort	Hortative
-mũu/-ũu	Inj	injunctive mood
-i	pst.3.tr	past, third person, transitive
-i	Abs	Absolutive
-se	Advz	Adverbializer
-i/-e	Emph	Emphasis

-il o	Pass	Passive
na-	Neg	Negative
-na	Neg	Negative
- to	hyp.cond	hypothetical conditional
-ike/-ke	Seq	Sequential