

THE DARAI LANGUAGE

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of

Tribhuvan University in Fulfillment of the Requirements for

the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

LINGUISTICS

By

DUBI NANDA DHAKAL

T.U. Regd No. 14070-87

Ph. D. Registration No. 26/2061

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

We hereby recommend that this dissertation entitled **THE DARAI LANGUAGE** prepared by Mr. Dubi Nanda Dhakal under our supervision and guidance, be accepted by the research committee for the final examination in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics.

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APPROVAL LETTER

The dissertation entitled "**THE DARAI LANGUAGE**" was submitted by Mr. Dubi Nanda Dhakal for final examination to the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Philosophy in Linguistics. I hereby certify that the Research Committee of this Faculty has found the dissertation satisfactory in scope and quality and has therefore accepted it for the degree.

Professor Nav Raj Kanel, PhD

Dean, and Chairperson

Research Committee

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Tribhuvan University, Nepal

Date: _____

DECLARATION

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

Dubi Nanda Dhakal

Tribhuvan University

Kathmandu, Nepal

Date: _____

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June 2011

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a description of Darai, an Indo-Aryan language, which was not adequately described before. The genetic classification of this language has not been determined yet. It is a language spoken by 10210 people in the Chitwan, Nawalparasi and Tanahun districts of central and western Nepal. The aim of this dissertation is to present a grammatical description of the Darai language. The data for this dissertation came largely from the natural texts. The text corpus was mainly obtained from the language consultants who were the inhabitants of Kathar, Chainpur, Mangalpur Village Development Committees and Bharatpur municipality of the Chitwan district.

The grammatical analysis consists of phonology, morphology, syntax, sociolinguistic information and notes on discourse. The appendices include sociolinguistic questionnaire, background information of the language consultants, paradigms of verbs, indexes of grammatical morphemes and text samples.

The dissertation comprises thirteen chapters in addition to five appendices. The dissertation begins with the introduction, objectives and introduction in chapter 1. The information related to the language, its name and classification as well as a sociolinguistic survey is presented in chapter 2. The Darai people residing in Nayabeltari and Gaindakot VDCs in Nawalparasi and Gajarkot in Tanahu no longer speak their ancestral language. This chapter is an attempt to answer the current status of the Darai language. Darai is characterized as a 'definitely endangered language'.

In chapter 3, synchronic description of phonology is given. Darai has 29 consonants and 6 vowels. This chapter examines the vowels and consonants, their distribution, consonant clusters, syllable structure and morphophonology. Nouns and noun morphology are analyzed in chapter 4. Nouns inflect for number, pronominal possessive marking, indefinite marking and cases. The pronominal possessive suffixes are used to mark the kinship relations as well as ownership. The indefinite marker attached to noun is also worth mentioning. Darai is characterized as a split ergative

language which is based on nominal hierarchy. Chapter 5 analyzes the adjectives. The semantic categories and functions of adjectives are analyzed in this chapter. It is interesting to note that some adjectives which end in *o* in Hodgson's list (1857) are *-ə* ending at present.

Chapter 6 presents an analysis of verbs and verb morphology. A classification of verb based on the stem is presented. In addition to tense, aspect and mood, Darai verbs are characterized by modality marking such as obligation, possibility, inference, mirativity, hearsay, frustative and dubitative. A Darai bitransitive verb may cross-reference the actor and patient. Verb agreement is also triggered by number, gender, case, honorificity as well as pragmatic features. Verb agreement due to focus hierarchy is a striking feature in Darai. Adverbs are analyzed in chapter 7. Chapter 8 analyzes the closed word classes such as clitics, particles, onomatopoeia and echo words. Some native Darai particles are widely used in natural discourse despite the influences from neighboring languages in lexicon.

Noun phrase is examined in chapter 9. Noun phrase in Darai is left-branching. Chapter 10 describes the simple sentence in Darai in addition to the modifications of simple sentences. Chapter 11 discusses combinations of clause such as complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses. Clause combining is productive because of morphosyntactic evidences seen in Darai grammar. A note on discourse is presented in Chapter 11. Chapter 12 presents the summary, typological implications of the study, proposed sub-classification of Darai and suggestions for further research. The grammatical features exhibit that Darai may be classified as an 'eastern' Indo-Aryan language closely related to Maithili, Bhojpuri and Majhi.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Outline

The purpose of this dissertation is to present a grammatical description of Darai. The Darai language is spoken by the people of the same name primarily in the central and western Nepal in the districts of Chitwan, Nawalparasi and Tahahun. Darai-speaking areas include plains and hills. In the areas in which Darais are concentrated they constitute a minority.

The total number of Darai ethnic group is 14,859 whereas only 10210 Darai people speak it as their mother tongue (Yadava 2003:165). This leads us to the fact that only 68.7 percent of the Darais speak this language. Among the Darai speakers, 8500 are bilingual in Nepali. Only a few Darai were reported to have been monolingual in our field study. The data for this dissertation are obtained from the language consultants who are inhabitants of different villages of Chitwan district. Areally, Darai is situated along with Nepali, Bhojpuri, Tharu, Bote and Kumal of Indo-Aryan language family. By contrast, genetically unrelated languages of Tibeto-Burman family viz. Tamang, Gurung, Chepang and Magar are also spoken in neighboring areas. Therefore, there might be a long history of contact with genetically unrelated languages.

The previous studies do not present a substantial description of the linguistic structures of the Darai grammar. Thus, this dissertation attempts to serve the most in-depth description of the language to date. This study is largely synchronic. It discusses the sociolinguistic, phonological and morphosyntactic features of the Darai language including a note on discourse. The data used in this dissertation were taken from natural texts. Paradigms, tables and other structural information regarding the language were obtained through direct elicitation from the language consultants.

The methodological contexts such as the objectives of the study, review of literature, data collection, methodology, and theoretical framework are discussed in this chapter.

1.1 Statement of problem

Darai belongs to Indo-Aryan language subgroup of Indo-European language family. The language has not been adequately described and its classification has not been determined. Therefore, the main problematic research questions related to this research are:

1. What is the sociolinguistic situation of Darai ?
2. How are the Darai sounds organized within the phonological system of the language?
3. What are the morphosyntactic features evident in Darai ?
4. How is discourse organized in Darai ?

1.2 Objectives of the study

The general objective of the study is to present the grammatical description of the Darai language. The specific objectives of the study are to:

1. present sociolinguistic information of the Darai language,
2. describe Darai sound system,
3. analyse morphosyntactic features of Darai, and
4. present a discourse analysis of the Darai language.

1.3 Review of literature

There have been very few things written earlier to 1970s about the Darai language. The earliest linguistic references to it can be found in Hodgson (1857). Hodgson compares the vocabulary of Darai with other 'broken tribes' viz. Danuwar, Chapang, Baram, Hayu and Kusuwar. He further points out the pronominal possessive suffixes and subject and object agreement in the transitive verbs. Some adjective which end in *-o* in Hodgson's list are *-ə* ending these days.

Grierson (1903c:1819) mentions that some tribes of the central Himalayan speak a corrupt *khas kuraa*. However, this brief account lacks main linguistic characteristics of the language. The first mention of the ethnic name is reported to have found in the *lal mohar* granted by King Prithvi to Siddhabhagawantanath in 1827 VS (cited in Adhikari 2041VS:3).

The post 1970 period provides systematic linguistic reference to the Darai language. Kotapish and Kotapish (1973) is a glossary of Darai vocabulary which contains around 1300 entries. They comment that Darai shares 69 percent cognates

with Nepali. Aside from the vocabulary (words) included in this work, it consists of the appendices of kinship terms, religious ceremonies, weight and measures, days of the week, months of the year and numbers. The pronominal suffixes, agreement patterns of copular and bitransitive verbs are some of the characteristics they point out. The appendices provide some descriptive materials related to morphosyntactic features of the Darai language.

The study on Darai language is found in *Darai Phonemic Summary* (Kotapish and Kotapish 1975). They present minimal pairs, vowels and consonants, consonant clusters and positional variants (intervocalic position of consonants, word medial (preconsonantal) and word final position). This is the first serious investigation of the Darai phonology. This study brings a wealth of facts about Darai phonology. This study serves as an outstanding starting point for anyone interested in Darai phonology. However, some phonological features evident in the Chitwan dialect are not mentioned in this study. For instance, we find consonant sounds such as /l^h/, /m^h/, /n^h/ and /r^h/ in intervocalic position in the Chitwan dialect which they (1975) have not mentioned.

Kotapish (1973) analyses the cases in Darai. She reports that the nominative case is unmarked, ergative case is coded with *-i*, accusative is coded with *-ke*, locative with *-ja* and ablative with the postposition *maṭe* 'from'. Thus, she analyses the major aspects of the case relation and case markers. When it is compared with the Chitwan dialect, it exhibits some contrasts. Firstly, she mentions that the first person singular also codes ergativity (1973:28) which is absent in the Chitwan dialect. Secondly, she notes that all nouns except kinship terms have no inflection in the accusative. We have some counter examples for this statement from our discourse data, such as *goru-ke* 'ox-ACC', *b^hot^hi-ke* 'Bhothi fish-ACC'. Thus, the 'accusative case' can be extended to animate nouns. Thirdly, the ablative is coded with the ablative marker *-se* 'from' and the postposition *maṭe* 'from' in the Chitwan dialect. She simply mentions the postposition *maṭe* 'from' as the ablative marker.

Dawadi (2040 VS) is a bilingual glossary (Darai-Nepali glossary). The glossary contains the lexical entries classifying them under 36 semantic domains. Additionally, an outline of the Darai grammar has been presented. However, the treatment of grammatical features is inadequate. Neither the pronominal possessive

suffixes nor the coding of subject and object in the bitransitive verbs in Darai has been analyzed.

Similarly Neupane (2057 VS) is a comparative glossary of Nepali and Darai. He also compares some words of Darai with some Indo-Aryan neighbors, viz. Danuwar, Bote, Kumal and Bhojpuri. The comparison reveals that there is a great similarity in some basic vocabulary. Some lexical items and verb stems are identical but differ greatly in the inflection. Kharal (2058 VS) mentions that some vocabularies of Darai seem to have developed directly from Sanskrit while some other seem to have developed through Prakrit. Further investigation is required to establish historical relation with Prakrit and Sanskrit.

Darai (1998) includes several aspects of Darai sociolinguistics in his study. His conclusion that there is a dialectical variation between the language spoken in Tanahun and Chitwan is true. His 250 word-list from Chitwan and Tanahun and sample recorded text in interlinear format corroborate this. This study is marked by some limitations. Firstly, the study devotes little space for sociolinguistic information. Secondly, presentation of grammatical description is inadequate. Although his approach is descriptive in intent, discussion does not analyze some features typical of Darai such as pronominal possessive suffixes and verb agreement.

Paudyal (2003) is a sketch grammar of Darai. His study is divided into 6 chapters. The first chapter is an introduction to the language and chapter 2 outlines people and the language. Phonology, morphology and syntax are separately dealt with in the next three chapters and the study is summarized in the final chapter. His analysis of phonology does not add new information to Kotapish and Kotapish (1975). Although we find discussion of nominal morphology such as number and some case markers, information related to nominal morphology is not adequate. For example, inflections of pronouns have not been included. Similarly, treatment of verb morphology is not exhaustive. Despite the analysis of tense, aspect and mood markers, a large part of verb morphology has been left unanalyzed. The number is also coded in the past tense which he refutes (2003:68). Adverbs, onomatopoeias, exclamations and discourse particles are not included in this grammatical sketch.

Paudyal (2003) lacks adequate information in his sketch of Darai grammar. Firstly, he does not specify where the data are from. He simply mentions that his data represented three villages, viz. Pipaltar and Bhadgaun from Tanahun and Sundi from

Chitwan. He has not well justified this claim through data presentation and analysis. Secondly, his treatment of syntax as a whole is extremely brief because we can get a lot of gaps in the discussion of clause combining. Thirdly, his analysis is entirely based on elicited data. This results in incomplete paradigms and misses some important grammatical characteristics of the Darai grammar.

Paudyal (2008) also analyzes the agreement of verbs in typological perspective. Except the inflection of the verb *lag* 'touch/apply' and examples related to this, majority of examples are reproduced from Kotapish and Kotapish (1973:136-143). Additional paradigms of verbs have not been mentioned. Thus, the analysis is entirely based on Kotapish and Kotapish (1973; 1975). It is clear that Paudyal (2008) did not employ any methodology other than direct elicitation.

Dhakal (2005) is a study of verb morphology of Darai. The study is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter is an introduction and setting of the study. Verb stems are discussed in chapter two. Tenses with aspects and moods are analyzed in chapter three. 'Be' verbs, auxiliaries are discussed chapter four and five respectively. Chapter six deals with causative and passive. Similarly, chapter seven outlines negative morphemes. Thus, this study is a general outline of Darai verbal morphology. It is also marked by some limitations. Firstly, the study is based on elicited data. Secondly, the discussion of verb stems does not show how the phonological structure of the stems triggers morphophonemic changes when they are attached to inflectional suffixes. Thirdly, the chapter on tense does not analyze subject as well as object agreement among others.

Dhakal (2006a) is a sociolinguistic study of Darai language. The study presents some evidences of language varieties in two different locations. A comparative wordlist as well as few grammatical features have been analyzed in this study. However, sampling for bilingualism and individual sociolinguistic questionnaires is limited. It further corroborates that language variations exist in two localities.

Little space is devoted to the study of typology to which the Darai language belongs. In a paper constrained by limited data, Dhakal (2006b) cross-linguistically demonstrated how verb morphology of Bote, Miya Kura (Churete), Danuwar, Darai and Kumal are remarkably similar. However, the comparison of Darai with other

languages does not seem adequate. Dhakal (2006c) analyzes the negative prefixes but does not fully analyze the role of *nidzə* 'NEG'.

Dhakal (2007a) is an analysis of the noun phrase structure in Darai. As a background to this study, nominal morphology has been summarized in one chapter. Basic nominal morphology including the declensional features of pronouns has been presented. Similarly, inflectional features of nominal morphology such as gender, number, pronominal possessive suffixes and case markers have also been analyzed. Additionally, the structure of noun phrase of Darai has been examined. As a whole, this is a typologically-informed study. However, nominal morphology in this study is not complete. It does not discuss the indefinite marker or indefinite pronouns and data on pronominal possessive suffixes are not complete. This study provides some helpful insights of the Darai noun phrase but includes a narrow range of noun phrase constructions.

Dhakal (2007b) is a trilingual (Darai-Nepali-English) glossary of 1700 entries. The glossary contains the lexicon found in Tanahun and Chitwan dialects. Each lexical entry has its transcription in international phonetic alphabets, their parts of speech and meaning in Nepali. This contains the core vocabulary of Darai and therefore proves a useful source of information for phonological analysis. Dhakal (2007c) shows that Darai lacks a prototypical passive construction. However he does not mention *-inuhuk* as a passive suffix.

In addition to independent research, we find some comments on the Darai language. Van Driem (2001:1170) notes that the pattern of pronominal reference in the Darai verb has been attributed to a Tibeto-Burman or Austro-Asiatic substrata. He further reiterates that that it is a severely endangered language (2007:326). Wilde (2008:160) notes that the secondary agreement of Rajbanshi, Maithili, Darai and other Indo-Aryan languages would be an interesting feature to explore. These observations help compare some striking features of Darai with neighboring languages. They might indicate the cases of language convergence and divergence.

The extant literature on the language is directly related to sociolinguistics, phonology and morphology rather than on syntax. If there is one aspect of Darai linguistic study which can benefit from close examination, it is the area of Darai syntax. These works represent the whole of linguistic analysis that has been carried in Darai. Much work remains to be done in adequately describing the language.

Some sketchy studies have been conducted on the Darai language and clearly no book-length treatment of Darai language is found. The available literature is structuralist and descriptive in its outlook and intent rather than functional and typological. Except for Kotapish and Kotapish (1973; 1975) other works lack adequate data to support the analysis. The description of various aspects of grammar till this date is mainly based on direct elicitation rather than discourse corpus. This dissertation will therefore attempt to describe the language based on corpus data.

1.4 Significance of the study

In attempt to provide a grammar of a lesser described language, it will be a detailed grammatical treatment of the Darai language. This study will be useful in preparing textbooks for children and for writing pedagogical grammar. Additionally, it will help determine the genetic affiliation of the language. It will be helpful in safeguarding and promoting the linguistic heritage of Nepal. This dissertation would be a contribution in the study of minority and undocumented language in general and in the study of minor Indo-Aryan language in particular. Furthermore, the data presented in this study will be useful for typological studies. Moreover, the Darai language has been subclassified for the first time based on detailed grammatical features.

1.5 Methodology

1.5.1 Tools

The computer software programs used are Praat and Toolbox. Praat was used to obtain spectrograph picture and to analyze the formants of Darai vowels. Similarly, Toolbox was used for maintaining lexical data and interlinearizing texts.

1.5.2 Data collection

Sociolinguistic information was primarily obtained from language consultants by means of a structured questionnaire compiled by the researcher. It is included in Appendix (1).

The data were collected in Chitwan during 2005-2007. Our initial work on Darai began in 2005 and the data collected are also incorporated where relevant. Two texts recorded by Nepal Darai Development Society, Chitwan have also been used.

We confirmed data by elicitation with the language consultants from Bharatpur Municipality-12, Naurange and Pidrahani of Kathar Village Development Committee.

total of 22 texts have been collected, transcribed and interlinearized in Toolbox. The text corpus contains approximately 2800 sentences and the word-list contains around 1800 words. The data used in this dissertation are taken from various kinds of texts. Most of the examples are from the natural texts. Paradigms and specific examples were obtained from elicitation from the language consultants. The spoken and natural texts contain the texts like narratives (personal and historical), instructions, rituals etc. We hope different genres of the language will make our data more representatives in terms of language structure and use. Although data from Tanahun are included in some places, this dissertation only attempts to describe the Darai language spoken in Chitwan. The reference given after each example refers to the text it is taken from. The examples which have no references are elicited ones.

1.5.3 Theoretical framework and data analysis

The description of the Darai grammar has been presented in light of general linguistic literature. This study also has its basic orientation in describing the language. It is primarily based on Givón (2001a, b) which give many insights on grammatical description on morphology and syntax in general. Givón (2001a:XV) notes, "Structure without functions are plainly senseless, functions without structures are downright lame." The grammatical terms used in this grammatical description does not belong to specific theories. They are widely used in general linguistic descriptions. Moreover, the Darai language is compared with other IA languages wherever relevant.

Additionally, Shopen (1985a; 1985b; 1985c; 2007a; 2007b; 2007c), Dixon (2004; 2009) and Haiman and Thompson (1988) have also been consulted. The references in specific chapters provide the particular references consulted in presenting several topics within the grammar.

We have attempted to present the description of Darai in typological features of Indo-Aryan languages. Therefore, Masica (1991), Zograph (1982) and Grierson (1903a; 1903b; 1903c; 1904) are important sources of information on Indo-Aryan grammar and structure. Masica (1991) has been widely referred to throughout this dissertation.

1.6 Organization of the study

This dissertation contains thirteen chapters in addition to five appendices. The first chapter is an introduction to the Darai language, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, review of literature, methodology and theoretical framework of the study. Chapter 2 has two main parts. The first part deals with the Darai people and their culture, genetic affiliation of the language and demography of Darai speakers. The second part presents the sociolinguistic situation of the Darai language. Chapter 3 presents the phonological analysis of the language. Chapters 4-8 are concerned with nouns and nominal morphology, adjective, verbs and verb morphology, adverbs and closed word class in that order. Chapter 9 presents the constituents of the noun phrase. Chapter 10 analyzes basic constituent order, the structure of a simple sentence and its modifications. Chapter 11 outlines the clause combining constructions. A note on discourse has been presented in chapter 12 including analyzed texts. The conclusion (chapter 13) summarizes the major aspects of the Darai grammar covered in this work, typological implications, proposed genetic classification of the Darai language and suggests the areas that deserve further investigation.

Appendix 1 is the sociolinguistic questionnaire used for the sociolinguistic survey and appendix 2 lists the background information of the respondents. Appendix 3 provides the verb paradigms and further examples to illustrate the verb paradigms (morphology). The index of grammatical morphemes is presented in appendix 4. Appendix 5 includes sample texts.

CHAPTER 2

PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE

2.0 Outline

This chapter is about Darai people and their language. It is organized into four sections. Section 2.1 deals with the information related to Darai people, demography and culture including the genetic affiliation of the language. Section 2.2 outlines sociolinguistic aspects such as kinship terms, forms of address, politeness strategies and taboos. Section 2.3 presents the sociolinguistic survey of the language. The summary of the findings is presented in section 2.4.

2.1 Darai people and language

The aim of this section is to introduce some preliminary information on the Darai language, its speakers and some cultural practices. The socio-cultural information presented in this section includes the cultural background of Darai people. It is hoped that the information provides a basic idea about the Darai people, their material culture and the language they speak.

2.1.1 Origin and name

Darai is one of the nationalities of Nepal (Dahal 2003:114). The term 'Darai' refers to an ethnic group and the language they speak. Darai people are known by several names: Darbai, Darhi, Daree, Daroe, Daraie (Gautam and Magar 1994:157). Another alternative name is also 'Dry' (Lewis 2009:486). Thus, the name Darai constitutes both autoglotonym and heteroglotonym.

There is not any unanimous explanation why the ethnic group is referred to as 'Darai'. Some explanations and stories prevalent in the communities serve to trace the origin of the term. The anthropological and sociological studies (Sharma 2046 VS; Khati Chhetri 2057 VS; Darai 1996; Kunwar 2059 VS; Darai 1998) *inter alia* have consistently cited Bista (1967), Mainali (1984) and Gautam and Magar (1994) to trace the origin of the term 'Darai'.

Bista (1967:118) cites a story prevalent in the Darai community. He further notes, "Darais were the Rajputs who migrated to Nepal in order to escape Muslim onslaught in India". Darais themselves claim that they have their ethnic name 'Darai' from 'Darbhanga', India, wherefrom they had escaped. Bista (1967:118) mentions that the low forested area of Nepal as the inhabitat of Darai for several thousand years.

Gautam and Magar (1994:157) mention that 'Darai' is derived from *daras* 'administrative regions'. Prior to the unification of Nepal by Late King Prithvi Narayan Shah, various regions in the Karnali region were divided into various *daras*. They speculate that it is from *daras* that the word Darai seems to have originated. However, Adhikari (2041VS:1) explains that the kingdom of Darais has not been reported in any historical records of Gandaki region. Despite some scholars' claim that Darais had a kingdom in Gorkha, there are no corroborative accounts to lend support to it.

Gautam and Magar (1994:158) further note that the name of Darais is also found in the Mahabharat, Manusmriti and Haribanshapurana. Contrary to this claim, Adhikari opines that the people named 'Darad' mentioned in these holy scripts are Aryan in origin and are still living in Dardistan (Adhikari 2041VS). He further adds that the Darais living in Nepal are Mongoloid in origin. Since some of the people settled in terai, they were named 'Darai' (2041VS:2). Similar view is articulated by Pokhrel (1995:5). He notes that these people might have walked up the inner terai and hills along the banks of the Narayani river. These migrated terai dwellers were called Darai. Thus, the term 'Darai' is also a loconym. These conjunctures, however, do not convincingly resolve questions regarding the origin of the Darai. This is a topic that continues to be a disputed subject.

2.1.2 People and profession

Gautam and Magar (1994:157) note, "Darais are of Mongloid stock with short stature, depressed nasal ruts and of which they have stumpy nose, oblique eyes and dark skinned." Bista (1967:117) adds, "In their appearance, attitudes and behavior they are not much different from Tharus. They are very dark and seemingly bony: yet they display great health and strength." He further adds that the Darais are culturally and linguistically a homogeneous population.

Traditionally Darais earn their livelihood from agriculture. They are also involved in other professions such as animal husbandry and business. The ownership of the land is private. They are economically poor and the literacy rate is low in Darai communities (Darai 1996: 39). Khati Chhetri (2057VS:53-54) mentions that Darais are agriculturalists lacking specific skills to carry out other special jobs. They have lower socio-economic status. Lack of technical knowledge has resulted in their massive unemployment. They have comparatively small land holding sizes. About half of these people are landless (Darai 2008). Darai (1996:9) sums up the cultural information in the following extract:

Darais use earthen pots for carrying water, preparing beer, keeping wine, frying corn and boiling roots. They have very few traditional iron, bronze, copper or aluminum pots. Their language, house, construction and worship separate this ethnic group from all others. Also the traditional marriage system is central to these people and different from most other ethnic groups' tradition.

2.1.3 Darai villages: demography and geography

The physical terrain where Darai is spoken includes the hills and inner terai. The Darai villages are located in the adjoining areas bordered by Narayani river and its tributaries. The ethnic group geographically spreads on the surrounding areas of Narayani and Madi rivers with the largest concentration in Chitwan, Tanahun and Nawalparasi districts of central and western Nepal. The geographical boundaries of the language have not changed over the years as the previous two censuses suggest (CBS 2001; CBS 2002a; 2002b).

Table (2.1) summarizes the mother tongue retention and Darai speakers for Village Development Committees (henceforth VDC) and municipalities. The highest retention level is recorded in Ramjakot, Dedgaun and Kathar VDCs in Tanahun, Nawalparasi and Chitwan respectively. The language is used widely in social discourse in these areas. Table (2.1) also displays that greater number of Darais in Nawalparasi and Tanahun have been losing their mother tongue. The extreme case can be observed in Nayabeltari and Gaindakot VDCs in Nawalparasi and Gajarkot in Tanahun where they have entirely lost their ancestral language.

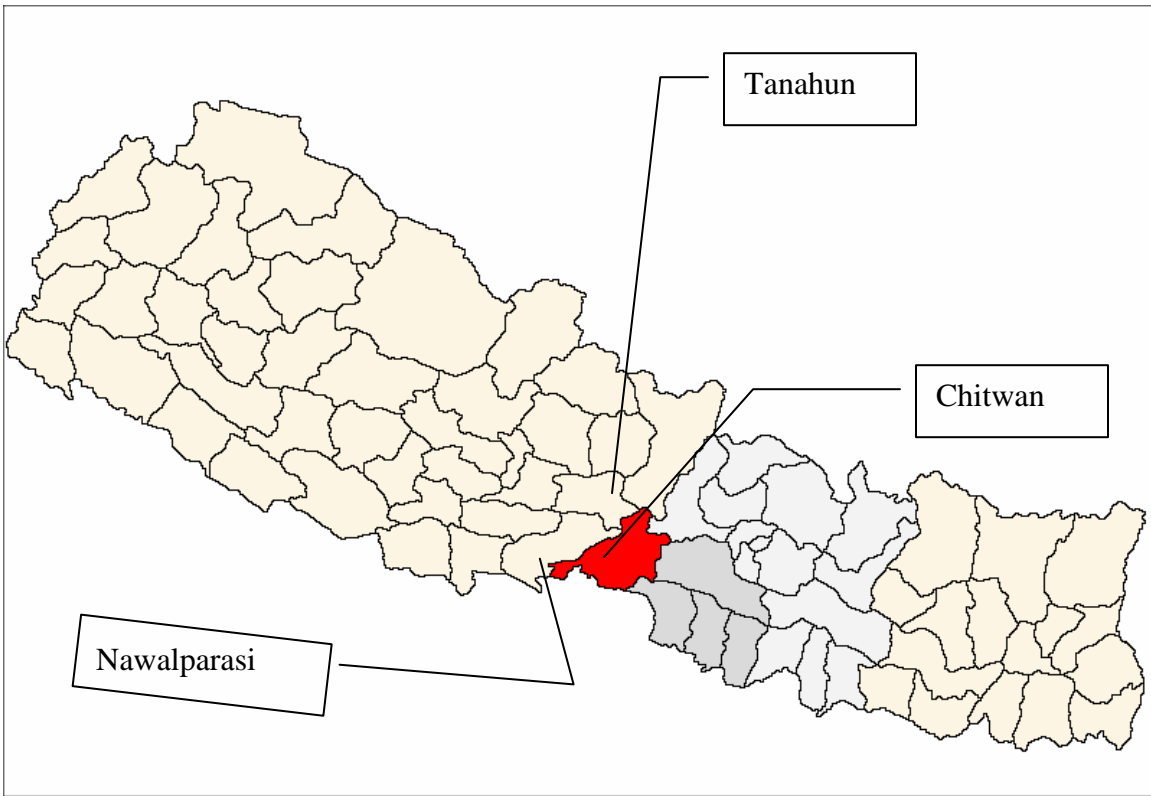
TABLE 2.1 Demography of Darai speakers

VDCs/ Municipalities	Ethnic number	Native speakers	Mother tongue retention percentage
Chitwan		5773	
Bagauda	418	313	76.0
Bhandara	426	313	73.0
Bharatpur	850	515	60.6
Chainpur	1186	1076	90.7
Jagatpur	725	465	64.1
Kathar	1175	1139	98.6
Kumroj	235	221	94.0
Mangalpur	571	477	83.5
Ratnanagar	634	387	61.0
Tanahun		3118	
Vyas Municipality	2939	2517	85.6
Kyamin	192	188	97.9
Ramjakot	363	362	99.7
Gajarkot	182	-	-
Nawalparasi		518	
Dedgaun	298	294	98.6
Gaindakot	418	-	-
Nayabeltari	466	-	-

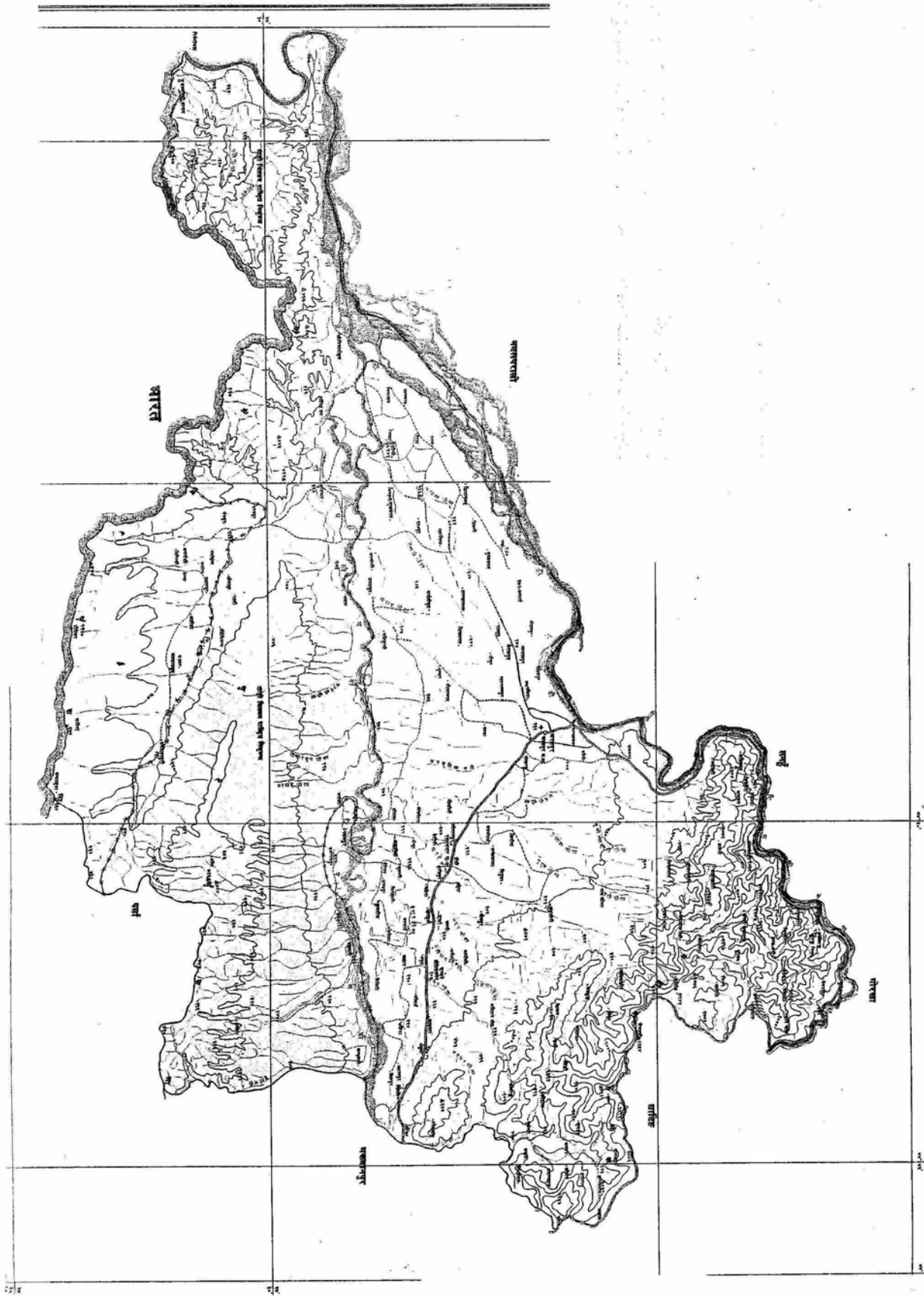
(Source: CBS 2002a; 2002b)

Darai speaking areas are located at an elevation ranging from 91 meter above sea level to 2134 meter. Settlements belonging to Darai speaking areas are found in a few hours walking distance from main highways. They reside in the villages in general.¹ We have included map of Nepal (Map 2.1), map of Chitwan district in (Map 2.2) and the villages of language consultants in (Map 2.3).

¹ Among these districts Chitwan is located at an elevation ranging from 244 meter above sea level to 1945 meter, Nawalparasi 91 meter to 1936 and Tanahun 1220 to 2134 (Intensive study and Research centre 2007).



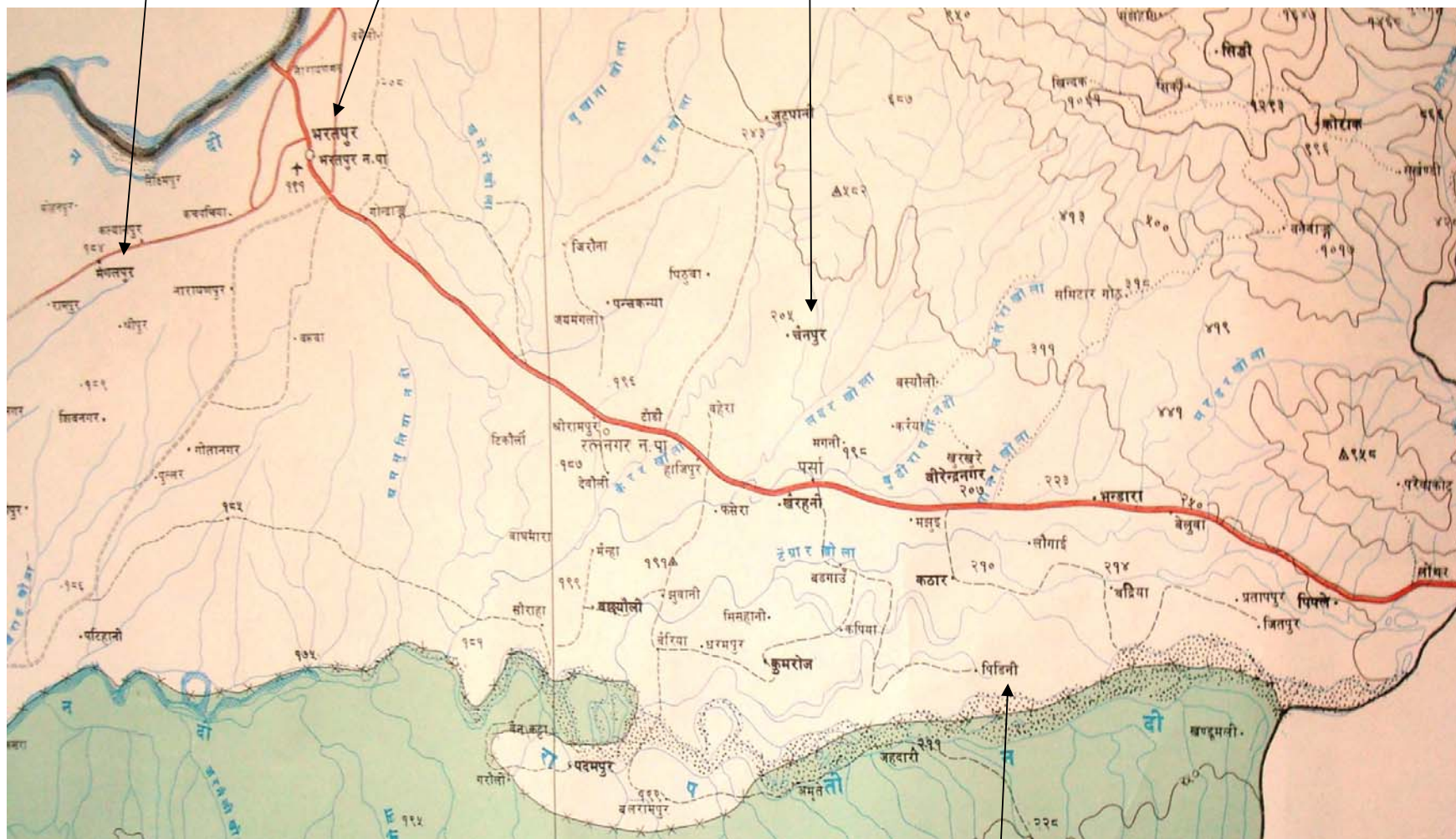
Map 2.1 Map of Nepal (with Chitwan, Tahanun and Nawalparasi)



1. Cham Narayan Darai

1. Rajendra Darai
2. Samita Darai

1. Jivan Darai



Map 2.3 Main language consultants in Chitwan

1. Som Lal Darai
2. Phirla Darai
3. Buddhi Lal Darai
4. Phohari Darai

2.1.4 Darai house

The uniqueness of Darai is found in their language, home, *puja* 'worship' and specific rites and rituals (Darai 1996: 40). The construction of a traditional house follows a consistent pattern and it is strictly prescribed.



PHOTOGRAPH 2.1 Traditional Darai houses

Traditional Darai houses are rectangular in shape. They are one-storey buildings made up of wooden pillars and beams. The more beams a house has the broader and longer it becomes. The partition from the central wooden beam is important because there is the place of worshipping in the corner near the central beam. Instead of wall of cement or stone, houses are made up of twigs. The partitions are plastered by the paste of mud and cow dung. There are no big windows except small holes to let the light pass through them as can be seen in Photograph (2.1). The length of the house is not fixed but may fluctuate according to the need of the family. The house has *asara* 'porch'. *asara* 'porch' accommodates the grinding stone, seating of guests at their arrival as well as seating of the untouchable castes. On the side of the *asara* there is a place *panāici* which accommodates the water pot. It is attached to the front side of the house. *asara* may also be attached to *āgna* 'yard' in the front of the house.

Two doors are placed on the right side of the house at the front and back, across the breadth of the house to allow the air pass across *kādbari*, or across the doors. There are two kinds of doors used in Darai houses. While the doors made up of wood are called *kēwari*, the doors made up of twigs and muds are called *p^hokra*. Although the wooden doors are of vogue these days, they were made

of wood twigs plastered with the mud and cow dung in traditional houses. The roofs are thatched with straw. The traditional equipments related to fishing are generally hung on the front side of the house as can be seen in Photograph (2.1).

As one enters the house from the door, the place is known as *kādbari* 'area near oven'. *kādbari* is just for heating the house in the winter but this does not serve as kitchen. In addition, this part serves for feeding the untouchable castes who are not allowed to cross the central beam of the house from either part. A left turn takes one to the central part of the house known as *mādz^hg^hər*. This is an open area for feasting during the festivals. This section is not further divided in most of the houses. This section also accommodates the lodging materials.

Rest of the house is generally divided into partitions or 'rooms' to accommodate all family members. The kitchen is strictly placed on the right corner of the house while entering the house from the front door. The fireplace is a shallow hole in the ground with three stones stand over the top. Just above the cooking area hangs a *potka* 'shelf' which is used to smoke pieces of meat and to keep things out of the way of insects.

One more important place for the Darais is the central wooden beam and pillar. They divide the house exactly into two near the kitchen. This is the place of ancestral shrine called *gənbaba* 'the ancestors'. The ritual worship to the ancestors is performed at this spot. This is the place where the worship to the house god is performed but otherwise has no other function.

2.1.5 Naming ceremony

A woman who gives birth to a baby is attended by *g^hər gurəu* 'shaman' and *sud^herni* 'midwife'. They have traditional belief that complication in giving birth to a child may be made easy by them. The attendant helps the mother during a few weeks after the birth. The rituals related to *u^t^həuni* 'naming ceremony' is performed on the eleventh day if a boy is born whereas on the ninth day if it is a daughter. A Brahmin priest (the priest belonging to the upper caste in social caste system) is not necessary for Darais for ritual performances and naming a child. Instead, either the maternal uncle of the newly born baby or mother performs the conventional rituals. The newly born child and mother take baths before other rituals are observed. The burial of the umbilical cord is interesting. One of the parts is buried

in the eastern door (front door) and the next at the western door (the back door). The priest and the attendants are offered presents according to their socio-economic status and are given a warm farewell.

2.1.6 Genetic affiliation

Darai belongs to Indo-Aryan subgroup of Indo-European language family among 92 languages native to Nepal as reported in 2001 census. It is also widely described as 'Indo-Aryan' language that is closely related to Bote and Kumal.

Regarding to the genetic classification of Darai, Grierson (1903c:18-19) comments:

Certain broken tribes of the central Himalayan speak a corrupt *khas kuraa*. In each case it can be said that they employ a genuine dialect....The tribes which adopted the incorrect *khas kuraa* are three in number; viz. Dahi, Dadhi or Darhi; Denwar or Donwar; and Kuswar. In the case of last named, the vocabulary is almost entirely *khas kuraa*, the grammar is still Tibeto Burman. In the case of other two the whole language is much more Aryan in its character.

A good number of languages recorded in the recent census have not been properly classified as to their genetic relation and so are treated as unclassified languages. Yadava (2003:146) classifies the language into Indo-European and Indo-Aryan but adds that the language is not fully classified due to lack of adequate description. Pokhrel (1995:1; 2050 VS:94), on the other hand, relates the language to Ardhamagadhi group of Indo-Aryan branch and mentioned that its immediate neighbours are Tharu (Tharuwani), Bote and Kumal. He further adds that Darai language characterizes the features of Magadhi and Ardhamagadhi. On the other hand, Lewis (2009:886) records this language as Indo-European, Indo-Iranian and Indo-Aryan without designating any further classification. He further adds that it has typological affinities with North Western Zone, Dardic group. The study of the Darai language including its relevant literature is at early stage in terms of its description, research and analysis. It is not fully described and classified till date.¹ Asher and Moseley (2007) do not provide full genetic classification of Darai. These classifications do not differ drastically but its genetic classification has not been determined.

¹ National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission (1994) categorizes Darai as a language which does not have literate tradition, literature and literacy.

2.2 Sociolinguistic aspects

The relation between the kinship terms and the grammar of a language is pointed out by Abbi (2001:222):

The intricate hierarchical society of India is reflected in its linguistic patterns and in the various terms that one uses to address and refer to different relations. As we have already seen, grammatical patterns indicate the hierarchical composition of the society (the verb endings in Hindi and Maithili, or the pronominals in Santhali, to name but a few). In addition to the grammar, one can witness the composition, directionality and intimacy of social behavior of a speech community through kinship terms.

The following paragraphs contain a brief sociolinguistic profile of Darai. Further research is needed for a full treatment of Darai sociolinguistics.

2.2.1 Kinship terms

The kinship system is extremely patrilineal. Residence is patrilocal with daughters going to live at the residence of their husbands after marriage. Sister-exchange marriage is not allowed. In several kinship terms, there is a distinction made if the person is referred to by honorific pronouns or not. Honorificity is decided by the speaker's relation (whether non-affinal or affinal) to the addressee. Kinship terms have been presented in this chapter following Abbi (2001).

i. Non-affinal

The following non-affinal kinship terms were obtained. These terms show non-affinal relations, those that an ego acquires by birth and not because of entering into a marriage alliance.

a. Great grand kinsmen

They are kinsmen more than two generations distant from ego. The terms obtained are:

- | | | |
|-----|------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>adzebadze</i> | 'great grandfather' (father's and mother's side) |
| | <i>adzibodze</i> | 'great grandmother' (father's and mother's side) |
| | <i>pənatɪ</i> | 'man's great grandchild' (M.) |

pənatni 'man's great grandchild' (F.)

b. Grand kinsmen

Grand kinsmen are kinsmen more than one generation distant from ego. The kinship terms found are:

- (2) *badze* 'grandfather' (father's and mother's side)
bodze 'grandmother' (father's and mother's side)
nati 'man's grandchild' (M.)
nətnai 'man's grandchild' (F.)

c. Parents and children

- (3) *buba* 'father'
bəḍkə ba 'father's elder brother'
nanu 'father's younger brother/ uncle'
p^hup^hu 'father's sister's husband'
ama 'mother'
baḍ^hi 'mother's elder sister'
baḍ^ha 'mother's elder sister's husband'
mausi 'mother's younger sister'
mousa 'mother's younger sister's husband'
mama 'mother's brother (maternal uncle)'
mamin 'maternal uncle's wife (maternal aunt)'
putəu 'son's wife'
c^hahom '(my) son'
c^hahim '(my) daughter'
b^həḡna 'sister's son (nephew)'
b^həḡnai 'sister's daughter (niece)'
b^hətdza 'brother's son (nephew)'
b^hətdzi 'sister's daughter (niece)'

d. Siblings and cousins

Cross cousin marriage is not allowed.

(4)	<i>dadzu</i>	‘elder brother’
	<i>b^hai</i>	‘younger brother’
	<i>didi</i>	‘elder sister’
	<i>bəini</i>	‘sister’

ii. Affinal

Abbi (2001:225) mentions that affinal relations are acquired “after establishing marriage relationship pertains to two broad divisions, one from the ego’s husband’s side and other from the ego’s wife side.” The following affinal kinship terms were obtained in Darai.

a. Own generation

(5)	<i>dulha</i>	‘husband’
	<i>dulhi</i>	‘wife’
	<i>b^hosre</i>	‘husband’s elder brother’
	<i>deur</i>	‘husband’s younger brother’
	<i>nəmda</i>	‘husband’s younger sister’
	<i>amadzu</i>	‘husband’s elder sister’
	<i>dzeɬ^hu</i>	‘wife’s elder brother’
	<i>sare</i>	‘wife’s younger brother’
	<i>dzeɬ^h sasu</i>	‘wife’s elder sister’
	<i>səreɬ^hi</i>	‘wife’s younger sister’
	<i>səmd^hi</i>	‘son/daughter’s wife’s father’
	<i>səmd^hinin</i>	‘son/daughter’s wife’s father’
	<i>b^haudzen</i>	‘elder brother’s wife’
	<i>b^hatun</i>	‘elder sister’s husband’

b. First ascending generation

(7)	<i>bəradzu</i>	‘spouse’s father, father-in-law’
	<i>bodzu</i>	‘spouse’s mother, mother-in-law’
	<i>bəɖki mǎ</i>	‘father’s elder brother’s wife’
	<i>nanhe/kaki</i>	‘father’s younger brother’s wife’
	<i>pisa</i>	‘father’s sister’s husband’

c. First descending generation

- (8) *putəu* 'daughter in law'
d^{hi}idzuwai 'daughter's husband, son- in-law'

2.2.2 Forms of address

Terms of address in Darai society are determined by the parameters such as age and kinship terms. Two kinds of forms of address are employed in Darai: direct and indirect. Generally, the direct forms are employed and acceptable only for juniors or contemporaries. Ferguson (1992:32) notes:

Generally a wife does not address or refer to her husband either by kin term or by name. She may use a special particle of address, or make use of an expression such as 'Father of X', X being their first child or some other circumlocution.

Addressing a husband by his name is not acceptable. A husband does not address his wife by name. They address their spouses by calling the child's name plus mother/father (e.g. X's mother/father). The parents can address their children by names or nicknames. Abbi (2001:226) remarks, "Although every society has its norms for selecting appropriate forms of address and referral, the hierarchical structure of the Indian society offers a wide and complex range of options to choose from."

i. Direct address

There are mainly three ways of direct address. To begin with, direct address is used in discourse. The first name is generally employed to the addressees (speech act participants) junior to the addresser. Contrary to this, if the addressee is senior to the addresser, the kinship terms are employed for the direct address. If the rule is violated, the situation is called *hawa mante* 'addressing without maintaining proper manner'. Proper names are thus often employed for addressing juniors and intimate addressees. However, addressing the seniors using the proper names is not considered appropriate in some occasions. And, the relatives are formally addressed with kinship terms. Unlike the juniors, addressing them by first name is considered impolite. Some of such terms include:

- (9) *saren* 'wife's younger brother'
dzawai 'daughter's husband, son-in-law'
mama 'maternal uncle'

Second person pronouns are characterized by three levels of honorificity whereas two levels of honorificity are found in the third person pronouns.²

ii. Indirect address

When the direct address is not possible, people employ certain expressions to attract somebody's attention. Such expressions include:

- (10) *ete sun tə* 'Listen hither'
ete her tə 'Look hither'
ijə dze 'this one, I said'

2.2.3 Politeness strategies

Politeness strategies are important in the hierarchical societies in Nepal to learn the rules of verbal politeness. Abbi (2001:232) comments, "We grant that it is an highly relevant phenomenon and politeness has to be somehow communicated, as sentences/discourse lacking such communication may be taken as impolite."

Abbi (2001:332-335) points out some strategies in maintaining politeness in Indian societies. The speakers choose certain lexical elements (such as honorifics, personal pronouns and kin terms). Syntactic features in nominal and verb morphology have specific constructions. The use of appropriate pronouns for the addressees, or the referents while using the second person and third person pronouns is strictly prescribed (see Chapter 4) at lexical level. The use of honorific pronouns in Darai differs from Nepali. The honorific pronouns are mainly used to address the in-laws. Similarly, the use of appropriate pronominal possessive suffixes in genitive construction (see Chapter 4) and appropriate inflections in verb morphology (see Chapter 6) indicate whether the addressee and referent are shown by respect or not. The addresser should not use certain discourse particles when he addresses the people he shows respects (see 8.2.7).

² See Chapter (4).

In addition to the direct and indirect address just discussed some people are not directly addressed. *səmd^{hi}* ‘son/daughter's wife's father’ is not directly addressed but the high honorific term *pau* is used. Similarly, *səmd^{hi}inin* ‘son/daughter's wife's mother’ is not addressed with the kin term but the word *gosaĩ* is used as an address term. A Darai woman does not address her *b^hosre* ‘husband’s elder brother’ directly but uses indirect means when she addresses him.

2.2.4 Taboos

Darai societies avoid saying certain things or they are talked in roundabout ways. We present taboos related to these topics in (11).

- (11) *morike* ‘to die’
dzudzi/gent^ha ‘penis’
c^huc^hi ‘vegina’
dz^hãt ‘hairs around the sexual organs’
cud^hike ‘have sexual intercourse’
guləi ‘testicles’
tĩtno ‘a part of vagina’
mudzi ‘anus’
lalahi/bərsat ‘menstruation’

The words mentioned in (11) are the parts of body, sex organs and words related to reproduction. It was difficult to obtain euphemistic expressions for them.

2.3 Sociolinguistic survey of the language

The study of language endangerment pattern in Darai is complicated by a lack of precise sociolinguistic information. The interaction of linguistic factors with non-linguistic elements needs to be explained in order to assess the language vitality of Darai. Language endangerment is not an isolated factor but an amalgamation of various social, cultural, legal and economic elements. Since language is not independent of its speakers, we need to explain the communicative behavior of speakers in broader social milieu. Sociolinguistic survey was conducted using the questionnaire given in Appendix (1). Questionnaires were adapted from Rapcha (2005).

This section outlines a sociolinguistic survey of the Darai language conducted among the Darai people in Chitwan, Tanahun and Nawalparasi districts. The purpose for the survey is to present the sociolinguistic situations of Darai in the several villages, to assess the dialect situation and to look into the language endangerment of Darai employing nine factors set by United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO 2003).³ It sets out to provide objective data so as to diagnose and explain the present situation and development of the Darai language with information on their degree of knowledge and use. In addition, it tries to assess the vitality of Darai if it is still being used in important domains or is replaced by Nepali, to determine whether it will continue to future generations, to evaluate the level of bilingualism in the neighboring languages, to show the attitude of the people towards their language and to determine which village in the Darai speaking area would be a good location for someone to start a language development program.

Information regarding to this language was obtained through structured questionnaire compiled and localized that is compatible with the needs of the language. The study provides synthesized data collected during the survey, describes the situation of the languages and diagnoses the basic problems affecting them. Since the language is spoken mainly in different districts, viz. Chitwan, Tanahun and Nawalparasi, 105 samples have been collected from these places.⁴

2.3.1 Background information

We present the background information of the Darai respondents, their name, age and age group, sex, marital position and address involved in this survey. The purpose of this part of questionnaire is to present respondents' background information which may be instrumental in interpreting the questions that follow. Respondents' background information is given in Appendix (2).

All the respondents respond about the caste system of the people. They say that they named themselves *dərai* or *dərai* for their ethnic name and the same for their language. The people spell their surname *dərai* or *dərai* living in Chitwan and

³ These criteria were set by UNESCO as proposed by an international meeting entitled "Safeguarding of the Endangered Languages (March 10-12, 2003) in The Endangered Languages Fund Newsletter, vol 7, Number 1, May 2003.

⁴ The total number of informants used in this study is one hundred and five following Abbi (2001:79). She notes that a minimum of one hundred informants should be taken into account for a sociolinguistic study.

Tanahun respectively. No significantly different name has been observed. Caste hierarchy among them was not found. Although they do not have the caste system and hierarchy, they have divisions among 12 clan names.⁵

In terms of sex, 64 (60.9 percentage) respondents were male whereas remaining 41 (39.04 percentage) were female. Similarly, 15 respondents were unmarried whereas remaining all respondents were married. Twenty respondents did not have children. All the respondents interviewed for this survey were Hindus. A few people have recently adopted Christianity in Darai community.

We divided the respondents into different age groups to show that respondents of all age groups were included in the survey.

TABLE 2.2 Respondents' age group

Age group	Number	Percentage
15-24	16	15.2
25-34	21	20.
35-44	25	23.9
45-54	17	16.1
55-64	16	15.2
65 and above	10	9.6

We attempted to include respondents from all age groups. Most of the respondents of our survey were of middle age, a few above 65 and only 15.2 percentages of the informants were between 15 and 24 years.

An overwhelming majority of the respondents are engaged in agriculture despite the fact that they are found in some other occupational categories these days. The number of people in other occupational categories is rather constrained which can be seen in Table (2.3). They are not found in socially lucrative posts and not even in higher status.

⁵ Darai (1996:94) mentions the clan names. They are Kokalsahi, Rajbanshi, Suryabanshi, Kulchapur, Banpale, Buda, Champaful, Khajuwar, Satanpur, Handikale, Narabangshi and Rana.

TABLE 2.3 Respondents' occupation

	Number	Percentage
Agriculture	87	82.9
Ex-Army	2	1.9
Service	6	5.7
Business	2	1.9
Driving	1	0.9
Students	7	6.7

In a study (Darai *et al.* 2062VS) submitted to the National Foundation for the Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN) on behalf of Nepal Darai Development Society, the main activity of Darai speakers is reported to be agriculture. They do not prefer to call fishing as their profession which they are fond of. It is significant to point out that most of the Darai villages are located near the banks of the rivers.

TABLE 2.4 Respondents' educational level⁶

	Number	Percentage
Masters	2	1.9
Bachelors	2	1.9
Intermediate	8	7.7
School Leaving Certificate	7	6.7
Secondary Level	12	11.4
Lower Secondary Level	11	10.5
Primary level	5	4.7
Literate	22	20.9
Illiterate	36	34.3

⁶ Literate has been rated those who have basic knowledge of reading and writing with some informal education and who have not formally completed grade five.

Table 2.4 presents the educational level of respondents. Most of the respondents were literate. However, people of new generation are also found to be studying even in higher and technical education though to a limited extent. While 34.3 percentages of the respondents were illiterate 20.9 percentages were simply literate. Those who have completed Master's and Bachelors' degree were minimal, i.e. 1.9 percentage each.

2.3.2 Dialect situation

All the respondents reply that the name is the same in all places where Darai is spoken. Although the Darais speak the language differently in two dialectal regions, they are intelligible between them based on the responses of the respondents. Since the Darais in Nawalparasi were migrated from Tanahun, the language they speak resembles the Tanahun dialect. Among the respondents only 17 respondents (16.1 percentage) say that the dialects are not mutually intelligible, 6 respondents (5.7 percentage) reply that they do not know the situation but the majority of respondents reply that the language spoken in different areas are mutually intelligible without hampering communication. Some language consultants from Chitwan add that the Darai language spoken in Tanahun is similar to Bote in accent. On the contrary, a few respondents from Tanahun and Nawalparasi feel that the Darai language spoken in Chitwan is similar to Tharu. In a similar vein, the people from Kathar add that the language spoken in Madhi area resembles Tharu and to some extent different from the language spoken in their village. The dialect situation is shown in Table (2.5).

As shown in Table 2.5, all the groups are aware of the facts that there exist some differences in language variation. They report that a few differences may be observed in the vocabulary and grammar. They observe that the differences may be attributed to the vocabulary and accents.

TABLE 2.5 Dialect situation

Q.N.			Yes	Percentage	No	Percentage	I don't know.	Percentage
11.	What differences do you find in these regions?	Lexical	87	82.9	12	11.5	6	5.6
		Grammar	32	30.5	67	63.9	6	5.6
		Accent	79	75.3	20	19.1	6	5.6
13.	Are there the places where only Darai language is spoken?	VDCs	-	-	99	94.3	7	5.7
		Wards	18	17.2	46	77.1	7	5.7
		Tole	99	94.3	-	-	7	5.7

Although there is a high degree of uniformity in its vocabulary, the language variation is found at phonological, lexical as well as at syntactic level. Lexical variation is mentioned in (12) and some cases of syntactic variations are included in (4.1.4 and 6.3). The differences mostly consist of a slight pronunciation or usage differences than of actual lexical differences at lexical level. The elicitation of the comparative word list (Swadesh one hundred word list) shows variation in the two dialectal regions as shown in (12).

(12)	<u>Chitwan</u>	<u>Tanahun</u>	
	<i>hame</i>	<i>hajē</i>	'we'
	<i>ləʊt^ha</i>	<i>ləwə</i>	'new'
	<i>ijə</i>	<i>iso</i>	'this'
	<i>kiti</i>	<i>kja</i>	'what'
	<i>nai, nidzə, dz^hun</i>	<i>nai, nəidze, dz^hun</i>	'not'
	<i>g^hin̄ti</i>	<i>g^hāti</i>	'throat'
	<i>dzərəhi/dzərəi</i>	<i>dzəhik</i>	'root'

<i>d^həwər, d^həbər</i>	<i>dzono</i>	'moon'
<i>tiriĵa</i>	<i>tire</i>	'star'

The percentage of cognates is much higher than the differences. It suggests that Darai has minor variations.

2.3.3 Bilingualism/multilingualism

Most of the respondents are found to be bilingual, a few to be multilingual, but none are monolingual in Darai. Darai is the language of home domains. As a Darai speaker moves away from home, he becomes bilingual. Darai children grown up in rural areas of Chitwan, particularly in Kathar, and Jagatpur VDCs are monolingual before they are enrolled at schools. They gradually turn bilingual for the reason that the medium of instruction is Nepali, which also serves as *lingua franca*.

TABLE 2.6 Languages they know

Q.N.	Question	Languages known			
		1	2	3	4
14	How many languages do you know ?	5	79	15	6
	Percentage	4.8	75.3	14.2	5.7

No formal bilingualism/multilingualism testing has been done to date among Darai people. The level of bilingualism in Nepali varies from place to place depending upon the availability of education. The questions asked show some interesting results. Firstly, no speakers are monolingual in Darai in our survey although the speakers claim there may be a few monolingual speakers. On the contrary, 5 respondents (4.7 percentage) belonging to Nawalparasi report that they were monolingual in Nepali. Corollary to this, all respondents know the Nepali language. The respondents receiving formal education are also multilingual who know Darai, Nepali and English. In addition to these three languages, a few respondents who have been to India or any foreign countries for employment also

know four languages. The loss of monolingual speakers in Darai will ultimately lead to the language loss.

When a small child goes to school, he does not understand everything his Nepali-speaking teacher says. It is reported that a child is monolingual before he formally starts his school education. With the enrollment at schools, he gradually turns bilingual. Sixty four respondents (60.9 percentages) report that the children can not understand Nepali before they go to school. It is shown in Table (2.7).

TABLE 2.7 Bilingualism/multilingualism

		Yes	No
15	Can a small Darai child understand everything his Nepali-speaking teacher says when he first goes to school?	41	64
	Percentage	39.1	60.9

2.3.4 Intergenerational language transmission⁷

This is a well known fact that Darais have shifted from their native language in favour of Nepali in some places. This trend is prevalent even in the areas where Darai speakers are densely populated. The reasons for this are complex. As more and more government functions take place in Nepali, parents experience increased pressure to equip their children for a predominantly Nepali speaking environment. Since language transmission pattern is not the same in different Darai speaking areas, they are presented in Table (2.8) for comparison and contrast.

Table (2.8) presents some interesting results. Firstly, language transmission is more vital in Chitwan and Tanahun than in Nawalparasi. Secondly, intergenerational transmission is weak in Nawalparasi through these four generations. In fact, there are several Darai people in Nawalparasi who have shifted to Nepali and adopted it as their first language since three or four generations. We may place these different villages in a continuum showing different shades in language transmission through generations.

⁷ Although the report (UNESCO 2003:17) states that the factors for assessing language endangerment are useful, “languages cannot be assessed simply by adding the numbers”. However, the ‘numbers’ may be useful in placing the language in the continuum of language endangerment. The numbers we have used are the same as UNESCO (2003).

TABLE 2.8 Intergenerational language transmission of Darai⁸

	Chitwan		Tanahu		Nawalparasi	
	Darai	Nepali	Darai	Nepali	Darai	Nepali
Grandfather's first language	73	1	17	-	11	3
Parents first language	73	1	17	-	10	4
Language you learn first	73	1	17	-	8	6
Language your children learnt first	59	1	15	-	4	7

Note: Some respondents had no children, i.e.3 respondents from Nawalparasi, 4 from Tahanun and 12 from Chitwan.

Darai communities do not allow marrying a woman from other castes. All the respondents reply positively towards the fact that Darais are not allowed to marry non-Darais. Increased interethnic marriages have been the main causes of language shift. In this context Crystal (2001:89) maintains, "There will be a more positive outcome if the community has a strong sense of cultural or religious identity, endogamous marriage practices, or a vibrant crafts or literary tradition." Inter-caste marriage is not preferred in Darai communities. It is a positive signal from the perspectives of language preservation because interethnic marriages are a significant factor in language loss. The Darai language may be categorized between 'safe' and 'unsafe' in terms of language transmission.

2.3.5 Absolute number of speakers

UNESCO (2003:8) states, "It is impossible to provide a valid interpretation of absolute numbers but a small speech community is always at risk". A small population is more vulnerable than the larger communities. Darai is relatively a small community scattered across several districts. Darai speakers comprise small settlements across several VDCs where they are not in the majority. The language is safe in rural areas, bilingualism is weaker and language retention is much more

⁸ UNESCO (2003:8) categorizes the languages into following categories: safe, unsafe, definitely endangered, critically endangered and extinct.

effective. As we observe in Table (2.5), no places are entirely populated by Darai speakers. The number of speakers scattering over several places has dwindled the use of Darai. Because Darai community is rather small, this can not be regarded as a safe language.

2.3.6 Proportion of speakers within the total population

Another factor related to language vitality is the number of speakers in relation to the total population. The number of speakers within the total population is relatively low in Darai.

The total number of Darai ethnic group is 14,859 whereas the number of Darai as the mother tongue is 10210 as established by the recent census (Yadava 2003:165). This leads us to the fact that only 68.7 percent of the Darais speak this language. We may take this data for granted as we do not have complete statistics obtained from any linguistic survey. Since only majorities speak the language, Darai can be categorized as 'definitely endangered' language.

2.3.7 Trends in existing language domains⁹

Trends in existing language domains are one of the crucial factors in assessing the language vitality of a language. Crystal (2001:83) states:

And with each loss of a domain, it should be noted, there is a loss of vocabulary, discourse patterns and stylistic range. It is easy to see how a language could eventually die, simply because having been denuded of most of its domains, there is hardly any subject-matter left for people to talk about and hardly any vocabulary left to do it with.

⁹ On the basis of the use of languages, UNESCO (2003:10) categorizes the languages into the following categories: universal use, multilingual parity, dwindling domains, limited or formal domains, highly limited domains and extinct.

TABLE 2.9 Trends in existing language domains

Q.N.	Questions	Darai	Nepali	Others	
24.	Which language do you use most frequently?	64	41	-	
25.	Which is the second most frequently used language ?	41	64	-	
26.	What language do you use to	with parents	96	9	-
		with brothers	96	9	-
		with sisters	96	9	-
27.	What language do you use to :	play	96	9	-
		think	96	9	-
28.	What language do you use with neighbors who are:	linguistically similar?	96	9	-
		linguistically dissimilar?	-	105	-
29.	What is the medium of instructions of the school Darai children go to?	-	105	-	
30.	What is the language generally used in community gatherings?	96	9	-	
31.	What language do Darai children use when they play together?	93	12	-	

Table 2.9 shows the trends in existing language domains. Nepali is used for official business, whereas Darai is used for interethnic communication and at home. Nepali has gradually become a *lingua franca* among educated Darais living in urban areas and a language that some Darais use in their homes. A majority of speakers (60.9 percentages) use Darai most frequently whereas only 41 percentages use Nepali most frequently. Darai is used at home communicating with parents and other family members. Ninety six respondents (91.5 percentages) use Darai for these domains. They also use the language for the group of people who are linguistically similar, and

at community gatherings. Children use it when they play. Although Darai language is not currently a threatened language, this language bears less or marginal functional load. The language is mainly used at home. Nepali serves as the lingua franca for Darais in all other circumstances. This suggests that the language may be threatened in the long run.

Darai again occupies the position between 'Multilingual parity' and 'Dwindling domains' because most of the speakers are bilingual. This is the language which serves only in the community domains. Although daily communication takes place at natural setting at home, the language has limited domains.

2.3.8 Response to new domains and media¹⁰

UNESCO (2003:11) mentions, "Schools, new work environments, new media, including broadcast media and the Internet, usually serve only to expand the scope and power of the dominant language at the expense of endangered languages". Darai people have very positive attitudes towards all these domains. Despite their positive attitudes, the language is not used in any new domains except a few. This is shown in Table 2.10.

TABLE 2.10 Response to new domains and media

S.N.			Yes	No
22.	Has anything ever written in Darai language	books	21	84
		newspaper	39	66
		pamphlets	42	63
23.	Have you ever listened to the radio/television programmes or on television about Darai language?	radio	44	61
		television	14	91

Although there are a few books published related to Darai, they are not written in the Darai language as shown in Table (2.10). However, a few pamphlets and

¹⁰ On the basis of the use of language in new domains and media, UNESCO (2003:11) categorizes the languages into the following types: dynamic, robust/active, coping, minimal and extinct.

bulletins can be seen. Its history as a written language is relatively recent and confined in a few dozens of pages. In fact, most of the speakers are not aware of these facts. Similar to some local and minority languages, Darai has enjoyed privileges of being on air through local FM station in Nawalparasi. Although most of the speakers are not aware of the radio program, Vijaya FM broadcasts a program *hamrə madz^hg^hər* ‘inner part of our home’ once a week on 101.6 MegaHertz in FM on each Friday at 3.30-3.50. Recently a film has been produced in Darai language. Considering all these facts, this language can be categorized as ‘coping’ because it is used in some new domains.

2.3.9 Materials for language education and literacy¹¹

Crystal (2001:113) writes:

A strong literary tradition can be a source of great prestige, not only within the indigenous community but also among the society at large. Even in the case of art forms where there is no linguistic element, such as dancing, language can take advantage of their popularity; no dance has yet been invented which has not been given a name or an interpretation and language then comes to the fore.

Languages without written tradition may face loss because they rely on oral transmission. If one generation fails to learn the language, the language is not transmitted to the next generation. The Darais use Devanagari script when they write but they have no practical orthography. Similarly, there have been no attempts for the standardization of the language and orthography. Although some materials exist, they are only useful for some members of the community.

¹¹ UNESCO (2003:12) assigns the numerical values as follows: ‘There is an established orthography, literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature and everyday media (5) ; Written materials exist and children are developing literacy in the language (4)’; ‘Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school (3)’; ‘Written materials exist but they may only be useful for some members of the community (2)’; A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written’ (1), ‘No orthography available to the community (0)’.

2.3.10 Governmental and institutional language policies¹²

UNESCO (2003:12) mentions:

The programs related to language education and literacy are not very common in new work environments, new media, including broadcast media and the internet. They usually serve only to expand the scope and power of the dominant language at the expense of endangered languages.

Darai people have very positive attitudes towards all these domains. Although there is constitutional stipulation for the preservation of minority languages, they are not protected, or properly planned to be protected to preserve them. The following are the provisions stipulated in the *Interim Constitution of Nepal 2064 VS (2007)*:

- a. All the mother-tongues spoken in Nepal are the national languages of the country (Article 5.1).
- b. The Nepali language in Devanagari script shall be the official language (Article 5.2).
- c. Right to receive basic education in the mother-tongue as provided for in the law (Article 17.1).
- d. Right to preserve and promote its own language and cultural heritage (Article 17.3).

The language falls in 'passive assimilation' into this UNESCO category.

2.3.11 Community members' attitudes towards their language¹³

Majority of the speakers feel that their language is sweet. Contrary to these statements, majority of the respondents (80 out of 105 or 80.95 percentage) do not feel that their language is rich. Majority of respondents (85 out of 105 or 76.19 percentage) are optimistic about the continuation of the language when the children who are now young grow up and become old. In this study, most of them are from Chitwan and Tanahun. All the speakers feel that they feel bad when they hear Darai young people speaking other languages instead of Darai. When this situation is applied to the UNESCO factors, many members support language maintenance;

¹² UNESCO (2003:12) categorizes the kinds of government support as: equal support, differential support, passive assimilation, active assimilation, forced assimilation and prohibition.

¹³ UNESCO (2003:14) assigns different numeral values for different languages as follows: superlative, good, fair, fragmentary, inadequate and undocumented.

others are indifferent or may even support language loss (3).’ This is shown in Table 2.11.

TABLE 2.11 Community members’ attitudes toward their own language

Q.N.			Yes	No
32.	Compared to the Nepali language, how would you rate your own mother tongue?	rich	25	80
		sweet	98	5*
33.	Do you think that Darai language will be spoken when the children who are now young grow up and become old ?		85	20
34.	How do you feel when you hear Darai young people speaking other languages instead of Darai ?		good	bad
			-	105

*Note: Two respondents insisted that they were not aware of this.

2.3.12 Amount and quality of documentation¹⁴

Darai has not been properly documented. There are no attempts at standardizing Darai. There is no standard orthography developed for the language. Neither the spelling rules nor the dictionaries are available.

There are not any comprehensive grammars, dictionaries and texts, neither are their flow materials, video recordings and so on. There is a word list and phonemic summary and a few sketches of grammars which are not good enough to catch the

¹⁴ UNESCO (2003:16) categorizes the language as: Superlative(5) ‘Comprehensive grammars, dictionaries and texts, flow of materials, video recordings etc. are found’ ; Good (4) ‘There are one good grammar and a number of adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature and occasionally updated everyday media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings; Fair (3) ‘There may be adequate grammar or sufficient amount of grammars, dictionaries and texts but no everyday media; audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality or degree of annotated’; Fragmentary (2) ‘There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotated’; Inadequate (1), ‘Only a few grammatical sketches, short word-lists and fragmentary texts. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality, or are completely un-annotated. ; and Undocumented (0) ‘No materials exist’.

grammar of the language. Crystal (2001:151) comments, “Long word-lists and sets of grammatical paradigms go only a short way towards capturing what is unique about a heritage; what is crucial is to show how the language is really used.” Therefore, the language can be categorized as ‘fragmentary’.

2.3.13 Miscellaneous

People from Chitwan claim that the language they speak is prestigious despite the fact that they don't express any negative opinions about other varieties. They have positive attitudes to their own language and believed that the children would use it when they grew up. This is shown in Table (2.12).

TABLE 2.12 Miscellaneous information

Q.N.		Yes	No
36.	Do you recognize a Darai who has stopped speaking Darai language?	75	30
37.	Is there any organization or body of responsible for cultural and linguistic policy and planning with respect to this language?	64	41

The people belonging to Chitwan say that the Darai language in Tanahun seems like Bote in accent whereas people of Tanahun and Nawalparasi say that the Darai language spoken in Chitwan is similar to Tharu in some aspects (see Table 2.1). Since the people living in Nawalparasi are the migrants from Tanahun, they preferred that variety. The people from Tanahun and Nawalparasi prefer that variety while the people from Chitwan claim that their variety is pure. However, they take pride in their language. Majority of the respondents reply that they recognize Darais who have stopped speaking the Darai language. This is because there are villages in Nawalparasi and Tanahun where the Darais have stopped speaking their ancestral language. Majority of the Darai people feel that they have an organization responsible for cultural and linguistic policy. In fact, this organization has not made any substantial contribution to linguistic activities. One non-native speaker replied that he did not have any idea regarding to this question.

2.3.14 Language endangerment of Darai

Crystal (2001:81) writes, “Languages are not like people, in this respect: it is not usually possible to write a single cause on the death certificate for a language.” On the basis of the indexes discussed in the preceding paragraphs, Darai can be categorized as a ‘definitely endangered language’.

2.4 Summary

This chapter provided background information of Darai people outlining their origin, profession, demography and current status of the language. Darai is a small community comprising 14,859 number as an ethnic group whereas only 10,210 speak this as their mother tongue. Darai has some characteristic feature of the South Asian languages in terms of kinship terms and naming people.

On the basis of the UNESCO criteria, we categorized Darai as a ‘definitely endangered’ language. The Darai language is well used in all domestic domains, and it is even presently broadcast by one local FM station. Aside from media, its use in education and administration has not been attempted. Bilingualism in Nepali seems to be increasing almost in all places. The degree of bilingualism in Nepali is increasing with younger people especially in urban areas. Intergenerational language transmission is good in some places as all children speak the Darai language there. However, they turn bilingual with their enrolment at schools. Attitudes toward the continuation of the Darai language are very positive. Pidrahani village of Kathar VDC from Chitwan would be a good location to learn the Darai language.

CHAPTER 3

PHONOLOGY

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with Darai phonology. The phonological description is based mostly on the speakers from the Pidrahani village of Chitwan. This chapter is organized into six sections. We discuss vowels in section 3.1 and consonants in section 3.2. Section 3.3 outlines the syllable structure. We look at intonation in section 3.4. Section 3.5 is about morphophonology in Darai. The summary of findings is presented in section 3.6.

3.1 Vowel phonemes

Vowels are defined in terms of phonology and phonetics. We discuss vowels and diphthongs in this section.

3.1.1 Oral vowels

Darai has six vowel phonemes.¹ The oral vowels show contrast in tongue position, tongue height and rounding of lips. The vowel system in Darai consists of two front, two central and two back vowels. In terms of their height, they are high, mid and low. Length is not contrastive in Darai. These vowels are shown in Figure (3.1).

¹According to Masica (1991:109), “The subcontinental six-vowel system has two subtypes: one is the Oriya type, with parallel front and back vowels / i, e, a, o, u/ found only outside Bishnupriya. The other is the Nepali/Marathi type, with a height contrast in the central vowels / i, e, ə, o, u/ It is also found in Lamani and Sadani”. Based on this generalization the vowel system in Darai is similar to the second category.

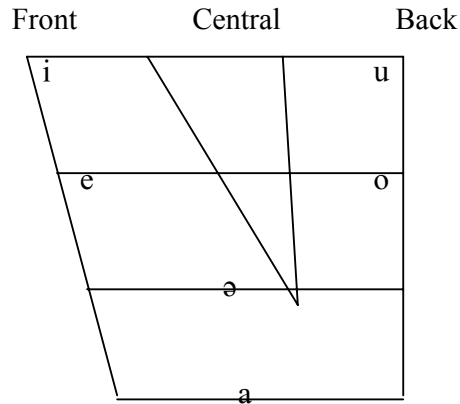
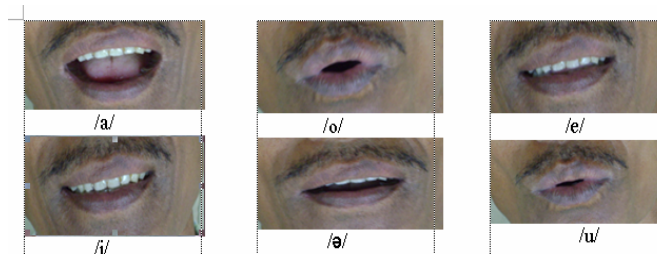


FIGURE 3.1 Darai vowel chart

There are parallel front and back vowels /i/ /u/ and /e/ /o/. There is also a height contrast in the central vowels /a/ and /ə/. The vowels can also be classified in terms of lip rounding. Only two back vowels are rounded. (The photographs mentioned in 3.1 were taken with a still camera requesting the language informants to pronounce the words given in 1.)

- | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|--------------------------|----|----------------------|---------------------|
| (1) | a. /ic ^h i/ | 'in this place' for /i/ | b. | /ek ^h ni/ | 'now' for /e/ |
| | c. /əse/ | 'then' for /ə/ | d. | /caralə/ | 'graze-PST' for /a/ |
| | e. /uruwa/ | 'a kind of bird' for /u/ | f. | /otka/ | 'that much' for /o/ |



PHOTOGRAPH 3.1 Lip positions for vowels

i. Description and distribution of vowels

The Darai vowels can be classified into three categories: (a) front vowels, (b) central vowels and (c) back vowels. They are discussed below.

a. Front vowels

Darai has two front vowels /i/ and /e/. They are unrounded vowels. These two front vowels are found in all positions: initial, medial and final. Minimal pairs of the front vowels are shown in (1) and their distribution is shown in Table (3.1).

(1) /i/ versus /e/

/əsi/ ‘eighty’	/əse/ ‘then, and then’
/til/ ‘sesame’	/tel/ ‘oil’
/luri/ ‘particle.F’	/lure/ ‘particle.M’

TABLE 3.1 Distribution of front vowels

	Initial	Medial	Final
i	/ijə/ ‘this’	/til/ ‘sesame’	/kundzi/ ‘key’
e	/ek ^h ni/ ‘right now’	/tel/ ‘oil’	/kike/ ‘why’

b. Central vowels

Darai has two central vowels /ə/ and /a/. These two central vowels are attested in all positions: initial, medial and final. They show contrast in height. They are unrounded. Minimal pairs of the front vowels are presented in (2) and their distribution is presented in Table (3.2).

(2) /a/ versus /ə/

/bar/ ‘hair’	/bər/ ‘a plant’
/bəl/ ‘strength’	/bal/ ‘light. IMP’

TABLE 3.2 Distribution of central vowels

	Initial	Medial	Final
ə	/ərija/ ‘sickle’	/cər/ ‘graze.IMP’	/ijə/ ‘this’
a	/agi/ ‘fire’	/car/ ‘four’	/kibuwa/ ‘earthworm’

c. Back vowels

Darai has two back vowels /o/ and /u/. They are found in all positions.

Minimal pairs of the front vowels are shown in (3). These vowels are rounded. The distribution of back vowels is presented in Table (3.3).

(3) /u/ versus /o/

/sur/	‘corner’	/sor/ ‘pig’
/k ^h ur/	‘shave.IMP’	/k ^h or/ ‘cage’

TABLE 3.3 Distribution of back vowels

	Initial	Medial	Final
o	/opar/ ‘across’	/sor/ ‘pig’	/kohodo/ ‘pumpkin’
u	/uruwa/ ‘owl’	/sur/ ‘side/corner’	/kocu/ ‘a kind of spinach’

d. High vowels

There are two high vowels /i/ and /u/. The phonological opposition between the high vowels is presented in (4).

(4) /i/ versus /u/

/agi/ ‘fire’	/agu/ ‘in front of’
/babi/ ‘daughter (an endearment term)’	/babu/ ‘boy, son’

e. Mid vowels

There are two mid vowels /e/ and /o/. Minimal pairs are given in (5).

(5) /e/ versus /o/

/ser/	‘unit of measurement’	/sor/	‘pig’
/p ^h erike/	‘to change’	/p ^h orike/	‘to break’

There is no restriction in the occurrence of the plain vowels. They are found in all positions. Examples given in Table (3.1) through (3.3) contain the vowels occurring in the word initial, medial and final positions.

3.1.2 Nasal vowels

It is extremely difficult to come up with nasal and non-nasal pairs of words to show contrast. However, we find all six nasal vowels. This can thus be regarded as a marginal suprasegmental feature of a small set of lexemes.

The fact that nasalization is not very robust in Darai is also referred to by Kotapish and Kotapish (1975:47). They note, "Nasalization occurs in Darai but varies from speaker to speaker." The central nasal vowel /ã/ occurs more frequently than other nasal vowels. All the words containing the nasal vowels which occur in our discourse and elicited database are listed in (6).²

(6)	/b ^h āt ^h i/	‘bellow’
	/bāsi/	‘flute’
	/pācəwə/	‘fifth’
	/āto/	‘seedling of barley or maize etc’
	/cīcbisə/	‘a kind of louse’
	/ciūta/	‘seedling of barley or maize etc’
	/dz ^h ākrija/	‘a pot used to dry the meat’
	/b ^h əjē/	‘floor’
	/gahē/	‘very much’
	/k ^h ōk ^h ri/	‘a by product in processing paddy into rice’
	/g ^h ōuka/	‘a kind of bucket where the fish are kept after they are caught’
	/āk ^h i/	‘eye’
	/c ^h ōto/	‘short’
	/hōco/	‘short’
	/kōuri/	‘soft’

3.1.3 Diphthongs and vowel sequences

Masica (1991:116) points out that the distinction between diphthongs and vowel sequences is complex in IA languages as vowel sequences often lead to diphthongs. Kotapish and Kotapish (1975:50) maintain that Darai has nine

² Masica (1991:118) notes, "Nasalization is stronger phonetically and systematically in the west than in the east."

phonologically distinctive diphthongs. Diphthongs can be described in terms of their beginning and ending points. They form a glide within the same syllable. The diphthongs in Darai have their first elements in different regions e.g. /i, e, a, u, ə/ which end either in /u/ or in /i/. Diphthongs in Darai are produced with a tongue movement from mid or low to high positions. They are thus rising diphthongs.³ The sequences need at least one high vowel. All vowels participate in the diphthongs.

a. /u/ ending

There are a total of five /u/ ending diphthongs.⁴ The diphthongs /ou/ and /eu/ are mainly found in the word-medial position. On the other hand, the diphthong /əu/ occurs in all positions as can be seen in Table (3.4).

TABLE 3.4 Distribution of /u/ ending diphthongs

	Initial	Medial	Final
iu	-	/c ^h iulə/ ‘touched’	/g ^h iu/ ‘ghee’
	-	/piulə/ ‘washed’	-
eu	-	/geut ^h əli/ ‘skylark’	-
	-	/geuri/ ‘sparrow’	-
au	/auro/ ‘umbilical cord’	/caur/ ‘uncooked’	/pau/ ‘you.HH’
	-	/dəuri/ ‘cord for tethering beast’	-
əu	/əurəti/ ‘eyebrow’	/kəuri/ ‘soft’	/putəu/ ‘daughter-in-law’
	/əunija/ ‘one who ploughes’	/b ^h əurel/ ‘a kind of wasp’	/gurəu/ ‘priest’
ou	-	/roulə/ ‘cried’	-
	-	/d ^h oulə/ ‘washed’	-

³ Masica (1991:118) notes that eastern IA languages have more diphthongs than the western languages.

⁴ Kotapish and Kotapish (1975:50) list only four /u/ ending diphthongs. The diphthong /ou/ is lacking in their list although it is attested in our database.

b. /i/ ending

There are five /i/ ending diphthongs in Darai. They begin either in the low, mid or the front region of the tongue. The diphthongs /ei/, /ai/ and /oi/ are not found in word-final position. /i/ ending diphthongs are presented in Table (3.5).

There are some constraints in the distribution of diphthongs. Diphthongs occur in the medial position than either in the word-initial or final position. The diphthong /əi/ occurs more frequently compared to other diphthongs. Two sequences which are attested very infrequent are /ui/ and /ou/ in our database. The distribution of diphthongs is given in Table (3.4) through (3.5).

TABLE 3.5 Distribution of /i/ ending diphthongs

	Initial	Medial	Final
ei	/eija/ ‘ouch’	/oc ^h eike/ ‘to spread out’	-
	-	/guteike/ ‘to spread out’	-
ai	/aina/ ‘mirror’	/b ^h aim/ ‘my brother’	-
	/aike/ ‘to come’	/dud ^h ailli/ ‘milk giving cow’	-
ui	-	/kuisa/ ‘fog’	/dui/ ‘two’
əi	/əina/ ‘fireplace’	/b ^h əike/ ‘to become’	/nab ^h əi/ ‘does not become’
	-	/cəili/ ‘small part of cooked rice’	-
oi	/oilaike/ ‘to fade’	/roi/ ‘to cry’	-
	-	/koicələ/ ‘dried’	-

3.1.4 Formant values of vowels

This section provides a brief phonetic analysis of Darai vowels. The data for this analysis were obtained from Som Lal Darai born and raised in the Pidrahani village of Kathar VDC in Chitwan district. He was monolingual when he was a child but now bilingual in Darai and Nepali. However, he still uses Darai in day-to-day communication.

The data were recorded during some trips to the village in 2008 using a Panasonic analogue recorder. The sounds were digitized using a digital recorder. Each vowel has ten utterances in total when they were recorded. The values drawn are

taken from words uttered in isolation. The data for this study were analyzed using Praat.⁵

Acoustic analysis of vowels helps us identify where exactly the phonemes are found in the space. Using the data from Som Lal Darai, F1 and F2 in Hertz for the vowels in Darai are found. Length is not distinctive in Darai. This is not therefore considered in this section. F1 and F2 of Darai monophthongs have been measured using the following method.

The spectrogram window was set with a view range of 5000 Hz, number of formant 3, window length 0.025, and dynamic range (dB) 30. The slice of every ten milliseconds was taken for measuring the formants. In this section we present the F1 and F2 of each vowel separately and plotted in the chart following Ladefoged (2003). All these vowels occur in word initial position and they are mentioned in (7).

- (7) a. *ic^hi* 'in this place'
 b. *əseike* 'to wait'
 c. *ek^hni* 'right now'
 d. *undike* 'fall down'
 e. *otkai* 'that much'
 f. *anike* 'to bring'

Table (3.6) lists the value of F1 and F2 of all the vowels on the basis of the recorded data of Som Lal Darai.

TABLE 3.6 Formant values of vowels

	i	u	e	o	ə	a
F1	360	395	451	583	700	925
F2	1851	1024	1658	1016	1216	1414

⁵ Praat is a free scientific software program for the analysis of speech in phonetics.

Ladefoged (1975:173) notes, "The first formant is inversely related to vowel height." This is also illustrated by Table (3.6) where the first formants decrease when one moves from high to low vowels. Ladefoged (1975:173) again notes, "As sounds become more rounded the frequencies of the higher formants decrease." This is also illustrated by the rounded vowels /o/ and /u/. This is shown in Figure (3.2)

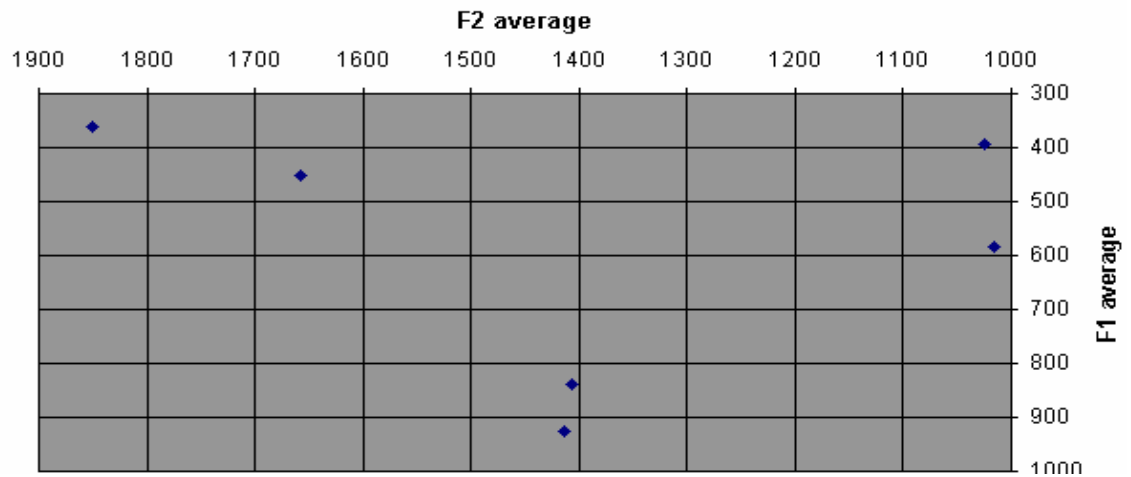


FIGURE 3.2 Formant values of vowels

Figure (3.2) graphically charts the vowel frequency on the basis of the value of F1 and F2. This shows the formants chart showing the relationship between F1 and F2 of six vowels. The frequency of the first formant is plotted on the ordinate (the vertical axis) and the second formant is plotted on the abscissa (the horizontal axis). The figure shows that the mid vowels /o/ and /e/ are near to high vowels. Low vowels /ə/ and /a/ are also very close.

3.2 Consonant phonemes

There are a total of 29 consonants in Darai. Table (3.7) shows the consonants according to their manner of articulation, place of articulation, voicing and aspiration. There is a contrast which is solely based on voicing. Similarly aspiration is also another phonological property of consonants. Voicing and aspiration are contrastive only in plosive and affricate.

TABLE 3.7 Inventory of consonant phonemes

		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
		Vl. Vd.	Vl. Vd.	Vl. Vd.	Vl. Vd.	Vl. Vd.	Vd.
Plosive	Unaspirated	p b	t d	t ^h d		k g	
	Aspirated	p ^h b ^h	t ^h d ^h	t ^h d ^h		k ^h g ^h	
Affricate	Unaspirated			c dz			
	Aspirated			c ^h dz ^h			
Fricative				s			h
Nasal		m		n		ŋ	
Trill				r			
Glide		w			j		
Lateral				l			

Table (3.7) includes the place of articulation shown horizontally and the manner of articulation shown vertically.

3.2.1 Description and distribution of consonants

a. Plosives

There are 16 phonemic plosives in Darai. Aspiration is contrastive and voiced and voiceless pairs are found in the plosives. The plosives occur at four places of articulation, i.e. bilabial, dental, alveolar and velar. All plosives occur in word-initial and intervocalic position. However, some of them were not found at word-final position, such as /d^h/ /k^h/ /g/. It is not surprising because some aspirated sounds occur only initially in some languages (Masica 1991:101). Minimal pairs are given in (8-15). The distribution of Darai plosives is given in Table (3.7).

(8) /p/ versus /p^h/

/par/ ‘across/COND.PART’ /p^har/ ‘metal plough tip’
 /perike/ ‘to get dressed’ /p^herike/ ‘to change’

(9) /b/ versus /b^h/

/bar/ 'hair'

/b^har/ 'load'

/bok/ 'carry.IMP'

/b^hok/ 'hunger'

(10) /t/ versus /t^h/

/tapike/ 'to warm'

/t^hapike/ 'to set up/spread'

/tel/ 'oil'

/t^hel/ 'backwards (of water)'

(11) /d/ versus /d^h/

/dər/ 'rate'

/d^hər/ 'hold.IMP'

/dan/ 'gift'

/d^han/ 'paddy'

(12) /t/ versus /t^h/

/kaṭi/ 'cut. ABS'

/kaṭ^hi/ 'wood'

/paṭi/ 'rest-house'

/paṭ^hi/ 'female kid'

(13) /d/ versus /d^h/

/dər/ 'trail'

/d^hər/ 'name of a trail'

(14) /k/ versus /k^h/

/kəsike/ 'to tighten'

/k^həsike/ 'to fall down'

(15) /g/ versus /g^h/

/gali/ 'scolding, abuse'

/g^hali/ 'pour.ABS'

TABLE 3.8 Distribution of plosives

	Word-initial	Intervocalic	Word-final
p	/pat ^h ər/ 'stone'	/c ^h ipa/ 'plate'	/k ^h ap/ 'bunch of clustered bananas'
p ^h	/p ^h ar/ 'blade'	/bap ^h aikē/ 'to cook by boiling'	/gəp ^h / 'gossip'
b	/bɛŋgo/ 'frog'	/kəbila/ 'caste'	/k ^h arab/ 'bad'
b ^h	/b ^h əŋna/ 'nephew'	/səb ^h əi/ 'all'	/lob ^h / 'greed'
t	/tɪsrən/ 'third'	/ota/ 'that side/there'	/əret/ 'a kind of fish'
t ^h	/t ^h ərpudze/ 'small hut'	/git ^h ike/ 'to weave'	/t ^h ut ^h / 'spit'
d	/dawa/ 'death ritual'	/gəduwa/ 'a pot for carrying snacks'	/sawad/ 'delicious'
d ^h	/d ^h ijaputa/ 'children'	/kod ^h orə/ 'corner'	-
.t	/taŋgi/ 'axe'	/k ^h itpitar/ 'colourful'	/uc ^h it/ 'infertile'
.t ^h	/t ^h usike/ 'thrust'	/pərət ^h i/ 'handle of plough'	/hēt ^h / 'below'
ɖ	/ɖeli/ 'basket'	/pəɪda/ 'road'	/god / 'leg'
ɖ ^h	/ɖ ^h id / 'abdomen'	/uɖ ^h ike/ 'to fly'	/muɖ ^h / 'head'
k	/kədzaɖə/ 'black'	/kaptike/ 'to bite'	/ek/ 'one'
k ^h	/k ^h ab ^h o/ 'pillar'	/dek ^h ike/ 'to see'	-
g	/geut ^h əli/ 'sparrow'	/ləgi/ 'near'	-
g ^h	/g ^h in̄ti/ 'neck'	/g ^h ug ^h aikē/ 'to throw'	/bag ^h / 'tiger'

b. Affricates

Affricates occur only at one place of articulation, i.e. alveolar. All affricates occur in word-initial and intervocalic position but they are not found frequently word-finally. Voicing and aspiration contrast is found in affricates. Minimal pairs are given in (16-17).

(16) /c/ versus /c^h/

/cirike/	‘to split’	/c ^h irike/	‘to enter’
/cərike/	‘to graze’	/c ^h ər/	‘to feel’

(17) /dz/ versus /dz^h/

/dzanike/	‘to know’	/dz ^h anike/	‘to fry’
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TABLE 3.9 Distribution of affricates

	Word-initial	Intervocalic	Word-final
c	/cəɾəi/ 'bird'	/bacaikə/ 'to save'	/pāc/ 'five'
c ^h	/c ^h ikə/ 'to touch'	/bic ^h ikə/ 'to pluck'	-
dz	/dziuno/ 'living'	/pidzaikə/ 'to make sharp'	/ledz/ 'take.IMP'
dz ^h	/dz ^h or/ 'liquid/soup'	/dzudz ^h ikə/ 'to fight'	-

c. Fricatives

There are 2 fricatives in Darai, i.e. glottal fricative /h/ and alveolar fricative /s/. Alveolar fricative /s/ occurs in all positions whereas glottal fricative /h/ is found in word-initial and intervocalic position. Minimal pairs are given in (18) and distribution of the fricatives is given in Table (3.10).

(18) /s/ vs /h/

/sor/	‘pig’	/hor/	‘plow’
/sat ^h /	‘together, accompany’	/hat ^h /	‘hand’

TABLE 3.10 Distribution of fricatives

	Word-initial	Intervocalic	Word-final
s	/sor/ 'pig'	/dzəsin/ 'in this/which way'	/manus/ 'man'
h	/hor/ 'plough'	/gahe/ 'very'	-

d. Nasals

There are 3 nasals in Darai. Alveolar and palatal nasals are found in all positions but velar nasal is found only in word-finally. Minimal pairs are given in (19-20) and distribution of the sounds is given in Table (3.10).

(19) /m/ versus /n/

/dam/	‘cost’	/dan/	‘gift’
/dami/	‘fine’	/dani/	‘generous’

TABLE 3.11 Distribution of nasals

	Word-initial	Intervocalic	Word-final
m	/məd ^h u/ 'bee'	/c ^h amike/ 'to feel'	/bam/ 'a kind of fish'
n	/nahari/ 'snacks'	/punu/ 'also'	/b ^h əren/ 'forest'
ŋ	-	-	/siŋ/ 'horn'

Apart from these, there are two breathy nasals, i.e. /n^h/ and /m^h/ are also found. They are sporadic and are found in predictable environment. They are found only in intervocalic position. They neither occur in word-initial position nor in word-final position. Breathiness is thus a characteristic of a handful of lexemes. The words with /n^h/ and /m^h/ are listed in (21) and (22) respectively.

(21) *lam^ho* 'long'

kum^har 'Kumal (an ethnic group)'

(22) *nan^hi* 'small'

t^hun^hi 'pillar of wood'

e. Lateral and trill

There is one lateral and one trill in Darai. They are found in all positions as shown in Table (3.11) and their phonological opposition is shown in (24).

(24) /l/ versus /r/

/ləhər/	‘nail’	/rəhər/	‘desire’
/lokike/	‘to hide’	/rokike/	‘to stop’

TABLE 3.12 Distribution of lateral and trill

	Word-initial	Intervocalic	Word-final
l	/ledzike/ 'to take'	/kəluwa/ 'snacks'	/acal/ 'nowadays'
r	/rəktarə/ 'red'	/dzəri/ 'root'	/bar/ 'hair'

Two consonants /l/ and /r/ also have breathiness and thus pronounced as /l^h/ and /r^h/ respectively. They are attested in intervocalic position. They are not phonemically contrastive. Words which contain /l^h/ and /r^h/ are presented in (24) and (25) respectively.⁶

(24) -lar^hə 'PROS'

(25) bour^he 'sister-in-law (wife of younger brother)'

pir^ha 'low wooden stool'

ber^ha 'wall'

muḍ^hlar^hi 'a small pin made of wood used at the back of the plough'

modəuler^hi 'a boy who helps the bridegroom during marriage'

(26) cul^ha 'oven'

kol^hər 'secretion of ear'

dul^ha 'husband'

dul^hi 'wife'

f. Glides

There are two glides in Darai. Although they are found in intervocalic position, they rarely occur word-finally. Some speakers consistently pronounce *etka* 'this much', as *jətka* and *otka* 'that much' as *wətka* 'that much'. It is not surprising

⁶ Chitwania Tharu is remarkable for the presence of extensive breathy sounds in nasals, lateral and trill (see Leal 1972).

because Masica (1991:124) notes that glides (semivowels) occur mainly in intervocalic position in a cluster of IA languages.

TABLE 3.13 Distribution of glides

	Word-initial	Intervocalic	Word-finally
j	/jar/ 'dear/intimate'	/ijə/ 'this'	-
w	/wətka/ 'that much'	/kewari/ 'door'	-

Tables (3.5) through (3.9) show the positional distribution of consonants in Darai. This can be summarized as follows:

- (a) All consonants except /ŋ/ occur word-initial position.
- (b) Although /w/ and /j/ occur in word initial position, they are very restricted. Grierson (1903a:7) notes that "eastern IA languages do not tolerate an initial *w* and *j*."
- (c) The sounds /l^h/, /r^h/, /m^h/, /n^h/ which occurs in intervocalic positions are not phonemic.

3.2.2 Consonant clusters and cooccurrence

Two consonants may occur together in sequence or 'cluster' without any intervening vowel in Darai lexicon. Initial clusters are less common compared to the clusters in the medial position.⁷

a. Word initial cluster

Word initial consonant cluster is not frequent in Darai except for a few examples.⁸ The second member of an initial word consonant cluster is always a glide, i.e. /w/ or /j/ in a word-initial cluster. Examples are provided in (27).

- (27) /bja.ha/ 'marriage'
 /cwã.di/ 'well (of water)'
 /p^hjaŋ.se.ri/ 'fox'

⁷ In Sections (3.1.1 and 3.1.2) the syllable break is indicated by a period [·].

⁸ Masica (1991:125) notes that initial clusters are restricted to *c + semivowel* in some languages. He also notes that some other languages allow the sequences of *consonant + r*.

/dʒaŋ.gei/	‘the sound of gunfire’
/tʰjai.tʰjai/	‘ONO, the manner one walks’

Although we have examples such as *sriman* ‘husband’ or *krija* ‘death ritual’ occur in the corpus, they are borrowings from Nepali. The two other words which have initial cluster are *kriheri* ‘the woman who mourns’ and *kriherə* ‘the man who mourns’. Thus, word cluster in word-initial position is not very productive except the cases mentioned in (27) in Darai.

b. Medial consonant clusters and cooccurrence

Word medial consonant cluster is found in abundance. Medial consonant clusters and occurrence cross syllable boundaries in Darai.⁹ We present consonants which occur as the first member of the consonant cluster in examples (28) through (49).

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| (28) | /c ^h ap.ko/ | ‘a small hut made from straw and woods’ |
| | /kap.ti.ke/ | ‘to bite’ |
| | /c ^h op.ni/ | ‘a sort of cover for the liquor pot’ |
| | /pip.ri/ | ‘teat’ |
| | /tap.lə/ | ‘warmed’ |
| | /həp.ta/ | ‘week’ |
| (29) | /ap ^h .ni/ | ‘self (for example oneself)’ |
| | /p ^h op ^h .rek/ | ‘comb made of bamboo’ |
| (30) | /ub.dzi.ke/ | ‘to grow’ |
| | /kub.ro/ | ‘stoop’ |
| | /dəb.ba/ | ‘can’ |
| (31) | /ni.put.ri/ | ‘childless’ |
| | /cut.ki/ | ‘little’ |
| | /lət.pə.te/ | ‘weak person’ |
| | /pit.tə/ | ‘bile’ |

⁹ Masica (1991:127) notes, "In some languages, e.g., Hindi, Marathi, Nepali, there seem to be almost no constraints on medial sequences of two consonants. Many of these are sequences of a special type, however: i.e. they cross morpheme boundaries....The question therefore arises as to whether these are "true clusters" - although many modern descriptions reckon them so."

- /cit.wa/ 'leopard'
- (32) /d̪et^h.rə/ 'coward'
- /bot^h.lə/ 'hurt'
- (33) /bad.ri/ 'cloud'
- /gid.də/ 'vulture'
- /əd.wa/ 'ginger'
- (34) /p^hət.ki.ke/ 'to jump; to leap'
- /gʊt.t^ho/ 'heavy'
- /c^hət.pə.ti/ 'restlessness'
- /b^het.lə/ 'met'
- /bət.ta/ 'can'
- /pət.wa/ 'fiber'
- (35) /ʊt^h.lə/ 'got up'
- (36) /coɖ.ka.lə/ 'bit'
- /gaɖ.la.rə/ 'bury-PROS'
- /ced.nəi.ke/ 'to sieve'
- /beɖ.t^ho/ 'thumb'
- /məɖ.wa/ 'millet'
- (37) /dz^hək.ki.ke/ 'to bellow; to roar'
- /ek.ta/ 'one-CLF'
- /nak.no/ 'nose'
- /cik.to/ 'a small parasitic insect that sucks blood'
- /ek.tis/ 'thirty one'
- /d^hak.ci/ 'firefly'
- /ek.dəm/ 'very'
- /p^hok.so/ 'lung'
- /bak.lə/ 'thick'
- /kak.ra/ 'cucumber'
- (38) /dzək^h.ni/ 'when'
- /k^hok^h.ri/ 'grain (rice) with no seed (core grain) inside'
- (39) /əg.di.na.hi/ 'of that time'

- /dzəg.re.he/ ‘quarrelsome’
 /pəg.li.ke/ ‘to melt’
 (40) /lag^h.ra.lə/ ‘dragged along by force’
 (41) /buc.ku.no/ ‘stopper made of twisted leaves or paper; plug’
 /bac.c^hi/ ‘a calf’
 (42) /kic^h.ra/ ‘secretion of the eye’
 /pəc^h.ta.lə/ ‘repented’
 /uc^h.ni.ke/ ‘to overtake’
 (43) /k^hadz.ro/ ‘scorpion; centipede’
 /bidz.ku.ni/ ‘a kind of earring’
 (44) /bis.ta.ri/ ‘slowly’
 /d^hus.mu.si/ ‘dawn’
 /os.nə/ ‘like that’
 /k^həs.rə/ ‘rough’
 /mas.tər/ ‘teacher’
 /mes.kə.ri/ ‘joke’
 /tas.lə/ ‘made smooth’
 /bis.was/ ‘trust’
 (45) /g^həm.ka.lə/ ‘burnt’
 /nəm.da/ ‘husband’s younger sister’
 /sam.d^hi/ ‘son's father in law’
 /kum.ta.ha/ ‘an obstinate male person’
 /lam.ki.ro/ ‘snake’
 /dz^hu.rum.p^ha/ ‘a musical instrument’
 /lam.k^hut.te/ ‘mosquito’
 /kum.b^hə/ ‘shoulder’
 /ram.rə/ ‘good’
 /səm.mə/ ‘flat’
 /ram.dza.kət/ ‘name of a village’
 /səm.d^hzə.lə/ ‘remembered’
 /gum.sa.lə/ ‘suffocated’

- /bɛm.ta/ 'a kind of red ant'
 /nim.t^hi.ke/ 'to twist; wring'
 /kam.ci.ke/ 'to scratch'
 /səm.car/ 'message'
 /am.lə/ 'sour'
 /bam.ni/ 'shadow'
 (46) /cin.ta/ 'worry'
 /gen.t^ha/ 'penis'
 /tən.ka.lə/ 'stretched'
 /un.di.ke/ 'to fall'
 /k^hon.ca.lə/ 'crippled'
 /ən.nə/ 'grain (generic)'
 /b^hən.se.ni/ 'one who works in the kitchen'
 /kin.la.rə/ 'buy. PROS'
 /kən.pət/ 'temple'
 /kan.c^hə/ 'the youngest one'
 /kun.dzi/ 'key'
 /kon.ta/ 'backside of the house'
 /gun.gu.na.lə/ 'grumbled'
 /mən.de.lə/ 'became sick'
 /ən.d^ha/ 'blind (male)'
 /lo.kon.d^har/ 'a friend of bridegroom on the day of marriage'
 (47) /naŋ.təi/ 'naked'
 /ciŋ.ka.ri/ 'thunderbolt; lightning'
 /p^hjaŋ.se.ri/ 'hole'
 /saŋ.le/ 'cockroach'
 /aŋ.t^hi/ 'ring (finger)'
 /beŋ.go/ 'frog'
 /aŋ.na/ 'yard'
 /koŋ.ra/ 'ornamental silver hay worn round the ankle; anklet'
 /ləŋ.da/ 'lame'

- (48) /cir.pət/ 'a small piece of wood after it is split'
 /lir.bi.re/ 'velum'
 /d^hər.ki/ 'steep'
 /hər.da.rə/ 'green'
 /cur.d^hok/ 'hump; fleshy protuberance'
 /gir.gə.ti/ 'lizard'
 /bər.sat/ 'menstruation'
 /kər.c^hu.la/ 'ladle'
 /dzər.ma.t^hi/ 'half moon that usually occurs in the month of Bhadra'
 /bir.ni/ 'plate of hair'
 /pər.wan.pur/ 'name of a place'
 /her.t^hor/ 'seeking advice from somebody, particularly about health'
 /sur.ti/ 'tobacco'
 /car.ta/ 'four.CLF'
 /mər.ca/ 'yeast'
 /b^hər.k^he/ 'just now'
 /k^hər.b^hu.dza/ 'watermelon'
- (49) /əl.pi.ke/ 'to disappear'
 /dz^hul.ki.ke/ 'to rise; to appear'
 /əl.c^hi/ 'lazy'
 /əl.gə/ 'tall'
 /k^hal.ta/ 'ditch'
 /əl.dzə.la.ha/ 'one who does not complete the work properly'
 /dəl.lei/ 'a ball of something'
 /dul.du.li/ 'dysentery'
 /gəl.ti/ 'mistake'
 /sil.mun.ri/ 'scarf worn on head'
 /bəl.wa/ 'sand'
 /kol.həu/ 'someone'

Only two consonants are permitted in word medial position. The first consonant of the medial cluster is assigned to the preceding syllable and the latter to the following syllable. Thus, most consonant clusters (cooccurrence) are formed across syllable boundary in the middle position. As can be seen in the examples, voiced aspirated consonants /b^h/, /d^h/, /d^h/, /g^h/, /dz^h/ do not normally occur as the first member in the medial consonant cluster. Additionally /t^h/ as a first member is also infrequent. Glottal fricative /h/ as a first member is very rare. Nasals, trill and lateral can be the first member of medial consonant cluster. The constraint in consonant cluster is not applied to the loan words. Three consonant clusters are not attested in Darai. Similarly, consonant cluster is not allowed at word final position. Two aspirated consonants do not normally combine to form a consonant cluster. The table (3.14) is arranged to show the consonant clusters (including the consonant occurrence) within and across syllable boundaries that have been found to date. It is slightly different from the medial consonant cluster presented in Kotapish and Kotapish (1973:34).

TABLE 3.14 Consonant cooccurrence in word medial position

	p	p ^h	b	b ^h	t	t ^h	d	d ^h	.t	.t ^h	d	d ^h	k	k ^h	g	g ^h	c	c ^h	dz	dz ^h	m	n	ŋ	r	s	h	w	j	l	
p					+				+				+										+		+					+
p ^h																							+		+					
b			+																	+					+					
b ^h																														
t	+				+								+												+			+		
t ^h																									+					+
d							+																		+					
d ^h																														
.t	+								+	+			+															+	+	
.t ^h																														+
d										+			+											+				+		+
d ^h																														
k					+		+		+				+					+					+	+	+	+				+
k ^h																								+	+					
g							+																		+					+
g ^h																														+
c													+						+											
c ^h					+																			+	+					
dz													+												+					
dz ^h																														
m		+		+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
n	+				+		+	+	+	+	+		+		+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+				+
ŋ									+	+	+		+		+									+	+	+				+
r	+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+				+	+		+	+		+	+	+
s					+				+				+										+	+	+				+	+
h																														
w																														
j																														
l	+				+		+		+				+		+			+	+	+		+					+	+		+

3.3 Syllable structure

The canonical syllable type consists of a consonantal onset and rhyme. The maximal syllable template is (C)(G)V(C). Consonants are optional. Kotapish and Kotapish (1973: 52) note, "The nucleus which is filled by a single vowel is obligatory." Syllable structure in Darai is presented in Figure 3.3.

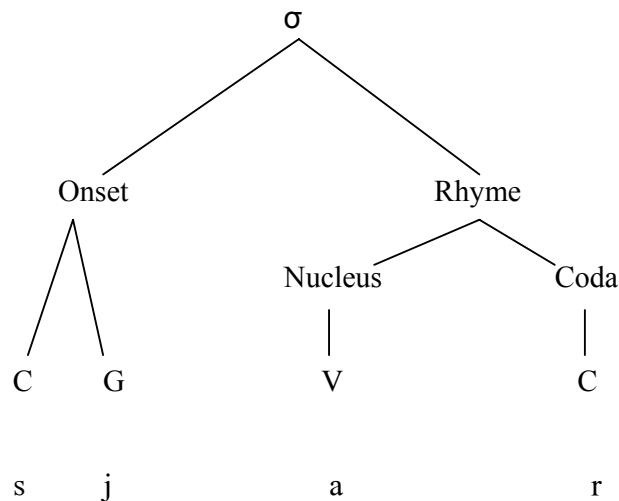


FIGURE 3.3 Syllable structure in Darai

The syllable types VC, CV and CVC are very robust while V and CGVC are rather limited. Summary of attested syllables is given in (50).

- | | | | | |
|------|----|------|--------------------|----------|
| (50) | a. | V | /u/ | ‘that’ |
| | b. | VC | /ek/ | ‘one’ |
| | c. | CV | /c ^h ə/ | ‘six’ |
| | d. | CVC | /sor/ | ‘pig’ |
| | e. | CGVC | /sjar/ | ‘jackal’ |

Some words which contain open syllable are mentioned in (51).

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|----------|
| (51) | /i.c ^h i.ka/ | ‘here’ |
| | /gu.nei/ | ‘reason’ |
| | /a.dzu/ | ‘today’ |

The first syllable of each word in examples (52) contains closed syllables. Closed syllable pattern CVC is also a very common syllable type attested.

- (52) /kəs.nə/ 'how'
 /cut.ki/ 'little'
 /dzət.ka/ 'how much'
 /piŋ.ri/ 'finger'
 /bəd.kə/ 'big'

3.3.1 Onset

Simple or complex onsets are available in Darai. The onsets found in our corpus are all the consonant sounds in our phonemic inventory. The glide /w/ does not normally occur in word-initial position but is attested in onset position in a handful of words such as *kūwar* 'month, mid September to mid-October', *kewari* 'door'. Velar nasal is neither attested in word-initial position nor in onset position.

Complex onset is formed with the glide as the second member in the onset.¹ Here are a few words where the complex onset is found in Darai. The complex onset is also found in onomatopoeias.²

- (53) /sjar/ 'jackal'
 /kwa.ri/ 'lamb'
 /cwã.di/ 'well (of water)'
 /p^hjaŋ.se.ri/ 'fox'

Syllables that lack onset are very rare although they are also attested. Vowel nucleus can occur alone in Darai. Thus, the smallest word is V. An example is *u* 'that'. Table (3.15) presents the consonants which occur in onset position.

² See section (8.4) for onomatopoeia.

TABLE 3.15 Attested consonant onsets

C	Darai words and gloss	C	Darai words and gloss
p	/pa.t ^h ər/ 'stone'	g ^h	/g ^h in.ti/ 'neck'
p ^h	/p ^h ar/ 'blade'	c	/ci.cər/ 'snack'
b	/beŋ.go/ 'frog'	c ^h	/c ^h i.ke/ 'to touch'
b ^h	/b ^h əŋ.na/ 'nephew'	dz	/dzu.dzi/ 'penis'
t	/tis.rən/ 'third'	dz ^h	/dz ^h or/ 'liquid/soup'
t ^h	/t ^h ər.pu.dze/ 'small hut'	s	/sor/ 'pig'
d	/da.wa/ 'death ritual'	h	/hor/ 'plough'
d ^h	/d ^h i.ja.pu.ta/ 'children'	m	/mə.d ^h u/ 'bee'
.t	/tu.ri.ke/ 'break'	n	/na.ha.ri/ 'snacks'
.t ^h	/t ^h u.si.ke/ 'thrust'	ŋ	-
ɖ	/de.li/ 'basket'	r	/rək.ta.rə/ 'red'
ɖ ^h	/ɖ ^h ɪɖ / 'abdomen'	l	/lir.bi.re/ 'velum'
k	/kə.dza.ɖə/ 'black'	w	/ke.wa.ri/ 'door'
k ^h	/k ^h a.b ^h o/ 'pillar'	j	/jar/ 'dear/intimate'
g	/ga.lu/ 'cheek'		

3.3.2 Rhyme

Nucleus is occupied by all vowels in Darai. For example, in Figure (3.3) vowel /a/ is the peak. The rhyme consists of an obligatory vowel followed by an optional coda.

Complex codas are not attested in Darai.³ Some consonants do not occur in word-final position but are attested in coda position. Glides and glottal fricative /h/ are not attested in coda position. Table (3.16) presents the consonants in coda position.

³ Masica (1991:126) mentions that final clusters are not allowed in several NIA languages.

TABLE 3.16 Attested coda consonants

C	Darai words and gloss	C	Darai words and gloss
p	/k ^h ap/ 'bunch of clustered banana'	g ^h	/lag ^h .ra.lə/ 'drove away'
p ^h	/up ^h .ri.ke/ 'to jump'	c	/koc.ra/ 'plate'
b	/dub.ro/ 'thin'	c ^h	/bic ^h .lə/ 'plucked'
b ^h	/lob ^h / 'greed'	dz	/k ^h odz.lə/ 'searched'
t	/ə.ret/ 'a kind of fish'	dz ^h	/dzu.dz ^h .lə/ 'fought'
t ^h	/det ^h .rə/ 'coward'	s	/mə.s.ke.ri/ 'joke'
d	/sa.wad/ 'delicious'	h	-
d ^h	/od ^h .lə/ 'take out water from well'	m	/bem.ta/ 'a kind of ant'
.t	/pət.kə/ 'a piece of cloth worn round a waist by woman'	n	/lo.kon.d ^h ar/ 'a friend of bridegroom on the day of marriage'
.t ^h	/hēt ^h / 'below, down'	ŋ	/beŋ.go/ 'frog'
ḏ	/gḏ/ 'leg'	r	/bar/ 'a kind of fruit'
ḏ ^h	/muḏ ^h / 'head'	l	/u.del/ 'back, kind of fruit'
k	/bak.lə/ 'thick'	w	-
k ^h	/k ^h ok ^h .ri/ 'a grain of rice with no seed inside'	j	-
g	/c ^h eg.ri/ 'goat'		

Let's examine the word structure of Darai. There are some monosyllabic words. Bisyllabic words are common in Darai. Examples (54) present some monosyllabic words. Bisyllabic words are given in (55), trisyllabic in (56) and quadrisyllabic in (57).

- (54)
- | | |
|--------------------|-------|
| /u/ | 'he' |
| /ek/ | 'one' |
| /c ^h ə/ | 'six' |
| /sor/ | 'pig' |

- (55) /aŋ.na/ 'yard'
 /da.ba/ 'ritual to be performed in death'
 /gu.nei/ 'reason'
 /a.dzu/ 'today'
- (56) /i.c^hi.ka/ 'here'
 /əs.kə.ri/ 'alone'
 /ken.d^he.ni/ 'religious thread for tying at the back'
 /gu.ri.jə/ 'sweet'
 /pə.he.le/ 'first'
 /b^hə.di.ja/ 'pot'
 /gə.du.wa/ 'beginning of death ritual'
- (57) /d^hi.ja.pu.ta/ 'children/heir'
 /mo.dəu.le.ri/ 'a boy who helps the bridegroom during marriage'

3.4 Intonation

There is a grammatical role of intonation to mark the clause types: statement, question and commands and so on. We discuss a few intonation patterns in Darai. We will discuss two intonation patterns, namely falling and rising intonation.

3.4.1 Falling intonation

Generally, the statements, command and content question have falling intonation. They are given in (58), (59) and (60) respectively. Pitch pattern is also illustrated using a spectrograph picture from Praat.

- (58) *məi b^həren dzəitəm*
 məi b^həren dza-tə-m
 I jungle go-NPST-1SG
 'I go to the jungle.'

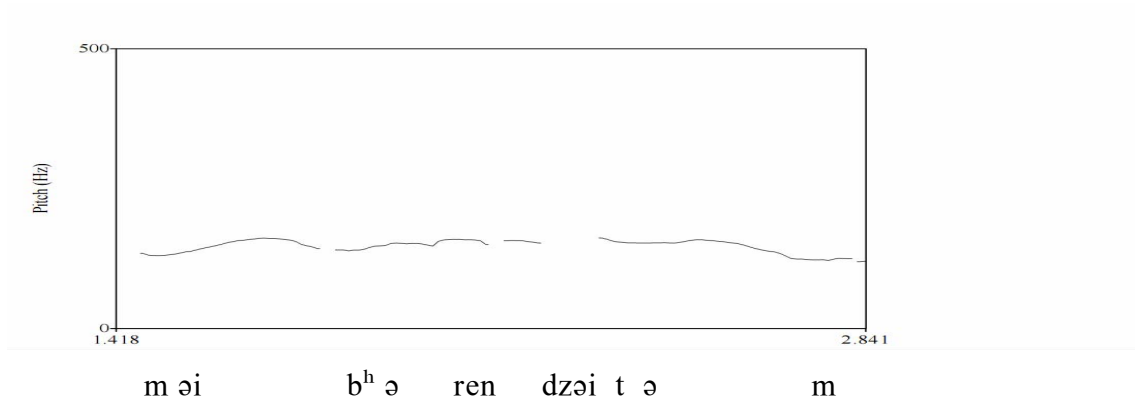


FIGURE 3.4 Pitch pattern of a statement

- (59) *kəte dzəilə rəhəs*
 kəte dza-lə rəhə-s
 where go-PRF COP.PST-2SG
 ‘Where have (you) gone?’

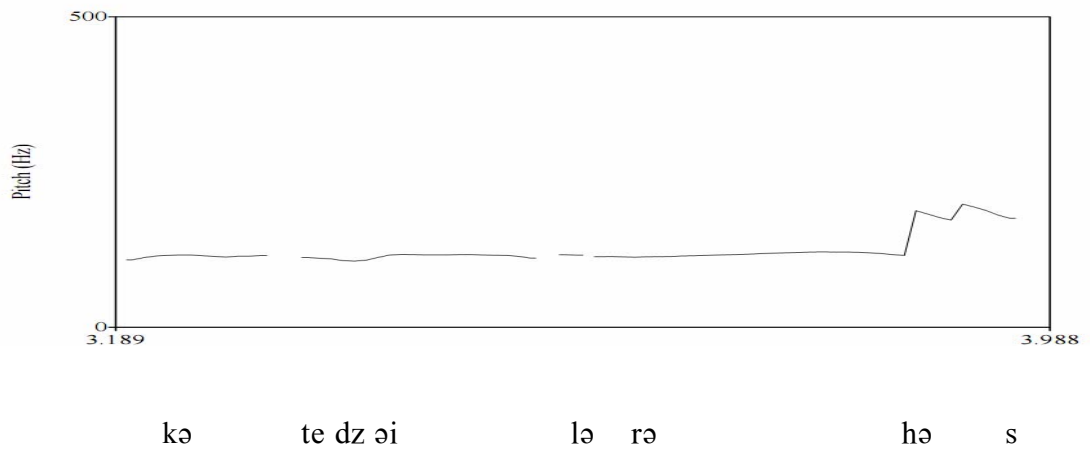


FIGURE 3.5 Pitch pattern of a wh-question

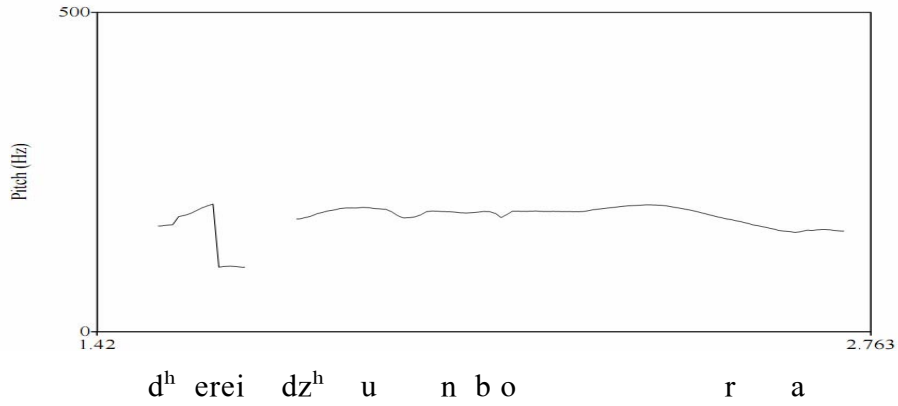


FIGURE 3.6 Pitch pattern of a command

- (60) *d^herei dz^hunbora*
 d^herei dz^hun-bora
 much NEG-speak.IMP
 ‘Don’t speak much.’

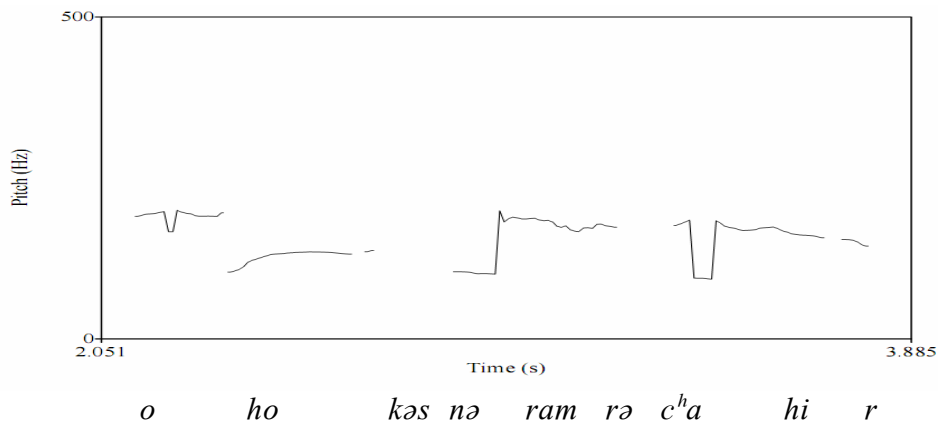


FIGURE 3.7 Pitch pattern of an exclamatory sentence

- (61) *oho kəsənə ramrə c^hahir*
 oho kəsənə ramrə c^hahi-r
 oh how good daughter-POSS.2SG
 ‘Oh ! What a nice child (of yours) !’

3.4.2 Rising intonation

Yes-no question has final rising intonation.

(62) *toi dzəitəs*

toi dza-tə-s

you go-NPST-2SG

'Do you go?'

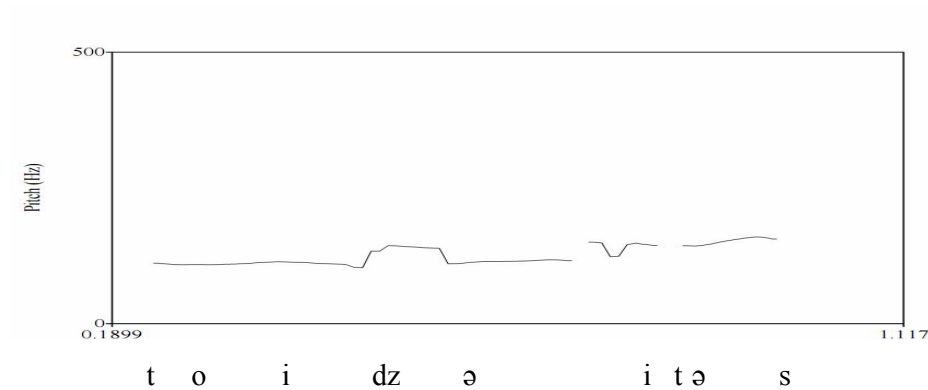


FIGURE 3.8 Pitch pattern of a yes/no question

3.5 Morphophonology

Some morphophonemic alternations occur in Darai. The prominent ones are discussed in this section.

3.5.1 Metathesis

Metathesis is regular in Darai. Two segments are changed in metathesis. Verb stem is followed by the tense marker and person marker with all the pronouns in the non-past tense. In the third person singular agreement suffix *-i* '3SG' changes its normal position, thus bringing about the order of change in suffixes. Thus, it causes metathesis. It is shown as in (63).

(63) [Verb stem] [-ta-] [-i]
 ↓ ↓ ↓
 1 2 3 → 1 3 2

The process is illustrated by examples in (44).

- (64) a. *məi bostəm*
 məi bos-tə-m
 I sit-NPST-1SG
 ‘I sit.’
- b. *toi bostəs*
 toi bos-tə-s
 you sit-NPST-2SG
 ‘You sit.’
- c. *u bosit*
 u bos-i-t
 he sit-3SG-NPST
 ‘He sits.’

3.5.2 Insertion

If verb stem ending in /i/ or /o/ is suffixed to suffixes beginning with a consonant, the vowel /u/ is inserted between stem and suffix. This process can be illustrated by examples (65).⁴ In example (65) the past tense marker *-lə* is suffixed to the verb *ro-* ‘weep’. There is an insertion of the vowel /u/ between the stem and past tense marker. We can see similar example in (66). More examples are given in Appendix (3a).

- (65) *merə c^hahom roulə*
 merə c^haho-m ro-lə
 My son-POSS.1SG weep-PST
 ‘My son cried.’

- (66) *uhĩ b^haike c^hiulə*
 u-ĩ b^hai-ke c^hi-lə
 he-ERG brother-DAT touch-PST
 ‘He touched his brother.’

⁴ See Appendix (3a) for further examples.

3.5.3 Deletion

Tense deletion in non-past tense is regular in Darai. In Darai non-past tense *-tə* (also with its variants *-tahə* and *-t*) is deleted when a negative marker is prefixed to verb stems. It is illustrated in (67). The non-past tense marker is deleted whenever they occur with the negative prefix. In (67b) we do not see the tense marker. The tense marker *-tə* is deleted in examples (67b-d).

- (67) a. *məi g^hər dzəitəm*
məi g^hər dza-tə-m
I house go-NPST-1SG
'I go home.'
- b. *məi g^hər naidzam*
məi g^hər nai-dza-m
I house NEG-go-1SG
'I don't go home.' (IMM.SU.047)
- c. *naimarəi*
nai-mar-əi
NEG-kill-3SG
'(He) will not kill.' (KaQ.SLD.079)
- d. *naikərihī*
nai-kər-ihī
NEG-do-1PL
'...(we) do not do.' (DP.CND.065)

3.5.4 Vowel raising

This is a productive process in Darai. When a low central vowel *-a* ending verb stem is attached to any verb suffixes, the low central vowel *-a* changes into mid-low central vowel *-ə*. Then *-i* is inserted before the suffix resulting in *-əi*. More examples are given in Appendix (3a).

- (68) a. *budhinī cicər k^həili*
budhini-ī cicər kha-l-i
Budhini-ERG cooked rice eat-PST-F
'Budhini ate rice (a special dish).'

- b. *b^haim tə dzəilə g^hoða leikun*
 b^hai-m tə dza-lə g^hoða le-ikun
 brother-1SG.POSS PART go-PST horse bring-SEQ
 ‘Having taken the horse, my brother went.’

In (68a), the vowel /a/ changes into /ə/ when the affixes are attached to the verb stems.

3.5.5 Vowel harmony

This occurs marginally in Darai. When the causative suffix *-a* is suffixed to the verb stem with /ə/, the vowel in the verb root copies the vowel of the suffix and changed into *-a*. Thus, there is a harmonic assimilation moving backward to affect the preceding syllable.⁵ This is further illustrated in (10.5.1).

- (69) a. *abe piŋri calaike dzanne məi git d^hərtəm*
 abe piŋri cəl-a-ike dzan-ne
 now finger move-CAUS-INF know-COND
 məi git d^hər-tə-m
 I song hold-NPST-1SG
 ‘Now, if I move the fingers, I will catch up the tune of the song.’
 (DaF.CND.062)

- b. *bāsi banalə atikan kamise*
 bāsi bən-a-lə aṭi-kan kami-se
 flute make-CAUS-PST AUX.NPST-3PL Kami-ABL
 ‘...they have made flute from Kami (ironsmith).’ (DaF.CND.129)

This is a very regular and productive rule in Darai since there are no counter examples.

⁵ See Appendix (3a) and Chapter (10.5.1) for further details. Masica (1991:128) notes, "NIA furnishes at least two clear-cut examples of vowel harmony. They involve not the adaptation of the vowel suffix to the vowel of the stem but the adaptation of the stem to the vowel of the suffix." However, Darai follows the latter pattern between these two.

3.6 Summary

This chapter dealt with phonology and morphophonology in Darai. Darai has a total of 29 consonants. Voicing and aspiration contrast is found in the plosives and affricates. Additionally, breathiness is also attested in nasals (/m^h/, /n^h/) lateral /l^h/ and trill (/r^h/) in intervocalic position. There are bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal sounds in terms of place of articulation. In terms of manner of articulation there are plosive, affricate, fricative, nasal, trill, glide and lateral. Consonant cluster at word-initial position is restricted. The second member of an initial word cluster is mainly a glide. The voiced aspirated consonants do not normally occur as the first member in the word-medial position. Similarly, fricative glottal is not found as the first member in the medial position. The first consonant of the medial cluster is assigned to the preceding syllable whereas the later consonant to the following syllable. The canonical syllable structure is VC, CV or CVC. Both the open and closed syllables are attested in Darai.

Darai has a total of six phonologically distinctive oral vowels. Length of vowels is not phonemic in Darai. All vowels have their nasal counterparts despite the fact that nasalization is not robust and limited to a few lexemes. The basic vowels are found in all positions. They are mainly found in word-medial position. Acoustic analysis of vowels shows that the mid vowels /o/ and /e/ are near to high vowels. Low vowels /ə/ and /a/ are also very close. There are a few regular morphophonemic processes in Darai such as metathesis, insertion, deletion and vowel raising.

CHAPTER 4

NOUNS AND NOUN MORPHOLOGY

4.0 Outline

This chapter deals with nouns and noun morphology of Darai. Section 4.1 presents the properties of nouns, noun formation process as well as inflectional morphology of Darai nouns.¹ Section 4.2 discusses the pronouns. The findings of nominal morphology are presented in section 4.3.

4.1 Nouns

We discuss derivational and inflectional characteristics as well the properties of nouns.

4.1.1 Properties of nouns

Nouns are complete semantic units. Givón (2001a:51) states that nouns in any language "occupies the most time-stable end of the scale." Common nouns in Darai include the name of things, places, animals and people. Morphologically, nouns in Darai have inflectional categories such as head-marking, number, indefinite marking and case marking. The head marking and case marking are syntactic (aside from morphological) in the language and they constitute distinctive syntactic properties of nouns.

Nouns in Darai may be consonant or vowel ending, of which the former category has a large number. The properties of the nouns are based on their syntactic criteria. The noun functions as subject of an intransitive clause (1), direct object in the finite verb in (2), indirect object (3), subject complement (4) and object complement (5).

¹ Following Haspelmath (2002:16), we treat derivational morphology and compounding as two different types of word formation. However, some linguists prefer not to distinguish between them.

Within the noun phrase, the noun is the syntactic or semantic head. The head noun is generally pre-modified.²

- (1) *sjar morlə*
 sjar mor-lə
 jackal die-PST
 ‘The jackal died.’ (JaH.SLD.063)
- (2) *əse hit^huri kərte kərte ekta b^hot^hi paulə*
 əse hit^huri kər-te kər-te
 then search in the mud do-SIM do-SIM
 ek-ta b^hot^hi pa-lə
 one-CLF Bhothi fish get-PST
 ‘(He) got a Bhothi fish while searching in the mud.’ (BF.SLD.076)
- (3) a. *uhĩ tuhurake ekta c^hata delə*
 u-hĩ tuhura-ke ek-ta c^hata de-lə
 he-ERG orphan-DAT one-CLF umbrella give-PST
 ‘He gave an umbrella to the orphan.’
- b. *sunkesri ranike leikun dzəilə*
 sunkesri rani-ke le-ikun dza-lə
 Sunkesri queen-DAT take-SEQ go-PST
 ‘Having taken Sunkesri queen, (he) went.’ (SQ.BLD.336)
- (4) *u radza bənlə*
 u radza bən-lə
 he king become-PST
 ‘He became the king.’
- (5) *uhĩ uk^hrake ap^hnə sriman banalə*
 u-hĩ u-ke ap^hnə sriman
 she-ERG he-[OBL] DATself husband
 bən-a-lə
 make-CAUS-PST
 ‘She made him her husband.’ (SQ.BLD.368)

² See (chapter 9).

4.1.2 Noun formation processes

Noun formation processes described in this section includes derivation and compounding.

i. Derivational morphology

In addition to free standing nouns, nouns are derived by using suffixes. A small set of nouns are derived from verbs and nouns. Each of the process is discussed in the following paragraphs.

a. Nominals with *-ai*

The derivational suffix *-ai* 'nominalization' is attached to verb stems to form nouns. This is similar to action or state nominalization (Comrie and Thompson 1985: 350). They can be formed from verbs by the suffix *-ai*. They refer to 'the fact, the act, the quality, or the occurrence of the verbs' (Comrie and Thompson 1985: 350). Action nominalization can be illustrated in (6) through (8).

- (6) a. *carei b^hai hīt^hlə*
car-ei b^hai hīt^h-lə
four-EMPH brother walk-PST
'...all the four brothers walked.' (SQ.BLD.016)
- b. *dzeṭ^hi putəukə hīt^haik ramrə rəhəi*
dzeṭ^hi putəu-kə hīt^h-ai-k
eldest daughter-in-law-GEN walk-NOMN-POSS.3SG
ramrə rəhə-i
good COP.PST.3SG
'The manner of walking of the eldest daughter-in-law was nice.'
- (7) a. *kəske abe ləḍike*
kəske abe ləḍ-ike
how now fight-INF
'How to fight now ?' (GaLK.PD.011)
- b. *lə ləḍai kərike suru b^həilə*
lə ləḍ-ai kə-ike suru b^hə-lə
PART fight-NOMN do-INF beginning become-PST
'Well, they began to fight (began fighting).' (GaLK.PD.009)

- c. *masu k^hawai*
 masu k^ha-ai
 meat eat-NOMN
 'Meat eating...!' (In.UN.092)

In example (6a) the form *hĩt^h*- 'walk' is a verb whereas in (6b) it has nominal properties. Similarly in (7a) *ləḍ* - 'fight' is a verb whereas in (7b) *ləḍai* is a noun. In (7c) *k^hawai* 'eating' is derived from *k^ha-* 'eat'. Like non-derived nouns, these derived nouns take pronominal possessive suffixes as in (8).

- (8) a. *merə hĩt^haim*
 məi-rə hĩt^h-ai-m
 I-[OBL]GEN walk-NOMN-1SG.POSS
 'my walking'
- b. *terə hĩt^hair*
 toi-rə hĩt^h-ai-r
 you-[OBL]GEN walk-NOMN-2SG.POSS
 'manner of your walking'

b. Nominals with *-erə*

Another process of deriving nouns from other nouns is by suffixation of *-erə* or *-herə* 'participant' in a limited number of nouns. The noun derived by this process refers to the person or participant involved in the process.

- (9) a. *dzənti* 'marriage ceremony'
 dzənteherə 'a person involved in marriage ceremony'
- b. *pudza* 'worship'
 pudzherə 'worshipper'
- c. *pui^the* 'negotiation for the marriage'
 pui^therə 'a negotiator for the marriage'
- c. *krija* 'mourning (ritual) of the relative'
 kriherə 'mourner'

We also see nominalization with *-əuti*. Although such words are fairly limited, derived nouns are *p^hirəuti* 'the act of returning' and *kəhəuti* 'the act of

telling' from the verb *p^hərkike* 'to return' and *kəhike* 'to tell' respectively. They are illustrated with examples in (10).

- (10) a. *kəhəuti atəi ni*
 kəh-əuti atə-i ni
 say-NOML COP.NPST-3SG PART
 'There is a saying, you know.' (In.UN.018)
- b. *merə amai merake ekta c^hegri posəuti delə atik*
 məi-rə ama-i mera-ke ek-ta c^hegri
 I-[OBL]GEN mother-ERG I-[OBL]DAT one-CLF goat
 pos-əuti de-lə at-i-k
 take care-NOML give-PST AUX.NPST-3SG
 'My mother has given me a goat animal for taming.'

We find only two examples of nouns with the suffix *-ani*. They are illustrated in (11).

- (11) a. *bahaḍike* 'to clean with a broom' *bahaḍni* 'broom'
 b. *ut^hike* 'to stand' *ut^həuni* 'naming ceremony'

Following Haspelmath (2002:69), we can obtain deverbal nouns as in (8, 10) and denominal noun as in (9). Deadjectival nouns do not occur in our corpora.

b. Compounding

Compound nouns are defined as the nouns composed of more than one root in contrast to simple nouns, having one root. They are headed by a noun which is a final member of the group. A morphological characteristic of Darai compounds is that postposition is attached to only to the final member. We will categorize the compound nouns into coordinate compound, endocentric compound and exocentric compound.

Coordinate compound

Aikhenvald (2007:30) notes, "Coordinate compounds refers to a unitary concept of two juxtaposed nouns." It refers to the original entities and is known as *dwanda samasa* in Indian grammatical tradition (Abbi 2001:173). They are composed of semantically related nouns. This is also termed 'copulative compound' (see Bauer 1988:43; Wali and Koul 1997:285).

- (12) a. *dadzu-m* + *b^hai-m* *dadzu b^haim*
 'my elder brother' 'my younger brother' : '(my) brothers'
- b. *keṭa* + *keṭi* : *keṭakeṭi*
 'boy' 'girl' : 'children'
- c. *dulha* + *dulhi* : *dulhadulhi*
 'husband' 'wife' : 'husband and wife'
- d. *haṭ^h* + *goḍ^h* : *haṭ^hgoḍ^h*
 'hand' 'leg' : 'limbs/body'
- e. *badze* + *bodzem* : *badzebodzem*
 'grandfather' 'grandmother' : 'grandparents'
- e. *duk^hə* + *suk^hə* : *duk^həduk^hə*
 'pains' 'happiness' : 'pains and happiness'

As shown in (12), the two constituents could be of the same semantic range and incorporate the salient characteristics of the same semantic field. Abbi (2001:173) calls such compounding as 'appositional or associative compounds'. Members of some compounds occur in a fixed order. Example (13) illustrates this.

- (13) *hamrə duk^həsuk^hə kəhalek*
 hame-rə duk^həsuk^hə kə-hale-k
 we-GEN pains and happiness tell-PST-3SG
 '(I) told him our pains and happiness.' (PtP.CND.060)

Aikhenvald (2007:30) notes, 'Coordinate compound may also involve synonyms' as in *lok-dzən* (people/people-person) 'people' in Bengali. We have a few examples where two identical items are combined to form a single word. Examples are given in (15).

- (14) a. *lawa* + *laskər* : *lawalaskər*
 'line' 'line' 'line' (BF.SLD.238)
- b. *bon* + *dzəṅgəl* : *bondzəṅgəl*
 'forest' 'jungle' 'forest'
- c. *dzəgga* *dzəmin* : *dzəgga dzəmin*
 'land' 'land' : 'land'

- (15) *pac^hese dzəgga dzəmin səklə*
pac^he-se dzəgga dzəmin sək-lə
 later-ABL land land finish-PST
 'Later on, we did not have land (finished) land.'(HwCtP.PD.032)

Endocentric compound

Bauer (1988:42) notes, "Endocentric compounds denote a subclass of items referred to by one of their elements." The semantic relationship between the components of endocentric compounds can be of genitive or part whole type.

- (16) a. *masu* + *sag* : *masusag*
 'meat' 'spinach' 'cooked meat' (meat curry)
 b. *mac^hə* + *sag* : *mac^həsag*
 'fish' 'spinach' 'cooked fish' (fish curry)

This kind of compounding is rather restricted in nature because only a few lexical items are found by adding *sag* 'spinach' in every cooked vegetable item.

Excocentric compounds

Aikhenvald (2007:30) states, "Excocentric compounds denote something which is different from either of their components." Examples are given in (17).

- (17) a. *soli* + *ḍoli* : *solidoli*
 'basket' 'litter' : 'marriage relation'
 b. *rəŋ* + *rəs* : *rəŋrəs*
 'colour' 'juice' : 'enjoyment'

iii. Reduplication of nouns

Reduplication is a productive noun formation process in Indo-Aryan languages. Marrants (1994:3486) mentions:

Reduplication is most often found to express certain semantic feature on nouns. Reduplication often indicates plurality; on verbs it often signals repetitive or intensive aspect. However, cross-linguistically, reduplicating affixes serve any function that any affix with its own may serve, including all derivational or inflectional functions.

Kellog (1955:492) maintains, "Any part of speech except a postposition or conjunction may be repeated, to express, as the case may be the various ideas of repetition, variety, intensity, or continuance." Two nouns are juxtaposed with an emphasis marker (particle) *-ei* intervening between the two nouns which are reduplicated in Darai. Thus, the first nouns get emphatic marker *-ei* and the second noun is unmarked.³ This construction expresses intensity or emphasis as in (18).

- (18) a. *muḍ^hei muḍ^h*
 muḍ^h-ei muḍ^h
 head-EMPH head
 'Nothing but heads, or all heads'
- b. *caurei caur b^həilə*
 caur-ei caur b^həi-lə
 rice-EMPH rice become-PST
 'It became all rice (nothing but rice).' (KaQ.SLD.126)

The reduplicated noun has thus the distributive connotation as in (19) although the emphatic marker is not added in this case.

- (19) a. *dərəisəbeī sohorai g^hər g^hərjə̃ manatahəsəb*
 dərəi-səb-eī sohorai g^hər g^hər-jə̃
 Darai-PL-ERG Sohorai house house-LOC
 mana-tahə-səb
 observe-NPST-PL
 'Darais observe the Sohorai in each and every house.'
- b. *uhī kohōḍo .t^hāu .t^hāujə̃ rop-lə*
 u-ī kohōḍo .t^hāu .t^hāu-jə̃ rop-lə
 he-ERG pumpkin place place plant-PST
 'He planted pumpkins in different places.'
- c. *tohēsəb g^hər g^hərjə̃ puglə*
 tohē-səb g^hər g^hər-jə̃ pug-lə
 you-PL house REDU reach-PST
 'You went to each and every house.'

³ Wali and Koul (1997:285) note that the reduplicated nouns express exhaustive meaning in Kashmiri. They treat the reduplicated words as compounds.

The examples in (18) are embedded with the emphasis whereas distributiveness is achieved in (19a-b). Reduplication involves complete repetition of a stem in the processes described above.

4.1.3 Inflectional morphology

This section discusses inflectional morphology of nouns. Darai has two grammatical genders: masculine and feminine. Darai nouns also index pronominal possessive suffixes. Classifiers, indefiniteness, case markers and postpositions are also discussed in this section.

i. Gender⁴

Darai has a grammatical gender. Two genders, viz. masculine and feminine are differentiated in Darai. In most cases, a distinction is determined by the sex of the animate noun. Biological gender in animate nouns is represented by different lexical items as can be seen in (20). A few lexical nouns are derived from masculine nouns.⁵ Feminine nouns are derived from masculine counterparts. Such pairs in Darai are concord sensitive and semantically meaningful. Male-female pairs of some nouns are given in (20).

(20)	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>	
	<i>boṭe</i>	'boatman'	<i>boṭeni</i>	'wife of boatman'
	<i>kukur</i>	'dog'	<i>kukurni</i>	'bitch'
	<i>ba^ho</i>	'male calf'	<i>ba^hi</i>	'female calf'
	<i>dulha</i>	'husband'	<i>dulhi</i>	'wife'
	<i>c^hahom</i>	'my son'	<i>c^hahim</i>	'my daughter'

Gender in Darai is syntactic as there is agreement between animate subject and verb. Feminine gender, marked morphologically with *-i*, can be seen in (21b) and (22b).

⁴ Masica (1991:219) notes, "Grammatical gender in NIA is both a syntactic and a morphological category". There are inflectional properties of adjectives as in example (24) and certain verb forms as in (21-22). Masica (1991:218) notes that sex-differentiation in nouns as in (20) is a part of derivation. The feminine suffix *-i* is developed from Sanskrit Feminine extension *-ika* (Masica 1991:222).

⁵ This can be explained in line with Pokharel (1991:64) who points out the derivation of lexical nouns in Nepali and maintains, "Nepali has special morpheme *-i(n)i-* to derive feminine gender lexically from the non-feminine stock which has not always one-to-one mapping with the agreement system."

- (21) a. *bɛta əilə*
 bɛta a-lə
 son come-PST
 'The son came.'
- b. *bɛti əili*
 bɛti a-l-i
 daughter come-PST-F
 'The daughter came.'
- (22) a. *bɛtasəb əilə*
 bɛta-səb a-lə
 son-PL come-PST
 'The sons came.'
- b. *bɛtisəb əili*
 bɛt isəb a-l-i
 daughter-PL come-PST-F
 'The daughters came.'

Verb agrees with feminine subject in (21b) and (22b). This can be contrasted with (21a) and (22a) where verbs do not code feminine gender.

Similarly, prospective form *-larə* of the verb also shows agreement with the gender. In (23a-b) we see no agreement at all whereas in (23c) the prospective form of the verb agrees with the noun. The form of the verb *dz^həilari* 'go-PROS-F' in (23c) agrees with the feminine nouns it occurs with.

- (23) a. *terə ɡ^hər ruŋlarə manis p^heri nidzə ətir*
 toi-rə ɡ^hər ruŋ-larə manis p^heri
 you-[OBL]GEN house wait-PROS man again
 nidzə ətir
 NEG COP.NPST-3SG
 'You have nobody to take care of your house.' (SQ.BLD.277)
- b. *hame d^herəi nei mod k^həilarə dzat*
 hame d^herəi nei mod k^ha-larə dzat
 we much PART beer eat-PROS caste
 'We, people who drink much beer.' (DP.CND.017)

- c. *b^hāisi tə səb din otihin dz^hailari*
 b^hāisi tə səb-din otihin dz^ha-lahar-i
 buffalo PART all-day that way go-PROS-F
 ‘Buffaloes go to (lit. to go) that side all day.’ (EI.CND.041)

There are a small set of adjectives which end in *-o*, *-a* and *-ə* agree in gender resulting in *-i* when they modify feminine nouns. They are listed in (24) and examples are provided in (25).

(24)	<u>adjective</u>		<u>masculine</u>	<u>feminine</u>
	<i>t^hulo</i>	'fat'	<i>t^hulo</i>	<i>t^huli</i>
	<i>bud^ho</i>	'old'	<i>bud^ho</i>	<i>bud^hi</i>
	<i>kubro</i>	'stoop'	<i>kubro</i>	<i>kubri</i>
	<i>baŋgo</i>	'curved'	<i>baŋgo</i>	<i>baŋgi</i>
	<i>laṭa</i>	'dumb'	<i>laṭa</i>	<i>laṭi</i>
	<i>p^husro</i>	'unoily'	<i>p^husro</i>	<i>p^husri</i>
	<i>ād^ho</i>	'blind'	<i>ād^ho</i>	<i>ād^hi</i>
	<i>əlqə</i>	'tall'	<i>əlqə</i>	<i>əlgi</i>
	<i>ramrə</i>	'good'	<i>ramrə</i>	<i>ramri</i>
	<i>kədzadə</i>	'black'	<i>kədzadə</i>	<i>kəzadəi</i>
	<i>bəḍkə</i>	'big'	<i>bəḍkə</i>	<i>bəḍki</i>
	<i>baṭ^hə</i>	'clever'	<i>baṭ^hə</i>	<i>baṭ^hi</i>

Aside from pure adjectives, derived adjectives also possess agreement property when they modify the feminine adjectives in (25). This class includes both the present and past participles functioning as modifiers. Let us consider the following noun phrases:

- (25) a. *kadzadə c^hahom*
 kadzadə c^haho-m
 black son-1SG.POSS
 ‘My black son’
- b. *kadzadəi c^hahim*
 kadzadə-i c^hahi-m
 black-F daughter-1SG.POSS
 ‘My black daughter’

Example (24b) shows that adjectives in Darai are inflected for gender.

ii. Number

Darai has two grammatical numbers, viz. singular and plural. Singular number is unmarked whereas plural is encoded with *-səb*.⁶ The separate lexical word *səb* 'all' forms a noun into periphrastic plural in Maithili (Yadav 1996:69) but the suffix *-səb* functions as a suffix in Darai. This can better be explained with reference to verb agreement where the same suffix stands for number.

- (26) a. *betasəb əitahəsəb*
 bəta-səb a-tahə-səb
 boy-PL come-NPST-PL
 'The boys come.'
- b. *təisəb əitahəsəb*
 təi-səb a-tahə-səb
 you-PL come-NPST-PL
 'You come.'

In Darai the plural marker *-səb* functions as a suffix. Firstly, *-səb* as an agreement marker occurs in verb morphology in both past and non-past tense including in imperative mood. Secondly, *səb* occurs as an independent lexical item in some language but in Darai it appears such as *səbəi* as in (27).

- (27) a. *səbəi dzəilə*
 səbəi dza-lə
 all go-PST
 'All went.'
- b. *səbəikə həla b^həilə*
 səbəi-kə həla b^hə-lə
 all-GEN hatred become-PST
 'He was despised by everyone.' (OK.JD.015)

⁶ In Nawalparasi the plural maker is mentioned as *-həru* or *-heru* as free variations (Dawadi 2040 VS). This is not found in our corpus.

Plural suffix is not consistently present in natural discourse (28c). When the context is clear the plural suffix is not attached to the nouns to make it plural as in (28c). Collective nouns in Darai are considered to be count nouns and often take plural suffix. It is illustrated in (28).

- (28) a. *əni bəllə gork^hali radzakə p^həudzəb p^hərkikun dzəilə*
 əni bəllə gork^hali radza-kə p^həudz-səb
 then only Gorkhali king-GEN army-PL
 p^hərk-ikun dza-lə
 return-SEQ go-PST
 'Then, having returned, the army of Gorkhali king went.'
 (GaLK.PD.033)
- b. *ic^hise b^hagikun dzəilə radzakə səntansəb*
 ic^hise b^hag-ikun dza-lə radza-kə səntan-səb
 here run away-SEQ go-PST king-GEN children-PL
 'Having run away from here, the offspring of the king went.'
 (In.UN.029)
- c. *duhəi b^hai*
 dui-həi b^hai
 two-EMPH brother
 '...two brothers.' (PtP.CND.056)

iii. Pronominal possessive suffixes

Although several Indo-Aryan languages spoken in Nepal are dependent-marked in genitive construction, Darai is both head-marking and dependent-marking too. In Darai, for example, nominal agreement markers must agree with the possessor. Kotapish and Kotapish (1975:V) state, “a noted difference between Darai and Nepali and other Indo Aryan languages and one of the highlights of Darai language is the pronominal cross reference markings found in both nouns and verbs.”⁷ In this way, agreement in person and number is obligatory between possessors and possessed if the pronominal possessive suffixes are present. Table (4.1) contains the pronominal possessive suffixes attached to the nouns particularly to express kinship relations, ownership and body parts from two dialectal areas of the language. As slight

⁷ Another IA language which has such suffixes in Nepal is Majhi (see Dhakal 2008).

differences were observed in two dialectal regions, between the language spoken in Chitwan and Tanahun, they are incorporated in Table (4.1).

TABLE 4.1 Pronominal possessive suffixes⁸

	Pronouns		Pronominal possessive suffixes	
	Pronouns	Possessive pronouns	Chitwan dialect	Tanahun dialect
1 SG	məi	merə	-m	-m
1 PL	hame	hamrə	-∅	-∅
2 SG	təi	terə	-r	-r
2 SG.H	tohē	teurə	-u	-∅
2 PL	təi-səb	terəsəbkə	-∅	-u
3 SG	u	uk ^h rə	-k	-k
3 SG.H	unhen	unhenkə	-kan	-∅
3 PL	u-səb	usəbkə	-∅	-kan

The possessor of a possessed noun has the genitive suffix *-kə* and *-rə* as can be seen in Table (4.3).

According to Nichols (1986:56), the languages can be categorized into head-marking, dependent-marking, double-marking and split-marking. Some of the languages which are head and (or) dependent-marked are Burushaski, Finnish, Hebrew, Turkish and so on. Nichols does not, however, mention any other IA languages which are very close to Darai. The examples (29-31) show instances of the head-marking in possessive phrases.

- (29) a. *ramkə b^haik*
ram- kə b^hai- k
Ram-GEN brother-3SG.POSS
‘Ram’s younger brother’

⁸ The pronominal suffixes *-u*, and *-kan* for the second person plural and third person plural are completely absent in the Chitwan dialect. However, these suffixes were attested in the Tanahun dialect (Kotapish and Kotapish 1975).

- b. *ramkə b^hai*
 ram - kə b^hai
 Ram-GEN brother
 ‘Ram’s younger brother’
- (30) *dulhak morlə*
 dulha-k mor-lə
 husband-3SG.POSS die-PST
 ‘(Her) husband died.’ (IMM.UN.001)
- (31) a. *morlə c^hahom*
 mor-lə c^haho- m
 die-PFV son-1SG.POSS
 ‘(my) dead son’
- b. *morli c^hahim*
 mor-l-i c^hahi- m
 die-PFV-F daughter-1SG.POSS
 ‘(my) dead daughter’

Examples (29a-b) show that pronominal possessive suffixes are optionally coded. In (30) the pronominal possessive suffix is coded whereas (29b) lacks it. The possessed items are often body parts, kinship terms, personal belongings or objects. The examples (32a-b) show that such suffixes are also seen in the personal belongings.

- (32) a. *bas boste k^həna tə ukra g^hərek rəhik*
 bas bos-te k^həna tə u-rə g^hər-k
 shelter stay-SIM PART he-[OBL]GEN house- 3SG.POSS
 rəhi-k
 COP.PST-3SG
 ‘While staying there, there was his hut (for them to stay).’
 (BF.SLD.241)

- b. *her-te goru-m tə ledz-i*
 look-SIM bull-1SG.POSS PART take-ABS
de-hale-k
 give-PST-3SG

‘While looking at it, (he said) it is they who took away my oxen.
 (BF.SLD.138)

In (32a) *g^hər* 'house' and in (32b) *goru* 'ox' also have pronominal possessive suffixes.

iv. Classifiers

The numeral and classifier sequence is necessarily *number+ classifier+ noun*. There are only two true classifiers in Darai, e.g. *dzena/dzəna* and *-ta, -ota* or *-gota*. Choice of classifier is governed by the membership of the head. The former *dzena/dzəna* is obligatorily restricted to human nouns (33a) whereas the other classifier, *-ota* is often used with non-human nouns (33b-d). There are instances where it is often used with human nouns as well. Darai classifiers are given in Table (4.2) and illustrated in (33).

TABLE 4.2 Darai classifiers

		<i>dzena/dzəna</i>	<i>-ta</i>
1	ek	ek dzena	eḵta
2	dui	dui dzena	duḵta
3	tin	tin dzena	tiṅta
4	car	car dzena	caṛta
5	pāc	pāc dzena	pācota

- (33) a. *məi utre muhe dui dzena dək^hin muhe*
 məi utre muhe dui dzena dək^hin muhe
 I north mouth two CLF south mouth
 ‘I (faced) towards north, the other two towards south.’ (EI.CND.048)

- b. *ekta c^həud*
ek-ta c^həud
one-CLF boy
‘A boy.’
- c. *ekti c^həudi*
ek-t-i c^həud i
one-CLF-F girl
‘A girl’
- d. *tin tin goṭa milaikunu caroṭi dulhi b^həilə*
tin tin goṭa mila-ikunu car-ot-i
three three CLF add-SEQ four-CLF-F
dulhi b^hə-lə
wife become-PST
‘Having married (three wives) and there were (lit. became) four wives,
(including this one).’ (PtP.CND.053)
- e. *dukta əmrīt dz^harlə*
duk-ta əmrīt dz^har-lə
two-CLF nectar fall-PST
‘He fell down two nectars (fruits).’ (KaQ.SLD.042)
- *f. *dui dzena p^hjaṅserisəb*
dui dzena p^hjaṅseri-səb
two CLF fox-PL
‘Two foxes.’

Notice that classifier *-ta* which generally refers to non-human is also used to refer to human beings. When classifier *-ta* is used for human being, it agrees with the gender of the head noun (33c). However, *dzena* can not be used for the non-human referents. For example, (33f) is unacceptable.

Additionally, there are also a set of lexical classifiers used in Darai.⁹ They occur in *numeral + unit + noun* order. They are primarily used to count volume, weight, distance, time and so on. We present a set of such quasi-classifiers in (34) and examples are given in (35).

⁹ A majority of these quasi-classifiers are similar to Nepali (see Pokharel 2054 VS: 83-84).

(34)	<i>ek t^hopa pani</i>	'a drop of water'
	<i>ek muṭ^hi bar</i>	'a handful of hair'
	<i>ek c^hiṭa dud^h</i>	'a drop of water sprinkled for getting purified'
	<i>ek kəura b^hat</i>	'a mouthful of rice'
	<i>ek cəili b^hat</i>	'a ladleful of rice'
	<i>ek pāija ḍora</i>	'one strand of rope (that is twisted with other strands to form a rope)'
	<i>ek sit^ho b^hat</i>	'a boiled grain of rice'
	<i>ek hor k^het</i>	'a farm that is completed by a couple of oxen in one day'
	<i>ek g^hour kera</i>	'a clustered bunch of banana'
	<i>ek g^həna bās</i>	'a bamboo'
	<i>ek pak^ha c^hana</i>	'a roof'
	<i>ek kosa kəṭəhər</i>	'a pulp of a jackfruit'
	<i>ek cira k^hira</i>	'a piece of a cucumber'

- (35) a. *ek ḍ^hiki nunkə merə cinta nidzə*
ek ḍ^hiki nun-kə məi-rə cinta nidzə
one pinch salt-GEN I-[OBL]GEN worry NEG
'I do not have to worry about a pinch of salt.' (EI.CND.082)
- b. *ek kəura b^hat*
ek kəura b^hat
one bowl rice
'... a small quantity (a mouthful of) rice"' (IMM.SU.109)
- c. *bosi rəhələ tin dzena*
bos-i rəhə-lə tin dzena
sit-ABS remain-PST three CLF
'(Three) persons were sitting.' (EI.CND.046)
- d. *dzau ri od^hike ekṭa*
dza-u ri od^hike ek-ta
go-HOR PART.F bring out water-INF one-CLF
'Let's go to bring out water from one (puddle).'

As can be seen in (35c-d) numerals and classifiers may serve as an independent NP.

v. Indefinite marker

Nouns are made indefinite upon suffixation of *-hun* to nouns or pronouns.¹⁰

When this marker is suffixed to nouns, this adds the sense of indefiniteness. Examples are given in (36-37).

- (36) a. *əse pəisahun k^həninei*
 əse pəisa-hun k^hən-inei
 then money-INDEF dig-MIR
 ‘Then they also dug some money !’ (DaF.CND.048)
- b. *əse pəisa k^həninei*
 əse pəisa k^hən-inei
 then money dig-MIR
 ‘Then they dug the money !’
- (37) a. *goib^{hi} k^hau deuk merakehun*
 goib^{hi} k^ha-u de-uk məi-ke-hun
 sweet smell eat-HOR give-IMP I-[OBL]DAT-INDEF
 ‘Let’s eat the sweet smelling, also give me (this).’ (SQ.BLD.141)
- b. *əleli merakehun pətta lagte atəi*
 əleli məi-ke-hun pətta lag-te atə-i
 then I-[OBL]ACC-INDEF knowledge feel-SIM
 COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘I have also known a little bit.’ (DP.CND.010)

The noun without the indefinite marker (36b) gives a straightforward meaning whereas the noun with the indefinite marker as in (36a) adds the sense of indefiniteness. Indefinite marker is added to nouns as in (36a) and to pronouns as can be seen in (37a-b). Indefinite pronouns will be discussed in (4.2.7).

¹⁰ This suffix is identical to hearsay marker. Indefinite markers are reported in some IA languages (Bhat 2004:252).

vi. Case markers and postpositions

Darai nouns are marked for cases in two ways: inflection and postpositions. There are a few case markers and other case relation is carried out by postpositions. Masica (1991:230) maintains, “In NIA, case is vitally a syntactic as well as a morphological category” and further adds that it is “a problematic nominal category in NIA, whether for cross-linguistic, historical, or single-language descriptive analysis.”

We will base the discussion of our study on two main argumentations.

Liljegren (2008:161) notes:

Firstly, a string of segments with its own pitch accent would be considered a separate word. This would place the longer words with two or more syllables into distinct postpositions, not case inflections. On the other hand, monosyllabic markers which are attached to the head noun they occur with are case inflection rather than words. Secondly, inflectional suffixes obligatorily follow the nouns.

This leads to the argumentation that some postpositions follow the genitive marker (see Masica 1991: 231-32; Liljegren 2008: 161).¹¹

On the basis of this theoretical orientation, there are case markers for dative-accusative, locative, genitive, ablative, comitative and ergative-instrumental. They are monosyllabic and are directly attached to the noun. Nouns are either base (null marked) or followed by a case marker.

A first look into Darai shows that it is a nominative-accusative language.

Examples are given in (38a-b).

- (38) a. *məi kəske dzaike*
 məi kəske dza-ike
 I how go-INF
 ‘How (shall) I go (home) ?’ (HP.BLD.068)

¹¹ Genetti (2007:103) discusses four criteria which distinguish case marking from postpositions: (a) they (case markers) have unique phonological properties that show they are bound morphemes; (2) they do not occur in absence of a host; (3) they do not select a particular lexical class as their host; (4) they have scope over entire noun phrase.

- b. *lə məi adzuse uk^hrake b^hat rinike pərnei*
 lə məi adzu-se u-ke b^hat rin-ike
 PART I today-ABL he-[OBL] DAT rice cook-INF
 pər-nei
 AUX-OBL

‘Okay, from today onwards, I have to cook rice for him.’ (HP.BLD.078)

In these examples the subject of intransitive clause and agent of a transitive clause are marked in the same way but object or the patient is marked distinctly (38b). In other words, subject and agent are marked in the same way morpho-syntactically but patient is marked differently. Let's consider the examples in (39).

- (39) a. *gaha duk^hə paulə rəhəi uhĩ*
 gaha duk^hə pa-lə rəhə-i u-hĩ
 great suffering get-PST AUX.PST-3SG he-ERG
 ‘He had great suffering (pain).’ (BF.SLD.002)

- b. *u əite k^həni tə*
 u a-te k^həni tə
 he come-SIM while PART
 ‘On his coming (as he comes) ...’ (SQ.BLD.116)

Subject argument of a transitive clause (39a) has encoded an ergative marker whereas the patient argument of a transitive clause (39b) is null marked. The ergative case marker *-ĩ* marks only agent of a transitive clause. This suggests that Darai is an ergative language. Examples (39a-b) show that Darai is an ergative absolutive language.¹²

a. Case markers

Morphologically unmarked case is the nominative and other cases are marked by suffixes. The subjects are nominative, ergative, or dative. We describe case markers in the following subsections.

¹² See section below on ergativity.

Nominative case: -∅

Nominative case in Darai appears in null. We have used the symbol -∅ to indicate the nominative case. Nominative is used for the subject complement in copular clauses (see section 10.2.1). Nominative nouns appear in subject position in the intransitive clauses and if the agent is the first and second person pronouns. The examples in (40a-b) are nominative subjects (also see 56a-d).

- (40) a. *məi dzəitəm*
məi-∅ dza-tə-m
I-NOM go-NPST-1SG
'I go.' (KaQ.SLD.104)
- b. *məi lestəm bubake b^hat*
məi-∅ les-tə-m buba-ke b^hat
I-NOM take-NPST-1SG father-DAT rice
'I'll take the food to my father...' (BF.SLD.094)
- c. *duḳta əmr̥it dz^harlə*
dui-ta əmr̥it-∅ dz^har-lə
two fruit fall-PST
'(He) fell down two fruits.' (KaQ.SLD.042)
- d. *məi b^hat k^həitəm*
məi b^hat k^ha-tə-m
I rice eat-NPST-1SG
'I eat rice.'
- e. *abe b^hat rinike pərnei mǎi*
abe b^hat rin-ike pər-nei mǎi
now rice cook-INF AUX-OBLIG I
'I should cook rice.' (BF.SLD.090)

The null marking on subject and inanimate and indefinite nouns is common in Indo-Aryan languages (Mohanani 1990:79; Pokharel 2004:159; Bhatia 1993: 167; Yadava 2004:254). Examples (40a-b) exhibit that the subjects may be null marked in Darai. Thus, the subject may be either in nominative or ergative case (except dative case). Similarly, the direct object may be nominative (40d) and indirect object may be

either in nominative or accusative-dative case. The objects of a transitive clause, if they are non-human and indefinite, do not index any case markers (40d).¹³

Dative-Accusative case: -ke

Dative and accusative case marker is *-ke* in Darai. Patients as direct object are in the dative-accusative case in (41a-b). Dative-Accusative cases are coded in patient or recipient as in (41a) and (42b) respectively. In these cases, the objects are in dative-accusative case. Similarly 'experiencer' argument in dative subject is given in (41c).

- (41) a. *əse məi bəinike dz^hikikun lestəm*
 əse məi bəini-ke dz^hik-ikun les-tə-m
 then I younger sister-DAT bring out-SEQ bring-NPST-1SG
 'Then I will bring my younger sister taking her out.' (HP.BLD.087)
- b. *məi lestəm bubake b^hat*
 məi les-tə-m buba-ke b^hat
 we bring-NPST-1SG father-DAT rice
 'I will carry the food for father.' (BF.SLD.094)
- c. *ijə merake mən pərit*
 ijə məi-ke mən pər-i-t
 this I-DAT soul happen-3SG-NPST
 'I like this.'
- d. *sipahi ledzlə duhəi goru*
 sipahi-i ledz-lə dui-əi goru
 police-ERG take-PST two-EMPH ox
 'The police took both the oxen.' (BF.SLD.136)
- e. *məi merə goruke antəm*
 məi merə goru-ke an-tə-m
 I I-[OBL] GEN ox-DAT bring-NPST-1SG
 'I will bring back my oxen.' (BF.SLD.150)

If there is a human argument that is affected (or the recipient), it will receive the dative case (41a). Human objects or sometimes animate objects of a transitive verb appear to be able to get the accusative-dative case marker (41b). In fact, this

¹³ Mohanan (1990) and Yadava (2004) treat all instances of null marking as nominative case.

generalization is true for many south Asian languages (Masica 1991; Mohanan 1990). If the object is inanimate it is not coded with the accusative marker (40c-e). For example animate object in (41d) does not code any case marker but the same noun in (41e) codes the accusative-dative case. Masica (1991:365) notes:

The Object is not distinguished from the Subject by case marking in many NIA sentences... This is not to say that Objects are bereft of case marking. They may take it, in the form of the Dative marker (in the absence of an Accusative: the marker is sometimes called a *Dative-Accusative* as a result).

Personal pronouns are obligatorily marked with the accusative when they function as objects (41c) and (42a-b).

- (42) a. *merake dz^hun maruk*
 məi-ke dz^hun mar-uk
 I-[OBL]-DAT NEG kill-IMP
 'Don't kill me.' (GalK.PD.029)
- b. *əse coḍikunu uk^hrake marlə nagse*
 əse coḍ-ikunu u-ke mar-lə nag-se
 then pierce with beak-SEQ he-[OBL]DATkill-PST snake-ABL
 'Then he (had) the snake killed it by piercing it.' (HP.BLD.098)

Since the dative and accusative are marked in the same way, they have been merged into a single category. Masica (1991:365) notes that there is no distinction between accusative and dative case marking in NIA. He (1991:365) further adds:

Historically, the Indo-Aryan Accusative merged with the Nominative.... That is, in the case of non-human nouns, it generally indicates a "definite" object, that is, one that is already known; in the case of human nouns, it stresses their Patienthood, marked status (human nouns normally being Agents).

Therefore, these two categories are treated as dative-accusative case and it is glossed as dative throughout this dissertation. Dative case also appears in the subject position. They show physical sensations and conditions (43), psychological or mental states (44a-b), wanting or needing (45a-b).¹⁴

¹⁴ These categories are based on Masica (1991:346-47).

- (43) *merake b^hok laglə ətəi*
 məi-ke b^hok lag-lə ətə-i
 I-[OBL]DAT hunger feel-PVF AUX.NPST-3SG
 'I am hungry.'
- (44) a. *p^hirlike dz^hok ut^htahik*
 p^hirli-ke dz^hok ut^h-tahi-k
 Phirli-DAT anger rise-NPST.3SG
 'Phirli gets angry (lit. Anger rises to Phirli).'
- b. *merake merə g^hərkə jad ait*
 məi-ke məi-rə g^hər-kə jad
 I-[OBL]DAT I-[OBL] GEN house-GEN remembrance
 a-i-t
 come-NPST-3SG
 'I am homesick. (lit. Remembrance of home comes to me).'
- (45) a. *merake doŋga cahit*
 məi-ke doŋga cah-i-t
 I-[OBL]DAT boat need-3SG-NPST
 '...I need a boat.' (SQ.BLD.203)
- b. *terake kiti cahatir*
 toi-ke kiti caha-ti-r
 you- [OBL]DAT what want-NPST-3SG
 'What do you want? '

Locative: -jə̃, -hĩ

Locative *-jə̃* 'on/in/at' is attached to a noun which ends in a consonant. If the noun ends in a vowel, an epenthetic vowel occurs between the stem and locative marker *-jə̃*. The locative is used to locate a person or thing in a physical place at an instant of time. It refers to static location. This occurs with inanimate nominals in the corpus. Locative in place is shown in (46a-b) whereas locative in time is shown in (46c).

- d. *sutkeri konəhĩ bosi rəhit*
 sutkeri konə-hĩ
 child born woman corner-LOC.EMPH
 bos-i rəh-i-t
 sit-ABS remain-3SG-NPST-1PL
 ‘The woman sits right in the corner (continuously).’ (MtU.SD.013)

In (47c), the ending of Kajiya can be done nowhere else but right in the cremation ground. Similarly, the woman who gives birth to a child should sit nowhere but right in the corner.

Genitive: -kə, -rə

Genitives are marked with *-kə* or *-rə*. It is marked *-rə* ‘GEN’ for first person pronouns, second and third person singular pronouns but it is marked with *-kə* with second and third person plural pronouns as well as other nouns. The genitive constructions in Darai consist of the possessor and possessed in that order and the possessor has the genitive case.

- (48) a. *dzəbbəḍ b^halekə goḍhik bandelə*
 dzəbbəḍ b^hale-kə goḍ-k ban-i
 big cock-GEN leg-3SG.POSS tie-ABS
 de-lə
 give-PST
 ‘(He) tied the Bhothi fish to the leg of the cock.’ (BF.SLD.187)
- b. *uk^hrə dulo eḳta*
 u-rə dulo eḳ-ta
 he-[OBL]GEN hole one-CLF
 ‘It (had) a hole.’ (DaF.CND.058)

The indexing of pronominal possessive suffixes has been discussed earlier.

Ablative: -se

Source is expressed by ablative marker *-se* ‘from’ to refer ‘from somewhere’ as in (49a) or ‘from the time’ as in (49b). This indicates the source of action. The source is spatial (49a) or temporal (49b).

- (49) a. *hame pəhaḍse dz^hərlə ləmdzuŋse*
 hame pəhaḍ-se dz^hər-lə ləmdzuŋ-se
 we hill-ABL climb down-PST Lamjung-ABL
 ‘We settled (lit. climb down) from the hills, from Lamjung.’
 (HWCtP.PD.001)
- b. *lə məi adzuse uk^hrake b^hat rinike pərnei*
 lə məi adzu-se u-ke b^hat rin-ike
 PART I today-ABL he-[OBL]DAT rice cook-INF
 pər-nei
 AUX-OBLIG
 ‘From today onwards, I have to cook rice for him.’ (HP.BLD.078)

In addition to these, *-se* has some other uses. For its adverbial use, see (7.1).

The case marker *-se* is used to mark the 'point of growth' from one stage to the next as shown in (50).

- (50) *lesnajek b^həite sipahise p^heri həldar b^həilə*
 lesnajek b^həi-te sipahi-se p^heri həldar
 military post become-SIM soldier-ABL again military post
 b^həi-lə
 become-PST
 ‘He became Haldar (a rank in army) as he became Nayak (a rank in army) from soldier. (OK.JD.041)

It is also used to show what something is 'made up of'. For instance, example (51) shows that yeast is made up of a kind of plant.

- (51) *mərca ek kisimkə dz^hāgise banatahī*
 mərca ek kisim-kə dz^hāgi-se ban-a-ta-hī
 yeast one type-GEN bush-ABL make-CAUS-NPST-1PL
 ‘Yeast is made from a kind of bush (plant). (HtMW.SD.001)

With the animate nouns, *-se* is used to indicate the 'agent'. However, this seems to be like in an oblique phrase in English such as 'by means of' and so on. This is shown in (52).

- (52) a. *koi rəbərəkə koi silabərəkə bāsi banalə aṭikan kamise*
 koi rəbər-kə koi silabər-kə bāsi ban-a-lə
 some rubber-GEN some silver-GEN flute make-CAUS-PFV
 aṭi-kan kami-se
 COP.NPST-3PL ironsmith-ABL
 ‘Some have made the flute of rubber and some of silver (made) with
 the help of ironsmith.’ (DaF.CND.129)
- b. *əse coḍkikun uk^hrake marlə nagse*
 əse coḍk-ikun u-ke mar-lə nag-se
 then pierce-SEQ he-[OBL]DAT kill-PST snake-ABL
 ‘Then he (made) the snake kill it by piercing (it).’ (HP.BLD.098)

Finally, postposition *dek^hi* ‘from’ as an ablative is also found in our corpus.¹⁵

- (53) *ijə mərca ek dek^hi dui həpta b^hitrə ghalike pərit*
 ijə mərca ek dek^hi dui həpta b^hitrə
 this yeast one from two week in
 ghal-ike pər-i-t
 add-INFbecome-3SG-NPST
 ‘This yeast becomes ready to pour within one to two weeks.’
 (HtMW.SD.017)

Comitative: -se¹⁶

Comitative is coded by *-se* ‘with’ to show accompaniment. This indicates with whom or what something is done.

- (54) a. *tə dawa meṭit bəllə əse nunse b^hat k^haitahī*
 tə dawa meṭ-i-t bəllə əse nun-se
 PART death end-3SG-NPST then again then salt-COM
 b^hat k^ha-ta-hī
 rice eat-NPST-1PL
 ‘As Dawa (a death ritual) ends, the rice is eaten with salt.’ (DR.CND.010)

¹⁵ It is a borrowing from Nepali.

¹⁶ Although this form is homophonous with ablative case, we have given this a different category because ablative can also be expressed by a postposition. It is an instance of case syncretism (see Baerman and Brown 2008).

- b. *sāhatise mæi maŋtəm*
 sāhati-se mæi maŋ-tə-m
 friend-COM I beg-NPST-1SG
 ‘I will ask (lit. beg) with my friends.’ (KaQ.SLD.095)
- c. *pause merə dzəbbəḍ kam baṭəi*
 pau-se mæi-rə dzəbbəḍ kam
 you.HH-COM I-[OBL]GEN big work
 baṭə-i
 COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘I have a big (urgent) work with you’ (BF.SLD.169)
- d. *hame radzase hukum magike əilə*
 hame radza-se hukum mag-ike a-lə
 we kiing-COM permission beg-INF come-PST
 ‘We have come (here) to ask permission from the king.’ (GaLK.PD.024)

Ergative-instrumental case: -ĩ, -hĩ, -eĩ

The ergative and instrumental share the same the case marker *-ĩ*, or *-hĩ*. The former form is realized if the nominal stem ends in a consonant and other vowel except *-u*. The marker *-hĩ* is realized if the noun ends in *-u*. Speakers also utter only *-i* without nasalization. If a nominal stem ends in consonant, there is also an epenthetic vowel inserted thus the ergative marking results in *-eĩ*. Consider the example (55) where the case marker functions as an instrumental case.

- (55) *səurke ləuriĩ marlə*
 səur-ke ləuri-ĩ mar-lə
 fish-DAT stick-INST kill-PST
 ‘A stick killed Saur (a kind of fish).’ (EI.CND.026)

Ergative marker encodes the agent of the transitive clause. Darai is not a consistently ergative language. The ergative marker is consistently present with the subject of the transitive clauses if the subjects are the third person pronouns and other nouns. Irrespective of tense, aspect and mood, the first and second person pronouns do not code ergativity (56). Therefore, the split begins between the second and third person pronouns.

- (56) a. *məi dzəilə*
 məi dza-lə
 I know-PST
 ‘I went.’
- b. *lə məi esnə cidz paulə ətəm*
 lə məi esnə cidz pa-lə ətə-m
 PART I like this thing get-PFV AUX.NPST-1SG
 ‘Okay, I have found the thing like this.’ (DaF.CND.106)
- c. *toi cicər rinlə*
 toi cicər rin-lə
 you snacks cook-PST
 ‘You cooked snacks.’
- d. *toisəb cicər rinlə*
 toi-səb cicər rin-lə
 you-PL snacks cook-PST
 ‘You (PL) cooked snacks.’

A split ergative language is one in which some transitive clauses but not all, require ergative construction (DeLancey 1979:626). Ergative languages are inclined to exhibit one of these patterns: (i) The empathy-hierarchy pattern (SAP) (ii) The aspectual split and (iii) The active/stative split. They are also referred to as the nominal split, aspectual split and syntactic split respectively. The kind of split we observe in Darai is a nominal (personal) split. DeLancey(1979:627) reiterates that, this (nominal split) pattern shows, " hierarchy of 'animacy', 'agentivity', topicality', 'salience' or 'empathy', by which 1st and 2nd persons outrank human 3rd persons, which outrank non-human animates, which in turn outrank inanimate." In Darai the split begins between the second and the third person pronouns.

- (57) a. *uhī kūtuni bud^hike git gaike lagalə*
 u-hī kūtuni bud^hi-ke git gai-ke lag-a-lə
 he-ERG Kutuni old woman song sing-INF fix-CAUS-PST
 ‘He made Kutuni Budhi sing a song.’ (SQ.BLD.388)

- b. *radzaĩ hukum delə*
 radza-ĩ hukum de-lə
 king-ERG order give-PST
 ‘The king ordered.’ (GaLK.PD.025)

In examples (57a-b) the subject of the transitive clause codes ergative marker while in (56b,d) the subject of the transitive clause does not index ergative marking although all of them are in the past tense. The ergative marking in Darai is not thus consistently ergative.

- (58) a. *keṭkeṭi nidzə b^heṭlarə .t^haujǎ rak^hike*
 keṭkeṭi-ĩ nidzə b^heṭ -larə .t^haujǎ rak^h-ike
 children-ERG NEG meet- PROS place-LOC place-INF
 ‘Keep in the place where children do not reach.’ (HtMW.SD.036)
- b. *p^heri toi kəhəlarə .t^hik*
 p^heri toi kəhə-larə .t^hik
 again you say-PROS right
 ‘Again, what you say is right.’ (SQ.BLD.382)

Darai can typically be described as a split ergative language in which ergativity is determined by nominal hierarchy. The third person pronouns and all other noun phrases with transitive clauses operate on an ergative/absolute basis.

ii. Postpositions

Postpositions are generally mediated by the genitive marker in Darai. Masica (1991:231) argues, "This layer (the third layer) is mediated by Layer II suffixes, most often a Genitive (in some languages also a Dative, Ablative or even an Agentive or Locative). It may be considered a postposition."

Postposition *mate*

The postposition *mate* 'from a specific source' is mediated by genitive marker. This differs from *-se* in that the later only indicates the general source. Examples are given in (59).

- (59) a. *əse radzakə məte hadzir əilə*
 əse radza-kə məte hadzir a-lə
 then king-GEN ABL order come-PST
 ‘Then came the order from the king.’ (BF.SLD.186)
- b. *ete u pok^hərikə məte od^hike kərlə atik*
 ete u pok^həri-kə məte od^h-ike kər-lə
 here that pond-GEN ABL bring out water do-PST
 atik
 AUX.NPST-3SG
 ‘He has brought out water from the pond.’ (HP.BLD.096)

Postposition *ləgi*

The postposition *ləgi* 'motion to/near' is also used for the allative function. It is used to indicate an action occurring upto a certain location. However, there is also a distinct postposition for allative in Darai. This is also mediated by genitive marker. Examples are given in (60).

- (60) a. *u dzogikə ləgi əilə*
 u dzogi-kə ləgi a-lə
 he hermit-GEN ALL come-PST
 ‘He went to (near) the hermit.’ (KaQ.SLD.045)
- b. *kəske dza-ike məi dzogikə ləgi*
 kəske dza-ike məi dzogi-kə ləgi
 how go-INF I hermit-GEN ALL
 ‘(He asked), "How (shall) I go to the hermit ?" (KaQ.SLD.160)

Postposition *laqi*

The postposition *laqi* functions as a benefactive postposition. This is also mediated by genitive marker. The benefactive postposition marks the noun phrase that is the benefactor of the action of the verb.

- (61) *lə toi c^hawakə lagi əilə*
 lə toi c^hawa-kə lagi a-lə
 well you son-GEN BEN come-PST
 ‘(The hermit said to the king), "Did you come for son ?' (DaF.CND.129)

Postposition *sahin*

The postposition *sahin* 'with' functions as a comitative postposition.

- (62) a. *ikrə sahin mod rəksi punu detahĩ*
 i-rə sahin mod əksi punu de-ta-hĩ
 this-[OBL]GEN with beer wine also give-NPST-1PL
 ‘(They) are also given home made beer and wine with this.
 (KaQ.SLD.034)
- b. *b^heti sahin ek mana caur detahĩ*
 b^heti sahin ek mana caur de-ta-hĩ
 gift with one a unit rice give-NPST-1PL
 ‘... one mana (unit of measurement) of rice is given along with the
 present (offered when someone dies). (UT.SD.026)

The postposition *sat^h* 'with/along with' also functions as a comitative postposition.¹⁷

- (63) *badzagadzakə sat^h*
 badzagadza-kə sat^h
 musical instrument-GEN with
 ‘... accompanied by musical instruments...(SQ.BLD.335)

Postposition *gərə*

The postposition *gərə* 'with' also shows an object/person which possess something.

- (64) a. *hadək gərə masu*
 hadək-k gərə masu
 bone-3SG.POSS with meat

¹⁷ This postposition is also similar to Nepali.

- 'meat with bone'
- b. *kēwari gərə g^hər*
kēwari gərə g^hər
 door with house
 'a house with (traditional) door'

Postposition *səmmən*

The terminative *səmmən* 'till/upto' is used to indicate the terminal point of a state of affair in terms of time, degree, or location.

- (65) a. *adzu səmmən hame pac^huhĩ bətihi*
adzu səmmən hame pac^hu-hĩ bəti-hĩ
 today till we backward-LOC COP.NPST-1PL
 'We are at far back till today.(DaF.CND.125)
- b. *barə terə bərsə səmən caralə*
barə terə bərsə səmən cər-a-lə
 twelve thirteen years till graze-CAUS-PST
 '... (I) grazed (cows) for about twelve or thirteen years.(OK.JD.004)
- c. *esen kəc^hi səmmən duk^hə k^haikə rəlahai*
esen kəc^hi səmmən duk^hə
 like this that much till suffering
k^ha-ike rəla-h-ai
 eat-INF COP.PST-3-INFR
 '(He) suffered that much hardships (as I infer).(EI.CND.075)
- d. *məi k^həndrəməli səmmən dzəitəm*
məi k^həndrəməli səmmən dza-tə-m
 I Khandramali upto go-NPST-1SG
 'I go upto Khandramali.'

4.2 Pronouns

Pronouns inflect for case and number. They have oblique stems when they inflect for genitive, accusative-dative and comitative-ablative cases. Ergativity is not coded in the first and second person pronouns due to the split ergativity.¹⁸ The second person pronouns are characterized by the three levels of honorificity whereas only two levels of honorificity are found in the third person. Syntactically, pronouns are not modified by demonstratives and adjectives.

We discuss personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, relative pronouns, reflexive pronouns, indefinite pronouns and possessive pronouns in this section.

4.2.1 Personal pronouns

Darai distinguishes the first, second and third person pronouns. They inflect for two number: singular and plural and four cases: nominative (NOM), accusative/dative (ACC/DAT), genitive (GEN) and ablative/comitative (ABL/COM). Some pronouns also take indefinite suffixes. They have been presented in Table (4.3).¹⁹

TABLE 4.3 Personal pronouns

	CASES				
	NOM	GEN	ACC/DAT	ABL/COM	ERG
1 (SG)	məi/məĩ 'I'	me-rə	mera-ke	mera-se	-
1 (PL)	hame 'we'	ham-rə	hamra-ke	hamra-se	-
2 (SG) NH	təi/toi 'you'	terə	tera-ke	tera-se	-
2 (PL) NH	təi/toi-səb 'you'	teura-səb-kə	teura-səb-ke	teura-səb-se	-
2 (SG) H	tohe 'you'	teurə	teura-ke	tera-se	-
2 (PL) H	tohē-səb 'you'	teura-səb-kə	tohē-səb-ke	teura-səb-se	-
2 (SG) HH	pau 'you'	pau-kə	pau-ke	pau-se	-
2 (PL) HH	pau-səb 'you'	pau-səb-kə	pau-səb-ke	pau-səb-se	-
3 (SG) NH	u/uwə 'he/she'	uk ^h rə	uk ^h rai-ke	uk ^h ra-se	u-hĩ
3 (SPL) NH	u-səb 'they'	u-səb-kə	u-səb-ke	u-səb-se	u-səb-ēĩ
3 (SG) H	unhen 'he/she'	unhen-kə	unhen-ke	unhen-se	unhen-ĩ
3 (PL) HH	unhensəb 'they'	unhensəb-kə	unhensəb-ke	unhensəb-se	unhensəb-ĩ

¹⁸ See section (4.1.3) for the discussion of split ergative in Darai.

¹⁹ Darai (1996:35) lists the personal pronouns in Tanahun as follows: *məi* 'I', *haja* 'we', *təi* 'you.SG' *təjə* 'you.PL' *use/u* 'she/he'.

The first person singular is *məi* or *məĩ*. The first person plural pronoun is *hame* 'we'. Ablative/comitative cases are attached to the oblique stems with most of the pronouns, not to the nominative stems. Table (4.3) shows the inflection of first person pronouns. Examples are given in (66).

- (66) a. *məi g^hərə naidzam*
 məi g^hərə nai-dza-m
 I house NEG-go-1SG
 'I do not go home.' (IMM.SU.047)
- b. *hame radzake kəhətahĩ*
 hame radza-ke kəhə-ta-hĩ
 we king-ACC tell-NPST-1PL
 'We will tell the king.' (IMM.SU.047)

Second person pronouns in Darai are characterized by three levels of honorificity. When an honorific pronoun is used for the referent, the verb is likewise marked.²⁰ The second person pronoun with the root *tə* is common in middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) on account of contamination (Chatterji cited in Jha 1958: 394). The etymology of the high grade honorific *pau* 'you' is difficult to trace.²¹

Honorificity (politeness) in Darai is basically dependent on whether the speech act participants are kins or kiths. Generally one is not obliged to use honorifics within the non-affinal relationship irrespective of age and seniority. The pronoun *toi* can be used to address any family members (kinsmen). Thus it can be used to address parents, brothers and sisters. This is the pronoun used in communicative settings between equals and addressing children by elders or parents.

However, daughter-in-laws and sister-in-laws are addressed using the pronoun *tohe*. The high honorific pronoun *pau* can be used to address strangers, to address someone very formally and when the speech act participants are in-laws.

²⁰ See section (6.3.1).

²¹ Van Driem (2001:1169) speculates that *pau* 'you' might have been developed from the Nepali word *pahuna* 'guest'.

- (67) a. *toi tə nihidzə dzəili*
 toi tə nihidzə dza-l-i
 you PART NEG go-PST-F
 'You did not die (lit. go).' (IMM.SU.034)
- b. *toi ai puglə*
 toi a-i pug-lə
 you come-ABS reach-PST
 "(The hermit said), "You arrived already ?" (KaQ.SLD.166)
- c. *paukə kətka bərsə b^həilə*
 pau-kə kətka bərsə b^hə-lə
 you.HH-GEN how much year become-PST
 "How old are you ?" (In.UN.001)

The third person pronouns are related to remote demonstratives *u* 'that' and *usəb* 'they'. The honorific forms *inhen* 'he/she.H' *inhensəb* 'they.H' and *unhen* 'he/she.H' and *unhensəb* 'they.H' are used for honorific proximal and distal demonstratives respectively. The third person pronouns are characterized by two levels of honorificity as illustrated in (68).

- (68) a. *əse uhī haḍei haḍ calai delə*
 əse u-hī haḍ-ei haḍ cəl-a-i
 then he-ERG bone-EMPH bone move-CAUS-ABS
 de-lə
 give-PST
 'Then he stirred only bones.' (DP.CND.029)
- b. *uhəu p^heri uc^hi-n rəhəi*
 u-həu p^heri uc^hi-n rəhə-i
 he-EMPH again there-EMPH COP.PST-3SG
 'Only he was there.' (DP.CND.029)
- c. *unhen dzəitahat*
 unhen dza-ta-hat
 he.H go-NPST-H
 'He goes.'

4.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

There are two sets of demonstrative pronouns: proximal and distal. Proximal pronouns are used to refer to the person or thing close to the speaker. By contrast, the distal pronouns are used mainly to show the distal settings or things. The demonstrative pronouns are characterized by two levels of honorificity as well. The third person pronouns are based on remote demonstratives.

TABLE 4.4 Demonstrative pronouns

		CASES				
		NOM	GEN	ACC/DAT	ABL/COM	ERG
Proximal	SG	ijə	ik ^h ra-kə	ik ^h rə	ik ^h ra-se	i-hĩ
	PL	i-səb	i-səb-kə	i-səb-kə	isəb-se	i-səb-eĩ
	SG.H	inhen	inhen-kə	inhen-ke	inhen-se	inhen-ĩ
	PL.H	inhen-səb	inhen-səb-kə	inhen-səb-ke	inhen-səb-se	inhen-səb-ĩ

The third person pronouns are the same as the distal demonstratives in Darai. The distal demonstratives can therefore be seen in Table 4.3.

Demonstratives are illustrated in (69). Sentence (69a) is an example of proximal singular demonstrative whereas (69b) is the proximal plural demonstrative. Similarly, (69c) and (69d) are distal singular and plural pronouns respectively.

- (69) a. *lə ijə od^həu*
 lə ijə od^hə-u
 PART this take out water from pond-HORT
 ‘Okay, let's take out water from this (puddle).’ (BF.SLD.038)
- b. *rati isəb məntinne ka^t k^hodzike dzəilə*
 rati isəb məntinne ka^t k^hodz-ike dza-lə
 night these knowledge wood search-INF go-PST
 ‘They all went to look for Mantinne wood at night.’ (SQ.BLD.229)
- c. *uwə tə u b^həinei*
 uwə tə u b^hə-inei
 that PART that become-MIR
 ‘He has to be like that !’ (In.UN.013)

- d. *usəb gun sik^hike dzaike bicar kərlə*
 u-səb gun sik^h-ike dza-ike bicar kər-lə
 those knowledge learn-INF go-IINF thought do-PST
 ‘They thought to go to learn knowledge.’ (SQ.BLD.009)

4.2.3 Relative pronouns

Darai has *dz-* form relative pronouns. Presented below are the relative pronouns and their declension.²² The pronoun *dzono* ‘who’ also inflects as *dzək^hrə* ‘who.GEN’, *dzək^hrake* ‘who.DAT’, and *dzək^hrəse* ‘who.ABL’.

TABLE 4.5 Relative pronouns

Relative pronouns	CASES				
	NOM	ERG	GEN	DAT-ACC	ABL-COM
who	dzono	dzone-ĩ	dzok ^h -rə	dzok ^h a-ke	dzok ^h ra-se
what	dziti	dziti-ĩ	dziti-kə	dziti-ke	dziti-se

- (70) a. *dziti aṭəi uhei deuk*
 dziti aṭə-i u-hei deu-k
 whatever COP.NPST-3.SG that-EMPH give-IMP
 ‘Give what you have (possess).’
- b. *məi dzək^hrake mod delə uk^hraise pəisa magtəm*
 məi dzono-ke mod de-lə u-se
 I who-[OBL]ACC liquor give-PST he-ABL
 pəisa
 money
 mag-tə-m
 ask-NPST-1SG
 ‘I ask the person for money whom I gave some liquor.’
- c. *dzoneĩ duk^hə kərit uhĩ pəisa kamait*
 dzono-ĩ duk^hə kər-i-t u-ĩ pəisa
 who-ERG suffering do-nP.3.SG he-ERG money
 kama-i-t
 earn-3SG-NPST
 ‘The person who works hard earns money.’

²² This is further discussed in relative correlative clauses in (11.3.2).

Relative pronouns have oblique stems when they inflect for genitive, accusative-dative and comitative-ablative cases. The relative pronoun in (70a) does not inflect for any case. On the other hand, when the relative pronoun inflects for dative/accusative and ablative comitative they have oblique stems as in (70b).

4.2.4 Interrogative pronouns

Darai has various interrogatives. All the interrogative pronouns begin with *k-*. Two distinct interrogatives *kono* ‘who’ and *kiti* ‘what’ inflect for different cases. They are used to question about people and thing respectively. The inflection of interrogative pronouns for different cases is mentioned in Table (4.6).²³

TABLE 4.6 Interrogative pronouns

	CASES				
	NOM	ERG	GEN	ACC-DAT	ABL-COM
‘who’	kono/kon	kone-ī	kok ^h -rə	kok ^h a-ke	kono-se/kokhra-se
‘what’	kiti	kjaha-ī	kiti-kə	kiti-ke	kjati-se

(71) a. *kon əilə*

kon a-lə
 who come-PST
 ‘Who came?’

b. *kok^hrake abe hame bahun banaike*

kono-ke abe hame bahun ban-a-ike
 who-ACC now we priest make-CAUS-INF
 ‘Whom shall we make the priest?’ (DP.CND.077)

(72) a. *radza morte k^həni kiti kərike*

radza mor-te k^həni kiti kə-ike
 king die-SIM while what do-INF
 ‘As the king dies, what (are they) to do?’ (BF.BLD.307)

b. *hame dərəi kitise nam rəhəlai*

hame dərəi kiti-ise nam rəhə-lə-h-ai
 we Darai what-ABL name remain-PST-3-INFR
 ‘From what were we named as Darai?’ (In.UN.003)

²³ Content question are also discussed in (10.3.1).

Interrogative pronouns are sometimes reduplicated.²⁴ When interrogative pronouns are repeated, the plural events or objects are presupposed. Examples (73a-b) are illustrative. The speaker presupposes that there is a list of things his son did when he uses *kiti kitu* 'what-what' in the question.

- (73) a. *merə c^hahomeĩ kitu kitu anlə*
 merə c^haho-m-ĩ kitu kitu an-lə
 my son.1SG.POSS-ERG what REDU bring-PST
 ‘What (things) did my son bring?’
- b. *merə c^hahomeĩ .taŋgi rə kodari anlə*
 merə c^haho-m-eĩ .taŋgi rə kodari an-lə
 my son.1SG.ERG axe and spade bring-PST
 ‘My son brought an axe and a spade.’

4.2.5 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are lexical in Darai. The reflexive pronoun is *ap^hni* or *ap^hnə*. Reflexive pronouns can be used to indicate ‘self’ and can be used with the first, second and third persons. The form varies with case and number but not with gender or person. In our database we find that the reflexive pronoun can also take the plural suffix as can be seen in (74b).

- (74) a. *ap^hni tə kʊtkʊt k^həilə*
 ap^hni tə kʊtkʊt k^ha-lə
 REFL PART honey eat-PST
 ‘(He) himself ate honey...’ (HoF.SLD.030)
- b. *əse ap^hnisəb b^hat sag k^hai oi*
 əse ap^hni-səb b^hat sag k^ha-i-oi
 then REFL-PL rice spinach eat-ABS-SEQ
 ‘Having eaten rice and so on, (they) themselves...’ (IMM.SU.110)

²⁴ When an expected answer to a question is in the form of a list (or more than one thing, person, event, etc.), the question word is reduplicated (see Bhatia 1993:11).

The reflexive pronouns inflect for different cases. They are given in (75a) and illustrated in (75b).

- (75) a. *ap^hnə* ‘self’
ap^hnə-ĩ ‘self-ERG’
ap^hnə-se ‘self-ABL/COM’
- b. *ap^hnise bəḍkə*
ap^hni-se bəḍkə
 REFL-ABL big
 ‘Bigger than oneself...’ (DP.CND.046)

The reflexive is used in emphatic constructions (König and Siemund 2007). Examples are given in (76-77).

- (76) *goru ap^hni b^hin b^hin dug^hrəte*
goru ap^hni b^hin b^hin dug^hrə-te
 bull REFL ONO ONO run-SIM
 ‘The bull runs (lit. to run) around itself.’ (BF.SLD.122)

- (77) *u sei sei sei ap^hni dzəiləhun*
u sei sei sei ap^hni dza-lə-hun
 he ONO ONO ONO REFL go-PST-HS
 ‘It crept smoothly itself (they say).’ (BF.SLD.099)

Sometimes reduplicated reflexive pronouns have a distributive meaning as in (78). In our corpus, the reflexive also occurs instead of a reduplicated form as in (78). For example, in (79), the reflexive *ap^hnahur* ‘REFL.PL’ is used instead of reduplicated reflexive.

- (78) a. *usəb ap^hni ap^hni g^hər dzəitahəsəb*
usəb ap^hni ap^hni g^hər dza-tahə-səb
 they self REDU home go-NPST-3PL
 ‘They go to their houses themselves.’

- b. *sutkerī ap^hnə ap^hnə k^həilə c^hipa bətija ap^hnəhise rak^hit*
 sutkeri-ī ap^hnə ap^hnə k^ha-lə c^hipa
 child-delivered mother-ERG REFL REFL eat-PFV plate
 bətija ap^hnə-hi-se rak^h-i-t
 bowl self-EMPH-ABL put-NPST-3SG
 ‘Mothers keep the plate and bowl on which they themselves had eaten...’ (MtU.SD.010)

- (79) *kupən katikun ap^hnahur lete k^həite*
 kupən kat-ikun ap^hnahur le-te k^ha-te
 coupon cut-SEQ REFL take-HAB eat-HAB
 ‘Having taken coupon, they take (lit. to take) and eat themselves.’
 (DP.CND.010)

The antecedent of the reflexive pronominal form must be within the same clause (81). Thus, reflexive forms are clause-bound. The person information is obtained is accessible from the subject. Examples are given in (80). Examples (76-77) are repeated here as (81a-b) respectively.

- (80) *u ap^hnə radzpat kərlə*
 u ap^hnə radzpat kər-lə
 he REFL ruling do-PST
 ‘He himself ruled the country.’

- (81) a. *goru ap^hni b^hin b^hin dug^hrəte*
 goru ap^hni b^hin b^hin dug^hrə-te
 bull REFL ONO ONO run-SIM
 ‘The bull (runs) around itself.’ (BF.SLD.122)

- b. *u sei sei sei ap^hni dzəiləhun*
 u sei sei sei ap^hni dza-lə-hun
 he ONO ONO ONO REFL go-PST-HS
 ‘It crept smoothly itself (they say).’ (BF.SLD.099)

4.2.6 Reciprocal pronouns

Raciprocal construction is possible with *ek ərko* or *ek ərka* ‘one another’. There are no other reciprocal pronouns. Reciprocal constructions are not very much conventionalized in Darai because even a single reciprocal construction does not

occur in the corpus. It has thus limited distribution. An example of a reciprocal construction is given in (81).

- (81) *hame ekərka-ke dek^h-lə*
 hame ekərka-ke dek^h-lə
 we RECI-DAT see-PST
 'We saw each other.'

4.2.7 Indefinite pronouns

Darai possesses different pronouns employed for non-specific and/or indefinite referents. The pronouns can be changed into indefinite by suffixing *-hun* to interrogative pronouns. In some cases they use the oblique forms of *kiti* 'what' or *kono* 'who' such as *kəlhəu/kolhəu*.

- (82) a. *kiti* 'what' *kjahau/kəlhəu* 'what-INDEF' 'something'
 b. *kiti* 'what' *kiti-hun* 'what-INDEF' 'something'
 (83) a. *kono* 'who' *kolhəu* 'who-INDEF' 'somebody'
 b. *kono* 'who' *kono-hun* 'who-INDEF' 'somebody'

Our language consultants say that despite the differences in form the indefiniteness indicated by (82a) and (82b) is identical. Similar is the case with the indefiniteness indicated by *kolhəu* and *kono-hun* given in (83). These forms simply imply the speaker's uncertainty regarding who/what the speaker is referring to. Examples are given in (84).

- (84) a. *tərə i kurajə kok^hrəhunse disesə nidzə ətəi merə*
 tərə i kura-jə kono-rə-hun-se disesə
 but this thing-LOC who-GEN-INDEF-COM discuss
 nidzə-ətə-i məi-rə
 NEG-COP.NPST-3SG I-[OBL]GEN
 'But I have not discussed with anybody (about this).' (DaF.CND.003)
 b. *bəisəjə kəlhəu ramrəse k^həitahat*
 bəisə-jə kəlhəu ramrə-se k^ha-ta-hat
 youth-LOC some good-ADVZ eat-NPST-3PL
 'In their youth some (people) eat happily.' (EI.CND.085)

- c. *osnəi manus kəlhəu kəhəbəkən*
 osnəi manus kəlhəu kəhə-bə-kan
 like that man some say-POSB-3PL
 ‘Some men like that might say...’ (IMM.SU.020)

4.2.8 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns have been discussed under genitive forms of personal pronouns. Here are a few examples:

- (85) a. *məi merə goruke antəm*
 məi məi-rə goru-ke an-tə-m
 I I-[OBL]GEN bull-ACC bring-NPST-1SG
 ‘I will bring my bull.’ (BF.SLD.150)
- b. *terə bubar route*
 toi-rə buba-r ro-te
 you-[OBL]GEN father-POSS.2SG cry-SIM
 ‘Your father crying...’ (HP.BLD.047)
- c. *ukrə dulhak niskələ*
 u-rə dulha-k nisk-lə
 he-[OBL]GEN husband-3SG come out-PST
 ‘Her husband came out.’ (KK.SLD.164)

The possessor appears in the genitive case and the possessed may be marked with the pronominal possessive suffix *-r* as in (85b) and *-k* in (85c).

4.2.9 Pronouns in discourse

Pronouns differ syntactically from nouns in that they do not take any pronominal possessive suffixes. Pronouns can replace nouns. The pronoun *u* ‘he’ has substituted *c^hahok* ‘his son’ in (86).

- (86) a. *c^hahok pani k^haike dzailə*
 c^haho-k pani k^ha-ike dza-lə
 son-3SG water eat-INF go-PST
 ‘... His son went to drink water.’ (HoF.SLD.008)

- b. *u pani k^haike dzəilə*
u *pani* *k^ha-ike* *dza-lə*
 he water eat-INF go-PST
 ‘... He went to drink water.’

Pronouns are used to mark the anaphoric topic into discourse. We find anaphoric use in discourse contexts in (87a).

- (87) a. *radzaĩ biha kərlə*
radza-ĩ *biha* *kər-lə*
 king-ERG marriage do-PST
 ‘The king married.’ (KaQ.SLD.002)
- b. *biha kərlə tə ukrə dulhik c^hawa nidzə b^həilə*
biha *kər-lə* *tə* *u-rə* *dulhi-k*
 marriage do-PST PART he-[OBL]-GEN wife-3SG
c^hawa *nidzə-b^hə-lə*
 son NEG-become-PST
 ‘Although he was married, his wife did not give birth to a son.’
 (KaQ.SLD.003)

In (87b) the third person singular pronoun (in genitive form) is used to refer to a participant as an anaphoric topic. In this sentence, the pronoun refers to the ‘king’ who is introduced in the preceding sentence (87a).

The pronoun-noun construction, with both elements having the same reference, is also possible with the first and second person pronouns. In (88a) *hame* ‘we’ and *dərəi* ‘Darai’ has the same reference and *hame* ‘we’ and *tuhura* ‘orphan’ have same references in (88b).

- (88) a. *hame dərəi p^heri bahunsəri bəḍkə*
hame *dərəi* *p^heri* *bahun-səri* *bəḍkə*
 we Darai again Brahmin-equal big
 ‘We Darais are as superior (lit. big) as Brahmins.’ (DP.CND.048)
- b. *hame tuhura pəilehise hela b^həilə*
hame *tuhura* *pəile-hi-se* *hela* *b^həi-lə*
 we orphan first-FOC-ABL hatred become-PST
 ‘We orphans were despised from those days.’ (PtP.CND.068)

4.3 Summary

This chapter discussed nouns and noun morphology in Darai. Phonologically, nouns do not have distinct characteristics but bisyllabic nouns are very common. Nouns may be free lexical items or derived from other categories, largely from verbs and nouns. Thus, deverbal and denominal nouns are found in Darai. Compounding of nouns is common in Darai. We find coordinate, exocentric and endocentric compounds. Reduplication of nouns is found to show distributiveness, and emphasis. Nouns inflect for number, pronominal marking, indefinite marking and cases. The pronominal possessive suffixes are used to mark the kinship relations and ownership. It is a typologically interesting feature. A closed set of adjectives which end in *-o* , *-a* and *-ə* ending adjectives inflect for gender. The plural suffix *-səb* is attached to the noun stem. There are only two classifiers in Darai to show human being and non-human objects. Additionally, a few quasi-classifiers related to units of measurements are also found. The case markers used in the language are dative-accusative, ablative, comitative and ergative-instrumental. Other case relation is specified by postpositions. The postpositions are also used to show ablative, allative, benefactive, purposive, comitative and terminative cases. All these postpositions except the allative compound with the genitive marker before they are attached to the nominal stems mainly with pronouns. The position classes of the nominal morphemes are as follows: pronominal possessive suffix, number, case markers, postposition and indefiniteness.

Darai distinguishes the first person, second person and third person pronouns. There is no formal distinction of gender in pronouns. The third person pronouns are based on remote demonstratives. Pronouns decline differently for different cases. Ablative and comitative cases are attached to the oblique stems. Aside from personal pronouns, there are interrogative pronouns, reflexive pronouns, indefinite pronouns, reciprocal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and possessive pronouns. Darai pronouns are characterized by three levels of honorificity in the second person pronouns and two levels of honorificity in the third person pronouns.

CHAPTER 5 ADJECTIVES

5.0 Outline

This chapter deals with adjectives in the Darai language. Semantically adjectives indicate properties such as dimension, age, value, colour, physical properties etc. as shown in the following examples:

- (1) a. *pause merə dzəbbəḍ kam bəṭəi*
pau-se məi-rə dzəbbəḍ kam bəṭə-i
you-COM I-[OBL]GEN urgent work COP.NPST-3SG
'I have an urgent work with you.' (BF.SLD.169)
- b. *ibḍi pəṭḍa*
ibḍi pəṭḍa
small road
'...a small road' (DaF.CND.068)
- c. *gurijə mərca*
gurijə mərca
sweet yeast
'sweet yeast'
- d. *kaili gone*
kaili gone
dark reddish saree
'dark reddish saree'

They are often used to modify nouns. In (1a) the adjective *dzəbbəḍ* 'urgent' has modified the noun *kam* 'work'. Similarly all adjectives that appear in (1b-d) modify the nouns. Grammatically, they are distinct from nouns. All Darai adjectives are interestingly polysyllabic in our corpus.

This chapter is organized into five sections. Section 5.1 discusses semantic properties of adjectives. In section 5.2 we present the morphological characteristics of adjectives. We deal with syntactic features of adjectives in 5.3. Section 5.4 is about the status of adjectives vis-à-vis nouns. Section 5.5 presents the findings of the discussion.

5.1 Semantic properties

The discussion of adjectives in this section is analyzed following Dixon (2004) and Givón (2001a:81). Dixon (2004:3-4) classifies the adjectives into thirteen types in terms of their semantic contents. Dixon (2004:3) notes that dimension, age, value and colour are the four major categories of adjectives.

5.1.1 Dimension adjectives

The adjectives which indicate dimension are listed in (2). The number of this class of adjectives is fairly large. Some adjectives which are related to demonstrative meanings are discussed in (5.1.8). Givón (2001a:81) includes these (dimension) adjectives under 'size adjectives' in his semantic classification.

(2)	<i>golgolarə</i>	‘round’
	<i>kerəute</i>	‘straight’
	<i>nani</i>	‘small’
	<i>əlgə</i>	‘tall’
	<i>bədkə</i>	‘big’
	<i>baklə</i>	‘thick’
	<i>dubrə</i>	‘thin’
	<i>t^hulə</i>	‘fat’
	<i>c^hōto</i>	‘short’
	<i>hōco</i>	‘short’
	<i>lamo</i>	‘long’
	<i>saŋti</i>	‘narrow’
	<i>ibdi</i>	‘very small’

5.1.2 Age adjectives

The pure adjectives related to age are listed in (3). The size of this category of adjectives is restricted. Dixon (2004:4) also indicates that the adjectives of this category are limited in number. Givón (2001a: 83) categorizes the adjectives of this group into 'states of living'.¹

¹ Gender agreement is discussed in (Chapter 4).

- (3) a. *ləuʔ^ha* 'new'
dziuno 'living/alive'
puranə 'old'
- b. *dzeʔ^ha* 'elder'
dzeʔ^hi 'elder (F)'
kanc^ha 'younger'
kanc^hi 'younger (F)'

5.1.3 Value adjective

Givón (2001a: 82) classifies this under 'evaluative' adjectives. The adjectives related to value (Dixon 2004:4) are listed in (4).

- (4) *ramrə* 'good'
nidzəramrə 'bad'
nunajə 'salty'
sit^hə 'which has less/no salt'
səp^ha 'clean'
səsto 'cheap'
məhəŋgo 'expensive'
guʔ^ht^ho 'heavy'

5.1.4 Colour adjective

The adjectives related to colour are listed in (4). There are some basic colour terms found in Darai. Givón (2001a:82) also assigns a distinct category for colour adjectives. Examples are given in (5).

- (5) *hədarə* 'yellow'
hərijə 'green'
rəktarə 'red'
odzər 'bright'
kəzadə 'black'
gorə 'white'
kaili 'dark reddish'
d^hesro 'colour resembling soil'

k^hiṭpitar ‘colourful’

ad^hard^hura ‘dark’

5.1.5 Physical property adjective

There are a large number of terms of physical property in Darai. This class is large compared to other classes. They are listed in (6).

(6)	<i>amlo</i>	‘sour’
	<i>kando</i>	‘blind’
	<i>bic^hə</i>	‘slippery’
	<i>ciso</i>	‘cold’
	<i>d^harki</i>	‘sloppy’
	<i>kakəto</i>	‘hard’
	<i>rittei</i>	‘empty’
	<i>kubrə</i>	‘stoop’
	<i>kəuri</i>	‘soft’
	<i>patro/patər</i>	‘thin (object)’
	<i>sise</i>	‘chilly hot’
	<i>tittə</i>	‘bitter’
	<i>alə</i>	‘fresh’
	<i>tatauni</i>	‘warm’
	<i>gurijə</i>	‘sweet’
	<i>cisə</i>	‘cold’
	<i>bəluhani</i>	‘sandy’
	<i>uk^hro</i>	‘dry’
	<i>uc^hiṭə</i>	‘infertile (land)’

5.1.6 Human propensity adjective

The other semantic class of adjective is human propensity. These are listed in (7). Several adjectives of this category resemble Givón's (2001a:83) transitory states and states of living.

- (7)
- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>alsi/kori</i> | ‘lazy’ |
| <i>ekohore</i> | ‘persistent, obstinate’ |
| <i>dz^hagreha</i> | ‘quarrelsome’ |
| <i>pənpətaha</i> | ‘selfish’ |
| <i>mədələ</i> | ‘lame’ |
| <i>koṭti</i> | ‘mean/low-minded’ |
| <i>bāutarolāṇḍāhəro</i> | ‘left-handed’ |

5.1.7 Quantifiers

We discuss numeral and non-numeral quantifiers in the following paragraphs.

i. Numerals

Darai numeral system is decimal, which is based on groups of 10. Most of the cardinal numerals occur with numeral classifiers as in (8) where the numeral *ek* ‘one’ occurs with the classifier *-ta*. Table (5.1) contains cardinal and ordinal numerals from 1 to 10 with some illustrations in (8).²

TABLE 5.1 Darai numerals

	Cardinal	Ordinal
1	<i>ek</i>	<i>pəhila</i>
2	<i>dui</i>	<i>dosrə</i>
3	<i>tin</i>	<i>tesran</i>
4	<i>car</i>	<i>cəut^ha</i>
5	<i>pāc</i>	<i>pācəu</i>
5	<i>c^hə</i>	<i>c^həi^həu</i>
7	<i>sat</i>	<i>satəu</i>
8	<i>a^th</i>	<i>a^thəu</i>
9	<i>nəu</i>	<i>nəwəe</i>
10	<i>dəs</i>	<i>dəsəe</i>

² Classifiers are discussed in (4.1.3). All cardinal numerals are similar to Nepali.

- (8) a. *eka desəjǎ ekta radza rəhəihun*
 eka des-jǎ ek-ta radza rəhə-i-hun
 one country-LOC one-CLF king COP.PST-3SG-HS
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a king in a country (they say).’
 (SQ.BLD.001)
- b. *dukta d^hərisai tinta d^hərisai kəhikun kəhələ*
 dui-ta d^hər-isai tin-ta
 two-CLF hold-IMP.FUT three-CLF
 d^hər-isai kəh-ikun kəhə-lə
 hold-IMP.FUT tell-SEQ tell-PST
 ‘(She) requested him to hold the two or three (roots)’ (SQ.BLD.109)

The number 11 to 29 are given in (9) and from thirty to one hundred are in

(10).

- (9) *eg^harə* 'eleven'
barə 'twelve'
terə 'thirteen'
c^həud^hə 'fourteen'
pənd^hrə 'fifteen'
sorə 'sixteen'
sətrə 'seventeen'
ət^harə 'eighteen'
unnais 'nineteen'
bis 'twenty'
ekkais 'twenty one'
bais 'twenty two'
teis 'twenty three'
cəubis 'twenty four'
pəccis 'twenty five'
c^həbbis 'twenty six'
səttais 'twenty seven'
ət^ht^hais 'twenty eight'
unantis 'twenty nine'

(10)	<i>tis</i>	'thirty'
	<i>calis</i>	'fourty'
	<i>pəcas</i>	'fifty'
	<i>sət^hi</i>	'sixty'
	<i>səttəri</i>	'seventy'
	<i>əsi</i>	'eighty'
	<i>nəbbe</i>	'ninety'
	<i>səe</i>	'hundred'

ii. Non-numeral quantifiers

Dixon (2004:4) categorizes the quantifiers into the 'quantification' types. In the same way Givón (2001a: 100) states that quantifiers are small classes of noun modifiers that code notions of quantity, extent, number or serial order. These are like adjectives in that they modify the NP when they occur attributively. All of these quantify overt nouns or may also stand as an independent NP. The words of this category have the meanings such as *many*, *much*, *few*, *all*, *some*, *each*, etc in English. They are used predicatively or attributively. Some of the adjectival quantifiers listed in (11) are illustrated in (12).

(11)	<i>isuhurni</i>	'very little'
	<i>ad^ha</i>	'half'
	<i>cutki</i>	'little'
	<i>ərkon</i>	'another'
	<i>kolhəu</i>	'some'
	<i>dzəmmei</i>	'all'
	<i>səbei</i>	'all'
	<i>t^huprei</i>	'many'
	<i>d^herei</i>	'many'

(12)	a.	<i>ə ad^ha səmpəti delə</i>			
		<i>ə</i>	<i>ad^ha</i>	<i>səmpəti</i>	<i>de-lə</i>
		yes	half	property	give-PST
		'Yes, (the king) gave half of his property.' (BF.SLD.235)			

- b. *uhĩ ad^ha sad^hi dzægga beclə*
 u-hĩ ad^ha sad^hi dzægga bec-lə
 he-ERG half about land sell-PST
 ‘He sold about half of his land.’
- c. *k^holaĩ ad^hasad^hi bərabəri dzægga ledzi səklə*
 k^hola-ĩ ad^ha sad^hi bərabəri dzægga
 stream-INST half equal equal land
 ledz-i sək-lə
 take-ABS finish-PST
 ‘The stream flooded (lit. took away) about half of the land.’
 (HwCtP.PD.017)
- d. *t^huprəi nag rəlahai*
 t^huprəi nag rəhə-lə-h-ai
 many snake remain-PST-3-INFR
 ‘There were many snakes (as I infer).’ (OK.JD.025)

All quantifiers in (12) precede the nouns they occur with. Similarly, in (13a) *səbei* ‘all’ is used attributively as an adjective. Unlike example (13a), the same word refers to the NP and stand alone (13b-c). Quantifiers can thus stand independent of the head noun as in (13b-e).

- (13) a. *səbei kam orait*
 səbei kam ora-i-t
 all work finish-3SG-NPST
 ‘...all work is finished.’ (UT.SD.029)
- b. *səbeikə hela b^həilə*
 səbei-kə hela b^həi-lə
 all-GEN hatred become-PST
 ‘He was looked down by everyone.’ (OK.JD.015)
- c. *g^hərəjə səbeike gəwət deit*
 g^hər-jə səbei-ke gəwət de-i-t
 house-LOC all-DAT cow's urine give-3SG-NPST
 ‘...all are given cow's (sacred) urine at home.’ (UT.SD.017)

- d. *əntimjã dzailə səbəi*
 əntim-jã dza-lə səbəi
 last-LOC go-PST all
 ‘All went at the end.’ (DP.CND.032)
- e. *lə cutki aṭik*
 lə cutki aṭi-k
 PART little COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘Okay, there is little.’ (BF.SLD.127)

5.1.8 Determiners

This subsection presents the description of the Darai pronouns (demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative) which function as modifiers.

i. Demonstrative pronouns as determiners

The demonstratives *ijə* ‘this’ and *uwə* ‘that’ are also used as determiners (adjectives). Dixon (2003:52) calls them ‘nominal demonstratives’. The former of them is proximal whereas the latter is distal in meaning. They are illustrated in (14-15).

- (14) a. *lə abe ijə gaũ konei calait*
 lə abe ijə gaũ kon-i cəl-a-i-t
 PART now this village who-ERG move-CAUS-3SG-NPST
 ‘Okay, who rules (lit. moves) this village?’ (HwCtP.PD.012)
- b. *ihəi bəḍeri*
 i-həi bəḍeri
 this-EMPH net made from Khadahi
 ‘only this net made from Khadahi...’ (EI.CND.015)
- (15) a. *uwə behan b^həilə*
 uwə behan b^hə-lə
 that morning become-PST
 ‘... that morning fell (lit. became).’ (JaH.SLD.029)

- b. *uhəi saŋg^hati rə məi*
 u-həi saŋg^hati rə məi
 that-EMPH friend and I
 ‘Only that friend and I.’ (EI.CND.020)

As can be seen in (14-15), the demonstratives *ijə* ‘this’ and *uwə* ‘that’ can take emphatic marker *-həi*.

ii. Indefinite pronouns as modifiers

When the indefinite pronouns occur in attributive position, they function as modifiers. Following are examples:

- (16) a. *kəlhəu upajə bətəi*
 kiti-həu upajə bətə-i
 what-[OBL]INDEF way COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘There might be any way.’ (SQ.BLD.202)
- b. *kjahau cidz nidzə b^hetlə*
 kiti-həu cidz nidzə b^het- lə
 what-[OBL]INDEF thing NEG meet-PST
 ‘(I) found (lit. met) nothing.’

iii. Interrogative pronouns as modifiers

Interrogative pronouns function as modifiers when they occur in the attributive position. Following are examples:

- (17) a. *kono manus əilə*
 kono manus a-lə
 which man come-PST
 ‘Which man came?’
- b. *kiti sag k^haikə*
 kiti sag k^ha-ike
 which curry eat-INF
 ‘Which curry (shall we) eat?’ (DaF.CND.091)

iv. Pronominal determiners

This section examines a category of determiners associated with demonstratives.³

a. Pronominal determiner of quantity

There are two distinct demonstratives (determiners) which are used to refer to quantity. They have two-way distinction between proximal and distal. The demonstratives *etka/etkai* 'this much'/'this number' and *otka/otkai* 'that much'/'that number' are used to refer to the quantity. The proximal and distal determiners of quantity are illustrated in (18) and (19) respectively.

- (18) a. *k^hali sor hās ciṅni pərewa etkai k^hailarə*
k^hali sor hās ciṅni pərewa etkai
only pig duck chicken pigeon this much
k^ha-larə kər-ike
eat-PROS do-INF
'Only pigs, ducks and chickens (were birds) to eat.' (In.UN.085)
- b. *pərdes dzaikun ailə toi etka din b^hailə*
pərdes dza-ikun a-lə toi
another country go-SEQ come-PST you
etka din b^hai-lə
this much/number day become-PST
'You returned from another county so many days ago.' (KaQ.SLD.057)
- (19) a. *otka kura pakalə aṭəsəb tə*
otka kura pak-a-lə aṭə-səb
that much thing cook-CAUS-PST AUX.NPST-PL
tə
PART
'(They) have cooked that much things.' (IMM.SU.115)

³ Determiners related to size, quantity and amount are discussed under demonstratives in some grammars (see Genetti 2007; Hale and Shrestha 2006) whereas they are discussed under demonstrative adjectives in some others (see Acharya 1991; Bhatia 1993; Wali and Koul (1997). Yadav (1996) and Wilde (2008) discuss them as 'pronominal as determiners'.

- b. *khəi bərsə etka otka tə nidzə t^haha*
 khəi bərsə etka otka tə nidzə t^haha
 PART year this much that much PART NEG knowledge
 ‘(I) do not know this much or that much (lit. this much long or that
 much long).’ (IMM.SU.043)

b. Pronominal determiners of size

There are two distinct demonstratives (determiners) of size, *ebdə* 'this much big' and *obdə* 'that much big'. Similar to other demonstratives *ebdə* 'this much big' is used in interactional contexts (20a) whereas *obdə* 'that much big' is used for distal contexts (20b). Genetti (2007:151) calls these as demonstratives of size. Here are a few examples:

- (20) a. *merə g^hərem ebdə aṭim*
 məi-rə g^həre-m ebdə aṭi-m
 I-[OBL] GEN house-1SG this much big COP.NPST-1SG
 ‘I have a (this much) big house.’
- b. *ukrə g^hərek obdə aṭik*
 u-rə g^həre-k obdə aṭi-k
 he-[OBL] GEN house-3SG that much big COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘He has a (that much big) house.’

c. Pronominal determiners of quality

The demonstratives (determiner) *esnə* 'of this type' and *osnə* 'of that type', refer to types of things. Both of these can modify nouns or sometimes verbs as well. As with other proximals, *esnə* 'of this type' is commonly used in proximal contexts. By contrast, *osnə* 'of that type' is used mainly to show the manner of the distal settings or things. Genetti (2007:148) calls this as 'demonstratives of quality'. They are illustrated in examples (21-22).

- (21) a. *esnəesnə b^həilə rəlahai*
 esnə esnə b^həi-lə rəla-h-ai
 this type this type become-PST AUX.PST-3-INFR
 ‘It happened like this (as I infer).’ (HP.BLD.074)

- b. *bud^ho lə esnə .təkrao*
 bud^ho lə esnə .təkra-o
 old man PART this type offer-IMP.H
 ‘(He says), "Old man, offer the thing of this type.’
- (22) a. *osnə suk^hə məi nidzə paularə*
 osnə suk^hə məi nidzə pau-larə
 that type happiness I NEG get-PROS
 ‘I did not get the comforts of that type.’ (EL.CND.005)
- b. *osnə d^hoka bədzdzəḍban*
 osnə d^hoka bədzdzəḍban
 that type door strong
 ‘The door like that (is) very strong.’ (HP.BLD.053)

These pronominal adjectives (adjectives affiliated to demonstratives) is summarized in Table (5.2). The demonstratives have also relationships with interrogatives and relative pronouns.

TABLE 5.2 Pronominal determiners

	Interrogative	Demonstrative		Relative
		Proximal	Distal	
Quality	<i>kəsnə</i> 'of what type'	<i>esnə</i> 'of this type'	<i>osnə</i> 'of that type'	<i>dzəsnə</i> 'which type of ; like which'
Quantity	<i>kətka/kəi</i> 'what much/ number'	<i>etka</i> 'this much/ number'	<i>otka</i> 'that much/ number'	<i>dzətka</i> 'what amount of / number'
Size	<i>kəbḍə</i> 'of what big'	<i>ebḍə</i> 'this big'	<i>obḍə</i> 'that big'	<i>dzəbḍə</i> 'of what big'

5.1.9 Others

Only two adjectives related to speed are *d^hilaha* ‘slow’ and *c^hito* ‘quick’. Dixon (2004:4) points out that the adjectives of speed are restricted typologically. Additionally, the adjectives of ‘difficulty’ such as *garə* ‘difficult’ or *əskərə* ‘difficult’ and *sədzilo* ‘easy’ are found in Darai.

5.2 Morphological properties

Simple (underived) adjectives are not involved in derivational morphology. However, some adjectives can be derived from derivational processes.

5.2.1 Derivation

Some adjectives can be derived from other parts of speech, mainly from proper nouns. Some adjectives which are derived by means of the derivational suffixes is listed in (23).

(23)	<u>Place names</u>		<u>Adjectives</u>
	<i>məŋgəlpur</i>	‘Mangalpur’	<i>məŋgəlpur-e</i> ‘from Mangalpur’
	<i>rampur</i>	‘Rampur’	<i>rampur-e</i> ‘from Rampur’
	<i>gəɪḍakoṭ</i>	‘Gaindakot’	<i>gəɪḍakoṭ-e</i> ‘from Gaindakot’

Participles (past and present) and prospective forms are adjective-like and occur only in attributive position. Examples (24a-b) show that past participles can precede nouns. Similarly, examples (25a-b) demonstrate that prospective form also modifies nouns.

- (24) a. *morlə manus dziikun naiabəi*
mor-lə manus dzi-ikun nai-a-bə-i
die-PFV man live-SEQ NEG-come-POSB-3SG
‘A dead man may not come back after being (becoming) alive.’
(SQ.BLD.312)
- b. *suklə g^hās ramrəse dzərit*
suk-lə g^hās ramrə-se dzər-i-t
becomedry-PFV grass well burn
‘The dried grass burns nicely.’
- (25) a. *səti dzəilarə cələn*
səti dza-laharə cələn
immolation go-PROS tradition
‘A tradition to immolate...’ (IMM.SU.005)

- b. *dug^hritihin manus*
 dug^hr-tihin manus
 run-PROG man
 ‘A running man’

All underived adjectives of all semantic categories combine with the emphatic clitic *-ei/əi* 'EMPH' to qualify the degree of the intensity of adjectives or sometimes to mean 'approximately'. Thus 'yellow' becomes 'yellowish' upon the addition of the emphatic (intensifier) suffix thereby increasing the 'yellowness' of the flowers in example (26).

- (26) *ərkon tin car dinəjə dzəite k^həna tə hərdarəi p^hulalə*
 ərkon tin car din-jə dza-ite k^həna
 next three four day-LOC go-SIM while
 tə hərdar-əi p^hul-a-lə
 PART yellow-EMPH blossom-CAUS-PST
 ‘As he went there within three or four days, they blossomed (they) became yellowish.’ (KaQ.SLD.091)

5.2.2 Comparative and superlative

There are two ways of forming comparatives in Darai. The indexes of comparison may be morphological *-se* or lexical *kəte* 'than' in Darai. The standards of comparison (what is the Comparee is compared against) are *bahun* 'Brahmin' in (27a) *məi* 'I' in (27b). The parameters of comparison are *bədkə* 'big' in (27a) and *bəlijə* 'strong' in (27b). *hame* 'we' in (27a) and *toi* 'you' in (27b) are the comparees.

The index of comparison may be attached to the standard of comparison (27a) or follow the standard of comparison as in (27b).⁴ Comparative and superlative precede the adjective but follow the NP. Examples are in (27b).

- (27) a. *bahunse bədkə tə hamehī aṭihī*
 bahun-se bədkə tə hame-hī aṭi-hī
 Brahmin-ABL big PART we-EMPH COP.NPST-1PL
 ‘We are more superior (lit. great) than Brahmins.’ (DP.CND.075)

⁴ As Masica (1991:373) notes, the comparatives are achieved by using the ablative case.

- b. *toi merase bəlijə bəʔəs*
 toi məi-se bəlijə bəʔə-s
 you I-[OBL]ABL strong COP.NPST-2SG
 ‘You are stronger than me.’

Among these indexes of comparison, *-se* is more frequent with the human nouns. These comparative markers can be interchangeably used.

- (28) a. *dadzu merase hōco ətəi*
 dadzu məi-se hōco ətə-i
 elder brother I-[OBL]ABL short COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘(My) brother is shorter than me.’
- b. *b^hərəʔpur gāidakotse/kəte bədkə ətəi*
 b^hərəʔpur gāidakot-se/kəte bədkə ətə-i
 Bharatpur Gaindako-ABL/than big COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘Bharatpur is bigger than Gaindakot.’

In Darai symmetrical comparison is made using the words such as *dzəsnə* ‘like’, *dzəhin* ‘like’ and *səri* ‘equal to’. These words function as index of comparison in (29a-d).

- (29) a. *pok^həri dzəsnə ɖ^hab rəhəi*
 pok^həri dzəsnə ɖ^hab rəhə-i
 pond like wet land COP.PST-3SG
 ‘There was wet land like a pond.’ (HP.BLD.022)
- b. *hə kes dz^hərlə sono dzəsnə kes*
 hə kes dz^hər-lə sono dzəsnə kes
 yes hair fall-PST gold like hair
 ‘The hair fell, the hair like gold.’ (SQ.BLD.182)
- c. *tərə bəʔe dzəhin mac^həkə k^heti tə naikərihī*
 tərə bəʔe dzəhin mac^hə-kə k^heti tə
 but Bote like fish-GEN farming PART
 nai-kər-hī
 NEG-do-1PL
 ‘But we do not keep (farm) fish like Botes.’ (DaF.CND.037)

- d. *hame dərəi p^heri bahun səri bəḍkə*
 hame dərəi p^heri bahun səri bəḍkə
 we Darai again Darai equal big
 ‘But we Darais are as big (superior) as Brahmins.’ (DP.CND.048)

Superlative form is obtained by preceding the head with *səbse* (“all-from”).

This is shown in (30). The standard against which the comparison is made is *səb* ‘all’ in superlative constructions.

- (30) a. *səbse bəḍkə tirija*
 səb-se bəḍkə tirija
 all-ABL big star
 ‘the largest star’
- b. *car jar b^haikə hamrə səbse c^hota b^hai*
 car jar b^hai-kə ham-rə səb-se c^hota b^hai
 four dear brother-GEN we-GEN all-ABL young brother
 ‘(He is) the youngest among all the four brothers.’ (SQ.BLD.353)

5.2.3 Reduplication of adjectives

Some adjectives in Darai are found in reduplicated constructions. There is a complete reduplication of adjectives in Darai. Examples (31a-c) show the semantic effect of reduplication. When the adjectives are reduplicated there is an increase in the intensity of the modifiers compared to the structure where a single adjective occurs. All examples in (31) have reduplicated forms thereby increasing the degree of intensity.

- (31) a. *uk^hrə ramri ramri c^həḍi bəṭəsəb*
 u-rə ramri ramri c^həḍi bəṭə-səb
 he-[OBL]GENbeautiful REDU daughter COP.NPST-PL
 ‘He has very beautiful daughters.’
- b. *rəktari rəktari sari peherləsəb bəṭ^hunisəb*
 rəktarirəktari sari peher-lə-səb bəṭ^huni-səb
 red RED saree wear.PFV-PL young girl-PL
 ‘All the girls wearing red sarees.’

- c. *u tə bəḍkə bəḍkə man paute dzəite*
 u tə bəḍkə bəḍkə man pau-te dza-ite
 he PART big big honour get-HAB go-HAB
 ‘...He used to get quite high honour of many kinds.’ (OK.JD.055)

The complete reduplication of cardinal numerals has distributive sense as can be seen in examples (32a-c).

- (32) a. *ek ek*
 ek ek
 one one
 ‘each one, one by one’
- b. *dui dui*
 dui dui
 two two
 ‘each two, two by two’
- c. *uhī hamrake ek ek kərtihin herlə*
 u-hī hame-ke ek ek kər-tihin
 he-ERG we-[OBL] DAT one one do-PROG
 her-lə
 look-PST.3.SG
 ‘He looked at us scrutinizing one by one.’

5.3 Syntactic functions

Adjectives are modifiers of nouns. All non-derived and derived adjectives are used attributively whereas only non-derived verbs can be used predicatively and as complementation.

5.3.1 Attributive function

Darai is a left-branching language. All adjectives occur attributively preceding the noun. In (33a), *ramrə* 'good' precedes the noun. Similarly, in (33b) the adjective 'salty' precedes the noun.

- (33) a. *uk^hrə ramrə bic^həuna punu nihidzə*
 u-ke ramrə bic^həuna punu nihidzə
 he-[OBL]GEN good bed also NEG
 ‘He did not even have a good bed.’ (OK.JD.012)
- b. *nunajə pani*
 nunajə pani
 salty water
 ‘Salty water’

5.3.2 Predicative function

Only non-derived verbs can be used predicatively. When adjectives have this use, they are followed by the copula *ətə-*, *rəhə-*.

- (34) a. *məi nanihī rəhəm*
 məi nani-hī rəhə-m
 I small-EMPH COP.PST-1SG
 ‘(I) was small.’
- b. *madz^hg^hər naŋti ətəi*
 madz^hg^hər naŋti ətə-i
 middle part of house narrow COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘The middle part of the house is narrow.’

5.4 Adjectives and noun

Darai allows adjectives without nouns. In (35a), *kanc^hi* ‘the youngest’ functions as an adjective whereas in (35b) it functions as a noun. Similarly, numeral in (35a) is used as the head of the noun phrase whereas it is used as a modifier in (35b). In these constructions, ‘nouns are either unimportant or reconstructible from the context’ (Gil 2008).

- (35) a. *kanc^hi dulhikə mətrəi k^hawalə*
 kanc^hi dulhi-kə mətrəi k^ha-wa-lə
 young (last) wife-GEN only eat-CAUS-PST
 ‘(He) fed only the youngest (last) wife.’ (KaQ.SLD.053)

- b. *dzeṭ^hik tə nihidz morli kanc^hi tə morli*
 dzeṭ^hi-k tə nihidz mor-l-i kanc^hi
 eldest-3SG.POSS PART NEG die-PST-FEM young(last)
 tə mor-l-i
 PART die-PST-F
 ‘The youngest wife died but the eldest did not.’ (IMM.SU.022)
- (36) a. *dukṭa d^hərisai tinṭa d^hərisai kəhikun kəhələ*
 duk-ta d^hər-isai tin-ta
 two-CLF hold-ABS-IMP.FUT three-CLF
 d^hər-isai kəh-ikun kəhə-lə
 hold-IMP.FUT tell-SEQ tell-PST
 ‘(She) requested him to hold two or three (roots).’ (SQ.BLD.109)
- b. *k^horte k^həni ekṭa kes dz^hərlə rəlik^hai*
 k^hor-te k^həni ek-ta kes dz^hər-lə
 bathe-SIM while one-CLF hair fall-PST
 rəli-k^h-ai
 COP.PST-3SG-INFR
 ‘While bathing, one strand of hair fell down.’ (SQ.BLD.181)
- (37) a. *toi kone c^hegri kintəs*
 toi kone c^hegri kin-tə-s
 you which goat buy-NPST-2SG
 ‘Which goat will you buy?’
- b. *kədzadə*
 kədzadə
 black
 ‘black (one).’

By the same token, the adjective functions as a head noun rather than a modifier in (37b).

While looking at wordlist, we find that most of the *-ə* ending adjectives and possessive pronouns are *-o* ending in Hodgson's (1985) list. Following are some examples:

(38)	<u>Hodgson's list</u>	<u>Word list today</u>
	<i>goro</i>	<i>gorə</i> 'white'
	<i>dublo</i>	<i>dubrə</i> 'thin'
	<i>ramro</i>	<i>ramrə</i> 'good'
	<i>hamro</i>	<i>hamrə</i> 'our'

5.4 Summary

Adjectives were discussed in this chapter. Adjectives in Darai are a distinct lexical category. Phonologically, most of the Darai adjectives are polysyllabic. Dimension, age, value, colour, physical property, human propensity, speed adjectives, quantifiers and some pronominal adjectives are the major semantic categories of Darai adjectives. The number of adjectives associated with speed and difficulty is limited. In addition to these, determiners such as demonstrative pronouns, indefinite pronouns and pronominal adjectives are also used in Darai. Compared to noun and verb, adjectives form a smaller class in size. Darai adjectives can occur without nouns.

CHAPTER 6

VERBS AND VERB MORPHOLOGY

6.0 Outline

This chapter deals with verbs and verb morphology. It is organized into six sections. We discuss verb stems in section 6.1. In section 6.2 we analyze tense, aspect, mood and modality. We look at verb agreement in section 6.3. Compound verbs and auxiliaries are presented in section 6.4. We present non-finite forms and functions in 6.5. The findings of this section are summarized in section 6.6.

6.1 Verb stems

The analysis of verb stems is based on their inflectional behaviors. Morphophonologically, vowel-final stems are more complex than consonant-final ones. Obviously then, they have been divided into two categories: vowel-final and consonant-final stems.¹ Darai paradigm of verbs and their inflections can be found in Appendix 3. Appendix (3a) has different verb stems types and verb suffixes such as habitual, progressive, past tense, perfect aspect, prospective aspect and conditional mood.

6.1.1 Vowel-final stems

All vowels except *u* occur in stem-final position. Bisyllabic verb stems which end with *a* and *e* form one category (Verb Type 1a). Some examples of vowel-final verb stems are: *g^hug^ha*-‘throw’, *paka*-‘cook’, *laha*-‘bathe’ *nida*-‘sleep’ etc. Verb suffixes (beginning with a consonant) are attached to stems without any morphophonemic alternation. The verb *g^hug^ha*-‘throw’ is given in example (1).

- (1) *g^hug^ha-lə* ‘throw-PST’
g^hug^ha-tihin ‘throw-PROG’
g^hug^ha-te ‘throw-SIM’

Similarly, there are a few *e*-final stems. Some verbs which occur in this class are *uq^he*-‘fly’, *de*-‘give’, *pure*-‘make something reach’ etc. They behave in a way similar to the one mentioned in example (1). This is illustrated in example (2a).

¹ Morphophonemic processes are discussed in (3.5).

- (2) a. *de*-‘give’
de-lə ‘give-PST’
de-tihin ‘give-PROG’
de-te ‘give-SIM’
- b. *kəhə*-‘say’
kəhə-lə ‘say-PST’
kəhə-tihin ‘say-PROG’
kəhə-te ‘while saying’

In addition to these, there are a few verb stems which have *ə* in stem-final position. Some verb stems of this category found in our database are *kəhə*-‘say’, *bohə/buhə*-‘float’, *cuhə* ‘drop/leak’, *rəhə*-‘remain’. When they are attached to the suffixes mentioned above, there is no morphophonemic alternation. An example is shown in (2b). The verb *ga*-‘sing’ also falls in this category because when the verb suffixes (beginning with a consonant) are attached to this stem it does not cause any morphophonemic change.

Monosyllabic stems with stem-final *a* are another category (Verb stem type 2). Some verbs which occur in this group are *a*-‘come’, *dza*-‘go’, *k^ha*-‘eat’ etc. When the tense and inflectional suffixes (beginning with a consonant) are attached to these stems, *a* changes into *ə* and an epenthetic *-i* is inserted before the suffixes are attached to the stem. This is illustrated in (3).

- (3) *a*-‘come’
- a. *əilə* ‘came’
a-lə ‘come-PST’
- b. *əitihin* ‘coming’
a-tihin ‘come-PROG’
- c. *əite* ‘while coming’
a-te ‘come-SIM’

Verb stem type 3 has stem-final *-o/i* vowels. There are a very few stems in this category. Some verbs which are found in our database are *c^hi*-‘touch’, *pi*-‘drink’, *d^ho*-‘wash’, *ro*-‘cry’. Another verb stem that inflects like these verbs is *pa*-‘get’. An epenthetic vowel *u* occurs before the suffixes (beginning with a consonant) are attached to stems. This is shown in (4).

- (4) *c^hi-* ‘touch’
- a. *c^hiulə* ‘touched’
c^hi-lə ‘touch-PST’
- b. *c^hiutihin* ‘touching’
c^hi-tihin ‘touch-PROG’
- c. *c^hiute* ‘while touching’
c^hi-te ‘while touching’

Verb stem type 4 has vowel ə in CVC structure. When the causative marker is suffixed to the stems, the sound ə in the verb stem changes into a due to vowel harmony. Some verbs which fall in this category are *pəlt-* ‘fall’, *ləd-* ‘fall’, *dz^hər-* ‘fall down’ etc. This is illustrated in (5).

- (5) *pəlt-* ‘fall’ *pałta-* ‘cause to fall’
ləd- ‘fall’ *laða-* ‘cause to fall’
dz^hər- ‘fall down’ *dz^hara-* ‘fall down’

6.1.2 Consonant-final stems

A majority of Darai verb stems are CVC type such as *puc^h-* ‘ask’, *d^hus-* ‘beat’, *mag-* ‘ask’, *k^hor-* ‘bathe’, *p^hor-* ‘break’ etc. A few bisyllabic verb stems such as *laha-* ‘bathe’ etc. The inflectional suffixes attached to them do not cause any morphophonemic changes. This is similar to verb stem type 1b. An example is given in (6).

- (6) *d^hus-* ‘beat’
d^hus-lə ‘beat’
d^hus-tihin ‘beat-PROG’
d^hus-te ‘beat-SIM’

A few verb stems which end in consonants have CVCC syllable structure as in (7) or VCC *əlp-* ‘disappear’ (Verb stem type 5). Three consonants (CCC) clusters do not occur in Darai. When the suffixes beginning with a consonant are added to them, an epenthetic vowel ə or i is inserted between the verb stems and the suffixes. An example is given in (7).

- (7) *gok^hr-* ‘bathe’
a. *gok^hrələ* ‘bathed’

- gok^hr-lə* ‘bathe-PST’
- b. *gok^hritihin* ‘bathing’
gok^hr-tihin ‘bathe-PROG’
- c. *gok^hrəte* ‘while giving’
gok^hr-te ‘bathe-SIM’

Finally, the inflection of the verb *rəhə*-‘remain/COP.PST’ is worth mentioning. When the verb *rəhə*-‘remain’ acts as a main verb or as a modal auxiliary, it inflects similar to a main verb. On the other hand, when it appears as a copular verb, it occurs as a suppletive form of the auxiliary *hək^hə*-‘COP/AUX.NPST’ and *ətə*-‘COP/AUX.NPST’ it inflects in the other way. Example (8a-b) illustrate *rəhə* as a main verb and as a compound verb whereas in (9a-b) it is used as auxiliaries.

- (8) a. *lə məi ic^hin bosi rəhətəm*
 lə məi ic^hi-n bos-i rəhə-tə-m
 okay I here-EMPH sit-ABS remain-NPST-1SG
 ‘Okay, I will stay right here for a long time.’ (IMM.SU.063)
- b. *tuhura tə suti rəhələ*
 tuhura tə suti rəhə-lə
 orphan PART sleep-ABS remain-PST
 ‘The orphan was continuously sleeping.’ (SQ.BLD.162)
- (9) a. *məi gai carate rəhəm*
 məi gai cər-a-te rəhə-m
 I cow graze-CAUS-HAB AUX.PST-1SG
 ‘...I used to graze cows.’ (EI.CND.002)
- b. *bağ^hke nai-dek^hlə rəhəm məi*
 bağ^h-ke nai-dek^h-lə rəhə-m məi
 tiger-DAT NEG-see-PFV AUX.PST I
 ‘I had not seen tiger.’ (EI.CND.027)

In example (8a-b), the verb *rəhə* takes the tense markers whereas in example (9a-b) the stem itself is its suppletive form.²

² See (copula and copular clauses in 10.2.1).

6.2 Tense, aspect, mood and modality

According to Chung and Timberlake (1985: 202):

Tense locates the event in time. Aspect characterizes the internal temporal structure of the event and mood describes the actuality of the event in terms such as possibility, necessity or desirability.

Tense, aspect, mood and modality will be discussed in this section.³

6.2.1 Tenses

Darai verbs exhibit a contrast of past and non-past tenses. Tense markers are suffixed to Darai verbs, followed by agreement features in both tenses.

i. Past tense

The past tense in Darai is morphologically realized in either of the two ways: *-hal* if followed by agreement features as in (11) or *-lə* otherwise as in (10).

- (10) a. *pac^hese dərəi dzat boslə*
pac^he-se dərəi dzat bos-lə
back-ADVZ Darai caste sit-PST
‘Later the Darai people (lit. caste) lived.’ (DP.CND.023)
- b. *pani uc^hi mac^hə dek^hlə*
pani uc^hi mac^hə dek^h-lə
water there fish see-PST
‘(They) saw the same fish in the water.’ (BF.SLD.022)
- (11) *ramrə purhale^r ki nidzə*
ramrə pur-hale-r ki nidzə
good fill up-PST-2SG or not
‘Did you fill (it) up well or not?’ (SoaO.JD.013)

The past tense is always indicative of the prior action. Obviously, it can also co-occur with the past temporal adverbs as shown in (12).

³ We mainly follow Dahl (1985), Comrie 1976 and 1985; Givón (2001a), Chung and Timberlake 1985 and Bybee, Perkins and Pegliuca (1994) to discuss tense, aspect, mood and modality.

- (12) *ihəi tə gaḍ kalu hame b^hetlə*
 i-həi tə gaḍ kalu hame b^het-lə
 this-EMPH PART puddle yesterday we meet-PST
 'This is the puddle we met (came to) yesterday.' (BF.SLD.037)

Past tense is primarily used in narratives. It is illustrated in (13).⁴ The following are the first three sentences taken from a narrative:

- (13) a. *eka desəjǎ ekta gaũ rəhəi*
 eka des-jǎ ek-ta gaũ rəhə-i
 one country one-CLF village COP.PST-3SG
 'Once upon a time there was a village in a country.' (JaH.SLD.001)
- b. *bəsti boslə*
 bəsti bos-lə
 settlement sit-PST
 'People settled there. (lit. the settlements sat there).' (JaH.SLD.002)
- c. *uwə gaũ bəstike ʉ^haikunu arkə t^haũ sərlə*
 uwə gaũ bəstike ʉ^h-a-ikunu arkə t^haũ
 that village settlement stand-CAUS-SEQ anotherplace
 sər-lə
 move-PST
 'The settlement was shifted (and) moved to the next place.'
 (JaH.SLD.003)

Past tense is also used to refer to any actions in the past. Some examples are given in (14).

- (14) a. *hame nanijǎ tuhura b^həilə*
 hame nanijǎ tuhura b^hə-lə
 we small-LOC orphan became-PST
 'We became orphans when we were small.' (PtP.CND.007)
- b. *gai caralə hamrə badzeĩ*
 gai cə-r-a-lə hame-rə badze-ĩ
 cow graze-CAUS-PST we- [OBL]GEN grandfather-ERG
 'Our grandfather grazed cows.' (PtP.CND.017)

⁴ Density of tense, aspect, mood and modality in different genres is analyzed in (12.1.4).

- c. *ote dzaike nidzə səklə*
 ote dza-ike nidzə sək-lə
 there go-INF NEG finish-PST
 ‘(I) could not go there.’ (PtP.CND.048)

ii. Non-past Tense

The non-past tense markers in Darai are *-tə*, *-tahə*, *-ta* or *-t*.⁵ The first and second person pronouns take the tense marker *-tə*. The first person plural pronoun or if the object is also encoded in the verb they take the tense suffix *-ta*. On the other hand, the second and the third person plural pronouns take *-tahə*. The tense marker is realized as *-t* with the third person singular pronoun. When a transitive verb registers two referents the tense marker is either *-ta* or *-tai*. The present and future references are categorized together to a single tense because inflectionally marked future tense is not characterized in Darai. Darai uses the non-past tense to denote both present and future situations. They are differentiated, if required, by time adverbials. Examples are given in (15).

- (15) a. *k^haitəm*
 k^ha-tə-m
 eat-NPST-1SG
 ‘(I) will eat.’ (SQ.BLD.399)
- b. *sewa kərtəm*
 sewa kər-tə-m
 bow do-NPST-1SG
 ‘...I bow down (I will bow down).’ (KaQ.SLD.192)
- c. *bahunke pəisa sid^ha deikun bida kərtahī*
 bahun-ke pəisa sid^ha de-ikun bida kər-ta-hī
 priest-ACC money gift give-SEQ farewell do-NPST-1PL
 ‘(We) give the priest a farewell giving him some money and gift.’
 (MtU.SD.034)

⁵ The suffix *-tə* as a tense marker is seen in several Indo-Aryan languages such as Maithili to refer future tense (Yadav 1996:152) and Sindhi (Masica (1991:280).

- d. *kalu martahī mac^{hə}*
kalu mar-ta-hī mac^{hə}
tomorrow kill-NPST-1PL fish
‘We will kill (catch) fish tomorrow.’ (BF.SLD.051)
- e. *məi kalu behanə əitəm*
məi kalu behanə a-tə-m
I tomorrow morning come-NPST-1SG
‘I will come tomorrow morning.’ (KK.SLD.026)

As illustrated in (15a-c) it is not necessary to divide the present and future tenses because they do not inflect differently. In (15d-e), although the actions refer to the future tense, tense markers do not differ. The non-past tense also typically represents present or punctual activities. For example, in (15a) the verb is uttered in a context where the speaker tells his habit. Similarly example (15b) is uttered in a context when the speaker realizes that he has to bow down. The action mentioned in (15c) refers to regular work. In this way the present tense is used for habitual events too. It is also used with copular verbs to indicate present location or possession (10.2.1).

Verb inflection in the non-past tense is shown in Appendix (3b). It presents the inflections of intransitive verbs.

6.2.2 Aspects

Givón (2001a:287) differentiates between inherent and morphological aspects of the verbs. Givón (2001a: 288) again puts, "The best way to observe the inherent aspectuality of verbs is to combine them with various grammatical aspects." Morphological aspects discussed in this section include habitual, progressive, imminent and perfect.

i. Habitual aspect

Habitual is marked with *-te*. Habitual constructions occur either with the auxiliary *rəhə-* 'AUX.PST' or in conjunction with the verb *kər* 'do'.⁶ Thus the past habitual is formed by the verb suffix *-te* which occurs in conjunction with *rəhə-* 'AUX.PST' as can be seen in (16-17).

- (16) *p^heri suk^hə nidzə paute rəhəm*
 p^heri suk^hə nidzə pa-te rəhə-m
 again happiness NEG get-HAB AUX.PST-1SG
 'Again (I) did not use to have happiness.' (EI.CND.007)

- (17) *poste palte kərlə*
 pos-te pal-te kər-lə
 bring up-HAB rear-HAB do-PST
 'They used to feed and rear (the bird).' (HP.BLD.005)

Additionally, the present habitual is formed with *-te* which is compounded with *kərike* 'to do' as in (18). Furthermore, the prospective marker *-larə* is compounded with the verb *kər* 'do' to refer to the non-past habitual as in (19-20).

- (18) *məi əite dzəite kərtəm*
 məi a-te dza-te kər-tə-m
 I come-HAB go-HAB do-NPST-1SG
 '(I) come and go (regularly).' (PtP.CND.080)

- (19) *məi k^het dzotlarə kərtəm*
 məi k^het dzot-larə kər-tə-m
 I field plough-PROS do-NPST-1SG
 'I plough the field.'

- (20) *ijə ruk^h əsarəjə suklarə kərit*
 ijə ruk^h əsar-jə suk-larə kər-i-t
 this tree Asar-LOC dry-PROS do-3SG-NPST
 'This tree goes dry in Asar.'

⁶ Masica (1991:271) mentions that the most common habitual/continuous reflex is *-t* in several IA languages. There are some non-perfective suffix *-t* in Darai, i.e. progressive, habitual aspect and simultaneous converb.

Although the constructions like (19-20) are possible in non-past tense, the same constructions are not possible in the past tense. Past habitual is associated with past habits whereas non-past habitual is related to present.

ii. Progressive aspect

The progressive is marked by the suffixes *-tin/tihin* which is combined with copular verb *rəhə-* and *batə-/ətə-* for the past and non-past tenses respectively. In very careful speech, the speakers use the suffix *-tihin* whereas in the discourse data they also use *-tin* to index progression. The events are in progress within a temporal frame in the past or in the present. These actions emphasize the ongoing actions in the extended period of time. In (21a-c) the predicate is about 'becoming' located in the non-past tense. Examples (21a-c) from the discourse data are illustrations of non-past progressive and example (22) is an example of the past progressive.

- (21) a. *osin kərike adzu hamrə sohoarikə rəŋrəs b^həitihin ətəi*
 osin kər-ike adzu hame-rə
 that way do-INF today we-[OBL]GEN
 sohoari-kə rəŋrəs b^həi-tihin ətə-i
 Shohorai enjoyment become-PROG AUX.NPST-3SG
 ‘Doing that way, we are enjoying (lit. the enjoyment is becoming) of
 Shohorai.’ (DaF.CND.130)
- b. *uhəi dzuwai celake p^hāt lagaikunu ədz^həi səmmən kərtihin ətihī*
 u-həi dzuwai cela-ke p^hāt laga-ikunu
 he-EMPH son in law relative-ACC divide apply-SEQ
 əz^həi səmmən kər-tihin ətī-hī
 till till do-PROG AUX.NPST-1PL
 ‘Dividing the things offered to the son-in-law and so on, we are doing
 this.’ (DP.CND.107)

- c. *terə duk^{hə} p^hunu tə məi hertihin baṭəm*
 toi-rə duk^{hə} p^hunu tə məi
 you-[OBL]GEN hardship also PART I
 her-tihin baṭə-i
 look-PROG AUX.NPST-3.SG
 ‘I am considering (lit. looking) your hardships.’ (PtP.CND.064)
- (22) *məi dug^hritin rəhəm*
 məi dug^hri-tin rəhə-m
 I run-PROG AUX.PST-1SG
 ‘I was running.’

In these examples, only the auxiliary is marked with finite morphology. Continuation is also possible by compounding with the vector verb *rəhə-* ‘remain’.⁷

iii. Imminent aspect

The imminent marker *-əu* is used to encode an event as being about to start. Reduplication of verbs is obligatory in imminent aspect.⁸ Examples illustrating the imminent aspect are given in (23-24).

- (23) a. *ote pugəu pugəu kərte k^hənajǎ etihin bas boslə*
 ote pug-əu pug-əu kər-te k^həna-jǎ
 there reach-IMI reach-IMI do-SIM while-LOC
 eti-hin bas bos-lə
 here-EMPH sit sit-PST
 ‘They lived there as they were about to reach the place.’ (BF.SLD.239)
- b. *p^hərp^hər uḍ^hete k^həna uk^hnəu uk^hnəu b^həilə dzəri*
 p^hərp^hər uḍ^he-te k^həna uk^hn-əu uk^hn-əu
 ONO fly-SIM while come out-IMI come out-IMI
 b^həi-lə dzəri
 become-PST root
 ‘While flying, the root (of the plant) was about to come out.’
 (SQ.BLD.116)

⁷ See section (6.4) for compound verbs.

⁸ Reduplication in imminent aspect is found in other IA languages as well (see Wilde 2008: 198-199; Chatterji 1926: 678).

- (24) *dəs bədze məi iskul pugəu pugəu b^haitəm*
 dəs bədze məi iskul pug-əu pug-əu
 ten o'clock I school reach-IMI reach-IMI
 b^həi-tə-m
 become-NPST-1SG
 'I am about to reach the school at ten o'clock.'

In (23a) the event described by the sentences is that the speaker is 'about to reach the place' and in (23b) the plant is 'about to come out'. Example (24) shows the imminent aspect in the non-past tense.

iv. Perfect aspect

The perfect aspect is marked by *-lə* in Darai. The perfect marker is identical to the past tense marker.⁹ The differences between past (25b-c) and non-past perfect (25a) are observed in the forming finite forms of auxiliaries *rəhə-* and *batə-* to encode past and non-past tense respectively. Examples are provided in (25).

- (25) a. *ote k^hoḍa leikun boslə batəi*
 ote k^hoḍa le-ikun bos-lə batə-i
 that side sword take-SEQ me-PFV AUX.NPST-3.SG
 '(He) has sat there having taken a sword.' (HP.BLD.051)
- b. *gaha duk^hə paulə rəhəi uhī*
 gaha duk^hə pa-lə rəhə-i u-hī
 great suffering get-PFV AUX.PST-3SG he-ERG
 'He had great suffering.' (BF.SLD.002)
- c. *məi purbəkə kod^horəjə ḍ^huklə rəhəm*
 məi purbə-kə kod^horə-jə ḍ^huk-lə rəhə-m
 I east-GEN corner-LOC wait-PFV AUX.PST-1SG
 '...I had waited in the eastern corner.' (JaH.SLD.023)

⁹ Masica (1991:270) notes that the perfect form *-l*, *-il* *-al* are found in several IA languages such as Bhojpuri, Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Marathi and Konkani.

6.2.3 Moods

Moods are expressed by the verbal suffixes. The relation of mood with tense in Indo-Aryan languages is pointed out by Masica (1991:279) as:

Tense and mood together constitute a category in NIA, in terms of mutual substitutability in a particular slot in the paradigm: a verbal expression may have Tense *or* Mood (or neither) but not both, while either combines more or less freely with aspect.

The indicative mood is commonly defined to cover statements which fall under declarative (see examples (25a-c)). Morphologically marked moods are discussed below. They include imperative, prohibitive, hortative, desiderative, optative and conditional.

i. Imperative mood

There are different ways by which a verb is put in the imperative mood. The pronoun which is referred to in the imperative is neutral (non-honorific) but it can be honorific or high honorific. Darai also distinguishes between the present and future (delayed) imperative. Non-honorific (neutral) and present imperatives are more common in discourse data. Table (6.1) summarizes the imperative markers in Darai.

TABLE 6.1 Imperative marking in Darai

Imperatives	Imperative markers	Comments
Non-honorific	-ø/-uk	-
Medium grade honorific	-o	-
Plural	-səb	optionally marked
High grade honorific	-ike həwək ^h ai	-
Future	-isai	-

There is zero marker as in (26) or *-uk* for neutral imperative (27a-b).

- (26) *ic^hin bos toi*
 ic^hi-n bos toi
 here-EMPH sit you
 ‘Sit right here.’ (SQ.BLD.069)

- (27) a. *lə bihanə b^həike deuk kəhələ*
 lə bihanə b^hə-ike de-uk kəhə-lə
 PART morning become-INF give-IMP say-PST
 ‘(He) said, "Okay, give when the morning approaches.’ (KaQ.SLD.105)
- b. *b^hat rinuk*
 b^hat rin-uk
 rice cook-IMP
 ‘Cook the rice.’ (BF.SLD.061)

Mid-grade honorific imperative is formed with *-o* (28).

- (28) a. *merə kətəkəti posi deo*
 məi-rə kətəkəti pos-i de-o
 I-[OBL]GEN children feed-ABS give-IMP.H
 ‘Please, feed my children.’ (HwCtP.PD.034)
- b. *ek c^hin d^hol deo*
 ek c^hin d^hol de-o
 one short time drum give-IMP.H
 ‘Please give me the drum for some time.’ (HwCtP.PD.034)

There is also a distinct morphology for plural imperative. Darai thus distinguishes between singular and plural imperatives. We find the coding of plural marking in imperative in (29).

- (29) *ləu nə dz^hiki deosəb*
 ləu nə dz^hik-i de-o-səb
 PART PART take out-ABS give-IMP.H-PL
 ‘Okay, please take (him) out.’ (KK.SLD.148)

The future (delayed) imperative is encoded distinctly. The morpheme *-isai* is typically used for expressing orders for future.¹⁰ Bybee, Perkins and Pegliuca (1994: 321) note that in delayed imperative, "the action of the command is to be carried out in future rather than immediately."

¹⁰ Present and future imperatives are marked differently in Bote (Poudel 1999:68).

- (30) a. *ramrəse bosisai lokaikun*
 ramrə-se bos-isai lok-a-ikun
 good-ADVZ sit-IMP.FUT hide-CAUS-SEQ
 ‘(Someone said), "Stay comfortably by hiding".’ (SQ.BLD.070)
- b. *lə terə pəhile dzəthi dulhirke k^hawaisai*
 lə toi-rə pəhile dzəthi dulhi-r-ke
 PART you-[OBL]GEN first elder wife-POSS.2SG-DAT
 k^ha-a-isai
 eat-CAUS-IMP.FUT
 ‘(He said)"Well, please first feed your first wife."' (KaQ.SLD.036)

High grade honorific imperative is formed periphrastically by making use of infinitive and *həwək^hai*. It is illustrated in (31).

- (31) *bosike həwək^hai*
 bos-ike həwək^hai
 sit-INF IMP.HH
 ‘Please, please sit.’

Thus Darai has diverse ways of forming imperative constructions. There is a distinction of tense (present versus future), politeness (neutral, mid-grade honorific and high-honorific) and number (singular versus plural).

ii. Prohibitive mood

The prohibitive prefix is *dz^hun-*. It functions as a negative command.

Examples are given in (32).

- (32) a. *toi dza toi dz^hunbəs*
 toi dza toi dz^hun-bəs
 you go you PROH-sit
 ‘You go. Don't sit.’ (OK.JD.034)
- b. *merake dz^hunmar*
 məi-ke dz^hun-mar
 I-[OBL]ACC PROH-kill
 ‘...Don't kill me.’ (BF.SLD.077)

iii. Hortative mood

The hortative suffix *-əu* or *-əũ* is suffixed to the verb stem, if the verb stem is consonant ending but only *-u* if the stem ends in a vowel. It is principally used to 'encourage or incite someone to action' (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994:321) as in (33). The plural marking to the mood marker is optional although it is also found in our corpus as in (34b).

- (33) a. *g^hərə dzau*
g^hərə dza-u
house go-HOR
'Let's go home.' (SQ.BLD.214)
- b. *undau kəhikun kəhi laləi*
undau-u kəh-ikun kəh-i laləi
fall down-HOR say-SEQ say-ABS INSTAN
'They began to say, "Let's fell down (cut) the tree".' (SQ.BLD.243)
- (34) a. *p^hun kərəu*
p^hun kər-əu
phone do-HORT
'Let's ring (the king).' (BF.SLD.209)
- b. *uk^hraikunu herəusəb*
uk^hra-ikunu her-əu-səb
uproot-SEQ look-HORT-PL
'Let's look into (it) by uncovering it.' (IMM.SU.131)

iv. Desiderative mood

The desiderative suffix *-as* is used to mark the desire of subject.¹¹ In other words, it indicates the speaker's desire. Here are examples:

- (35) a. *ekṭahī kəhəte abei merə haḡas*
ek-ṭa-hī kəhə-te abei məi-rə haḡ-as
one-CLF-ERG say-SIM mother I-GEN defecate-DESID
'One said (lit. to say), 'Mother I want to defecate.' (JaH.SLD.052)

¹¹ The suffixes to express desire are also found in other languages (see Chelliah 1997).

- b. *arkohī kəhəte abei merə padas*
 arko-hī kəhə-te abei məi-rə pad-as
 another-ERG say-SIM mother I-GEN fart-DESID
 ‘Another said (lit. to say), “Mother, I want to fart.” (JaH.SLD.053)
- c. *uk^hrake k^het dzotas laglə*
 u-ke k^het dzot-as lag-lə
 u-[OBL]DAT field plough-DESID feel-PST
 ‘He likes to plough the field.’
- d. *mutas laglə*
 mut-as lag-lə
 urinate-DESID feel-PST
 ‘...he wanted to urinate.’ (KaQ.SLD.117)

There are thus two kinds of desiderative constructions in Darai. As we see in examples (35a-c) the sentences end in desiderative marker whereas in (35d), the desiderative is followed by the verb *lag-* ‘feel’. The meaning remains the same despite the structural differences.

v. Optative mood

The optative is marked by *-us* to express the wish of the speaker. Functionally this form is used to mean “May he...”. Details of inflection are given in Appendix (3d).

- (36) a. *ukrakei b^hara dz^hun rəhus*
 u-ke b^hara dz^hun rəhə-us
 he-[OBL] DAT debt PROH remain-OPT
 ‘May the debt not remain....’ (MtU.SD.025)
- b. *merə c^hahom g^hərə dzaus*
 məi-rə c^haho-m g^hərə dza-us
 I-[OBL]GEN son-1SG.POSS house go-OPT
 ‘May my son go home.’

- c. *c^hahok b^həus*
 c^hahok b^hə-us
 son-3SG.POSS become-OPT
 ‘That the child be born.’

Note that desiderative marker may be followed by the verb *lag-* ‘feel’ as in (35d) which is not possible in optative.

vi. Conditional mood

A simple conditional sentence in Darai is formed by the conditional marker *-ne/-le* in the protasis. The conditional is predominantly coded with *-ne*. We found only an instance of a *-n* ending verb coded with the suffix *-le*. However, the language consultants say that the suffix *-ne* is also grammatical in this case. On the other hand, *-l* ending verbs generally take the suffix *-ne*. The conditional marker is followed by the conditional particle (subordinating conjunction) *par, sit* ‘if’ and the verb is marked with the non-past, imperative or probabilitative in the apodosis. The gender and number is not indexed on the conditional. Examples are given in (37).

- (37) a. *abe piŋri calaike dzanne məi git d^hərtəm*
 abe piŋri cəl-a-ike dzan-ne məi
 now finger move-CAUS-INF know-COND I
 git d^hər-tə-m
 song hold-NPST-3SG
 ‘Now, if I move (the fingers), I will catch the tune of the song.’
 (DaF.CND.062)
- b. *gəduwa d^hərne sit səmcar puretahī*
 gəduwa d^hər-ne sit səmcar
 beginning of Kajiya hold-COND COND.PART message
 pure-ta-hī
 take things-NPST-1PL
 ‘If the death ritual begins, "(we'll) send message".’ (DR.CND.014)

- c. *isəbeĩ ruk^h kaṭle par kəte dzaikun hame bosike*
 isəbeĩ ruk^h kaṭ-le par kəte dza-ikun
 this-PL-ERG tree cut-COND PART where go-SEQ
 hame bos-ike
 we sit-INF
 ‘If (they) fell down trees, where (shall we) go to live ? (SQ.BLD.234)
- d. *ərkə dulhi anle mətrei*
 ərkə dulhi an-le mətrei
 next wife bring-COND only
 ‘Only if you marry (lit. bring) another wife, ...’ (KaQ.SLD.008)

Conditional particles are present in some cases as in (37a) but may be absent as in (37b-c).

Darai also has a hypothetical conditional. Hypothetical conditionals are formed by the past tense which is followed by *b^həine* in the protasis. The verb is marked *-larə/laharə* which also agrees with person and number in apodosis. Examples are given in (38).

- (38) a. *uk^hraike bolalə b^həine par u ramalaharei*
 u-ke bola-lə b^həi-ne par
 he-[OBL]ACCcall-PST.HAB become happy-COND PART
 u rama-lahare-i
 he become happy-HYP-3SG
 ‘He would have been happy if he had been called.’
- b. *uhĩ maglə b^həine par məi ciṅni delarəm*
 u-hĩ mag-lə b^həi-ne par
 he-ACC call-PST become-COND PART
 məi ciṅni de-larə-m
 I chicken give-HYP-1SG
 ‘If he had begged, I would have given him chicken.’

Although *-larə* has similarities with the prospective suffix *-larə*, they differ because the former form is always followed by the agreement features whereas the latter does not. Details of inflections are seen in Appendix 3(d).

6.2.4 Modality

Palmer (1986:21) notes:

The term 'mood' is traditionally restricted to a category expressed in verb morphology. It is formerly a morphosyntactic category of verb like tense and aspect even though its semantic function related to the contents of the whole sentences....Modality is not expressed in all languages within the verbal morphology. It may be expressed by modal verbs...or by particles which may well be separate from verb.

The distinction between mood and modality on morphological basis may be useful but not absolute in discussing modality in Darai. Vector verbs are used as modality verbs in Darai in addition to the morphologically marked modality.¹²

We follow Bybee, Perkins and Pegliuca (1994) while analyzing the modality in Darai. Bybee, Perkins and Pegliuca (1994:179) note, "Agent-oriented modality reports the existence of internal and external conditions on the agent with respect to the completion of the action expressed in the main predicate". One category which falls in this group is obligation, which is discussed in (6.4.1). They also note that the speaker-oriented modalities are imperative, prohibitive, optative, hortative, permissive etc. Imperatives and hortatives are discussed in (6.2.3). Permissions are discussed in (6.4). Epistematic modality applies to assertions and indicates the extent to which the speaker is committed to the truth of propositions (Bybee, Perkins and Pegliuca 1994:179). Morphologically marked epistemic modalities in Darai are possibility, inference and mirative. Bybee, Perkins and Pegliuca include obligation in agent-oriented modalities.

i. Obligation

Obligation is morphologically encoded as in (39). This generally occurs with *-nei*. It can be contrasted with the weak obligation which is expressed by *pərit* 'happen-3SG-NPST' occurring in conjunction with infinitive. One basic way of expressing an obligation is to encode the modality marker *-nei* to indicate (strong obligation). It is a non-finite form of the verb indicating strong obligation. The

¹² Morphological means of expressing modality in Darai is analyzed in this section but the modal meaning of vector verbs will be taken up in (6.5)

distinction between strong and weak obligation is based on Bybee, Perkins and Pegliuca (1994:320).

- (39) a. *dzjan tə dzogaike pərnei ni*
 dzjan tə dzoga-ike pər-nei ni
 body PART save-INF AUX-OBLIG PART
 ‘(One) has to save his body (life), isn't it?’ (In.UN.039)
- b. *abe morne par tə cok^ho b^həike pərnei*
 abe mor-ne par tə cok^ho
 now die-COND COND.PART PART clean
 b^hə-ike pər-nei
 become-INF AUX-OBLIG
 ‘If someone dies, one has to be cleaned (religiously).’ (SQ.BLD.178)
- c. *morlə murdar rūgi pərnei*
 mor-lə murdar rūg-i pər-nei
 die-PFV corpse guard-ABS AUX-OBLIG
 ‘(I) have to guard the corpse.’ (KK.SLD.036)
- d. *cilaũ uhəu nidzə b^həine*
 cila-ũ u-həu nidzə b^həi-nei
 shout-HOR.1PL he-INDEF NEG become-OBLIG
 ‘Let me shout, (but) I do not have to do that.’ (EI.CND.032)

ii. Possibility

Epistemic possibility in Darai is encoded morphologically with the suffix *-bə*, *-bo* or *-bi*. The modal meaning indicates that the event has not yet taken place but may take place. Illustrations are given in (40a-b).

- (40) a. *əse terake tə marbir terake*
 əse toi-ke tə mar-bi-r
 then you-[OBL]DAT PART kill-POSB-2SG
 toi-ke
 you-[OBL] DAT
 ‘(Somebody said), "(He) may kill you.’ (KaQ.SLD.078)

- b. *bubair k^haibir*
 buba-r k^ha-bi-r
 father-2SG.POSS eat-POSB-2SG
 ‘Your father might eat you.’ (JaH.SLD.057)

- c. *kəske dzotbər hor*
 kəske dzot-bə-r hor
 how plough-POSB-2SG plough
 ‘How may you plough the field (lit. plough) ?’ (BF.SLD.111)

Moreover, Darai employs simple lexical means for encoding epistemic possibility. The verb form is often found in conjunction with the free lexical word *həbai/həb^hai*, *hətahai/həb^hahai* ‘probably’. These adverbs with possibility functions are independent. Examples (41a-c) illustrate this point.

- (41) a. *hame dərəi dzati cahī kitise rəhələ hətahai*
 hame dərəi dzati cahī kiti-se rəhələ hətahai
 we Darai people PART what-ABL COP.PST probably
 ‘How might have we Darai people been named Darai ?’ (In.UN.017)
- b. *hawa b^həikun niskələ həbahai atmə nidzə tou babu*
 hawa b^həi-kun niskə-lə həbahai atmə
 wind become-SEQ come out-PST probably soul
 nidzə tou babu
 NeG PART son
 ‘My dear son, the soul possibly came out becoming the wind, isn’t it ?’
 (IMM.SU.111)
- c. *koi nidzə dzanlə p^heri hətik^hənai*
 koi nidzə dzan-lə p^heri hətik^hənai
 some NEG know-PST again probably
 ‘Some people might not know this....’ (DaF.CND.003)

iii. Inference

Verbs inflect differently to index inference. Inference is coded more frequently with past copular verbs. It expresses inference through results. It differs from the past tense because of evidential distinction. It may be formed periphrastically with auxiliaries as in (42b-c) or morphologically as in (42a). De Haan

(2008) notes, "Evidentiality-based distinction is more common in the past tense than to the present." Inflection of the verb 'do' for epistemic marking is given in Appendix (3d). The inferentials in Darai have the meaning such as 'as I infer'.¹³

- (42) a. *toi nihidzə manləsai*
 toi nihidzə man-lə-s-ai
 you NEG obey-PST-2SG-INFR
 'You did not obey (agree) (as I infer).' (IMM.SU.059)
- b. *əli cukti dimak^h bəllə rəlahai*
 əli cukti dimak^h bəllə rəhələ-h-ai
 more little mind after a while COP.PST-3-INFR
 '(They) had little mind (as I infer).' (DP.CND.038)
- c. *u din tə dək^hin pətti ledzlə rəlahai*
 u din tə dək^hin pətti ledz-lə
 that day PART south towards take-PST
 rəhələ-h-ai
 COP.PST-3SG-INFR
 'She had taken (the buffaloes) to the south that day (as I infer).'
- (DP.CND.038)

iv. Mirativity

Mirativity is coded morphologically. The mirative marker indicates 'unexpected information' (DeLancey 2001:12). Dickinson (2000:406) notes, "The information coded in the proposition is surprising to the speaker." The suffix *-inei* is used mainly to illustrate a situation in which the result is unexpected. In a story, as an orphan pulled the rope, nobody expected that the rope would snap. Counter to their expectation the rope snapped. It is a totally unexpected event for them. Here is an example:

- (44) *tante k^həna tə tətinei*
 tan-te k^həna tə tət-inei
 pull-SIM while PART snap-MIR
 '... as he pulled, it snapped !' (SoaO.JD.027)

¹³ see Givón (2001a:328)

In another story an old man died. As a religious tradition the younger wife died voluntarily with her husband immediately performing all religious rituals. On the other hand, the elder wife also decided to immolate but in vain. She wished she would die waiting during cold night. As she reports the situation to her relatives next morning, she utters the sentence as in (45). There is thus a sense of surprise.

- (45) *her nə məi punu səti dzem kəhələ tə pəran nihidzə dzainei*
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|-------|------------|----------|-------|
| her | nə | məi | punu | səti | dze-m |
| look-IMP | PART I | also | immolation | go-HOR | |
| kəhələ-lə | tə | pəran | ninidzə | dza-inei | |
| say-PST | PART | life | NEG | go-MIR | |
- ‘Look, I want to immolate but I did not die (lit. the life did not go) !’
(IMM.SU.107)

v. Hearsay

In Darai there is one hearsay evidential *-hun* ‘they say’.¹⁴ This hearsay particle occurs with finite verbs. This occurs with the past tense as in (46a) and non-past tense (46b). This hearsay evidential is used to distinguish first-hand knowledge from second hand information. Examples are given in (46).

- (46) a. *pəisa b^həithun ic^hi*
- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| pəisa | b ^h əi-t-hun | ic ^h i |
| money | become-NPST-HS | here |
- ‘Perhaps, (this) becomes money here (they say).’ (DaF.CND.045)
- b. *ihəi madzəjə ʊt^hləhun dulha tə rati*
- | | | | | | |
|------|------------|-------------------------|---------|------|-------|
| ihəi | madzə-jə | ʊt ^h -lə-hun | dulha | tə | rati |
| this | middle-LOC | get up-PST-HS | husband | PART | night |
- ‘The husband woke up at about midnight (they say).’ (IMM.SU.066)

vi. Some further issues

This part briefly illustrates three morphemes.

¹⁴ The hearsay marker *-hun* is the same as the indefinite marker in nouns (see 4.1.3).

a. Frustrative

The frustrative marker occurs only with the past tense. We obtain the frustrative meaning when a verb indexes *-les*. It is used to mean that the result of the event is not desired or expected.

- (47) a. *ak^hir p^heri rati əiles*
ak^hir p^heri rati a-les
later again night come-FRUS
'Again it was night.' (JaH.SLD.028)
- b. *lə adzu esin b^həiles*
lə adzu esin b^həi-les
okay today like this become-FRUS
'Okay, it happened like this today.' (BF.SLD.019)
- c. *məi ka^t^hi ka^t-ike dza-te k^həna pani əiles*
məi ka^t^hi ka^t-ike dza-te k^həna pani a-les
I wood cut-INF go-INF while water come-FRUS
'While going to cut the firewood, it rained.'

The meaning will be clear when an example (47b) is described in its discourse context. An elderly couple went to kill (catch) fish. They saw a small puddle and tried to take all water out of it. As they were trying the evening fell but to their surprise they could not catch any fish. And they uttered this statement (47b) to show their frustration.

Note that the morphemes *-les* can not be further teased apart despite the presence of the suffix *-l*. The suffix *-s* is the agreement suffix for the second person singular. In example (47a) the subject is not the second person singular but the suffix *-l* is followed by the suffix *-s*.

b. Dubitative *-isin*

The suffix *-isin* occurs only at a few places in our discourse corpus and has meaning such as uncertainty or confusion. It has been glossed as dubitative (DUB). This can be explained in line with Palmer (1986:81) who notes, "...a dubitative mood might be regularly used for posing question as well as expressing doubt or uncertainty." It is restricted to the second person singular pronoun. The suffix *-isin* occurs mostly in interrogative sentences as the examples in (48a-c) illustrate.

- (48) a. *toi k̄ate dzaisin udzeli*
 toi k̄ate dza-isin udzeli
 you where go-DUB Ujeli
 ‘Ujeli, where have you gone?’ (HP.BLD.046)
- b. *k̄ate dzaisin udzeli k̄ate k̄h̄ənaj̄*
 k̄ate dza-isin udzeli k̄əh̄ə-te k̄h̄ənaj̄
 where go-DUB Ujeli say-SIM while-LOC
 ‘...while saying "Where have (you) gone Ujeli?’ (HP.BLD.048)
- c. *k̄əske marisin*
 k̄əske mar-isin
 how kill-DUB
 ‘How (did you) kill him...?’ (KK.SLD.192)
- d. *cəl abe merake dzitisin k̄ərbire radza*
 cəl abe məi-ke dzit-isin k̄ərbire radza
 move now I-[OBL]DAT win-DUB Karbire king
 ‘Go ahead, you Karbire King won me.’ (KK.SLD.062)
- e. *adzuse toi .tuhura radza b̄h̄əisin*
 adzuse toi .tuhura radza b̄h̄əi-isin
 today-ABL you orphan king become-DUB
 ‘You became the orphan king from today on?...’ (SoaO.JD.048)
- f. *l̄ə dza abe pas b̄h̄əisin t̄ə*
 l̄ə dza abe pas b̄h̄əi-isin t̄ə
 PART go now pass become-DUB PART
 ‘Go now, (you) have passed now?’ (DaF.CND.097)

When *-isin* occurs in affirmative sentences, it refers to uncertainty. The context of example (48d) is that Karbire King (Karbire Raja) is the king of ghosts who is not easily overpowered. However, he is defeated by an ordinary man. There is thus some kind of confusion in the result of an event. We see same examples in (48e-f).

iii. Manner (intensity) *-oi*

The suffix *-oi* occurs only in a few places our corpus. It occurs in the constructions of manner clauses as in (49a-b). Further investigation is required for its detailed description.

- (49) a. *u esnə dug^hrəoi ki kukureĩ nidzə b^hetlə*
u esnə dug^hr-oi ki kukure-ĩ
he like this run-MAN that dog-ERG
nidzə b^het-lə
NEG meet-PST
'He ran (so fast) that the dog could not meet him.'
- b. *c^hahimeĩ etka k^haoi ki behãudo petek d^hadelə*
c^hahim-ĩ etka k^ha-oi
daughter-ERG this much eat-MAN
ki behãudo pete-k d^hade-lə
that daybreak stomach-POSS.3SG swell-PST
'My daughter ate so much that she had stomach swelled in the daybreak.'

6.3 Verb agreement

Darai involves the interactions of person, number, gender, honorifics, case, as well as pragmatic features such as hierarchy in verb agreement. Thus, the selection of agreement markers is triggered by certain syntactic constructions as well as pragmatic factors. Verb paradigms are given in Appendix (3).

6.3.1 Person, number, honorifics and gender

The verb agrees with the subject in number and person but the gender is not indexed in the non-past tense. Table (6.2) lists it with intransitive verb *bosike* 'to sit' in the non-past tense in the Chitwan and Tanahun dialects.¹⁵ Person, number, honorific and gender markers are normally attached to the tense markers.

¹⁵ The data for the Tanahun dialect are taken from Kotapish and Kotapish (1975) except otherwise specified.

TABLE 6.2 Intransitive verb agreement in Tanahun and Chitwan dialects

		Singular	Plural
1	Chitwan	bos-tə-m	bos-ta-hĩ
	Tanahun	bos-tə-m	bos-ta-ir
2 NH	Chitwan	bos-tə-s	bos-ta-həsəb
	Tanahun	bos-tə-s	bos-ta-u
2 H	Chitwan	bos-ta-u(hau)	bos-ta-u(hau)-səb
2 HH	Chitwan	bosike b ^h əit	bosike b ^h əit
3 NH	Chitwan	bos-i-t	bos-ta-həsəb
	Tanahun	bos-i-t	bos-ta-t
3 H	Chitwan	bos-ta-t(hat)	bos-ta-t(hat)-səb

Although verb agreement is identical in the first, second, third person singular number in both dialectical areas, they are different in the second and third person plural pronouns. Examples (50a-d) illustrate this point.

- (50) a. *dzottəm hor*
dzot-tə-m hor
plough-NPST-1SG plough
‘I plough the field (lit. I plough the plough.)’ (BF.SLD.115)
- b. *lələbəbə b^həitahĩ hame*
lələbəbə b^həi-ta-hĩ hame
helpless become-NPST-1PL we
‘We become helpless.’ (SQ.BLD.232)
- c. *kətka k^həitəs kəhəte*
kətka k^ha-tə-s kəhə-te
how much eat-NPST-2SG say-SIM
‘Telling you how much you eat (is) ...’ (SQ.BLD.400)

- d. *p^har lagit*
 p^har lag-i-t
 blade hit-3SG-NPST
 ‘The blade (of plough) hits (you).’ (BF.SLD.113)
- e. *k^həitair*
 k^ha-ta-ir
 eat-NPST-1PL
 ‘We eat.’ (Darai 1996:38)

As can be seen in Table (6.2), the first person plural is marked with *-hĩ* in the Chitwan dialect instead of *-hir* (as in 50e) in the Tanahun dialect. Verbs inflect differently in (50b) and (50e), in the Chitwan and Tanahun dialects respectively. Likewise, there has been very infrequent use of *-u* to code the second person plural. Instead it indexes honorificity in the Chitwan dialect. The suffix *-həsəb* is mainly used to encode the second and third person plural in the Chitwan dialect. Aside from these, the second and third person plural suffix *-həsəb* is used instead of *-at/-hat*.¹⁷ The coding of honorificity is also demonstrated in Table (6.2). This is illustrated in (51a-c).

- (51) a. *tohē dzəitahau*
 tohē dza-ta-hau
 you-H go-NPST-2SG.H
 ‘You go.’
- b. *unhen dzəitahat*
 unhen dza-ta-hat
 he-H go-NPST-2SG.H
 ‘He goes.’
- c. *pau dzaike b^həit*
 pau dza-ike b^hə-i-t
 you-HH go-INF become-3SG-NPST
 ‘You go.’

¹⁷ In our database, *-həsəb* occurs more frequently for the second and third person plural marker in place of *-at/-hat*. The language consultants say that *-at* and *-həsəb* represent the speech variation of old and young generation respectively. They claim *-at/-hat* is used by the old generation. When it is used by young people it indexes honorificity.

Table (6.2) lists the verb agreement triggered by honorificity. It is illustrated by examples in (51). Darai verbs in the non-past tense are characterized by three levels of honorificity. The second person mid-level honorific pronoun agrees with *-hau*.¹⁸ In the same way *-u/hau* is used to index the second person singular pronoun whereas *-hausəb* is used with the second person plural pronoun. Lastly, the second person high honorific agreement is formed periphrastically as in (51c).¹⁹ More examples can be seen in Appendix 3(b).

There are inconsistencies in the use of the third person plural suffix *-hat*.²⁰ Examples in (52) are not the cases of honorificity but agreement of pronouns with the third person plural. They are distinct from the verb agreement in examples (53).

- (52) a. *b^həḍija leikun dzəitahat*
 b^həḍija *le-ikun* *dza-ta-hat*
 pot take-SEQ go-NPST-3PL
 ‘...(they) go by taking a pot.’
- b. *kehati b^həḍija leikun dzəitahat*
 kehati *b^həḍija* *le-ikun* *dza-ta-hat*
 something pot bring-SEQ go-NPST-3PL
 ‘... (they) go taking a pot called Bhandiya.’ (BF.SLD.171)
- c. *manuseī g^hər lippot səp^ha sug^hg^hhər cok^ho niṣto banatahat*
 manuseī *g^hər* *lippot* *səp^ha* *sug^hg^hhər* *cok^ho*
 man-ERG house smearing clean clean pure
 niṣto *bana-ta-hat*
 clean make-NPST-3PL
 ‘...People make home neat, clean and pure.’ (MtU.SD.018)

¹⁸ Kotapish and Kotapish (1975) mention *-u/hau* as the second person plural marker.

¹⁹ See section (4.2) for the discussion on honorificity in Darai pronouns.

²⁰ It is interesting to note that the pronominal suffixes *-ir*, *-u*, *-tə* are less common in the Chitwan dialect (see 4.1.3). Some language consultants Som Lal Darai (SLD) and Cham Narayan Darai (CND) use *-tahəsəb* and *-hat* interchangeably for the second person and the third person plural, *-t* or *-hat* are the used to code honorificity in the third person pronouns.

- (53) a. *pausəb dəsəi mantahəsəb ki nidzə*
pau-səb dəsəi man-tahə-səb ki nidzə
you.H-PL Dashain observe-NPST-PL or NEG
‘Do you observe Dashain or not?’ (In. UN. 082)
- b. *dərəinisəb biha nihidz kərlə punu goro luga lagatahəsəb*
dərəini-səb biha nihidz kər-lə
Darai woman-PL marriage NEG do-PFV
punu goro luga laga-tahə-səb
also white cloth wear-NPST-PL
‘...Even the unmarried Darai women wear the white clothes.’
(IMM.UN.144)
- c. *otka kura pakalə atəsəb tə*
otka kura pak-a-lə atə-səb tə
that much thing cook-CAUS-PST COP.NPST-PL PART
‘(They) have cooked all those things.’ (IMM.SU.115)

Number is not usually marked in the past tense. There are, however, some cases where the number is also indexed. The language consultants say that when the plural suffix is appended to the past tense suffix it indicates focus or emphasis. Examples are given in (52a-c).

- (54) a. *dzəiləsəb g^hər*
dza-lə-səb g^hər
go-PST-PL house
‘(They) went home.’ (BF.SLD.026)
- b. *sutləsəb*
sut-lə-səb
sleep-PST-PL
‘(They) slept.’ (BF.SLD.031)
- c. *mədzase sutləsəb*
mədza-se sut-lə-səb
good-ADVZ sleep-PST-PL
‘(They) slept comfortably.’ (BF.SLD.058)

- d. *koi purbə disa tə koi pəscin disa dzailəsəb*
 koi purbə disa tə koi
 some east direction PART some
 pəscin disa dza-lə-səb
 west direction go-PST-PL
 ‘...Some went to the east whereas others went to the west.’
 (SQ.BLD.209)

Note that the number is not consistently marked in the past tense. For example, the examples (54a-d) are from a text entitled 'Bhothi Fish' which contains more than 125 utterances in the past tense. Example (54a) is preceded by the *kəhələ* 'tell-PST' and also followed by the sentence which contains the verb *sutlə* 'sleep-PST'. In the entire corpus only seven cases are found where the plural suffix is coded in the verbs in the past tense.

The past tense marker *-lə* inflects as *-l-i* 'PST-F' for feminine subject.

Examples (55a-b) show agreement with the feminine gender.

- (55) a. *hamrə sahukə b^həisi bijali*
 hame-rə sahu-kə b^həisi
 we-GEN master-GEN buffalo
 bija-l-i
 give birth to a baby-PST-F
 ‘Our master's buffalo gave birth to a young buffalo.’ (EI.CND.038)
- b. *toi tə nidzə dzaili*
 toi tə nidzə dza-l-i
 you PART NEG go-PST-F
 ‘You did not die (lit. go).’ (IMM.SU.034)
- c. *ama bitli dui hədzar terə saləjə*
 ama bit-l-i dui hədzar terə
 mother die-PST-F two thousand thirteen
 sal-jə
 year-LOC
 ‘Mother died in 2013 VS.’ (PtP.CND.036)

6.3.2 Cases

Darai verb inflection is sensitive to how the arguments are case indexed. We see two distinct means of marking two kinds of case roles. Nominative and ergative case markings index one kind of agreement whereas genitive and dative cases are marked differently. Table (6.3) presents nominative and ergative marking with (Set 1 suffixes) and genitive and dative markings are coded with the second set (Set 2 suffixes).²¹

TABLE 6.3 Agreement and pronominal suffixes²²

	Set 1 suffixes	Set 2 suffixes
	Nominative and ergative	Genitive and dative
1SG	-m	-m
1PL	-hĩ	-ø
2SG	-s	-r
2SG.H	-u	-u
2PL	-həsəb	-həsəb
3SG	-i	-k
3SG.H	-t	-kan
3PL	-həsəb	-kan(səb)

Pronouns are listed on the leftmost column of the table. Set (1) suffixes consist of agreement markers whereas Set (2) suffixes function both as agreement markers and pronominal possessive suffixes. The suffixes belonging to the former set appear only in verb agreement whereas the latter occur both with nominal heads in possessive constructions and in verb agreement. Some of them are similar but the second person singular, third person singular and plural suffixes are distinct as can be seen in Table (6.3).

²¹ See Appendix 3 for detailed paradigms of inflections

²² We followed Wali and Koul (1997) for distinguishing agreement suffixes and pronominal suffixes. Corbett (2003:181) also points out that pronominal affixes fall between agreement affixes and free pronouns.

i. Genitive agreement

Verbs agreement is triggered by the genitive modifier rather than the head noun encoding non-nominative suffixes (Set 2 suffixes). It is found more frequently with the copular verbs (and as auxiliaries) *ətə-*, and *hək^hə-*. The inflections of the past and non-past tense of the verb *ətə-* and *rəhə-* are presented in Appendix 3(e) and are illustrated in (56) through (58).²³

- (56) a. *u merə dadzu hək^him*
 u məi-rə dadzu hək^hi-m
 that I-[OBL]-GEN brother COP.NPST-1SG
 ‘He is my brother.’ (KaQ.SLD.122)
- b. *terə duk^hə ətir*
 toi-rə duk^hə ətir
 you-[OBL]GEN suffering COP.NPST-2SG
 ‘You have hardships. (lit. your have hardships.)’ (PtP.CND.063)
- (57) a. *merə kam gəlti rəhəm*
 məi-rə kam gəlti rəhə-m
 I- [OBL]GEN work mistake COP.PST-1SG
 ‘My work was a mistake.’
- b. *terə bāclarə upajə nidzə ətir*
 toi-rə bāc-larə upajə nidzə
 you-[OBL]GEN live-PROS way NEG
 ətir
 COP.NPST-POSS.2SG
 ‘You have no way to be alive.’ (GaLK.PD.023)
- c. *ijə c^hegri merə hək^həm*
 ijə c^hegri məi-rə hək^hə-m
 this goat I-[OBL]GEN COP.NPST-1SG
 ‘This is my goat.’

²³ Genitive agreement is also characterized in Rajbanshi (Wilde 2008:153), Magahi (Verma 1991:140) and Maithili (Yadav1996:114).

- d. *ijə c^hegri teurə hək^həu*
 ijə c^hegri tohe-rə hək^hə-u
 this goat you-[OBL]GEN COP.NPST-2SG.H
 'This is your goat.'
- (58) a. *bijatair dui*
 bija-ta-r dui
 give birth-NPST-2SG two
 'Both of (your wives) will give birth (to children).' (KaQ.SLD.025)
- b. *toi merə səwari sikar kərike b^həitaim*
 toi məi-rə səwari sikar kər-ike
 you I-[OBL]GEN travel hunting do-INF
 b^həi-tai-m
 become-NPST-1SG
 'You become my travel means for hunting...' (KaQ.SLD.069)

A possessor of a noun phrase (NP) controls verb agreement in (56-58) although the possessor is a part of NP. The head of the NP in (56a) is *dadzu* 'brother' but the verb is controlled by *merə* 'my'. In other words, the pronominal suffix does not agree with the head of the NP *dadzu* 'brother' but with *merə* 'my'. Verb agreement is thus controlled by possessor NP, not the complete noun phrase in this case. Similar case is seen in (58b). In addition to copular verbs, main verbs also agree with the genitive subject (58a-b). Paradigms of copula (or auxiliaries) related to dative and genitive agreement are included in Appendix (3e).

ii. Dative agreement

Aside from the nominative subject, verb agreement is also triggered by dative subject taking Set 2 suffixes. The experiencer subject sometimes triggers verb agreement. It is exemplified in (59).²⁴

- (59) a. *merake ris ut^hilem*
 məi-ke ris ut^h-le-m
 I-[OBL] DAT anger stand-PST-1SG
 'I was angry.'

²⁴ Dative subject agreement is found in several IA languages such as Maithili and Rajbanshi (Yadava 1996:111; Wilde 2008:172).

- b. *terake ris ut^hiler*
 toi-ke ris ut^h-le-r
 you-[OBL] DAT anger stand-PST-2SG
 ‘You were angry.’
- c. *teurake ris ut^hileu*
 tohe-ke ris ut^h-le-u
 you-[OBL] DAT anger stand-PST-2SG.H
 ‘You were angry.’

In example (59), the verb agrees with the first person singular subject. Similarly, the verb in (59b) agrees with the second person singular. The verbs agree with the dative subject in both of these cases. When the dative object occurs clause-initially, the verb agrees with it. The dative case controls verb agreement in the following examples:

- (60) a. *terake m̄ai b^hara detamir*
 toi-ke m̄ai b^hara de-ta-mi-r
 you-[OBL]DAT I bus fare give-NPST-1SG-2SG
 ‘I will give you busfare.’ (OK.JD.036)
- b. *uk^hrake m̄ai b^hara detamik*
 u-ke m̄ai b^hara de-ta-mi-k
 he-[OBL]DAT bus fare give-NPST-1SG-3SG
 ‘I will give busfare to him.’
- c. *l̄ə terake k^h̄aitahir abe dzogĩ*
 l̄ə toi-ke k^ha-tahi-r abe
 PART you-[OBL]DAT eat-NPST-2SG now
 dzogi-ĩ
 hermit-ERG
 ‘(The heads said), "Now, the hermit will eat you." (KaQ.SLD.178)
- d. *l̄ə uk^hrake k^h̄aitahik abe dzogĩ*
 l̄ə u-ke k^ha-tahi-k abe
 PART he-[OBL]DAT eat-NPST-3SG now
 dzogi-ĩ
 hermit-ERG
 ‘(The heads said), "Now the hermit will eat him.”’

Agreement of auxiliaries also follows the same patterns. The pronominal suffix in (60c-d) is *-r* but the subject of the clause is *dzogi* 'hermit'. In this case the verb does not agree with the subject but with the argument which is referentially specific. Siewierska (2004:156) notes, "There is a preference for person agreement with NPs which are definite or at least specific as opposed to non-specific or non-referential NPs." Examples in (61) illustrate this. More examples are found in Appendix (3e).

- (61) a. *lə terake kəhələ ətir*
 lə toi-ke kəhə-lə ətī-r
 PART you-[OBL]DAT tell-PFV AUX.NPST-2SG
 'Okay, (I) have told you.' (GaLK.PD.018)
- b. *uk^hrake kəhələ ətik*
 u-ke kəhə-lə ətī-k
 he-[OBL]DAT tell-PFV AUX.NPST-2SG
 'I have told him.'
- c. *teurake kəhələ ətīu*
 tohe-ke kəhə-lə ətī-u
 you-[OBL]DAT tell-PFV AUX.NPST-2SG.H
 'I have told you.'
- d. *unhensəbke kəhələ ətikansəb*
 unhen-səb-ke kəhə-lə ətī-kan-səb
 they-DAT tell-PFV AUX.NPST-3SG.H-PL
 'I have told them (honorific).'

6.3.3 Agreement in possibility mood

The verbs in the possibility index Set 2 (non-nominative) suffixes. Paradigm of inflections of the verb in the possibility mood can be seen in Appendix 3(d). Examples are provided in (62).

- (62) a. *abe əibəkan kiti kərike kiti nakərike*
 abe a-bə-kan kiti kər-ike kiti
 now come-POSB-3SG.H what do-INF what
 na-kər-ike
 NEG-do-INF
 ‘(If he) may come, what to do (and) what not to do.’ (BF.SLD.210)
- b. *ɖʰilo anikun caraikun ɖʰukaikun sutbək*
 ɖʰilo an-ikun car-a-ikun
 late bring-SEQ graze-CAUS-SEQ
 ɖʰuk-a-ikun sut-bə-k
 wait-CAUS-SEQ sleep-POSB-3SG
 ‘Having brought him late and having grazed them, (and) waited, he might sleep.’ (OK.JD.011)
- c. *rat bʰərijǎ naidzaibək tə merake tʰutʰəjǎ muɖʰəjǎ kərikun*
marbəkan kəhikun mənəjǎ borate
 rat bʰəri-jǎ nai-dzai-bə-k tə məi-ke
 night time-LOC NEG-do-POSB-3SG PART I-[OBL]ACC
 tʰutʰə-jǎ muɖʰə-jǎ kər-ikun mar-bə-kan
 wood-LOC log-LOC do-SEQ kill-POSB-3PL
 kəh-ikun mən-jǎ bora-te
 tell-SEQ soul-LOC speak-SIM
 ‘((Her soul says) if I may not die (lit. my soul does not go), they may kill me by hitting with stones and woods (my soul speaks silently)’
 (IMM.SU.076)

6.3.4 Agreement in transitive verbs

Although all ditransitive verbs agree with the subject (agent) in person and number, they sometimes encode direct object (patient). Coding of object in transitive verb is not consistent. It is a very rare phenomenon in the discourse data. For instance, the verb *de-* 'give' agrees only with the subject in most cases as in (64a-b) but a few examples are found in our corpus where ditransitive verbs also index the object as in

(63). Thus the double agreement is also characterized in Darai.²⁵ Indirect object is not coded at all.

(63) *anhalmis*
 an-hal-mi-s
 bring-PST-1SG-2SG
 ‘I brought you (here).’ (PtP.CND.057)

(64) a. *p^heri anlə pəndit*
 p^heri an-lə pəndit
 again bring-PST priest
 ‘Again (he) brought the priest.’ (KaQ.SLD.024)

b. *əse anlə b^haudzeheke*
 əse an-lə b^haudzehe-ke
 then bring-PST sister-in-law-DAT
 ‘Then (he) again brought the sister-in-law.’ (KaQ.SLD.128)

Let's examine some statistical preferences of object encoding in Darai. The ditransitive verb *de* 'give' occurs about 80 times in our text corpus but the object is coded in only 3 places. Similarly another ditransitive verb *an* 'bring' occurs about 40 times in the text corpus but agrees with the object only in two places. The transitive verb *mar* 'kill' codes both subject and object only in two places. Coding of both the subject and object is an infrequent but a typologically interesting feature in Darai. We do not have plentiful examples where the bitransitive verbs agree both with the subject and object. An ideal example of subject and object coding is (63). The verb *anhalmis* have *an* 'bring' *-hal* 'past tense', *-mi* '1SG' and *-s* '2SG'. However, the same verb inflects differently in other cases as can be seen in (64a-b). Examples (65-66) show the agreement with ditransitive verb *de* 'give'. Generally the subject (or

²⁵ Yadava (1999:150) notes that grammatical features (person, honorificity, gender and even case) of one to three referents are coded in Maithili verbs. A verb also cross-references non-subject in the clause in Maithili. Similarly, Wilde (2008:147) makes a distinction between primary agreement (verbal agreement with the subject or agent of the clause) and secondary (agreement between the verb and the patient of the clause or cases where both the patient and the agent are cross-referenced by the verb). Verma (1991:125) mentions that there is an addressee component in verb agreement in Magahi. Subject and object agreements can be analyzed as an areal feature found in IA languages, Tibeto-Burman languages (see Bauman 1974; DeLancey 1989) and even in language isolate such as Burusaski (see Anderson and Eggert 2001). Van Driem (2001:1170) points out that the pattern of pronominal reference in the Darai verb has been attributed to Tibeto-Burman or Austro Asiatic substrata.

agent) is closer to the verb compared to object (or patient) if both the subject and object are marked on verbs.

(65) *rəŋgin luga dz^hula gone lagai detahikansəb*
rəŋgin luga dz^hula gone lag-a-i
 colourful cloth blouse blouse give-CAUS-ABS
detai -kan-səb
 give-NPST.1PL-3PL
 ‘We give them colourful clothes (such as saree).’ (DR.CND.037)

(66) a. *məi uk^hrake b^hat dehalmik*
məi u-ke b^hat de-hal-mi-k
 I he-[OBL]DAT rice give-PST-1SG-3SG
 ‘I gave him rice.’

b. *məi teurake b^hat dehalmiu*
məi tohe-ke b^hat de-hal-mi-u
 I you-[OBL]DAT rice give-PST-1SG-2SG
 ‘I gave you rice.’

Combination of suffixes to code subject and object is further presented in Appendix 3(c). Table 6.4 shows that a transitive verb is capable of inflecting maximally. Verbs do not always inflect the way it is mentioned in Table (6.4). This table can be contrasted with the Table given in Appendix 3c(3) which is mainly based on Kotapish and Kotapish (1975:140-141) and slightly adapted from Wilde (2008:171). Table (6.4) demonstrates the encoding of two referents. The pronouns which are used as subjects are listed vertically on the leftmost side. The objects are listed horizontally on the top. As noted earlier, *-u* codes honorificity.²⁶ The suffix *-kan* codes honorificity for the third person singular. The inflection of the ditransitive verb *de-* ‘give’ and the transitive verb *mar-* ‘kill’ in the past, non-past tense can be seen in Appendix 3 (c1).

²⁶ Contrast this with the Tanahun dialect where it is used as the second person plural pronouns. On the other hand the suffix *-kan* has two uses. Young Darai speakers claim this to be honorific form for the third person whereas this is also used as ‘3PL’ in our database. It occurs frequently with the copular verbs.

TABLE 6.4 Verb agreement in transitive verbs

		Object agreement								
		1SG	1PL	2SG	2SG.H	2PL	3SG	3SG.H	3PL	3PL.H
subject agreement	1 SG	-	-	-mi-r(s)	-mi-u	-	-mi-k	-mi-kan	Only S marked	-mi-kan-səb
	1 PL	-	-	Only S marked	Only S marked	Only S marked	-hi-k	-hi-kan	Only S marked	-hi-kan-səb
	2 SG	Only S marked	Only S marked	-	-	-	-si-k	-si-kan	Only S marked	-si-kan-səb
	2 SG.H	Only S marked	Only S marked	-	-	-	-u-k	-u-kan	Only S marked	-u-kan-səb
	2 PL	Only S marked	Only S marked	-	-	-	Only S marked	Only S marked	Only S marked	Only S marked
	3 SG	Only S marked	Only S marked	-ir(s)	-u	Only S marked	-ik	-ikan	Only S marked	-ikan-səb
	3 PL	Only S marked	Only S marked	-ir(s)	-u-səb	Only S marked	-ik	-ikan	Only S marked	-ikan-səb

Table (6.4) illustrates the occurrence of agreement suffixes in the transitive and bitransitive verbs. When both subject and object suffixes are combined the sound *-i* intervenes between the subject and the object agreement suffixes. There are cases where only the subject agreement feature is evident in the bitransitive verbs. Thus, we have a few examples of transitive verbs which are characterized by double agreement in the discourse data. Examples are given in (67).

- (67) a. *terake martamir abe*
 toi-ke mar-ta-mi-r abe
 you-[OBL]DAT kill-NPST-1SG-2SG now
 'Now I will kill you.' (KK.SLD.210)
- b. *lə terake k^həitair abe dzogĩ*
 lə toi-ke k^ha-ta-r abe
 okay you-[OBL]DAT eat-NPST-2SG now
 dzogi-ĩ
 hermit-ERG
 'It said, "Now, the hermit will eat you.'" (KaQ.SLD.178)
- c. *uk^hrake martamik abe*
 u-ke mar-ta-mi-k abe
 he-[OBL]DAT kill-NPST-1SG-2SG now
 'Now I will kill him.'

It is relevant to note that the second person agreement marker *-s* and pronominal suffix *-r* may occur in the transitive verb.²⁷ In (63) the object is coded with the agreement suffix whereas pronominal suffix is indexed in (67a).²⁸ Examples to illustrate various combinations of subject and object in Table (6.4) are given in Appendix (3c).

6.3.5 Notes on referential hierarchy

We present person hierarchy and referential hierarchy in the following paragraphs.

i. Person hierarchy

The indexing of subject and object in the ditransitive verbs show that agreement is also triggered by nominal hierarchy. Siewierska (2004:148) notes, "In addition to person, number and gender there are discourse saliency of the controller." More salient discourse participants encode verb agreement more than others. Studies show that nominal hierarchy or topicality (or referential hierarchy) controls verb agreement (see Whaley 1997; Givón 2001a; Comrie 2003). In Darai speech act participants are found to be more densely coded in the verbs in the corpus than other pronouns and singular pronouns than plural pronouns.

Whaley (1997:184) mentions, "Verbs tend to agree with nouns in the higher nominal hierarchy agrees with the verb but not with the nouns with lower nominal hierarchy." This tendency is also seen in Darai although it is not very productive in our discourse data. However, a closer look at verb inflection in Appendix (3c) demonstrates that Darai mainly employs the following nominal hierarchy principle: 1 > 2, 1 > 3, 2 > 3. Wali and Koul (1997:252) note that nominative objects in the non-perfective are conditioned by a person hierarchy in Kashmiri.

²⁷ Although Kotapish and Kotapish (1975:140) claims that the the marker *-r* '2SG' neither fills the subject nor the receptor slot in bitransitive verbs while describing the Tanahun dialect, it is found in our corpus as a receptor (object) agreement suffix.

²⁸ Comrie (2003:317) notes that when the same suffix codes 'agent' and 'undergoer' this may be termed 'trigger-happy agreement'.

A strong tendency is seen in Darai which show that first person on second person and second person on the third person are encoded more frequently than other pronouns (see Ebert 1987). The constructed example in (61) is unacceptable.²⁹

- (68) **anhalsim*
 an-hal-si-m
 bring-PST-2SG-1SG
 ‘You brought me.’

ii. Referential (focus) hierarchy

According to Comrie (2003:328), "Some discourse prominence is related to speakers' empathy. It is conceivable that animate, in particular human nominals are more eligible for prominence."³⁰ The information which is prominent in a clause triggers verb agreement in Darai. Higher topicality or topicworthiness of an NP makes it more likely to serve as a controller for agreement. Similar view is expressed by Croft (1991:161). He notes, "... topicalization of an argument (by shifting it to the front of the sentence) triggers agreement in case when the untopicalized argument would not." Marked sentences have a topicalized meaning. Compare examples (69a-d).

- (69) a. *bəḍkə cidz paulə*
 bəḍkə cidz pa-lə
 big thing find-PST
 ‘I found a big thing.’
- b. *bəḍkə cidz pahalem*
 bəḍkə cidz pa-hale-m
 big thing find-PST-1SG
 ‘It is I who found the big thing.’ (DAF.CND.066)

²⁹ Pokharel (2002:11) notes, "Participant roles of subject and object pronouns are prominent in pronominal agreement." He notes that the first person object is not encoded in Darai verb agreement.

³⁰ Comrie (2003:328) further notes, "Topicality means the extent to which a particular NP is topical in a particular usage; thus, the same NP may be now topical, now less topical." He further elaborates this point stating that if a noun is more topical or more topicworthy, it is more likely to serve as a controller of verb agreement." Corbett (2006:201) also discusses on focus and agreement.

c. *bəḍkə cidz pahaler*
 bəḍkə cidz pa-hale-r
 big thing find-PST-2SG
 'Is it you who found a big thing?'

d. *bəḍkə cidz pahalek*
 bəḍkə cidz pa-hale-k
 big thing find-PST-3SG
 'Is he (the father) the one who found a big thing?'

Example (69a) is pragmatically neutral in the sense that it does not contain any topicalized element. On the other hand, example (69b) has some topic worthiness. The language consultants say that this shows topic agreement only in the past tense. For example, let's imagine a discourse context where someone (the father) lost his key in the field. He did not expect to get it but to his surprise found (it) may utter the sentence as in (69b). Realizing this situation, he can be asked the question by his wife as in (69c). Again his son may inquire about the same question to his mother as in (69d). Thus, when an agent is topicalized and fronted verb agreement patterns also differ. In this case they take Set 2 suffixes.³¹

Examples (70a) and (71a-b) differ in verb agreement due to topicality or topic worthiness.

(70) a. *ama kəhalek u b^hothiĩ*
 ama kəhə-hale-k u b^hothi-ĩ
 mother say-PST-3SG that fish-ERG
 'It is the Bhothi fish said 'mother' (to the woman).' (BF.SLD.078)

b. *pani k^hailek hat^h d^houlek*
 pani k^ha-hale-k hat^h d^ho-le-k
 water eat-PST-3SG hand wash-PST-3SG
 'It is (he) who drank water and washed hands.' (BF.SLD.108)

³¹ Empathy-based approach of verb agreement in Maithili is pointed out by Bickel et al (1999:503). Similarly Häsler (2001) discusses the empathy-based verb agreement in Dege dialect of Tibetan. However, referential agreement or focus agreement would be an appropriate term for Darai.

- c. *ace koneĩ anhalek bhat adzu*
 ace koneĩ an-hale-k bhat adzu
 EXCL who-ERG bring-PST-3SG rice today
 ‘Who brought the rice today?’ (BF.SLD.101)
- (71) a. *dza g^hərə kəhələ*
 dza g^hərə kəhəl-lə
 go home say-PST
 ‘“Go home”, (he) said.’ (BF.SLD.116)
- b. *məi dzottəm hor kəhələ*
 məi dzot-tə-m hor kəhəl-lə
 I plough-NPST-1SG 1SG plough say-PST
 ‘“I plough the field”, (he) said.’ (BF.SLD.118)

We are dealing an instance from a story when an aged couple caught a fish to cook and eat. As they brought it home, the fish addressed the woman as mother. The addressing to the woman by a fish is a thing of topical importance to the elderly couple. They kept the fish with them, fed and cared them. In example (70) the verb takes *-k* whereas examples in (71a-b) do not.

Although the example such as (70) is ambiguous, the sentence such as (69b) is a very clear case in point. The sentences like (70a) may often have more than one interpretation. In these cases the larger discourse context must be used to explain the sentences. Example (70a) is identical to (69d). The fact that both intransitive and transitive verbs agree following this pattern is evidently present in a well-known Darai proverb.

- (72) a. *əilem dzəilem tato pina k^həilem*
 a-le-m dza-le-m tato pina
 come-PST-1SG go-PST-1SG hot oil-cake
 k^ha-le-m
 eat-PST-1SG
 ‘I came, I went and I ate oil-cake.’
 ‘I was indecisive.’ (IMM.SU.055)

The pronominal suffix indicates that at least one of the two arguments, subject or object is encoded in the verb. There is thus an ambiguity in interpreting the sentence such as the example (70a). The suffix *-k* might be the subject or object

agreement marker. We need discourse context to disambiguate such cases. The selection of controller can only be determined by topic worthiness and topicality if they are not otherwise specified.

6.4 Compound verbs and modal auxiliaries

Compound verbs and auxiliaries will be analyzed in this section.

6.4.1 Compound verbs

Compound stems are formed by adding more than two main verb roots forming a single unit. The complex stem forms a unit and enters the tense and various other verbal constructions similar to them.³² Masica (1991:326) notes that the second set of verbs are from a small set of verbs and are called 'intensifiers, operators, explicators or more recently vectors.' They function as a unit but only the vector verbs code agreement features. As Masica (1991:320) points out, they carry the meaning such as 'directionality, completeness, suddenness, violence, deliberateness, stubbornness, benefaction, affectivity etc'. As lexical items vector verbs have a meaning of their own. However, while functioning as vectors, they give various modality features. Let's note examples in (73-74).

- (73) a. *ad^ha səmpəti delə*
 ad^ha səmpəti de-lə
 half property give-PST
 '(The king) gave him half of his properties.' (BF.SLD.236)
- b. *toi məi-ke c^hipa delə*
 toi məi-ke c^hipa de-lə
 you I-[OBL]DAT plate give-PST
 'You gave me a plate.'
- (74) a. *əse gəŋgajə rak^hi delə*
 əse gəŋga-jə rak^h-i de-lə
 then river-LOC keep-ABS give-PST
 '(He) put it in the river (for others). ' (SQ.BLD.258)

³² Compounds with nouns or adjectives with the verbs *do* and *become* are termed conjunct verbs (see Masica 1991; Hacker 1961)

- b. *ijə kam kəri deuk*
 ijə kam kər-i de-uk
 this work do-ABS give-IMP
 ‘Do this job.’

The sentences in (73) are straightforward. The verb *de-* 'give' is used as the main verb in these sentences. However, in (74) it occurs as a vector verb. It does not signal the sense of giving but shows that the job is done for other's benefit. In example (73), the verb *sək-* 'finish' retains its lexical meaning in both of the examples while in (74), the V2 gives the benefactive reading.

In Darai, the first verb in VV compound takes a non-finite forms (absolute and infinitive) followed by the secondary/vector verbs (V2) in the finite form. There are two types of constructions viz. [V1 + Vector] and [V1 + Auxiliary]. While the first verbs are in the non-finite form in both of them, the following verbs are in the finite form. Verbs which occur after the absolutes are given in (75).

(75)	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Functions as a vector</u>
a.	<i>deike</i> 'to give'	benefactive
b.	<i>səkike</i> 'to give'	completive
c.	<i>rəhike</i> 'to remain'	continuative
d.	<i>dzaike</i> 'to give'	happened unexpectedly

Among these V2s, some occur more frequently in our corpus than others. For example, *səkike* 'completive' and *deike* 'benefactive' occur more frequently than the rest of them. Let's analyze the verb *sək-* 'finish'.

- (76) a. *məi kam səklə*
 məi kam sək-lə
 I work finish-PST
 ‘I finished my work.’
- b. *biha p^hir səktahī*
 biha p^hir sək-ta-hī
 marriage also finish-NPST-1PL
 ‘The marriage ceremony also finished.’

(77) a. *k^hai səklə*
 k^ha-i sək-lə
 eat-ABS finish-PST
 ‘(He) ate up.’ (HP.BLD.028)

a. *goru ledzi səklə*
 goru ledz-i sək-lə
 oxen take-ABS finish-PST
 ‘(He) already took the oxen.’ (BF.SLD.089)

In example (76), the verb *sək-* ‘finish’ retains its lexical meaning in both of the examples while in (77), the V2 is to some extent bleached of its lexical meaning. The meaning of *sək-* ‘finish’ in (77) has the sense of complete action.

In example (78b) the verb *rəhə-* ‘remain’ has continuation of action unlike its lexical meaning. When it is used as a main verb it gives the meaning of ‘remain’ as in (78a). Similarly, ‘leave’ has the lexical meaning ‘leaving’ as shown in (79a) but it yields the meaning of ‘persistence’ in (79b).

(78) a. *məi terake əsei rəhətəm*
 məi terake əse-i rəhə-tə-m
 I you-[OBL]DAT wait-ABS remain-NPST-1SG
 ‘I will be waiting for you.’

b. *osin kərte kərte abe bosi rəhələ tin dzena*
 osin kər-te kər-te abe bos-i
 that way do-SIM do-SIM now sit-ABS
 rəhə-lə tin dzena
 remain-PST three CLF
 ‘Doing like that, three people sat for a long time.’ (EI.CND.046)

(79) a. *tin din səmmə hame nun c^həḍtahĩ*
 tin din səmmə hame nun c^həḍ-ta- hĩ
 three day till we salt leave-NPST-1PL
 ‘We do not eat (lit. leave) salt for three days.’ (DR.CND.007)

- b. *məi bədzar dzai c^həɖtəm*
 məi bədzar dza-i c^həɖ-tə-m
 I badzaar go-ABS leave-NPST-1SG
 ‘I will definitely go to the badzaar.’

When the verb *dza* 'go' is used as a vector verb, it yields the meaning of suddenness. An example is given in (80b). Unlike (80a), (80b) gives the grammatical meaning.

- (80) a. *u əskeri dzəilə*
 u əskeri dza-lə
 he alone go-PST
 ‘He went alone.’
- b. *ratei pəri dzəilə*
 rat-ei pər-i dza-lə
 work-EMPH fall-ABS go-PST
 ‘...the night fell quickly.’ (BF.SLD.012)

Sometimes the ordering of V1V2 can be reversed in which case V2 appears in the first position. Masica (1991:326) analyzes that such constructions show 'emphasis on the speed of the action'. The reversed sequence in Darai means emphasis.

Examples are given in (81).

- (81) a. *məi detəm sik^hai*
 məi de-tə-m sik^h-a-i
 I give-NPST-1SG learn-CAUS-ABS
 ‘I will definitely teach you.’ (DaF.CND.093)
- b. *bihiḍi kəhəlarə .t^haũjə ledzikun delə buhai*
 bihiḍi kəhə-larə .t^haũ-jə ledz-ikun de-lə
 Bihidi say-PROS place-LOC take-SEQ give
 buhə-a-i
 flow-CAUS-ABS
 ‘Having taken the flute, (he) let flow it immediately.’ (EI.CND.040)

- c. *bāsi p^horikun delə panijə buhai*
 bāsi p^hor-ikun de-lə pani-jə buha-i
 flute break-SEQ give-PST water-LOC flow-ABS
 'Having broken the flute, (he) let it float in the water.' (DAF.CND.031)

The verb *laləi* 'instantaneous' presents a complex picture in terms of its form and function. It seems to be similar to *lag* 'apply' but differs from it in its form. It refers to the inceptive action or the action which is likely to begin immediately. As one sees its inflected form, it seems to be identical with the third person singular in form but it is not true. Let's examine examples in (82). Although the subject is the third person singular in (82a), the subjects in (82b-c) are the third person plural subjects.

- (82) a. *əse p^heri kəhi laləi*
 əse p^heri kəhə-i laləi
 then again say-ABS INSTAN
 '(The parrot again) said immediately.' (HP.BLD.058)
- b. *k^hai orikun dzai laləi mac^hə marike*
 k^ha-i orikun dza-i laləi mac^hə
 eat-ABS SEQ go-ABS INSTAN fish
 mar-ike
 kill-INF
 'Having taken meal, they instantly went to catch fish.' (BF.SLD.065)
- c. *adzu martahī kəhikun od^hi laləi uwə k^hałta*
 adzu martahī kəh-ikun
 today kill-NPST-1PL say-SEQ
 od^h-i laləi uwə k^hałta
 take out water-ABS INSTAN that ditch
 'Having said, "we will catch (the fish) today", they took out water from the ditch instantly.' (BF.SLD.071)

The verb *g^hal* 'put' is used as a lexical verb as shown in (83) while it is not found as a vector verb in V1V2 construction. Perhaps due to the influence of the Nepali grammar, *hal-* 'put' is used instead of *g^hal* following the absolutive as presented in (84).

- (83) a. *məi sagəjə̃ nun g^hallə*
 məi sagə-jə̃ nun g^hal-lə
 I curry-LOC salt add-PST
 ‘I added salt to the cooked vegetables.’
- (84) a. *dzimdar tə mori hallə*
 dzimdar tə mor-i hal-lə
 landlord PART die-ABS put-PST
 ‘The landlord died immediately.’ (HwCtP.PD.008)
- b. *əse tə doŋga cəli hallə*
 əse tə doŋga cəl-i hal-lə
 then PART boat move-ABS put-PST
 ‘Then the boat flood (lit. moved) immediately.’ (SQ.BLD.327)

6.4.2 Modal auxiliaries

Some verbs which occur as vector that occur after the infinitives *-ike* are mentioned in (85). These V2s require the main verb to be in the infinitive form.³³ In this case V2 takes all the tense inflections.

(85) <u>Verb</u>	<u>Functions as modals</u>
<i>səkike</i> 'to finish'	abilitative
<i>deike</i> 'to give'	permissive (outward directed)
<i>lagike</i> 'to apply'	initiative (beginning)
<i>pərike</i> 'to fall'	obligation, compulsion
<i>ətəi</i> 'AUX.NPST'	need
<i>b^həike</i> 'to become'	appropriateness

A few modal auxiliaries are related to modality. For example, *səkike* 'to finish' is used for abilitative (capacity) as in (86a-b). Its former use is related to agent-oriented modality whereas the latter with epistemic modality.

³³ Citing the sources, Pokharel (1999:204) mentions that all vectors indicate modality and speakers' emotions. Similarly Sharma (1980) analyzes all vector verbs and copula under 'modals'. He mentions that the verbs which follow the infinitives in Nepali have modal meanings.

- (86) a. *tərə kolhəu belajə ijə p^hərək pərike punu səkit*
 tərə kolhəu bela-jə ijə p^hərək pər-ike
 but any time-LOC this different fall-INF
 punu sək-i-t
 also finish-3SG-NPST
 ‘But this may also be different in some cases (occasions).’ (UT.SD.013)
- b. *bud^hike nidzə səklə*
 bud^h-ike nidzə sək-lə
 dive-INF NEG finish-PST
 ‘(He) could not dive.’ (HoF.SLD.020)

Similarly, *pərike* ‘to happen’ and *ətə* ‘copula-NPST’ signals necessity.

Examples are given in (87).

- (87) a. *hame tika lagaike pərit*
 hame tika lag-a-ike pər-i-t
 we holy marking put-CAUS-INF AUX-3SG-NPST
 ‘We should receive Tika.’ (BF.SLD.240)
- b. *məi bədzar dzaike ətəi*
 məi bədzar dza-ike ətə-i
 I badzaar go-INF COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘I need to go to market.’

Similarly, *deike* ‘to give’ is used for permission as in (88a), *lagike* ‘to apply’ for beginning or inception as in (88b) and *b^həit* for obligation as in (88c).

- (88) a. *someĩ dulhirke bahərə dzaike delə*
 some-ĩ dulhi-r-ke bahərə dza-ike
 Some-ERG wife-POSS.3SG-DAT outside go-INF
 de-lə
 give-PST
 ‘Some let his wife go outside.’
- b. *radzai əse tə k^həlləbəllə kərike laglə*
 radza-ĩ əse tə k^həlləbəllə kər-ike lag-lə
 king-ERG then PART bustle do-INF apply-PST
 ‘The king started to bustle.’ (SQ.BLD.193)

- c. *ijə mərca ek dek^{hi} dui həpta b^hitrə g^halike b^həit*
 ijə mərca ek dek^{hi} dui həpta b^hitrə
 this yeast one from two week within
 g^hal-ike b^hə-i-t
 pour-INF become-3SG-NPST
 ‘The yeast should be poured (into a pot) in one to two weeks.’
 (HtMW.SD.017)

6.5 Non-finite forms and functions

The non-finite forms in Darai comprise infinitive, absolute, converbs, participles, purposive, conditional and prospective. Each of them will be discussed in this section.

6.5.1 Infinitive

The infinitive in Darai is *-ike*. Infinitives are frequently used with verbs denoting obligation, requirement or compulsion when they occur with modal auxiliaries. The infinitive also functions as a purposive clause (see section 11.3.3) as shown in (89).

- (89) a. *bud^{hi} dzau tə mac^hə marike*
 bud^{hi} dza-u tə mac^hə mar-ike
 wife go-HORT PART fish kill-INF
 (Old man said) ‘Dear wife, let's go to catch (lit. kill) fish.’
 (BF.SLD.005)
- b. *dza leike*
 dza le-ike
 go bring-INF
 ‘Go to bring.’ (BF.SLD.144)

It is also used for giving directions or instructions in procedural discourse. When a speaker describes the process how one would do something, the sentences end in the infinitive forms. Examples (90a-c) are from a procedural text. Infinitive also has a nominal function as in (90d).

- (90) a. *agi g^həmkate kərike*
 agi g^həmkə-te kər-ike
 fire burn-SIM do-INF
 ‘Keep on burning fire’ (HwMW.SD.028)
- b. *b^hidzalə caur kuṭikunu piṭ^ha banaike*
 b^hidz-a-lə caur kuṭ-ikunu piṭ^ha bana-ike
 moisten-CAUS-PFV rice beat-SEQ flour make-INF
 ‘Make flour (after) beating the moistened rice.’ (HtMW.SD.004)
- c. *tərə gərəm məhina b^həine patro patro rak^hike*
 tərə gərəm məhina b^hə-ne
 but hot season become-COND
 patro patro rak^h-ike
 thin thin put-INF
 ‘Keep (spread it) in a thin (layer) if the season is hot.’ (HtMW.SD.010)
- d. *bihanəjə hīṭ^hike ramrə b^həit*
 bihanə-jə hīṭ^h-ike ramrə b^hə-i-t
 morning-LOC walk-INF good become-3SG-NPST
 ‘It is good to walk in the morning.’

6.5.2 Absolutive

The absolutive for in Darai is *-i*. It occurs very frequently while forming the compound verbs.³⁴

- (91) a. *dzimdar tə mori hallə*
 dzimdar tə mor-i hal-lə
 landlord PART die-ABS put-PST
 ‘The landlord died immediately.’ (HwCtP.PD.008)
- b. *məi k^heti kəri pərnei*
 məi k^heti kər-i pər-nei
 I farming do-ABS AUX-OBL
 ‘I must do farming.’

³⁴ See (6.4) for the discussion of compound verbs.

6.5.3 Converbs

There are three converbs in Darai are *-ikun/ikunu* 'SEQ', *-te* 'SIM' and *-tin* 'PROG'.³⁵ The converbs in Darai are frequently found in all sorts of texts.

Firstly, the sequential converb mainly conjoins two clauses, both of which denote different actions as illustrated in (92a-b). It establishes the sequential connection.

- (92) a. *b^hatsat rinikun k^haikun sutlə*
 b^hat-sat rin-ikun k^ha-ikun sut-lə
 rice-ECHO cook-SEQ eat-SEQ sleep-PST
 ‘Having cooked the rice (and) eaten, they slept.’ (BF.SLD.056)
- b. *c^haḍikun dzəilə*
 c^haḍ-ikun dza-lə
 leave-SEQ go-PST
 ‘Having left, (they) went.’ (JaH.SLD.008)

Simultaneous converb *-te* refers to simultaneous action. Therefore this converb can also be used as non-continuous converb. Example (94) illustrates this.

- (94) *b^hat b^həite sag nidzə sag b^həite sag nidzə*
 b^hat b^həi-te sag nidzə sag
 rice become-SIM curry NEG curry
 b^həi-te sag nidzə
 become-SIM curry NEG
 ‘On getting (lit. becoming) rice, there is no curry, (and) on getting
 curry, there is no rice.’ (BF.SLD.004)

In narrating stories, the simultaneous converb shows the continuous action going on during another action begins. The simultaneous converb may occur several times in the narrative as in (95).

³⁵ The suffix *-te* serves two functions in Darai, i.e. the habitual aspect, and non-continuous converb. Converbs are further discussed in (10.3.3).

- (95) *od^hte od^hte od^hte ratəi pəri dzailə*
 od^h-te od^h-te
 bring out water-SIM bring out water-SIM
 od^h-te rat-əi pər-i dza-lə
 bring out water-SIM night-EMPH fall-ABS go-PST
 ‘While they were throwing out water, the night fell quickly.’
 (BF.SLD.012)

Continuous converb is infrequent in our corpus but is also attested in Darai.

An example is given in (96).

- (96) *məi əina hertihin bar costəm*
 məi əina her-tihin bar cos-tə-m
 I mirror look-PROG hair comb-NPST-1SG
 ‘I comb the hair while looking at the mirror.’

6.5.4 Participles

i. -lə form

The form similar to the perfect aspect -lə also serves as an adjective or a prenominal relative clause.

- (97) a. *p^hodlə b^hatise moc^hike*
 p^hod-lə b^hati-se moc^h-ike
 crush-PFV fermented rice-COM mix-INF
 ‘... mix with the fermented rice.’ (HwMW.SD.032)
- b. *cərkələ g^haməjə*
 cərkə-lə g^ham-jə
 shine-PFV sun-LOC
 ‘... in the sun shining (shone) sun.’ (In.UN.100)
- c. *boslə t^haũjə*
 boslə t^haũ-jə
 sit-PFV place-LOC
 ‘... in the place where (they had) stayed.’ (SQ.BLD.019)

ii. *-tihin* form

Imperfective participles (or present participle) consist of the verb stem followed by the progressive marker *-tihin*.

- (98) a. *uhī dug^hritihin beṭike dek^hlə*
u-hī dug^hri-tihin beṭi-ke dek^h-lə
he-ERG run-PROG girl-DAT see-PST
'He saw the running girl (the girl who was running).'
b. *suta banatihin bahun*
suta bana-tihin bahun
thread make-PROG priest
'...the priest who is making the thread (for religious ceremony)
(MtU.SD.024)

This form also serves as an adverbial, showing manner of the action as in (99).

- (99) a. *məi dug^hritihin dzəitəm*
məi dug^hri-tihin dza-tə-m
I run-PROG go-NPST-1SG
'I go running.'
b. *u ete ote hertihin b^haglə*
u ete ote hert-ihin b^hag-lə
he here there look-PROG run away-PST
'He ran away looking here and there.'

6.5.5 Purposive

Aside from the infinitive which serves as a purposive clause, Darai has a distinct purposive marker *-e* as in (100).

- (100) *mac^hə mare dzau*
mac^hə mar-e dzau
fish catch-PURP go-HOR
'Let's go to catch fish.' (BF.SLD.006)

6.5.6 Conditional

The conditional marking is *-ne* in Darai.³⁶

- (101) *abe sod^hpuc^h kərne pe kərike*
 abe sod^hpuc^h kər-ne pe kər-ike
 now inquiry do-COND PART do-INF
 ‘Ask if you (intend) to make an inquiry.’ (DaF.CND.002)

6.5.7 Prospective

The non-finite form *-larə* functions as an attributive adjective. It inflects as *-lari* to code feminine gender. Its function is adjectival when it occurs in attributive position in relative clauses. Examples are given in (102).

- (102) a. *ekta bāclarə ekta dziularə buṭi delə*
 ek-ta bāc-larə ek-ta dzi-larə buṭi
 one-CLF live-PROS one-CLF live-PROS medicine
 de-lə
 give-PST
 ‘(He) gave me a medicine to live and a medicine to die.’ (KK.SLD.085)
- b. *g^hərəkə k^həilarə pakalarə cidz*
 g^hər-kə k^ha-larə paka-larə cidz
 house-GEN eat-PROS cook-PROS thing
 ‘The thing to be cooked and eaten at home.’ (UT.SD.018)
- c. *hame d^hereinəi mod k^həilarə dzat*
 hame d^herei-nəi mod k^həi-larə dzat
 we a lot-EMPH beer eat-PROS caste
 ‘We, people who drink a lot of home made beer. (DP.CND.017)

Despite the non-finite nature of the prospective form, it sometimes occurs with the sentences instead of a finite form of the verb. The prospective forms occur in clause-final position in some instances as shown in (103).

³⁶ See (11.3) for the discussion of conditional clauses.

- (103) a. *məi baharə dzəitəm g^humike kəhəlarə*
 məi baharə dza-tə-m g^hum-ike
 I outside go-NPST-1SG walk around-INF
 kəhə-larə
 say-PROS
 ‘(He) says, "I will go out to walk around." (KK.SLD.011)
- b. *kanc^haī kəhəlarə məi dzəitəm*
 kanc^ha-ī kəhə-larə məi dza-tə-m
 youngest-ERG say-PROS I go-NPST-1SG
 ‘The youngest says, "I will go." (KK.SLD.005)
- c. *əse kanc^hi dulhik punu səti dzəilari*
 əse kanc^hi dulhi-k punu səti
 then younger wife-3SG.POSS also immolation
 dza-lar-i
 go-PROS-F
 ‘... Then (his) youngest wife decided to immolate. (IMM.SU.079)
- d. *k^hali sor hās ciṅni pərewa etkai k^həilarə*
 k^hali sor hās ciṅni pərewa etkai k^ha-larə
 only pig duck chicken pigeon this much eat-PROS
 ‘Only animals (we ate were) pigs, ducks to eat. (In.UN.085)

6.6 Summary

This chapter discussed verbs and verb morphology in Darai. Darai verbs exhibit a contrast of past and non-past tenses. The imperative mood also makes a distinction between present and delayed (future) imperatives. The morphological aspect in Darai can be further categorized into habitual, progressive and imminent. Imperative, hortative, desiderative and conditional moods are morphologically coded. Different modalities which are morphologically coded are possibility, obligation, inference, mirativity, frustrative and dubitative. Darai presents a complex picture in verb agreement. Darai involves the interactions of person, number, gender, honorifics, case, as well as pragmatic features such as hierarchy (person and focus) in verb agreement. Darai has two sets of suffixes which often appear in verb agreement: agreement suffixes and pronominal possessive suffixes. The former suffixes occur

only in verb agreement while the later occur both with nominal heads in possessive constructions and in verb agreement. The agreement feature related to focus hierarchy is an interesting feature in Darai. Darai transitive verbs can cross-reference both subject and object although texts demonstrate that consistently indexing of and object does not occur in natural texts. In addition to the compound verbs which have V1V2 structures, there are some modal auxiliaries. Non-finite forms in Darai are infinitive, purposive, absolute, converbs (sequential and simultaneous), participles and conditional.

CHAPTER 7

ADVERBS

7. Outline

This chapter deals with adverbs in Darai. Adverbial clauses and adverbs that function as subordinators in the complex clauses will be analyzed in chapter 11. We discuss different types of adverbs in section 7.1 and morphological characteristics of adverbs in section 7.2. In section 7.3 we outline the syntax of adverb. We present the findings of this chapter in section 7.4.

7.1 Types of adverbs

We discuss the semantic classification of adverbs based on Givón (2001a) and Schachter (1985:21).

7.1.1 Manner adverbs

Givón (2001a: 88) notes, "The semantic range of such modification is wide and heterogeneous, depending on the specific meaning of the verb." Aside from pure manner adverbs, manner adverbs comprise and some demonstratives related to manner adverbs (7.1.7). Basic manner adverbs are provided in (1) and some of them are exemplified in (2-4).

(1)	<i>c^hito</i>	‘fast’
	<i>bistari</i>	‘slowly’
	<i>askəri</i>	‘alone’
	<i>məsinəse</i>	‘thin manner, finely/nicely’
	<i>səp^hp^hətate</i>	‘hurriedly’
	<i>ottikei</i>	‘for no reason’
	<i>beske/beski</i>	‘very much’
	<i>mədzdzase</i>	‘pleasantly’
	<i>dzərdzərtei</i>	‘incessantly’
	<i>eksət^hi</i>	‘attentively’

- (2) *c^hito hit^hur karte karte mac^ha nidzə*
c^hito hit^hur kər-te kər-te
 quickly search in mud do-SIM do-SIM
mac^ha nidzə
 fish NEG
 'While searching in mud quickly, there was no fish.' (BF.SLD.017)
- (3) *ramrəse bosisai lokaikun*
ramrə-se bos-isai loka-ikun
 good-ADVZ sit-IMP.FUT hide-SEQ
 '(She said), "Please stay comfortably by hiding."' (SQ.BLD.070)
- (4) *əskəri dzəilə*
əskəri dza-lə
 lonely go-PST
 '...(I) went lonely.' (EI.CND.021)

7.1.2 Time and aspectuality adverbs

Adverbs of time and aspectuality are listed in (5). Some of them are illustrated in (6).

- (5) *ek^hni/ək^hni* 'right now'
əgađi 'early'
ədzəi 'till now'
əse 'then'
agu/ag^hu 'early'
adzkal 'these days'
təbə 'then'
əbela 'late'
ak^hir 'finally/after all'
b^hər^he 'right now'
bəllə 'finally'
d^hila 'late'

- (6) a. *ək^hni punu uhəi lagatahasəb ni*
 ək^hni punu u-həi laga-tahə-səb ni
 at present also he-EMPH wear-NPST-3PL PART
 'Now they all wear it, you know.' (IMM.SU.143)
- b. *aguhi tə səti dzəilarə cələn*
 aguhi tə səti dza-larə cələn
 early PART immolation go-PROS tradition
 'There (was) a tradition of immolation.' (IMM.SU.143)

There are some calendrical adverbs in the language. The calendrical adverbs are provided in (7) and illustrated in (8).

- (7)
- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>kalu</i> | 'yesterday/tomorrow' |
| <i>adzu</i> | 'today' |
| <i>porsu</i> | 'the day after tomorrow' |
| <i>nikorsu</i> | 'three days after today' |
| <i>kanekorsu</i> | 'four days after today' |
| <i>pərar</i> | 'three year's back' |
| <i>poru</i> | 'last year' |
| <i>əsau</i> | 'this year' |
| <i>ag^həu</i> | 'the next year' |
| <i>pərag^həu</i> | 'two years after' |
| <i>əgdina</i> | 'the day before yesterday' |
| <i>ekc^hin</i> | 'for a while' |
| <i>ok^hni</i> | 'immediately' |
| <i>ohihamĩ</i> | 'long back' |
| <i>ek^hni</i> | 'right now' |
| <i>dzəhəja</i> | 'when' |

- (8) *adzu kəte kalu kəte gonihik lagai delə*
 adzu kəhə-te kalu kəhə-te gone-k
 today say-SIM tomorrow tell-SIM saree-3SGPOSS
 lag-a-i de-lə
 wear-CAUS-ABS give-PST
 'Saying this today and tomorrow, he made (her) wear a saree (to his wife).' (KaQ.SLD.132)

Parts of the days are listed in (9).

- (9) *rati* 'night'
behanə 'morning'
dine 'day/afternoon'
sādz^hə 'evening'
behaudo 'daybreak'
d^husmusi 'daybreak'

7.1.3 Frequency adverbs

Frequency adverbs form a distinct class in Darai. They are listed in (10) and illustrated in (11).

- (10) *g^hərik* 'sometimes'
coṭi 'times'
badzi 'times'
p^heri 'again'
səd^hahun 'always'
kəihau 'sometimes'
bərabər 'frequently'
- (11) a. *g^hərik uttər kod^horə g^hərik pəsc^him kod^horə*
 g^hərik uttər kod^horə g^hərik pəsc^him kod^horə
 sometimes north corner sometimes western corner
 '(The jackal went) sometimes to the northern corner, sometimes to the western corner...' (JaH.SLD.039)

- b. *ek badzi dz^hətaisai*
 ek badzi dz^hətai-isai
 one times hit-IMP.FUT
 'Please, hit the tree only at once.' (KaQ.SLD.027)

7.1.4 Emphatic and degree adverbs

Emphatic adverbs are listed in (12) and illustrated in (13).¹

- (12) *pəkka/pəkkei* 'definitely'
k^has 'in particular'
- (13) a. *abe p^heri lə pəkka radzgəddi letəs*
 abe p^heri lə pəkka radzgəddi le-tə-s
 now again PART certainly throne take-NPST-2SG
 'Okay, you (will) definitely get the throne.' (OK.JD.068)
- b. *mod k^has kərikun makaikə banatahĩ*
 mod k^has kər-ikun makai-kə bana-ta-hĩ
 beer particularly do-SEQ maize-GEN make-NPST-1PL
 'The beer is mainly made from maize grains.' (HtMW.SD.023)

Degree adverbs in their basic form modify adjectives. They precede verbs and may occur before the adjectives as well. They increase the intensity of verbs. They are presented in (14) and some of them are illustrated in (15).

- (14) *gahē/gahēmane* 'very'
əlik/əleli 'little'
ekdəm 'very'
d^həndei/d^hənne 'almost'
dz^hən 'more'
- (15) a. *buba cahĩ əleli pədlə*
 buba cahĩ əleli pəḍ-lə
 father PART little read-PST
 '... the father was literate (lit. read very little).' (HwCtP.PD.013)

¹ These adverbs are seemingly loans from the Nepali language.

- b. *ek dzəna mətrəi b^həikunu ekdəm duk^hə paulə*
 ek dzəna mətrəi b^həi-kunu ekdəm duk^hə
 one CLF only become-SEQ very hardships
 pa-lə
 get-PST
 'Since he was only one, he got much sufferings.' (SoaO.JD.002)

7.1.5 Adverbs of location and direction

Some locational adverbs in Darai are related to demonstratives. They are discussed in (7.1.7). Aside from these, the locational adverbs are provided in (16) and illustrated in (17).

- (16) *uprə* 'up/above'
təɾə 'below/under'
otahāk 'from that side'
t^hadə/t^hado 'far'
nəri/nədzik 'near'
samunne 'face to face/ opposite to '
pac^hu 'behind'
bahar 'outside'
opar 'across'
omte/umte 'from that side'
- (17) a. *bubei bubei əlik cutki .taɖo dza tə*
 bubei bubei əlik cutki .taɖo dza tə
 father father a bit little far go PART
 'Father, go a little bit far.' (BF.SLD.117)
- b. *b^hatike uhəi uprə pəirike*
 bhati-ke u-həi uprə pəir-ike
 rice-DAT that-EMPH above spread-INF
 'Spread the rice right above it.' (HtMW.SD.034)

- c. *tərə dzəmməi kāto laga*
 tərə dzəmməi kāto laga
 below all nail fix
 'Fix all the nails below.' (OK.JD.071)

7.1.6 Interrogative adverbs

There are a few interrogative adverbs in Darai. They are given in (18) and examples are provided in (19).

- (18) *kike* 'why'
kəske 'how'
kəte 'whither'
kəhjã 'when'
kuc^hi/kəc^hi 'where'

- (19) a. *ərə toi tə b^hot^hi kəske dzotbər hor*
 ərə toi tə b^hot^hi kəske dzot-bə-r
 then you PART Bhothi fish how plough-POSS-3SG
 hor
 plough
 '(He said), "You are a Bhothi fish, how may you plough the field ?"
 (BF.SLD.111)

- b. *e toi kike đarate bətəs*
 e toi kike đəra-te
 VOC you why become frightened-HAB
 bətə-s
 AUX.NPST-2SG
 '(The hermit says), "Why are you frightened?" (KaQ.SLD.152)

The interrogative *kuc^hi* 'where' is also found to be inflected for ablative case.

The following examples are found in our database.

- (20) a. *kuc^hise kuc^hise əilə sipahi*
 kuc^hi-se kuc^hi-se a-lə sipahi
 where-ABL where-ABL come-PST police
 'The police came from somewhere.' (BF.SLD.128)

- b. *radza kuc^hise sikar k^helikun ailə*
 radza kuc^hi-se sikar k^hel-ikun a-lə
 king where-ABL hunting play-SEQ come-PST
 ‘...The king came (after) having hunted from somewhere.’
 (KaQ.SLD.017)

7.1.7 Pronominal adverbs

Dixon (2003:62) mentions about types of demonstratives: nominal (corresponding to demonstrative adjective and adjective) and local adverbial.³ Firstly, there are two sets of directional deictics in Darai: *ete* ‘this side/hither’ and *ote* ‘that side/thither’. Of these two, the former is the proximal location maker whereas the later indicates the distal location. Some examples are in (21-22).

- (21) a. *mitdzu mitdzu ete ao nə ete ao*
 mitdzu mitdzu ete a-o nə
 friend friend this side come-IMP.H PART
 ete a-o
 come-IMP.H come-IMP.H
 ‘Well my friend, come this side, come this side.’ (BF.SLD.152)
- b. *ete ao nə pause merə dzəbbəd kam*
 ete a-o nə pau-se məi-rə
 this side come-IMP.H PART you-COM I-[OBL]GEN
 dzəbbəd kam
 big work
 ‘Come this side, I have some urgent work with you.’ (BF.SLD.153)
- (22) a. *ote k^hoḍa leikun boslə bəṭəi*
 ote k^hoḍa le-ikun
 that side sword take-SEQ
 bos-lə bəṭə-i
 sit-PST COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘He has sat that side having taken a sword.’ (HP.BLD.051)

³ These adverbs are also termed as pro-forms (see Schachter 1985; Watters 2002) and demonstrative adverbs (Diessel 1999).

- b. *ote mac^{hə} corike dzəilə bəderijə*
 ote mac^{hə} cor-a-ike dza-lə
 that side fish steal-CAUS-INF go-PST
 bəderi-jə
 net made of Khadai-LOC
 'I went to steal the fish in a net that side.' (EI.CND.010)

Secondly, there are other sets of deictics, i.e. *ic^{hi}* 'here' and *uc^{hi}* 'there'. They may also take emphatic marker *-n*, *ic^{hi}n* 'right here' and *uc^{hi}n* 'right there'. Of these two, the former refers to the proximal location whereas the later indicates the distal location.

- (23) a. *əri ic^{hi} p^heri mac^{hə} nidzə*
 əri ic^{hi} p^heri mac^{hə} nidzə
 VOC.F here again fish NEG
 'The fish is not here.' (BF.SLD.041)
- b. *ic^{hi}n bos toi*
 ic^{hi}-n bos toi
 here-EMPH stay you
 'You stay right here.' (SQ.BLD.069)
- c. *uc^{hi}n d^hənnə morlə dz^hjabas əldz^hikun*
 uc^{hi}-n d^hənnə mor-lə dz^hjabas əldz^h-ikun
 there-EMPH nearly die-PST water plant entangle-SEQ
 'Having entangled in the water plant I nearly died right there.'
 (EI.CND.072)
- (24) a. *uc^{hi}ise dzəilə dərəi*
 uc^{hi}-se dza-lə dərəi
 there-ABL go-PST Darai
 'Darai left from there.' (DP.CND.022)
- b. *anikun ekta tin uc^{hi} rak^hlə*
 an-ikun ek-ta tin uc^{hi} rak^h-lə
 bring-SEQ one-CLF copper there put-PST
 'Having brought (a copper piece), he kept it there.' (BF.SLD.084)

- c. *pau uc^{hi}in dzərmələ*
 pau uc^{hi}-n dzərm-lə
 you there-EMPH born-PST
 ‘Were you born right there ?’ (In.UN.066)

Thirdly, there are two demonstratives of manner in Darai *esnə/eske* ‘like this’ and *osnə/oske* ‘like that’. As with most proximal demonstrative, *esnə* ‘like this’ is used to show proximal contexts whereas the later is used to show distal meaning.

- (25) a. *eske sewa kərike*
 eske sewa kər-ike
 like this bow down do-INF
 ‘Bow down like this...’ (KaQ.SLD.193)

- b. *oske kərike pərit*
 oske kər-ike pər-i-t
 like that do-INF AUX-3SG-NPST
 ‘...(you) should do like that...’ (DP.CND.062)

Pronominal adverbs have relation with interrogatives and relatives. They are summarized and presented in Table (7.1). While the proximate location demonstrative adverbs locate the place close to the speaker, the distal location demonstrative adverbs refer to the things that are away from the speaker. These adverbs modify verbs.

TABLE 7.1 Pronominal adverbs

	Interrogatives	Pronominal adverbs		Relatives
		Proximal	Distal	
Manner	<i>kəske</i> 'of what type'	<i>eske/esin</i> 'like this'	<i>oske/osin</i> 'like that'	<i>dzəske/dzəsin</i> 'which way'
Location/ direction	<i>kəte</i> 'where'	<i>ete</i> 'here/hither'	<i>ote</i> 'there/thither'	<i>dzəte</i> 'where'
Location	<i>kuc^{hi}</i> 'where'	<i>ic^{hi}/ic^{hi}in</i> 'here'	<i>uc^{hi}/uc^{hi}in</i> 'there'	<i>dzəc^{hi}/dzuc^{hi}</i> 'where'
Time	<i>kəhjā</i> 'when'	<i>ek^{hi}ni</i> 'now'	<i>uhjā</i> 'then'	<i>dzəhjā</i> 'when'

7.2 Morphology of adverbs

Forms of adverbs may be simple as discussed in (7.1) or morphologically derived mainly from adjectives. Example (26a) presents a derived adverb *ramrəse* 'well' whereas example (26b) is a simple adverb *behaudo* 'daybreak'.

- (26) a. *əse pac^hu c^hawa-ke ramrə-se d^ho-i-t*
 əse pac^hu c^hawa-ke ramrə-se d^ho-i-t
 then later child-DAT good-ADVZ wash-3SG-NPST
 'Then the child is well washed.' (UT.SD.007)
- b. *sjar g^hərə dzəilə behaudo*
 sjar g^hərə dza-lə behaudo
 jackal house go-PST daybreak
 'The jackal went home at the daybreak.' (JaH.SLD.020)

Schachter (1985:21) notes, "Manner adverbs are derivable from adjectives by a fairly productive process of derivational morphology." Adverbs in Darai are derived from adjective and verbs. Some adverbs are derived by the suffixation of *-se* to adjectives. Some of them are mentioned in (27) and illustrated in (28).⁴

- (27) *ramrə* 'good' + *se* = *ramrəse* 'well'
bəlijə 'strong' + *se* = *bəlijəse* 'strongly'
mədzdza 'fine' + *se* = *mədzdzase* 'finely'
məsinə 'thin/small' + *se* = *məsinəse* 'in thin small grains'

- (28) a. *əse pac^hu c^hawa-ke ramrə-se d^ho-i-t*
 əse pac^hu c^hawa-ke ramrə-se d^ho-i-t
 then later child-DAT good-ADVZ wash-3SG-NPST
 'Then the child is well washed later.' (UT.SD.007)
- b. *bəlijəse d^hərisai b^hātakə dzəri*
 bəlijə-se d^hər-isai b^hāta-kə dzəri
 strong-ADVZ hold-IMP.FUT eggplant-GEN root
 'Please hold the root of the eggplant strongly.' (SQ.BLD.108)

Although compounding of adverb is not very productive, a few examples are found in our corpus. They are included in (29).

⁴ *-se* also signals ablative and comitative case (see 4.1.3).

- (29) a. *baharə b^hitrə karaike pərit*
 baharə b^hitrə kər-a-ike pər-i-t
 out in do-CAUS-INF AUX-3SG-NPST
 ‘(One) has to take (him) in and out.’
- b. *ete ote dzəite*
 ete ote dza-te
 here there go-HAB
 ‘(He used to) go here and there.’ (OK.JD.002)

The emphatic marker *-n* can be attached to the adverbs as in (30). They are further exemplified in (31). The emphatic marker *-n* is attached only to adverbs.

- (30) a. *ic^hi* 'here' *ic^hi-n* 'right here'
 b. *uc^hi* 'there' *uc^hi-n* 'right there'
 b. *ete* 'this side' *etihi-n* 'right this side'
 d. *ote* 'that side' *otihi-n* 'right that side'

- (31) a. *ic^hin bos toi*
 ic^hi-n bos toi
 here-EMPH stay you
 ‘Stay right here.’ (SQ.BLD.069)
- b. *g^hoḍakə manus uc^hin morlə*
 g^hoḍa-kə manus uc^hi-n morlə
 horse-GEN man there-EMPH die-PST
 ‘The man on the back of the horse died right there.’ (KK.SLD.177)
- c. *ic^hi bos toi*
 ic^hi bos toi
 here stay you
 ‘Stay here.’
- d. *g^hoḍakə manus uc^hi morlə*
 g^hoḍa-kə manus uc^hi morlə
 horse-GEN man there die-PST
 ‘The man on the back of the horse died there.’

Examples (30a-b) contain the emphatic marker *-n*. These sentences can be contrasted with the examples (31a-b) which lack emphatic markers. Thus, the

emphatic markers emphasize the preciseness of the location in the examples mentioned in (30a-b).

Simultaneous and sequential converbs are used as adverbs. Examples are given in (32a-b).

- (32) a. *məi dug^hrəte dzəite god ˌtʊtlə*
 məi dug^hrə-te dzəi-te god ˌtʊt-lə
 I run-SIM go-SIM leg break-PST
 ‘My leg broke while going there running.’
- b. *aja aja kəhikun dug^hrələ*
 aja aja kəh-ikun dug^hrə-lə
 ONO ONO say-SEQ run-PST
 ‘Having said, ‘ouch !, ouch !’ he ran.’

7.2 Syntax of adverbs

Adverbs normally occur in the preverbal position. Consider examples (33-34).

- (33) a. *amahik kəhələ dze bistari kəhə*
 amahi-k kəhə-lə dze bistari kəhə
 mother-POSS.3SG tell-PST PART slowly speak.IMP
 ‘Mother said, “Speak slowly (in a low voice).’ (JaH.SLD.055)
- b. *rāḍakə səntan ədz^həi bəṭikan*
 rāḍa-kə səntan ədz^həi bəṭi-kan
 Rana-GEN children still COP.NPST-3PL
 ‘The children of the Rana rulers are still there.’ (OK.JD.096)
- c. *ekēi cəṭi dzəilə məd^hubəni*
 ek-ei cəṭi dza-lə məd^hubəni
 one-EMPH times go-PST Madhubani
 ‘At once (we) went to Madhubani.’ (PtP.CND.011)
- d. *bubei bubei əlik cutki ˌtəḍ^ho dza tə*
 bubei bubei əlik cutki ˌtəḍ^ho dza tə
 father father little little far go PART
 ‘Father, go a little further.’ (BF.SLD.117)

- (34) a. *ijə dulhi napai ek^hni*
 ijə dulhi na-pa-i ek^hni
 this wife NEG-give birth-3SG now
 'This (wife of yours) will not give birth to a child now.' (KaQ.SLD.007)
- b. *ek^hni terə bāis atir*
 ek^hni toi-rə bāis ati-r
 now you-[OBL]GEN youth COP.NPST-2SG
 'Now you have your youth.' (KaQ.SLD.019)
- c. *kalu kiti k^haike*
 kalu kiti k^ha-ike
 tomorrow what eat-INF
 'What (shall we) eat ?' (BF.SLD.003)
- d. *baṭ^huni gahē ramrə aṭəi*
 baṭ^huni gahē ramrə aṭə-i
 girl very good COP.NPST-3SG
 'The girl is very beautiful.'

As seen in (34a), the manner adverbs generally precede the verbs. On the other hand, time adverbs may occur in clause initial position or clause finally as shown in examples (34a-c). Similarly the adverb precedes the adjective in (34d).

Comparative and superlative constructions are formed syntactically. Comparatives and superlative precede the adverbs. Sentence (35a) illustrates the superlative degree of adverbs and (36) is an example of a comparative construction.

- (35) a. *səbse agaḍi mad^həpur piṭ^huwajāḥ bəsti bosləhun*
 səb-se agaḍi mad^həpur piṭ^huwa-jāḥ bəsti
 all-ABL early Madhapurg Pithuwa-LOC settlement
 bos-lə-hun
 sit-PST-HS
 'In the earliest time, the settlement was in Madhapur, Pithuwa' (they say). (In.Un.074)

- b. *c^hawa paune par suḍ^herni c^hawake səbse pəilə
 goḍi kaṭlarə kam kərit*

c ^h awa	pa-ne	par	suḍ ^h erni	c ^h awa-ke
child	give birth-COND	COND.PART	midwife	son-DAT
səb-se	pəilə	goḍi	kaṭ-larə	
all-ADVZ	early	placenta	cut-PROS	
kam	kər-i-t			
work	do-3SG-NPST			

‘If the child is born, the midwife first of all cuts the naval and (placenta).’ (UT.SD.006)

- (36) *sutlarə kəte əgaḍi b^hatike məsinəse p^hoḍike*

sut-larə	kəte	əgaḍi	b ^h ati-ke	məsinə-se
spread-PROS	than	before	fermented rice-DAT	thin-ADVZ
p ^h oḍ-ike				
crush-INF				

‘Crush the fermented rice finely (in small grains) earlier to spreading it.’ (HtMW.SD.032)

Reduplication of adverbs is possible showing the meaning of emphasis. This is shown in (37).

- (37) *merə pac^hu pac^hu kukur əi-lə*

məi-rə	pac ^h u	pac ^h u	kukur	a-lə
I-[OBL]GEN	back	back	dog	come-PST

‘A dog came right behind me.’

Example (34) shows the meaning of emphasis.

7.4 Summary

This chapter discussed the adverbs in Darai. Adverbs include several kinds of concepts (see Payne 2006:117; McCawley 1982:631). In addition to free lexical items, adverbs in Darai are derived from other categories mainly from adjectives. Some demonstratives as well as some non-finite form of verbs function as adverbs in Darai. Adverbs generally occur in preverbal position but adverb of time is also found clause-finally. Reduplication of adverb is a possible construction in Darai. Adverbs in Darai are: manner adverbs, time and aspectuality adverbs, frequency adverbs, degree and emphatic adverbs locational adverbs and pronominal adverbs. Some adverbs are related to deictics.

CHAPTER 8

SOME CLOSED WORD CLASSES

8.0 Outline

Some closed word classes such as pronouns, interrogatives, auxiliaries, postpositions and determiners have been presented in earlier sections. This chapter outlines the rest of the closed word classes. Section 8.1 discusses the clitic. Section 8.2 deals with the particles. In section 8.3 we present the interjections. Section 8.4 presents onomatopoeias and section 8.5 is about echo words. We present the summary of findings of this chapter in section 8.6.

8.1 Clitic

Although the boundary between clitics and particles is not always obvious, we follow Zwicky (1985:286-288) for differentiating them. Zwicky (1985:286-288) sets the following parameters for differentiating clitics from words and particles:

- (a) Clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems.
- (b) Clitics are attentually dependent while full words are accentually independent.
- (c) In contrast to independent words, clitics are affix like.

Similarly Aikhenvald (2002) further emphasizes that clitics can attach to any or 'almost any' word class.

We consider *-ei* is an emphatic (focus) clitic in Darai. As can be seen in the examples, they are attached to numerals in (1), adverb in (2), noun in (3) and demonstratives in (4). This indicates the degree of intensity. It thus satisfies the first parameter set by Zwicky that clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts.

- (1) a. *amak bubak ekei .t^hãu rak^hlə*
 ama-k buba-k ek-ei
 mother-3SG.POSS father-3SG.POSS one-EMPH
 .t^hãu rak^h-lə
 place put-PST
 ‘He kept his parents at one place.’ (BF.SLD.245)

- b. *duei goru*
 du-ei goru
 two-EMPH ox
 ‘...both oxen’ (BF.SLD.136)
- (2) *sãdz^hei porlə*
 sãdz^h-ei por-lə
 evening-EMPH fall-PST
 ‘... evening fell.’ (SQ.BLD.110)
- (3) a. *kamei tə sid^hd^hi laləi*
 kam-ei tə sid^hd^h-i laləi
 work-EMPH PART finish-ABS INSTAN
 ‘The work is finished.’ (DaF.CND.019)
- b. *g^hərei c^hadlə*
 g^hər-ei c^had-lə
 house-EMPH leave-PST
 ‘(They) left home.’ (JaH.SLD.005)
- (4) a. *uhei əilə*
 u-ei a-lə
 he-EMPH come-PST
 ‘It is he who came.’
- b. *məi ihei paulə*
 məi i-ei pa-lə
 I-EMPH this-EMPH get-PST
 ‘It is this which I found.’

8.2 Particles

Fraser (1990:387) notes that particles signal "how the speaker intends the basic message that follows to relate to the prior discourse." Zwicky (1985:303) notes that particles are independent words rather than clitics. Discourse particles have

mainly focus and modal meaning (Hartmann 1994:2952).¹ Most of the Darai discourse particles are monosyllabic.

8.2.1 Particle *re/ri*

Vocative particles *re* and *ri* are attached to the male and female nouns respectively. The vocative particles are thus gender sensitive. They occur between the two nouns or NPs. It is always used with the individual rather than groups. The use of a vocative particle is not strictly obligatory while addressing someone. Its use has overtones of emergency. There is always a pause after the vocative expression.

- (5) a. *udzeli ri udzeli*
 udzeli ri udzeli
 Ujeli VOC Ujeli
 ‘Ujeli, dear Ujeli.’ (HP.BLD.045)
- b. *hərmənija re dada*
 hərmənija re dada
 Harmaniya VOC brother
 ‘Harmaniya, dear brother’ (HP.BLD.050)

8.2.2 Particle *e*

Another vocative calling in Darai is *e* 'hey'.² This is used to draw attention of the addressee. It occurs clause initially. It is generally used before the kin terms, pronouns or before the proper names.

- (6) a. *e abəi məi heralə*
 e abəi məi hera-lə
 VOC mother I tire-PST
 ‘(The son said), "eh, mother, I am tired.’ (KaQ.SLD.082)

¹ Similarly, Zwicky (1985:304) notes that discourse markers have pragmatic function. This can be contrasted with clitics which have variety of meanings.

² This form is homophonous with the surprise particle *e*.

- b. *e toi kike ɖarate*
 e toi kike ɖara-te
 VOC you why afraid-HAB
 ‘(The hermit speaks), "eh, Why are you scared ?’ (KaQ.SLD.152)

8.2.3 Particle *pe*

The particle *pe* (also realized as *pei*) implies a 'contradiction of something already said' or 'the unlikeness of a stated event occurring' (see Schmidt 1993:393). It is placed after the constituent it refers to.

- (7) a. *ukrə dali k^hailə b^həine pe hame b^hətte laharihĩ*
 u-rə dali k^ha-lə b^həi-ne pe
 he-GEN curry eat-PST become-CNFC PART
 hame b^hətte lag-laha-hĩ
 we punish apply-HYP-1PL
 ‘If he had eaten only curry (cooked pulse), we would have punished (him).’ (DP.CND.054)
- b. *b^həren dzəite b^hai pe b^hetlə*
 b^həren dza-te b^hai pe b^het-lə
 jungle go-SIM brother PART meet-PST
 ‘I met brother (unexpectedly) while going to jungle.’

8.2.4 Particle *se*

The particle *se* 'you think?' often occurs with a question. Schmidt (1993:543) notes, "It turns the question into a polite question for which a negative response is implied or turns a negative question for which an affirmative response is implied."³

- (8) a. *u g^hərəjã bəsit se*
 u g^hərə-jã bəs-i-t se
 he house-LOC sit-3SG-NPST PART
 ‘Does he stay at home ? (Do you think so ?)’

³ It has a similar function to Nepali particle *rə*.

- b. *u dzait se*
 u dza-i-t se
 he go-3SG-NPST PART
 ‘Does he go ? (Do you think so ?)’

8.2.5 Particle *dze*

The particle *dze* 'you must realize that...' emphasizes that 'the information in the sentence is or should be known to the speaker' (see Schmidt 1993:67). This particle can be termed 'confirmation particle'.⁴ It normally follows the verb.

- (9) a. *dāt uhoike dzailə dze silajǎ*
 dāt uho-ike dza-lə dze sila-jǎ
 teeth sharp-INF go-PST PRT stone-LOC
 ‘He went to sharpen his teeth in the stone.’ (KaQ.SLD.169)
- b. *pərwanpur gaũjǎ k^heti kǎrte k^həna uc^hi kǎc^hi pərnei dze*
 pərwanpur gaũ-jǎ k^heti kǎr-te
 Parwanpur village-LOC farming do- SIM
 k^həna uc^hi kǎc^hi pər-nei dze
 while there where AUX-OBLIG PART
 ‘While farming in the Parwanpur village, (something) happened.’
 (PtP.CND.022)

8.2.6 Particle *tou*

The particle *tou* 'okay' (also pronounced as *toũ*) normally occurs clause-finally with questions. Thus when this particle occurs in questions, the particle softens the question it occurs with.

- (10) a. *hame kǎse kǎse kǎrike tou*
 hame kǎse kǎse kǎr-ike tou
 we what what do-INF PART
 ‘What (shall) we do when we lose oxen ?’ (DP.CND.073)

⁴ The term 'confirmation particle' is from Watters (2002:187).

- b. *abe goru lab^halerə kəse kərike tou*
 abe goru lab^ha-larə kəse kər-ike tou
 now ox lose-PROS how do-INF PART
 ‘What (are) we to do ?’ (BF.SLD.206)

8.2.7 Particle *təre*

This particle is mainly used in the imperative sentences where the addressee is equal or lower in status than the addresser. Thus this particle may be used to address sons, brothers or wife but is inappropriate if it is used while addressing sister-in-law or the one who gets honorific status.

- (11) *lə ijə tənkauk təre*
 lə ijə tənka-uk təre
 okay this stretch-IMP PART
 ‘Stretch this rope, okay ?’ (SoaO.JD.026)

A number of particles which are of Nepali origin also occur in Darai corpus. The most frequent particles are presented in the following paragraphs.⁵

8.2.8 Particle *haĩ*

The discourse particle *haĩ* ‘okay’ ‘turns a statement into a request or softens a request (Schmidt 1993:637).’ This is often used in request or with hortative sentences occurring clause finally.

- (12) a. *adzu cāḍei mac^hə marike haĩ*
 adzu cāḍei mac^hə mar-ike haĩ
 today quickly fish kill-INF PART
 ‘We will catch the fish early today, okay ?’ (MtU.SD.030)
- b. *səberəi b^hat khaũ haĩ kəhikun kəhələ*
 səberəi b^hat kha-ũ haĩ kəh-ikun kəhə-lə
 early rice eat-HOR PART say-SEQ say-PST
 ‘(He) asked her to take the meal early.’ (BF.SLD.025)

⁵ Discussion on particles in Nepali is found on Adhikari (1993), Mathews (1984) and Schmidt (1993). The particles of Nepali origin are discussed based on them.

8.2.9 Particle *tə*

Schmidt (1993:637) notes that the particle *tə* 'as for...' "has a contrastive function." Its basic function is to mark a referent as contrasting with the one mentioned earlier.

- (13) a. *merə bubam tə rakc^{hes} atəi*
 məi-rə buba-m tə rakc^{hes}
 I-[OBL]GEN father-1SG.POSS PART demon
 atə-i
 COP.NPST-3SG
 'As for my father, he is a demon.' (SQ.BLD.073)
- b. *abe uhĩ tə ap^hni hatt^hi cini hallə*
 abe u-hĩ tə ap^hni hatt^hi
 now he-ERG PART self elephant
 cin-i hal-lə
 recognize-ABS begin-PST
 'Now, he recognized his elephant instantly.' (SQ.BLD.035)

8.2.10 Particle *cahĩ*

Emphatic particle *cahĩ* marks the information which is emphasized. When it occurs between nominal referents such as "the X one" it is employed to focus the element between competing referents (Schmidt 1993:189). Followings are examples.

- (14) a. *tərəkə p^hutlə kere uprəkə cahĩ nidzə p^hutlə*
 tərə-kə p^hut-lə kere uprə-kə cahĩ
 you-[OBL]GEN break-PST HS up-GEN PART
 nidzə p^hut-lə
 NEG break-PST
 'As for the bottom (part), it broke (but) the upper part did not break.'
 (DaF.CND.034)

- b. *rakc^{hes} cahĩ cəri k^həri dzailə rələhai*
 rakc^{hes} cahĩ cərik^həri dza-lə
 demon PART grazing go-PST
 rəla-h-ai
 COP.PST-3-INFR

‘As for the demon, he went for grazing (as I infer).’ (SQ.BLD.067)

The lack of the particle *cahĩ* ‘as for...’ indicates a very straightforward meaning without focus on any element.

8.2.11 Particle *k^hoi*

The particle of doubt *k^hoi* functions as a hesitancy marker to mean ‘I don’t know’ (Schmidt 1993:119).

- (15) a. *k^hoi dzailə toi*

k^hoi dza-lə toi
 PART go-PST you

‘Hey, did you go?’ (IMM.SU.024)

- b. *k^hoi u tə nihidz pətta*

k^hoi u tə nihidz pətta

PART that PART NEG knowledge

‘What, I do not (know) that.’ (In.UN.052)

- c. *k^hoi dɔŋgajə̃ paulə mac^hə marte k^həna*

k^hoi dɔŋga-jə̃ pa-lə mac^hə mar-te
 PART boat-LOC get-PST fish SIM

k^həna

while

‘While catching (lit. killing) the fish found in the boat.’ (DaF.CND.076)

- d. *lə məi hertəm*
 lə məi her-tə-m
 PART I look-NPST-1SG
 'Okay, I will guard (it).' (KK.SLD.029)

The particle of initiation *lu* 'okay' has the same function and this can be regarded as a variant of *lə* (as in 18a). Related with this particle are the particles *lure* and *luri* occurring in the texts.⁶ Examples are given in (18b-c).

- (18) a. *ke kərəu lu nə kəse kərəu*
 ke kər-əu lu nə kəse kər-əu
 what do-HOR. PART PART how do-HOR
 'Oh, what we do, how to do ?' (BF.SLD.179)
- b. *lure bāsi badzao*
 lure bāsi badza-o
 PART flute play-IMP.HON
 'Come on, play the flute.' (DaF.CND.017)
- c. *luri ciŋna baslə*
 luri ciŋna bas-lə
 PART chicken cry-PST
 '...the cock cried.' (BF.SLD.060)

8.3 Interjections

Schachter (1985:58) says, "*Interjections* are words which are often of an exclamatory character." Post (2007:637) notes, "They are words or other fixed constructions which constitute a complete and self-contained utterance." The interjections found in our database are given in (19) and some of them are illustrated in (20).

- (19) *oho* expression of surprise, wonder or dismay
ba surprise
abui fear
aha expression of pleasure
d^het expression of disappointment or disapproval

⁶ This function can be described as 'initiators' (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973:142).

aja expression of pain or fatigue
ace expression of disgust, contempt

- (20) a. *ba pani k^hai rəhəte bag^h*
 ba pani k^ha-i rəhə-te bag^h
 EXCL water eat-ABS remain-SIM tiger
 'Oh, the tiger (was) drinking water !' (EI.CND.029)
- b. *abui kəbɔdə ãk^hi kəhikun ɖaralə*
 abui kəbɔdə ãk^hi kəh-ikun ɖara-lə
 EXCL big eye say-SEQ frighten-PST
 'Saying, 'Oh ! How big the eyes are' they were frightened.'
 (BF.SLD.225)
- c. *oho i tə radz magi laləi*
 oho i tə radz mag-i laləi
 EXCL this PART reign ask for-ABS INSTAN
 'Oh ! This has begged (asked for) the kingdom.' (OK.JD.046)
- d. *ace koneĩ an-hale-k bhat adzu*
 ace koneĩ an-hale-k bhat adzu
 EXCL who-ERG bring-PST-3SG rice today
 'Who brought the rice today?' (BF.SLD.101)

8.4 Onomatopoeia

Masica (1991:78-79) notes that onomatopoeic formation is a feature of South Asian and Southeast Asian region and this feature is found in Darai. Onomatopoeic expressions in Darai may be exactly reduplicated as in (21). Onomatopoeic words imitate sounds of human or animal voices and normally precede the verbs. The stems are generally monosyllabic.⁷ All vowels occur in onomatopoeic words.

- (21) *.tiŋ .tiŋ* 'ringing of bell'
cuĩ cuĩ 'the cry of mouse'
guruŋ guruŋ 'sound of beating drums'
be be 'the cry of ducks'

⁷ Masica further discusses that onomatopoeia has specific structure such as CVC-CVC structure with the reduplicated stems.

<i>dz^hoẽ dz^hoẽ</i>	'the cry of pig'
<i>b^hou b^hou</i>	'barking of dog'
<i>səl səl</i>	'hissing noise of snake'
<i>cã cã</i>	'the cry of the chicken'
<i>kau kau</i>	'sound of crow'
<i>mjãu mjãu</i>	'mewing'
<i>djam djam</i>	'repeated beating (someone)'
<i>pjã pjã</i>	'the cry of goat'
<i>.t^hjai .t^hjai</i>	'stepping with long strides'
<i>djaŋgei</i>	'rumbling'
<i>swã swã</i>	'the sound of stream flowing'
<i>hwa hwa</i>	'the cry of jackal'

The onomatopoeic words *guruŋ guruŋ* 'the beatings of drums' is onomatopoeia, as it imitates the sound of beating drum, whereas some words such as *curlummə* describes the manner a person dives into the water. It is a state which does not produce any sound. Some words which do not produce any sound but describe the manner are listed in (22).

- (22) *.t^him .t^him* 'the sound when someone walks'
- p^hin p^hin* 'movement of oxen when they plough field'
- k^hok^hk^han* 'referring to stinking smell'
- .tokrəkkei* 'the situation when someone sits/squates'
- pəljaŋgei* 'the situation when someone lies on the bed'
- pəkləkkei* 'the manner of breaking'
- dəŋrəŋgei* 'the manner some one falls in the ground'
- t^hərt^hər* 'trembling'
- g^həppa g^həp* 'the sound to indicate eating fast'
- dz^hwaim* 'the sound when the vegetables are fried in oil'
- k^hjassə* '(manner) one smiles'
- cwaŋtei* 'the manner of cutting something'

Some examples of onomatopoeia are presented in (23-24).

- (23) a. *k^hola swāswā bastihin baṭəi*
 k^hola swāswā bas-tihin baṭə-i
 stream ONO cry-PROG AUX.NPST-3SG
 ‘The stream is crying.’
- b. *u p^hutrukkei b^hidzlə*
 u p^hutrukkei b^hidz-lə
 he ONO be soak-PST
 ‘He completely got soaked.’
- (24) a. *p^heri səlsəl*
 p^heri səlsəl
 again ONO
 ‘Again (it flows) smoothly (in the water).’ (SQ.BLD.328)
- b. *t^hər t^hər t^hər t^hər kāpte kuṭuni buḍ^hi-səb*
 t^hər t^hər t^hər t^hər kāp-te kuṭuni buḍ^hi-səb
 ONO ONO ONO ONO shake-SIM Kutuni old woman-PL
 ‘Kutuni Budhi and others began to tremble.’ (SQ.BLD.394)
- c. *guruṅ guruṅ badza*
 guruṅ guruṅ badza
 ONO ONO musical instrument
 ‘The beatings of the musical instruments,’ (KaQ.SLD.115)

8.5 Echo formation

Masica (1991:80) notes:

What is involved is the following of a word, most often a noun, by a form which “echoes” it, replacing the initial consonant (sometimes also the following vowel) with a standard consonant (or CV sequence), which varies according to the language. The meaning is that of the basic noun “and things like that” almost but not quite equivalent to “etc.”.

The languages repeat the words to perform a variety of functions. Echo formation is one of them. In Darai the echoed part generally begins with *s-*. For example the word *kam* 'work' is echoed as *kam sam* 'work and so on' with the

imprecise meaning 'work, etc' or 'work and or something like work'. In fact, the echoed part is meaningless in isolation. Abbi (2001:168) calls this 'partial lexical reduplication'. Some examples of echo words which occur in our discourse are presented in (25).

- (25) a. *uc^hin k^hal̥ta saɭta k^hənikun*
 uc^hi-n k^hal̥ta saɭta k^hən-ikun
 there-EMPH ditch ECHO dig-SEQ
 'Having dug the ditch and so on right there...' (SQ.BLD.176)
- b. *məti səti anikun*
 məti səti an-ikun
 soil ECHO bring-SEQ
 'Having brought the soil and the like...' (SoaO.JD.005)
- c. *uk^hrə nau sau heralə*
 u-rə nau sau hera-lə
 he-[OBL] GEN name ECHO lose-PST
 'He lost his name and the like.' (OK.JD.094)

8.6 Summary

This chapter discussed particles, interjections, and onomatopoeia and echo words. There are several particles which express various discourse functions. The meanings of these particles depend very much on the contexts in which they are used expressing different nuances of meaning such as contrast, focus, interrogation etc. Some native Darai particles are widely used in natural discourse despite the influences from neighboring languages on lexicon. Darai has a number of expressions related to onomatopoeia. Echo words are also found in Darai.

CHAPTER 9

NOUN PHRASE

9.0 Outline

This chapter examines the internal structure of the noun phrase (NP) or the constituents of which it is made up of as well as their relative ordering. Section 9.1 discusses the head of the NP in Darai. In section 9.2 we present different types of noun phrases. Similarly, section 9.3 analyzes the constituency tests of noun phrases. In section 9.4 we present the findings of this chapter.

9.1 Noun phrase head¹

The most common noun phrase, “contains a single word which is either a noun or a pronoun” (Dryer 2007c:151). Givón (2001b:1) notes that two NP types most common are noun and pronoun.² We find at least three types of NPs in terms of their head in Darai: common nominal, pronominal and proper name. Common nominal-headed NPs are more frequent than other NPs. Proper name-headed NPs are referential to a known individual. Examples (1a-c) present the NP head of common nominal, pronominal and proper noun. Pronouns do not occur with modifiers.

- (1) a. *duhəi b^hai sər səllahə kər-lə*
 duh-əi b^hai sərsəllahə kər-lə
 two-EMPH brother advice do-PST
 ‘Both of the brothers consulted each other.’ (PtP.CND.056)
- b. *uhĩ bon bilaurike cjappə d^hərikun uk^hrake mudzihik ɿ^huslə*
 u-ĩ bon bilauri-ke cjappə d^hər-ikun
 he-ERG jungle cat-DAT suddenly hold-SEQ
 u-ke mudzi-k ɿ^hus-lə
 he-[OBL]ACC anus-POSS.3SG thrust-PST
 ‘Having grasped the jungle cat, he trusted (it) in his anus.’ (SQ.BLD.331)

¹ We based our discussion on Dryer (2007c), (Givón 2001b) and Masica (1991).

² Andrews (1985:62) notes that noun phrase has at least three meanings: semantic, pragmatic and grammatical. In his analysis the grammatical meaning of NP is related to the structure of NP.

- c. *og^həri radzakə g^hətəjǎ pugikun rokalə ɖoŋga*
 og^həri radza-kə g^hətə-jǎ pug-ikun
 Oghari King-GEN cremation ground-LOC reach-SEQ
 rok-a-lə ɖoŋga
 reach-CAUS-PST boat
 ‘Having reached the bank of Oghari King, the boat stopped.’
 (SQ.BLD.331)

Noun phrases are often deleted in natural discourse as in (2a-e). Generally the subjects are deleted.

- (2) a. *dzogikə des niskələ*
 dzogi-kə des nisk-lə
 hermit-GEN country reach-PST
 ‘(The king) reached the country of hermit.’ (KaQ.SLD.031)
- b. *dzəŋgəl puglə*
 dzəŋgəl pug-lə
 jungle reach-PST
 ‘(The king) reached the jungle.’ (KaQ.SLD.032)
- c. *dəs badzi dz^hətaike nai paəi*
 dəs badzi dz^hətə-ike nai-pa-i
 ten times strike with stick-INF NEG-get-3SG
 ‘(You) are not allowed to hit ten times.’ (KaQ.SLD.028)
- d. *dzəilə*
 dza-lə
 go-PST
 ‘(The king) went.’ (KaQ.SLD.029)
- e. *u din k^həilə piulə ramrəse*
 u din k^ha-lə pi-lə ramrə-se
 that day eat-PST drink-PST good-ADVZ
 ‘(He) ate and drank well that day.’ (SQ.BLD.112)

Masica (1991:393) notes, "The structure of basic noun phrase in NIA (with certain exceptions to be noted presently may be called straightforwardly left-branching (Modifier + N)". The noun phrase in Darai consists minimally of a noun or pronoun and

optional modifiers. Figure (9.1) presents the main constituents which may occur within a noun phrase.

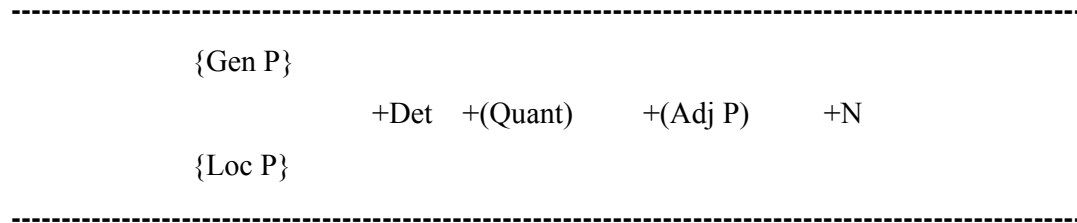


FIGURE 9.1 Structure of the noun phrase (Masica 1991:393)

Different constituents of the noun phrase have been discussed in some chapters. This is summarized and presented in Table (9.1).

TABLE 9.1 Lexical elements of the noun phrase

Elements	Sections
Demonstratives	5.1.8
Numerals	5.1.7
Quantifiers and interrogative modifiers	5.1.8
Relative clauses	11.3.2

9.2 Types of the noun phrases

Dryer (2007c: 151) classifies the noun phrases into simple, complex and noun phrases without nouns.

9.2.1 Simple noun phrase

Dryer (2007c: 151) notes that simple noun phrases contain only pronouns or nouns plus simple modifiers like articles, adjectives, demonstratives or numerals.³ The

³ Givón (2001b:2) provides an exhaustive list of modifiers. They are bound morphemes (i.e. classifiers, number, case-markers and demonstratives/articles), lexical words (i.e. demonstratives, adjectives, compounding nouns, numerals and quantifiers), phrases (i.e. prepositional phrases and relational phrases) and clauses (i.e. noun complements, relative clauses).

modifiers which appear within a noun phrase express property or attribute of the referent as in (3) through (7). There are pre-nominal constituents such as adjectives, quantifiers, demonstratives and numerals. Adjectives which appear within a noun phrase express property or attribute of the referent as in (3). Cardinal and ordinal numerals in the noun phrase are illustrated in (4) and (5) respectively. Quantifiers are illustrated in (6) and demonstratives in (7).

- (3) *nani c^hawa*
 nani c^hawa
 small child
 ‘...small child.’ (UT.SD.022)
- (4) *ek deli tə mar-te machə*
 ek deli tə mar-te machə
 one basket of twigs kill-SIM fish
 ‘(We will) catch a basket of fish.’ (BF.SLD.052)
- (5) *tisrən din tin dawa*
 tisrən din tin dawa
 third day three a ritual after death
 ‘... three Dawas (a ritual after death) on the third day.’ (DR.CND.009)
- (6) *səbəi kam oralə*
 səbəi kam ora-lə
 all work finish-PST
 ‘All work was finished.’
- (7) a. *ijə dzəggake rugikunu bəsuk*
 ijə dzəgga-ke rug-ikunu bəs-uk
 this land-ACC wait-SEQ live-IMP
 ‘Live here caring this land.’ (PtP.CND.079)
- b. *ijə tuhura*
 ijə tuhura
 this orphan
 ‘this orphan...’ (OK.JD.087)

c. *uwə des*
 uwə des
 that country
 ‘...that country.’ (KaQ.SLD.030)

d. *uwə mərca*
 uwə mərca
 that yeast
 ‘...that yeast.’ (HtMW.SD.015)

Quantifiers comprise the terms related to measurement preceding the head noun. These terms are related to size, measurement of units and so on. They are illustrated in (8).

(8) a. *ek manus əlgə golikə t^hopro b^hailə*
 ek manus əlgə goli-kə t^hopro b^həi-lə
 one man tall bullet-GEN heap become-PST
 ‘There was a pile of bullets of about five or six feet (the height equal to that of a man.’ (BF.SLD.229)

b. *ek kəura b^hat delə*
 ek kəura b^hat de-lə
 one bowl rice give-PST
 ‘(He) gave a bowl of rice...’ (IMM.SU.109)

Interrogative modifiers which are rare in our corpus also precede the head noun. This is illustrated in (9).

(9) *kon .t^haũjə*
 kon .t^haũ-jə
 which place
 ‘In which place ?’ (In.UN.033)

9.2.2 Complex noun phrases

Dryer (2007c:151) mentioned "more complex sorts of modifiers like genitive or possessive modifiers and relative clauses." We discuss the genitive phrases, relative clauses and apposition in the following paragraphs.

i. Genitive phrases⁴

A genitive phrase consists of a noun phrase in genitive case. Genitive case-marked possessive NPs precede the head noun. The possessor can be any NP which appears in the genitive case and bears the genitive case marker. It may be headed by any type of nominal, including a common noun, pronouns etc.

- (10) a. *mac^həkə kheti*
mac^hə-kə kheti
fish-GEN farming
'...farming of the fish' (DaF.CND.037)
- b. *merə b^haim*
məi-rə b^hai-m
I-[OBL] GEN buffalo-POSS1SG
'My brother....' (KK.SLD.017)
- c. *merə b^hāisim gaim əlpələ*
məi-rə b^hāisi-m gai-m
I-[OBL] GEN buffalo-POSS.1SG cow-POSS.1SG
əlp-lə
disappear-PST
'...My buffalo and cow disappeared.' (HP.BLD.023)
- (11) a. *t^harukə t^haru radzje*
t^haru-kə t^haru radzje
Tharu-GEN Tharu kingdom
'Tharu kingdom of the Tharus' (In.UN.046)
- b. *hamrə rittei b^hūḍi*
hame-rə rittei b^hūḍi
we-GEN empty embryo
'Our empty (unfertile) embryo' (KaQ.SLD.022)

In (10), the word 'farming' is modified by genitive phrase *mac^həkə* 'of fish'. As can be seen in (11), a genitive phrase consists of a noun or personal pronoun followed by genitive marker *-kə* and *-rə* with nouns (11a) and pronouns (11b) respectively.

⁴ Genitive case is discussed in detail in (4.1.3).

ii. Apposition

Apposition is also common in our discourse data. As can be seen in (12-14), two noun phrases refer to the same referent. These noun phrases are co-referential without any conjunction. Two kinds of appositions found in our corpus are common nouns (15) and head common noun preceding a pronoun (17).

- (12) *pus mähina*
 pus mähina
 Poush month
 'The month of Poush.' (EI.CND.042)
- (13) *ijə əmrıt amkə p^həl*
 ijə əmrıt am-kə p^həl
 this nectar mango-GEN fruit
 'This nectar, the fruit of a mango.' (KaQ.SLD.038)
- (14) *uk^hrə kes sunkesri ranikə kes*
 u-rə kes sunkesri rani-kə kes
 he-[OBL]GEN hair Sunkesri queen-GEN hair
 'Her hair, the hair of Sunkesri queen.' (SQ.BLD.188)
- (15) *hame tuhura pəilehīse hela b^hailə*
 hame tuhura pəile-hi~se hela b^hai-lə
 we orphan first-EMPH-ABL hatred become-PST
 'We orphans were despised from those days.' (PtP.CND.068)
- (16) *hə kes dz^hərlə sono dzəsnə kes*
 hə kes dz^hər-lə sono dzəsnə kes
 yes hair fall-PST gold like hair
 'Well the hair fell, the hair like gold.' (SQ.BLD.182)

As illustrated in (12-16), two noun phrases refer to the same referents. These noun phrases are co-referential without any conjunction. Similarly the first person plural pronouns can occur with the noun as can be seen in (15).

Another type of NP is the one which contains the relative clause.⁵ The relative clause precedes its head noun. The pre-nominal relative clauses are found with participial forms of the verbs: past participle (19) and prospective (17-18) forms.

⁵ Relative clauses are discussed in detail in (11.3.2).

- (17) *uhĩ merake kəhəlahərə kura*
 u-hĩ məi-ke kəhə-lahərə kura
 he-ERG I-[OBL]ACC say-PROS thing
 'the thing he will tell me...' (PtP.CND.077)
- (18) *hat^ht^hike əḍḍelaharə rasa*
 hat^ht^hi-ke əḍḍe-laharə rasa
 elephant-ACC make stand-PROS rope
 'the rope which keeps the elephant stand...' (SoaO.JD.034)
- (19) *duk^hə paulə .tuhura*
 duk^hə pa-lə .tuhura
 hardship get-PFV orphan
 '... the orphan who got much hardships.' (SoaO.JD.002)

9.2.3 Noun phrases without nouns

Dryer (2007c:193) mentions:

In the narrowest sense of the term, a noun phrase must contain a noun or pronoun, possibly accompanied by other words or phrases modifying the noun or pronoun. Many languages have constituents that are not of this form but which are sometimes called noun phrases because of grammatical similarities to typical instances of noun phrases, such as occurrence in subject or object position.

We discuss noun phrases without nouns in the following sections.

Sometimes the head of the NP is not overtly expressed and are contextually predictable. Such NPs are common in natural discourse. Dryer 2007c: 193 notes, "Many languages allow noun phrases that consist of words that normally would be modifiers of a noun but without any noun." We have a few instances of noun phrases with only modifying words in discourse data. An example is given in (20).

- (20) *pudza kərlarəĩ ap^hnə kam kərtə dzait*
 pudza kər-larə-ĩ ap^hnə kam kərtə dza-i-t
 worship do-INF-ERG self work do go-3SG-NPST
 'The (person who) worship goes on doing his own work.'

In (20), the subject is the word that functions as a noun although the subject is a modifier. It differs from the following example where noun phrases lack nouns involving ellipsis of a head noun.⁶

(21) *hame cahī eḳta duḳta c^huṭlə cāhi pəhaḍ pətti dzəiləhun*

hame	cahī	ek-ta	duk-ta	c ^h ut-lə
we	PART	one-CLF	two-CLF	leave-PFV
cāhi		pəhaḍ	pətti	dza-lə-hun
PART.		hill	towards	go-PST-HS

'We, probably one or two who were left behind went towards the hills.'

(In.UN.030)

In (20), only the ordinal numeral with classifier functions as a noun phrase without the head. There are a few cases where the adjectives function as noun phrases.

(22) *car pat^hi dzətka herkalə*

car	pat ^h i	dzətka	herka-lə
four	Pathi	APROX	spill-PST

'About four Pathis of (grains) spilled.'

(23) a. *toi kono gone rodztəs*

toi	kono	gone	rodz-tə-s
you	which	saree	select-NPST-2SG

'Which saree do you choose?'

b. *kaili*

kaili

blue

'(I will choose) blue one (saree).'

In (22), only the modifiers function as a noun. Similar function is served by the adjectives alone. It differs from examples (23b) where noun phrases lack a noun. In such cases, a noun is not expressed overtly. However, it can be predicted as illustrated in (22, 23b).

Aside from the lexical elements of the noun phrase, noun phrases also contain grammatical elements such as plural suffix, case clitics, pronominal possessive suffixes and emphasis markers. All these grammatical elements are listed in (Table 9.2).

⁶ Gil (2008) notes that adjectives without nouns are possible in two contexts: when the noun is either unimportant or is reconstructible from the context.

TABLE 9.2 Grammatical elements of the noun phrase

Elements	Section reference
Plural suffix, case clitics, pronominal possessive suffixes	4.1.3
Emphatic clitic	8.1

9.3 Constituency tests

Noun phrase is a constituent in the grammar of Darai. Therefore, we try to determine whether a string of words is constituent of a noun phrase. In the following discussion, we will present examples from the corpus illustrating two constituency tests for noun phrase following (Fabb 1994).

9.3.1 Substitution

Fabb (1994:3) notes, "If a sequence of words can be replaced by the word...without changing the meaning, then that sequence of words is a phrase." Thus, a constituency can substitute a complex noun phrase with a pronoun (Willis 2007:318). Noun phrases can be substituted with a similar phrase or pronouns. Examine examples in (24-25).

- (24) a. *ihəi tə ɡaɖ kalu hame b^hetlə*
 ihəi tə ɡaɖ kalu hame b^het-lə
 this-EMPH PART small pond yesterday we meet-PST
 'This is the very poodle (we) met yesterday.' (BF.SLD.037)
- b. *lə ijə od^həu*
 lə ijə od^h-əu
 okay this bring out water-HORT
 'Okay, let's take out water from this.' (BF.SLD.038)
- (25) a. *bətekə bāsi*
 bəte-kə bāsi
 Bote-GEN flute
 '...Bote's flute.' (DaF.CND.112)

- b. *i mæi paulə aʈim*
 i mæi pa-lə aʈi-m
 this I get-PST AUX.NPST-1SG
 'I have found this.' (DaF.CND.113)

The word *ijə* 'this' has replaced the sequences of words 'Bote's flute' in (25a). The pronoun in this example has replaced a group of words. Fabb (1994:3) notes that replacement works if the meaning is almost the same. When the noun phrase is substituted by a single word, the meaning remains almost the same in (24b) and (25b).

9.3.2 Movement

Fabb (1994:4) notes, "If a sequence of words can be moved together, then that sequence of words is a phrase." It can be moved to the beginning or end of the clauses in Darai. It is possible to move the noun phrase (subject) after the main verb. Examples are given in (26).

- (26) a. *uc^hika dzəgətpur dzəilə rəlahai hamrə badze*
 uc^hika dzəgətpur dzəi-lə rəla-h-ai
 there Jagatpur go-PST AUX.PST-3-INFR
 hame-rə badze
 we-GEN grandfather
 'Then our grandfather went to Jagatpur. (as I infer)' (PtP.CND.024)
- b. *uprə rəlahai b^həgeri cəri*
 uprə rəhə-lə-h-ai b^həgeri cəri
 above remain-PST-3-INFR sparrow bird
 'The sparrow was above (him).' (SQ.BLD.226)

When a group of words has been moved to the final position, the sentences remain almost the same. As in examples (26a-b) NPs are moved to the clause-final positions. The constituents moved to the final position are single constituents in (26a-b).

9.4 Ordering of NP constituents

Although Masica (1991) proposes the order of constituents of modifiers as given in Figure (9.1), it is difficult to determine the precise ordering of noun phrase constituents in Darai. Several modifiers are not frequent in noun phrases in our corpus. The noun phrases where more than two modifiers occur are not very frequent. Following are some examples where more than one modifier occurs in the texts:

- (27) a. *merə dzəbbəd kam*
 məi-rə dzəbbəd kam
 I-[OBL]GEN big work
 ‘my important (lit. big) work’ (BF.SLD.153)
- b. *ekta dzəbbəd səmundrə*
 ek-ta dzəbbəd səmundrə
 one-CLF big sea
 ‘(One) big sea’ (KK.SLD.018)
- c. *ukrə duhei god*
 u-rə du-ei god
 he-[OBL]GEN two-EMPH leg
 ‘Both of his legs’ (SOAO.JD.041)
- d. *ijə morlə keṭi*
 ijə mor-lə keṭi
 this die-PFV girl
 ‘this girl who is dead’ (KK.SLD.101)
- e. *dzogikə tin b^hai*
 dzogi-kə tin b^hai
 hermit-GEN three brother
 ‘the hermits’ three brothers’ (SQ.BLD.361)
- f. *hamrə cəud^hə big^ha dzəgga*
 hame-rə cəud^hə big^ha dzəgga
 we- [OBL]GEN fourteen big^ha land
 ‘Our land of fourteen bighas...’ (PtP.CND.034)
- g. *gahē bəḍkə .taŋgi*
 gahē bəḍkə .taŋgi
 very big axe
 ‘(a) very big axe’

Only two modifiers occur in all of these examples. The noun phrase in Darai is left-branching. In (27a-b) the attributive adjectives precede the head nouns. Numeral precedes the attributive phrase in (27b) when they occur together. The participle used as adjective (and relative clause) occurs between determiner and noun as in (27d). Genitive

phrase normally precedes all other modifiers whenever they occur in the same noun phrase as in (27a, 27c, 27e, 27f). Adjective phrase precedes the noun as in (27g). Based on these examples in corpus, we propose the following order of modifiers in the Darai noun phrase:

(28) (Rel clause) + (Genitive phrase) + (Determiner) + (Quantifier)+ (Adjective phrase) + Head

It is hard to make the precise position of the relative clause. The language consultants say it is more natural before the genitive phrase. However, it follows the determiner in example (27d). The elicited example in (29) contains several constituents in a Darai NP.

(29) *bubaĩ delə merə ijə ekta puranə g^hər*

buba-ĩ	de-lə	məi-rə	ijə	ek-ta
father-ERG	give-PFV	I-[OBL]GEN	this	one-CLF
puranə	g ^h ər			
old	house			

‘My this one old house which was given to me by my father’

The example (29) reveals that the relative clause precedes the genitive phrase. Demonstrative, numeral and adjective follow the relative clause but precede the head noun. The language consultants say that the relative clause normally precedes the other constituents.

9.5 Summary

This chapter examined the structure of the noun phrase. All modifiers occur as pre-nominal positions. The elements which can modify a noun in a noun phrase are adjectives, quantifiers, determiners and interrogative modifiers. The noun phrases with genitive or possessive construction and relative clauses are included under the complex noun phrases. The headless relative clauses, noun clauses and noun phrase with only modifying phrases are included under noun with only modifying words. Movement and replacement tests were conducted to see whether a group of words is a noun phrase in Darai. Finally, we presented various modifiers vis-à-vis the noun. This chapter has also examined the combinations of different modifiers within a noun phrase.

CHAPTER 10

THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

10.0 Outline

This chapter deals with a simple sentence and its modification in Darai. It is organized into seven sections. We present the constituent order in section 10.1 and basic clause patterns in section 10.2. Section 10.3 discusses modifications of a simple sentence. In section 10.4 we look at the displacement. We analyze the valence adjusting operations in section 10.5. We present speech act distinction in syntax in 10.6. The findings of this chapter are summarized in section 10.7.

10.1 Constituent order

Darai is a left-branching language. Unmarked constituent order in Darai is subject (S), object (O) and verb (V). Constituent order in the texts is verb-final as in (1-2).

- (1) *kʉtuni buɖ^hi əilə*
 kʉtuni buɖ^hi a-lə
 Kutuni old woman come-PST
 ‘Kutuni Budhi came.’ (SQ.BLD.259)
- (2) *ɖoŋga roklə*
 ɖoŋga rok-lə
 boat stop-PST
 ‘The boat stopped.’ (SQ.BLD.332)

In examples (1-2), we see the verbs in the clause-final position. In the transitive clause object precedes the verb as in (3-4). The object comes between subject and verb. The word order in a transitive clause is illustrated in (3-4).

- (3) *məi .taŋgi rak^hlə*
 məi .taŋgi rak^h-lə
 I axe keep-PST
 ‘I kept the axe.’

- (4) *māi sǎbǎike postəm*
 māi sǎbǎi-ke pos-tə-m
 I all-DAT nourish-NPST-1SG
 ‘I care (nourish) all.’

The indirect object precedes the direct object in a ditransitive clause. Examples are presented in (5-6).

- (5) *uhī radzake roṭi delǎ*
 u-hī radza-ke roṭi de-lǎ
 he-ERG king-DAT bread give-PST
 ‘He gave the king the bread to eat.’

- (6) *uhī b^hǎisike kūḍo delǎ*
 uhī b^hǎsi-ke kūḍo de-lǎ
 he-ERG buffalo-DAT fodder give-PST
 ‘He gave the fodder to the buffalo.’

The indirect object in (5) *radzake* 'king-DAT' precedes the direct object *roṭi* 'bread'. Similarly, in (6) indirect object precedes the direct object.

The possessor precedes the possessed (see Section 9.2.2). Additionally, example (7) shows the use of postpositions.

- (7) *ǎse radzakǎ maṭe hadzir ǎilǎ*
 ǎse radza-kǎ maṭe hadzir a-lǎ
 then king-GEN near order come-PST
 ‘Then the order came from the king.’ (BF.SLD.186)

Numerals and demonstratives precede the nouns (see Section 9.2.1). Similarly, manner adverbs precede the main verb as in (see Section 7.3). However, auxiliary verbs and vector verbs follow the main verb as in (8-9, also see Section 6.4).

- (8) *u bon dzǎilǎ rǎhǎi*
 u bon dza-lǎ rǎhǎ-i
 he forest go-PST AUX.PST-3SG
 ‘He had gone to forest.’

- (9) *rakc^{hes} mori hallǎ*
 rakc^{hes} mor-i hal-lǎ
 demon die-ABS put-PST
 ‘The demon died instantly.’ (KaQ.SLD.172)

Constituent order is not changed in normal speech. However, there are instances when the constituent order is changed for some pragmatic reasons. It is evident when we examine a text entitled 'Jackal and Hen'. This text contains a total of sixty three sentences. Word order in this oral narrative is verb-final and is fairly consistent with it. However, we also find some examples where normal word order is violated. Following are examples:

(10) *bon dzailə sjar*
 bon dza-lə sjar
 jungle go-PST jackal
 'The jackal went to the forest.' (JaH.SLD.041)

(11) *tumbajə ɖʰukli ciŋni*
 tumba-jə ɖʰuk-l-i ciŋni
 pot-LOC wait-PST-F chicken
 'The hen waited in the pot.' (JaH.SLD.049)

The verb is fronted in (10) and we see scrambling of words in (11). The adverbial clause (purposive clause) precede the main clause (see Section 10.3.3) or may occur clause-finally. The adverbial clause follows the verbs and occurs clause finally as can be seen in (12-13).¹

(12) *toi tə nidzə əilə kʰodzike*
 toi tə nidzə a-lə kʰodz-ike
 you PART NEG come-PST search-INF
 'You did not come to search...' (JaH.SLD.024)

(13) *ciŋni pʰeri niskələ cərike*
 ciŋni pʰeri niskə-lə cə-ri-ike
 hen again come out-PST graze-INF
 'The chicken came out to roam.' (JaH.SLD.043)

Different sections where these elements are discussed are referred to in Table (10.1).

¹ Displacement of constituents is discussed in (10.4).

TABLE 10.1 Constituent order in Darai

Elements	Sections
Postpositions and genitive noun	4.1.3
Adjective, numeral, demonstrative-noun	5.1
Manner adverb-verb	7.3
Standard-adjective	5.2.2
Main verb-auxiliary	6.2.2

10.2 Clause patterns

On the basis of occurrence of the constituents of sentences such as subject (S), verb (v), adjunct (A), complement (C) and object (O, direct object (O), indirect object (O_i), the most frequent clause patterns are: SV, SCV, SOV, SAV, SOCV, SO_iOV and SOAV.² They are illustrated in (14- 21).

(14) SV

a. *b^haim gəbsələ*

b^hai-m gəbs-lə

brother-POSS.1SG bury in mud-PST

‘My brother buried in the mud.’

b. *kərbire radza b^hut əilə*

kərbire radza b^hut a-lə

Karbire kind ghost come-PST

‘Karbire King, the ghost came.’ (DaF.CND.064)

(15) SCV

a. *aite gurəu hək^həi*

aite gurəu hək^hə-i

Aite priest COP.NPST-3SG

‘Aite is a priest.’

² The functional notions such as Subject (S), Object (O) etc are based on Quirk and Greenbaum (1973:167).

- b. *məi əlgə hək^həm*
 məi əlgə hək^hə-m
 I tall COP.NPST-1SG
 ‘I am tall.’
- (16) SOV
- a. *uhī cicər k^hailə*
 u-hī cicər k^ha-lə
 he-ERG a kind of rice eat-PST
 ‘He ate (a kind of) rice.’
- b. *məi t^hulo manus dek^hlə*
 məi t^hulo manus dek^h-lə
 I big man see-PST
 ‘I saw a big man.’
- (17) SAV
- a. *radza b^hitrə poslə*
 radza b^hitrə pos-lə
 king in enter-PST
 ‘The king went in.’
- b. *duhəi am uprə dzəilə*
 duhəi am uprə dza-lə
 two-EMPH mango up go-PST
 ‘Both the mangoes went up.’
- (18) *ram g^hərəjə ətəi*
 ram g^hərə-jə ətə-i
 Ram house-LOC COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘Ram is at home.’
- (19) SOCV
- a. *raniī uk^hrake dulha banalə*
 rani-ī u-ke dulha bana-lə
 queen-ERG he-[OBL]DAT husband make-PST
 ‘The queen made him her husband.’

- b. *uhĩ merake uk^hrə dadzu manlə*
 u-hĩ məi-ke u-rə dadzu man-lə
 he-ERG I-[OBL]DAT he-[OBL]GENbrother agree-PST
 ‘He agreed to regard me his brother.’

(20) SOiOV

- a. *toi merake .taŋgi delə*
 toi məi-ke .taŋgi de-lə
 you I-[OBL]DAT axe give-PST
 ‘You gave me an axe.’

- b. *məi deutake p^hula caḍ^halə*
 məi deuta-ke p^hula caḍ^h-a-lə
 I god-DAT flower climb-CAUS-PST
 ‘I offered the flower to the god.’

(21) SOAV

- uhĩ ekta mac^hə baharə rak^hlə*
 u-hĩ ek-ta mac^hə baharə rak^h-lə
 he-ERG one-CLF fish outside put-PST
 ‘He put the fish outside.’

Masica (1991:333) notes that adjuncts are placed somewhere before the verbs.³ Adjuncts are peripheral and free to move. Now we will discuss the clause types in Darai in typological perspectives following Dryer (2007b).⁴

10.2.1 Copular clauses

Copula is used here to refer to the linking element of equative, attributive, locational and possessives. Copula identifies, defines or locates (Masica 1991:337).

³ Masica (1991:334) also notes "Other things being equal, the position closest to the verb entails great importance when more than two adjunctal elements occur together."

⁴ This chapter is organized following Dryer (2007b). He mentions that clause types have at least five meanings. According to Dryer (2007b:224), there are "verbal and non-verbal predicates (or copular clauses) which are determined by their internal structure primarily surrounding different types of predicates." Secondly, verbal predicates are classified into intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses. Thirdly, clause types will be discussed "with grammatical consequences such as topic and focus". Fourthly, the clauses can be discussed in terms of their dependency such as subordination and coordination. Subordination and coordination will be discussed in Chapter (11). The fifth category consists of the sentence distinction among declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences.

There are two copulas in Darai. They are: *hək^hə-* and *ətə-* and their suppletive past form *rəhə-*. They are used in the constructions of attributive clauses, nominal predicate, locative clauses and possessive clauses. Copular clauses consist of copula subject, copular verb and copular complement.

- (22) *toi sor hək^həs*
 toi sor hək^hə-s
 you pig COP.NPST-2SG
 ‘You are a pig.’ (KaQ.SLD.110)

In example (22) the copula joins the copula subject and copula complement.

The copula *hək^hə-* is used in attributive clauses and nominal predicate. The inflections of *hək^hə-* and its suppletive past form *rəhə-* are mentioned in (Appendix 3e). These copulas inflect for agreement. As we see in the appendix (3e), the copula *hək^hə-* inflect for the past tense and non-past tense identical to the main verbs.

Locational and possessive share same formal features in Darai. The *batə-* or *ətə-*, which are used as free variations, are used in predicative locative and possessive clauses. The inflection of *batə-* and its past suppletive form *rəhə* is given in Appendix (3e).

i. Equational clauses (predicate nominals)

Payne (1997:114) mentions, "Predicate nominal clauses typically express the notions of proper inclusion and equation" (also see Givón 2001a:119). They assert the identity of two nominals. The copula *hək^hə-* and form *rəhə-* carry the tense and information related to it. In example (23a) *hame* 'we' is the copular subject, *hək^həi* is the copula and *car b^hai* 'four brothers' is the copular complement.

- (23) a. *hame car b^hai hək^həi*
 hame car b^hai hək^hə-i
 we four brother COP.NPST-1SG
 ‘We are four brothers.’ (SQ.BLD.362)
- b. *ijə beŋgo hək^həi*
 ijə beŋgo hək^hə-i
 this frog COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘This is a frog.’

Payne (1997:114) again notes, "Equatives are those which assert that a particular entity (subject of the clause) is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal." It is illustrated in example (23a-c).

ii. Attributive clauses (predicate adjectives)

The construction of predicate adjective is similar to predicate nominals in Darai. The basic structure of an attributive clause in Darai is *NP ADJ COP*. Examples are illustrated in (24).

- (24) a. *p^hirli əlgə hək^həi*
 p^hirli əlgə hək^hə-i
 Phili tall COP.NPST-3SG
 'Phirli is tall.'
- b. *kono hək^həi dzeɬ^ha*
 kono hək^hə-i dzeɬ^ha
 who COP.NPST-3SG eldest
 '(The hermit said), "Who is the elder one ?' (KaQ.SLD.138)
- c. *dərəisəb sodz^hə hək^həsəb*
 dərəi-səb sodz^hə hək^hə-səb
 Darai-PL simple be-NPST-3PL
 'Darais are simple.'

In (24a), *p^hirli* is the copular subject, *hək^həi* is the copula and *əlgə* 'tall' is the adjective.

iii. Predicate locatives

Locational clauses (predicate locatives) do not have a second NP as we see in equative clauses but copula is followed by a locative adverb or postposition (25c). Examples are given in (25).

- (25) a. *uc^hin bətəi dzogi*
 uc^hi-n bətə-i dzogi
 there-EMPH COP.NPST-3SG hermit
 'The hermit is right there...' (KaQ.SLD.026)

- b. *uc^hin b^hai baṭəi*
 uc^hi-n b^hai baṭə-i
 there-EMPH brother COP.NPST-3.SG
 ‘Her brother is right there.’ (IMM.SU.051)
- c. *pidranijə dərəi gaũ rəhəi*
 pidrani-jə dərəi gaũ rəhə-i
 Pidrani-LOC Darai village COP.PST-3SG
 ‘There was a Darai village in Pidrahani.’

In example (25a) *dzogi* 'hermit' is the copular subject, *baṭəi* is the copula and *uc^hin* 'right there' is an adverb. We find similar construction in (25b).

iv. Possessive clauses

Possessive clauses assert that a particular thing is in possession of something. Therefore, the subjects in (26a-b) are possessors of 'army' and 'soul' respectively. Payne (1997:126) notes, "Languages usually employ existential and/or locational structures to express the notion of possession." Darai uses *baṭə-/ətə-* for possessive clauses.

- (26) a. *kok^hrə p^həudz d^herei baṭəi*
 kono-rə p^həudz d^herei baṭə-i
 who-GEN army many COP.NPST-3.SG
 ‘Whose army is greater in number?’ (GaLK.PD.002)
- b. *oho terə həŋsə kəc^hi ətir*
 oho toi-rə həŋsə kəc^hi ətir-r
 oh ! you-[OBL]GEN soul where COP.NPST-2SG
 ‘Well, where is your soul ? ’ (SQ.BLD.300)
- c. *isəb tə radzakə səntan hək^həsəb*
 i-səb tə radzakə səntan hək^hə-səb
 he-PL PART kind-GEN children COP.NPST-PL
 ‘These are the king's children....’ (In.UN.051)

Copular verbs also serve as linkers between possessor and possessed noun. The nature of possession may comprise all types of possession. Summary of copular clauses is given in Table (10.2).

TABLE 10.2 Summary of copular construction

	<i>həkʰə-</i>	<i>ətə-/ bətə-</i>
Predicate nominals	✓	×
Predicate adjectives	✓	×
Possessive clauses	×	✓
Locatives	×	✓

10.2.2 Intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses

Clauses with lexical verbs can have one, two or three core arguments based on the valence of a verb. They may also contain peripheral arguments. They are described below.

i. Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses have one argument. Subjects are usually in the nominative case. The subject of an intransitive clause does not encode case markers. Oblique noun phrases and adverbials also occur in these clauses. A number of intransitive clauses are given in (27). The arguments are not overtly expressed if its referent is obvious in the context as in (27b).

- (27) a. *bʰut bʰaglə*
 bʰut bʰag-lə
 ghost run away-PST
 ‘The ghost ran away.’ (KK.SLD.045)
- b. *bəllə ədlə*
 bəllə əd-lə
 finally stop-PST
 ‘Finally (it) stopped.’ (PtP.CND.054)
- (28) a. *toi kəte dzəilə rəhəs*
 toi kəte dza-lə rəhə-s
 you where go-PFV AUX.PST-2SG
 ‘Where had you gone ?’ (SQ.BLD.055)

- b. *bəllə hawa p^heri boslə*
 bəllə hawa p^heri bos-lə
 finally wind again sit-PST
 ‘Finally the wind also stopped.’ (SQ.BLD.086)

As can be seen in (27-28), the basic clause structure is noun phrase followed by an intransitive verb. Other elements of the noun phrase, like adverbials also occur in the intransitive clause as in (28b).

ii. Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses are formed of transitive verbs. The transitive subject also carries an ergative case or may be unmarked. In discourse data the arguments may be omitted if the referents are clear in the context. Both the subject and object are not obligatorily present in all transitive clauses in the discourse data.⁵ Transitive clauses have been illustrated in the preceding sections. Some examples are given in (29) through (31).

- (29) a. *pəc^hi kone radzje calait*
 pəc^hi kono-i radzje cəl-a-i-t
 later who-ERG rule move-CAUS-3SG-NPST
 ‘Who will rule the country later?’ (KaQ.SLD.021)
- b. *məi hor dzottəm*
 məi hor dzot-tə-m
 I plough plough-NPST-1SG
 ‘I plough the field (lit. I plough the plough).’ (BF.SLD.109)
- c. *məi lestəm kəluwa b^hat*
 məi les-tə-m kəluwa b^hat
 I take-NPST-1SG snacks rice
 ‘... I bring the rice.’ (BF.SLD.092)
- (30) a. *dukta əmrit dz^harlə*
 duk-ta əmrit dz^har-lə
 two-CLF nectar fall-PST
 ‘(He) brought down two nectars.’ (KaQ.SLD.042)

⁵ See section (4.1.3) for details of case marking.

- b. *dek^hlə mac^hə ekta gadəjə*
 dek^h-lə mac^hə ek-ta gad-jə
 see-PST fish one-CLF small flood-LOC
 ‘(He) saw a fish in a small flood.’ (SQ.BLD.034)
- (31) *k^həilə*
 k^ha-lə
 eat-PST
 ‘(He) ate (the beaten rice).’ (SQ.BLD.138)
- b. *osin kərikun anlə*
 osin kər-ikun an-lə
 like that do-SEQ bring-PST
 ‘Having done like that (he) brought (it).’ (SQ.BLD.371)

Examples (29a-c) contain subjects, verbs and objects whereas examples (30) contain only verb and object. On the other hand, examples (31a-b) neither contain subject nor object. The normal word order of a transitive clause is SOV if both subject and object are present.

iii. Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive verbs have three core arguments: agent like subject (S), patient like object (O) and indirect object (O_I). Among these elements S is the grammatical subject whereas O_I and O are grammatical objects. The unmarked order of the elements is SO_IOV. The ditransitive clauses are illustrated in (32). The subject is either in nominative (32) or ergative case. Some examples with the ditransitive verb 'give' are given in (32-35).

- (32) *məi b^haikə .taŋgi delə*
 məi b^hai-ke .taŋgi de-lə
 I brother-DAT axe give-PST
 ‘I gave an axe to my brother.’

- (33) *harte k^həna tə ranikə c^hawa delə*
 har-te k^həna tə rani-kə
 lose-SIM while PART queen-GEN
 c^hawa de-lə
 child give-PST
 ‘While looking at it, (as the king lost the competition, the king),
 offered (him) his daughter to marry.’ (BF.SLD.235)
- (34) a. *ciura delə*
 ciura delə
 beaten rice give-PST
 ‘(She) gave beaten rice to him.’ (SQ.BLD.137)
- b. *c^hawa delə*
 c^hawa de-lə
 child give-PST
 ‘(He) gives the child (to him).’ (DP.CND.070)
- (35) *dene k^həibo naidene b^hic^hc^ha maŋbo kəhikun əilə*
 de-ne k^ha-bo nai-de-ne b^hic^hc^ha
 give-COND eat-POSB NEG-give-COND alm
 maŋ-bo kəh-ikun a-lə
 ask-POSB say-SEQ come-PST
 ‘They came saying that if (he) gave they would eat, (but) if he would
 not they would beg alms.’ (SQ.BLD.344)

Example (32) contains both subject and object whereas examples (33) contain only object. On the other hand, examples (34a-b) have neither the subject nor the indirect object. Example (35) even lacks the direct object. The direct object of the argument comes closest to the verbs preceding the verb as in (32). The subject comes to the first position. However, three arguments are hardly present in the discourse data.

10.3 Sentence modifications

The sentence modifications presented in this section are: question formation and negation.

10.3.1 Question formation and answer

Interrogative sentences can be classified into two major types: content question and Yes/no question.

i. Content questions

The preferred mode of expression of the content question is the normal word order. They may be termed *k*- questions as they all begin with *k*- words. The question words normally remain *in situ*. Examples are given in (36) through (37) to illustrate content questions and answers.

(36) a. *paukə kətka bərsə b^həilə*
 pau-kə kətka bərsə b^həi-lə
 you.HON-GEN how much year become-PST
 'How old are you ? ' (In.UN.001)

b. *sət^hi bərsə b^həilə*
 sət^hi bərsə b^həi-lə
 sixty years become-PST
 '(I) am sixty years old.' (In.UN.002)

(37) a. *kon .t^haũjə*
 kon .t^haũ-jə
 which place-LOC
 'Which place ? ' (In.UN.033)

b. *k^həi i uwə .t^haũ tə nidzə pətta*
 k^həi i uwə .t^haũ tə nidzə-pətta
 PART this that place PART NEG-knowledge
 'I do not know whether this or that place.' (In.UN.034)

Example (36) shows that question is related to quantity (age) and (37) is about place. The constituents that can be questioned using a set of question forms are subject, object (direct and indirect) and adverbials. Let's examine the statement in (38) and possible questions in (39a-d).

(38) *məi kalu gurəuke p^hula delə*
 məi kalu gurəu-ke p^hula de-lə
 I yesterday priest-DAT flower give-PST
 'I gave a flower to the priest yesterday.'

- (39) a. *kone kalu gurəuke p^hula delə*
 kono-i kalu gurəu-ke p^hula de-lə
 who-ERG yesterday priest-DAT flower give-PST
 'Who gave the flower to the priest yesterday?'
- b. *məi kalu gurəuke kiti delə*
 məi kalu gurəu-ke kiti de-lə
 I yesterday priest-DAT what give-PST
 'What did I give to the priest yesterday?'
- c. *məi kalu kok^hrake p^hula delə*
 məi kalu kono-ke p^hula de-lə
 I yesterday who-[OBL]DAT flower give-PST
 'Whom did I give the flower yesterday?'
- d. *məi kəhjā gurəuke p^hula delə*
 məi kəhjā gurəu-ke p^hula de-lə
 I when priest-DAT flower give-PST
 'When did I give the flower to the priest?'

We see that the subject is questioned in (39a), direct object in (39b), indirect object in (39c) and adverb in (39d). Some questions from discourse data are given in (40).

- (40) a. *əre toi tə b^hot^hi kəske dzotbər hor*
 əre toi tə b^hot^hi kəske dzot-bə-r
 then you PART Bhothi fish how plough-POSS-2SG
 hor
 plough
 '(He said), "You are a Bhothi fish, how might you plough the field?"
 (BF.SLD.111)
- b. *e toi kike dərate bətəs*
 e toi kike dəra-te bətə-s
 VOC you why become frightened-HAB AUX.NPST-2SG
 '(The hermit says), "Why are you frightened?" (KaQ.SLD.152)

- c. *kəsna ətəi*
 kəsna ətə-i
 how COP.NPST-3SG
 'How is (she)?' (SQ.BLD.195)
- d. *toi kəte dzəite*
 toi kəte dza-te
 you where go-HAB
 '(He inquired), "Where (will you) go ?"' (DaF.CND.074)

Following examples further show the questions in discourse.

- (41) a. *kalu kiti k^haike*
 kalu kiti k^ha-ike
 tomorrow what eat-INF
 'What (shall) we eat tomorrow ?' (BF.SLD.003)
- b. *c^hahor kəhjā əilə*
 c^haho-r kəhjā a-lə
 son-2SG.POSS when come-PST
 'When did your son come ?' (BF.SLD.003)

Sometimes, the interrogatives are reduplicated. *kiti kiti* 'what what' is possible whenever the presupposed answer in the plural form or the speaker assumes that the answer must be a list of items, persons, activities etc. The same processes may be repeated to question person, place, manner etc. Examples are given in (42) through (43).

- (42) a. *kalu kon kon əilə*
 kalu kon kon a-lə
 yesterday who REDU come-PST
 'Who came yesterday ?'
- b. *kalu d^hidzuwai rə c^hahim əilə*
 kalu d^hidzuwai rə c^hahi-m a-lə
 yesterday son-in-law and daughter-1SG.POSS come-PST
 'Son-in-law and daughter came yesterday.'

- (43) a. *terake kiti kiti cahit*
 toi-ke kiti kiti cah-i-t
 you-[OBL]DAT what REDU need-3SG-NPST
 'What do you need ?'
- b. *məi kiti kiti kəhətəm*
 məi kiti kiti kəhə-tə-m
 I what REDU say-NPST-1SG
 'What (things) I tell ...' (KK.SLD.221)

In (42) and (43) the question words are reduplicated taking granted that the answer is plural. Thus the reduplicated interrogatives imply plurality.

ii. Yes-no question

Yes/no questions are formed with the use of rising intonation, which is sometimes accompanied by the interrogative particle *tou* as in (46b). Question particle *tou* occurs in clause-final position if it is present. The basic constituent order of question does not change. Sadock and Zwicky (1985:179) note, "They are used to seek consent on the degree of truth of the questioned proposition."

- (44) *lə b^həine ki abe*
 lə b^həi-ne ki abe
 PART become-COND PART now
 'If it is done now ? ' (BF.SLD.156)
- (45) a. *hamrə dərəikə t^hər b^həit ki nai*
 hame-rə dərəi-kə t^hər b^hə-i-t ki nai
 we-GEN Darai-GEN caste become-3SG-NPST or NEG
 'Do we Darais have any caste or not ? ' (In.UN.110)
- b. *k^həi babu nihidzə t^haha*
 k^həi babu nihidzə t^haha
 PART dear son NEG knowledge
 'Well, my dear, (I) do not know.' (In.UN.111)

Disjunctive questions are used to display a choice of usually two alternatives with *hã/ãtã*- 'yes' or *nidzã* 'no'.⁶ Examples of conjoined alternate clauses are given in (46).

- (46) a. *mura c^hiulã hãwai ki nidzã tou*
 mura c^hi-lã hãwai ki nidzã
 radish touch-PST POSB or NEG
 'Did he touch the radish or not ? ' (IMM.SU.087)
- b. *u puc^hlã ki nidzã*
 u puc^h-lã ki nidzã
 he ask-PST or NEG
 'Did he ask or not...?' (SQ.BLD.158)
- c. *tohẽ ic^hi bãstãs ki dzãitãs*
 tohẽ ic^hi bãs-tã-s ki dza-tã-ss
 you here sit-NPST-2SG or go-NPST-2SG
 'Do you stay here or go ?'
- d. *toi dzãitãs ki nãidzas*
 toi dza-tã-s ki nai-dza-s
 you go-NPST-2SG or NEG-go-2SG
 'Do you go or not ?'

As can be seen in (46), alternative questions are formed by appending a disjunctive question word *ki* 'or' to the right of the statement. The word *ki* serves as a disjunctive coordinator. This particle functions whether to agree or deny the proposed statements. Examples are in (47).

- (47) a. *toi masu k^hãitãs ki nidzã*
 toi masu k^ha-tã-s ki nai
 you meat eat-NPST-2SG or NEG
 'Do you eat meat or not ?'
- b. *bẽtasãb dzãilã ki nidzã dzãilã*
 bẽta-sãb dzãi-lã ki nidzã dzãi-lã
 son.PL go-PST or NEG go-NPST
 'Did the boys go or not ?'

⁶ They are also called 'utterance response unit' (Zwicky 1985:303).

- c. *ijə murder merake k^haike detəs ni nai*
 ijə murder məi-ke k^ha-ike
 this corpse I-[OBL]DAT eat-INF
 de-tə-s ki nai
 give-NPST-2SG or NEG

'Do you give me this corpse to eat or not ? ' (KK.SLD.038)

Answers to yes/no questions are either positive or negative. Positive answers contain the positive particle *hə* 'yes' (51b), whereas a negative answer contains a negative particle *nidzə* 'no' (48b). Sometimes the particles are followed by the clause (49b). The particle *hə* 'yes' is used to agree with the proposition uttered whereas *nidzə* 'no' is used with the negated sentences. It is illustrated in (48) through (51).

- (48) a. *kəhətahəsəb etese əilə*
 kəhə-tahə-səb ete-se a-lə
 tell-NPST-PL here-ABL come-PST
 'Do they say (they) came from this place (side) ?' (In.UN.036)

- b. *nidzə*
 nidzə
 NEG
 'No.' (In.UN.037)

- (49) a. *pau uc^hi-n dzərmələ*
 pau uc^hi-n dzərm-lə
 you.HON there-EMPH born-PST
 'Were you born right there ? ' (In.UN.066)

- b. *nihidzə buba dzərmələ*
 nihidzə buba dzərm-lə
 NEG father born-PST
 'No. (My) father was born there.' (In.UN.067)

- (50) *kon t^haujə*
 kon t^hau-jə
 which place-LOC
 'In which place ? ' (In.UN.033)

- (51) a. *lə toi c^hawakə ləgi əilə*
 lə toi c^hawa-kə ləgi a-lə
 PART you son-GEN for come-PST
 'Well, did you come for a son ? ' (KaQ.SLD.034)
- b. *hə̃*
 hə̃
 yes
 '(The king said), 'Yes".' (KaQ.SLD.035)

10.3.2 Negation

There are three main negative markers in Darai, viz. *nidzə*, *nai-* and *dz^hun-*. *nidzə* is also pronounced as *nihidzə* in slow and careful speech.⁷ They all precede the verbs in all tenses, aspects and moods whenever they occur. They have distinct distributional restrictions. The ways to form negative imperatives negation in copular verbs, negative prohibitive and distribution of negative markers in terms of tense and aspect are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Firstly, the negative morpheme *nai-*, also realized as *na-*, is confined to the non-past tense.⁸ Non-past tense marker is deleted upon the prefixation of negative marker to the stem. In all examples (52b) and (53b), tense marker is absent. Instead, the negative marker is followed by person marker.

- (52) a. *dzəitəm g^hərə*
 dza-tə-m g^hərə
 NEG-go-1SG house
 '(I) shall go home.'
- b. *naidzam g^hərə*
 nai-dza-m g^hərə
 NEG-go-1SG house
 'I shall not go home.' (IMM.SU.045)

⁷ Unlike other negative prefixes *nidzə* is a negative particle because it can stand independent of other elements in sentences.

⁸ Payne (1985b:223) discusses the languages where the variation (of negative markers) according to tense, aspect is common in the languages of the world.

- (53) a. *hame cahī bahun lagatahī*
 hame cahī bahun lag-a-ta-hī
 we particularly Brahmin call-CAUS-NPST-1PL
 'We call Brahmin as priest.'
- b. *hame cahī bahun nailagahī*
 hame cahī bahun nai-lag-a-hī
 we particularly Brahmin NEG-call-CAUS-1PL
 'We do not call Brahmin as priest.' (DP.CND.051)

The tense markers are absorbed (deleted) due to the prefixing of negative morphemes (55). Although the tense distinction is neutralized or there is a total loss of tense marking, it is compensated by the person marking on the verbs. The negative prefix *nidzə* is used in the past tense.

- (54) a. *u b^hothi morlə*
 u b^hothi mor-lə
 that Bhothi fish die-PST
 '(That) the Bhothi fish died.'
- b. *u b^hothi nidzə morlə*
 u b^hothi nidzə mor-lə
 that Bhothi fish NEG die-PST
 '(That) the Bhothi fish did not die.' (BF.SLD.230)

All aspects of verbs take negative prefix *nidzə* 'not'. Examples (55) and (56) show the negation of habitual (past) and example (57) shows the negation of progressive aspect.

- (55) a. *p^heri suk^hə paute rəhəm*
 p^heri suk^hə pa-te rəhə-m
 again happiness get-HAB COP.PST-1SG
 'I used to have happiness.'
- b. *p^heri suk^hə nidzə paute rəhəm*
 p^heri suk^hə nidzə pa-te rəhə-m
 again happiness NEG get-HAB AUX.PST-1SG
 'I did not use to have any happiness.' (EI.CND.007)

- (56) a. *məi kam kərlə rəhəm*
 məi kam kər-lə rəhə-m
 I work do-PFV AUX.PST-1SG
 'I had done work.'
- b. *məi kam nidzə kərlə rəhəm*
 məi kam nidzə kər-lə rəhə-m
 I work NEG do-PFV AUX.PST-1SG
 'I had not done work.'
- (57) a. *məi kam kərtihin rəhəm*
 məi kam kər-tihin rəhə-m
 I work do-PROG AUX.PST-1SG
 'I was doing work.'
- b. *məi kam nidzə kərtihin rəhəm*
 məi kam nidzə kər-tihin rəhə-m
 I work NEG do-PROG AUX.PST-1SG
 'I was doing work.'

Secondly, prohibitives are expressed by placing a negative morpheme *dz^hun-* before the verb. The morpheme *dz^hun-* is confined only with the imperative and optative sentences. Examples are given in (58).

- (58) a. *toi attikun dz^hunbos*
 toi att-ikun dz^hun-bos
 you frighten-SEQ PROH-live
 'Don't live by getting confused.' (PtP.CND.078)
- b. *dz^hunmaruk merake*
 dz^hun-mar-uk məi-ke
 PROH-kill-IMP I-[OBL]DAT
 '(The king said), "Don't kill me." (GaLK.PD.029)
- c. *merake dz^hunmarəu*
 məi-ke dz^hun-mar-əu
 I-[OBL] PROH-kill-IMP.HON
 'Don't kill me.' (IMM.SU.046)

- (59) *bud^he g^hərə dz^hundzaus*
 bud^he g^hərə dz^hun-dza-us
 Budhe house NEG-go-OPT.3SG
 ‘May Budhe not go home.’

Desiderative mood is negated with the negative particle *nidzə*. Examples are given in (60).⁹

- (60) a. *merake padas*
 məi-ke pad-as
 I-[OBL]DAT fart-DESID
 ‘I want to fart.’
- b. *merake nidzə padas*
 məi-ke nidzə pad-as
 I-[OBL]DAT NEG fart-DESID
 ‘I do not want to fart.’

The real and hypothetical conditional take *nai-* and *nidzə* respectively.

Following are examples:

- (61) a. *pani nai-pər-ne sit hame dza-ta-hī*
 pani nai-pər-ne sit hame dza-ta-hī
 water NEG-fall-COND PART we go-NPST-1PL
 ‘If it does not rain, we will go.’
- b. *pani nidzə porlə b^həine hame dzəilaharī*
 pani nidzə-por-lə b^həine
 water NEG-fall-PST PART
 hame dza-lahar-hī
 we go-HYP-1PL
 ‘If it had not rained, we would have gone.’

Thirdly, all copular verbs take negative particle *nidzə*. It may or may not be followed by copular verbs. Since *nidzə* ‘not’ can stand independent of the copular verb, this is regarded to be a particle rather than a prefix.

⁹ Negative prefixes in imperative are distinct in some languages. It is *dzin-* in Bote (Poudel 1999:78), *dzun-* in Majhi (Dhakal 2008:114) and *dzun-* in Danuwar (Timilsina (2009:83)).

- (62) a. *tərə məi dek^hlə kura tə nidzə*
 tərə məi dek^h-lə kura tə nidzə
 but I see-PST thing PART NEG
 ‘But this is not the thing I saw.’ (DaF.CND.005)
- b. *i prəsnəkə kura abə sod^hpuc^h nidzə*
 i prəsnə-kə kura abə sod^hpuc^h nidzə
 this question-GEN thing now inquire NEG
 ‘...there is no inquiry of this question.’ (DP.CND.092)
- c. *uk^hrakə ramrə bic^həuna punu nidzə*
 u-kə ramrə bic^həuna punu nidzə
 he-[OBL]GEN good bed also NEG
 ‘He did not even have a good bed.’ (OK.JD.012)

Copulas are sometimes deleted when they occur in negative sentences.

Examples are mentioned in (63).

- (63) a. *adzu k^has kərikun bāsi hamrə dərəi dzatikə nidzə*
 adzu k^has kər-ikun bāsi hame-rə
 today particular do-SEQ flute we-GEN
 dərəi dzati-kə nidzə
 Darai caste-GEN NEG
 ‘Today, the flute in particular is not of the Darai people.’
 (DaF.CND.004)
- b. *tərə hamrə sās^hkritijə bāsi pəhile nidzə*
 tərə hame-rə sās^hkriti-jə bāsi pəhile nidzə
 but we-GEN culture-LOC flute early NEG
 ‘But there was no flute in our culture then.’ (DaF.CND.007)
- c. *nanijə t^haha nidzə*
 nani-jə t^haha nidzə
 young-LOC knowledge NEG
 ‘I did not know when I was small.’ (PtP.CND.001)
- d. *merə t^haha nidzə*
 məi-rə t^haha nidzə
 I-[OBL]GEN knowledge NEG
 ‘I did not know.’ (PtP.CND.003)

- e. *koi saŋg^hati nidzə uk^hrə*
 koi saŋg^hati nidzə u-rə
 some friend NEG he-[OBL] GEN
 ‘... he did not have any friends.’ (SQ.BLD.002)

Sequential converbs and infinitives are negated with *nai-*. They are given in (64). On the other hand, prospective form is negated with *nidzə*. This is illustrated in (65).

- (64) a. *ram b^hat nai-k^ha-ikun rampur dza-lə*
 ram b^hat nai-k^ha-ikun rampur dza-lə
 Ram rice NEG-eat-SEQ Rampur go-PST
 ‘Having eaten rice, Ram went to Rampur.’
- b. *naisunaike naisunaike kəhə-lə*
 nai-sun-a-ike nai-sun-a-ike kəhə-lə
 NEG-hear-CAUS-INF NEG-hear-CAUS-INF say-PST
 ‘...(he) said, '(We) do not tell (to father), we do not tell (to father).'
 (EI.CND.066)
- (65) a. *k^həilarə b^hat*
 k^ha-larə b^hat
 eat-PROS rice
 ‘the rice to eat’
- b. *nidzə k^həilarə b^hat*
 nidzə k^ha-larə b^hat
 NEG eat-PROS rice
 ‘the rice not to eat’

Finally, Darai has a suffix which is suffixed to the verb when two verbs are juxtaposed to convey an emphatic reading. In this type of construction, the negative clause is preceded by a verb with the suffix *-be*. The suffix *-be* always collocates with the negative prefixes preceding the negative markers *nai-* and *nidzə*. Examples are illustrated in (66). Additionally in prohibitive emphatic sentences the suffix *-be* occurs as in (66e-f).

- (66) a. *məi dzəibe nidzə*
 məi dza-be nidzə
 I go-NEG.EMPH NEG
 'I will not definitely go.'
- b. *u dzəibe nidzə kərlə*
 u dza-be nidzə kər-lə
 he go-NEG.EMPH NEG do-PST
 'I did not definitely do (it).'
- c. *hame puc^hbe naikərihĩ*
 hame puc^h-be nai kər-ihĩ
 we ask-NEG.EMPH NEG-do-1PL
 '... We do not call (lit. ask) Brahmins.' (DP.CND.064)
- d. *məi debe nakərəm*
 məi de-be na-kər-m
 I give-NEG.EMPH NEG-do-1SG
 'I will not definitely give.' (KK.SLD.043)
- e. *toi dz^hunbe dz^hunbora*
 toi dz^hun-be dz^hun-bora
 you PROH-NEG.EMPH PROH-speak
 'Don't speak.'
- f. *dz^hunbe dz^hun sunuk*
 dz^hun-be dz^hun-sun-uk
 PROH-NEG.EMPH PROH-listen-IMP
 'Don't listen.'

10.4 Displacement

Masica (1991:394) notes, "Violations of normal word order in the form of meaningful displacements...are important syntactic features." Darai has several constructions that give a noun phrase or a verb phrase marked position. The noun phrases or verb phrases can be right-dislocated or fronted within a clause. These concepts are presented by (Payne 1997:275) as in (67):

- (67) Fronting: Beans I like.
 Left-dislocation: Beans, I like them.
 Clefts: Beans are what I like.
 What I like is beans.
 The one I like are beans.

Payne (1997:273) further notes:

Dislocation (left and right) refers to the placing of a clause element outside the syntactic boundaries of the clause. Sometimes dislocation is referred to as **extraposition**. Left-dislocation is sometimes referred to as **preposing** and right-dislocation as **postposing**. The term **topicalization** refers to left-dislocation in the tradition of generative grammar and other autonomous approaches to syntax. Right-dislocation is sometimes referred to as **afterthought topicalization**.

Some elements of a clause can be fronted within a clause in Darai. Generally they are left-dislocated (topicalized). They are discussed in the following paragraphs.

10.4.1 Fronting¹⁰

Neutral clauses in Darai are SOV. However, we find that verbs are fronted before NPs in our corpus. In (68a-d) we see the fronting of verbs in intransitive clauses and fronting of verbs in transitive clauses in (69).

- (68) a. *morlə rak^hes*
 mor-lə rak^hes
 die-PST demon
 ‘The demon died.’ (SQ.BLD.171)
- b. *p^heri əilə rak^hes*
 p^heri a-lə rak^hes
 again come-PST demon
 ‘The demon came again.’ (SQ.BLD.111)

¹⁰ Masica (1991:394) describes the same phenomenon as topicalization. He further adds, “Various clausal constituents but most commonly the object may be topicalized by displacement leftward to the topic (initial) position.”

- c. *gəbsələ məi adzu*
 gəbsə-lə məi adzu
 bury in mud-PST I today
 ‘I was buried (it) in the mud today.’ (DaF.CND.064)
- (69) *k^hai delə cəram curum ek mən*
 k^ha-i de-lə cəram curum ek mən
 eat-ABS give-PST ONO ONO one equal to forty kilo
 ‘(He) ate one Mon (forty kilo) of beaten rice quickly.’ (SQ.BLD.091)

The verb, which usually follows the NP, is moved to the clause-initial position as shown in (68a). Verbs are found to have been fronted in our corpus. The fronted element is topicalized.

10.4.2 Scrambling

Scrambling involves the “reorderings” (Masica 1991:394). We find a few instances of scrambling in Darai as illustrated in (70).¹¹

- (70) a. *uc^hika dzəgətpur dzəilə rələhai hamrə badze*
 uc^hika dzəgətpur dzəi-lə rələ-h-ai
 there Jagatpur go-PST COP.PST-3-INFR
 hame-rə badze
 we-[OBL]GEN grandfather
 ‘Then our grandfather went to Jagatpur (I infer).’ (PtP.CND.024)
- b. *morlə nidzə b^hothi*
 mor-lə nidzə b^hothi
 die-PST NEG Bhothi
 ‘The Bhothi fish did not die.’ (BF.SLD.231)

NP and VP are scrambled but the constituents within it are not scrambled.

- (71) a. *dek^hlə mac^hə eḳta gadəjə*
 dek^h-lə mac^hə eḳ-ta gad-jə
 see-PST fish one-CLF small flood-LOC
 ‘(I) saw a fish in a small flood.’ (BF.SLD.034)

¹¹ More examples can be found in section (10.1).

- b. *aikun rak^hes boslə b^hitrə*
 a-ikun rak^hes bos-lə b^hitrə
 come-SEQ demon sit-PST inside
 'Having come, the demon stayed in.' (SQ.BLD.085)

10.5 Valence adjusting operations

This section explores the valence adjusting operations. We discuss causative and passive in this section.

10.5.1 Causative

Causative constructions are devices of increasing valence in Darai. There are two distinct means of causative constructions in Darai: morphological and periphrastic. Morphological causative is more productive than periphrastic.

i. Morphological causative

Causatives are formed upon the suffixation of *-a* or *-wa*.¹² An intransitive verb becomes transitive and a transitive verb becomes bitransitive when a causative suffix is added. Regular valence addition is shown in (72). We see the verbs which take the causative suffix *-a* in (72a), the causative suffix triggers vowel harmony as in (72b) and use of *-wa* as in (72c).

- (72) a. *g^humike* 'to wander' *g^humaike* 'make someone wander'
 lokike 'to hide' *lokaike* 'to make something hide'
 suk^hike 'to dry' *suk^haike* 'to make something dry'
 b^hidzike 'to soak' *b^hidzaike* 'to make something soak'
- b. *bəsike* 'sit' *basaike* 'make someone sit'
 cəḍike 'climb' *cəḍaike* 'make someone climb'
 həllike 'shake' *hallaike* 'make someone shake'

¹² *-a* as a causative marker is found in several IA languages (see Masica 1991:320)

c.	<i>k^haike</i>	'eat'	<i>k^hawaike</i>	'make someone eat'
	<i>d^hoike</i>	'wash'	<i>d^howaike</i>	'make someone wash'
	<i>c^hiike</i>	'touch'	<i>c^hiwaike</i>	'make someone touch'
	<i>roike</i>	'weep'	<i>rowaike</i>	'make someone weep'

As a result of the causative suffix certain morphophonemic result takes place. When a suffix *-a* is bound to a verb stem which ends in *-a* the glide *-w* is inserted. Thus there is a glide insertion.¹³ All verbs in (72a-b) are intransitive. When the causative suffix is added to them, they become transitive verbs.

(73) a. *gai cərlə*

gai cə-r-lə
cow graze-PST
'The cow grazed.'

b. *məi gai caralə*

məi gai cə-r-a-lə
I cow graze-CAUS-PST
'I grazed the cows.'

(74) a. *məi gok^hrik^he pərit*

məi gok^hr-ike pə-r-i-t
I bathe-PST happen-3SG-NPST
'I should bathe.'

b. *c^hawake punu gok^hraike pərit*

c^hawak-ke punu gok^hr-a-ike pə-r-i-t
son-3SG -also bathe-CAUS-INF happen-3SG-NPST
'(We) should bathe (his) child.' (MtU.SD.020)

(75) a. *sara dzəntaĩ b^hodz k^hailə*

sara dzəntaĩ b^hodz k^ha-lə
all people-ERG feast eat-PST
'All people ate in the feast.' (DP.CND.012)

¹³ Also see section (3.5.4) for details.

- b. *uhĩ sara dzəntake b^hodz k^hawalə*
 u-hĩ sara dzənta-ke b^hodz k^ha-wa-lə
 he-ERG all people-DAT feast eat-CAUS-PST
 ‘He fed all the people in the feast.’
- (76) a. *c^hahom roulə*
 c^haho-m ro-lə
 son-1SG.POSS weep-PST
 ‘My son wept.’
- b. *məi c^hahomke rowalə*
 məi c^haho-m-ke ro-a-lə
 I son-1SG.POSS-DAT weep-CAUS-PST
 ‘I made my son weep.’

Example (73a) is a sentence with an intransitive verb *cər* ‘graze’. It can be contrasted with (73b) which is the causative verb with the verb root *car* ‘cause to graze’. The verb in (74b) becomes transitive and the subject of the verb *gok^hra* ‘cause to bathe’ is ‘we’. The intransitive verb thus becomes a transitive verb. Similarly in (75) the transitive verb ‘eat’ becomes ditransitive upon the suffixation of the causative marker. Thus, transitive verbs become ditransitive verbs when the causative suffixes are added to the verb stems.

ii. Periphrastic causative

Causatives can also be made by analytical means using the ‘vector verb’ *lagaike* ‘to apply/attach’. The periphrastic causative consists of the main verb followed by the vector verb with finite morphology. However, it is not very productive. Periphrastic causative does not frequently occur in natural discourse but is attested. Here are some examples (77).

- (77) a. *aiteĩ merake cĩt^hi lek^hlə*
 aite-ĩ məi-ke cĩt^hi lek^h-lə
 Aite-ERG I-[OBL]DAT letter write-PST
 ‘Aite wrote me a letter.’

- b. *p^hirliū aite-se merake ciṭ^hi lek^hike lagalə*
 p^hirli-ī aite-se məi-ke ciṭ^hi
 Philie-ERG Aite-ABL I-[OBL]DAT letter
 lek^h-ike lagalə
 write-INF apply-PST
 ‘Phirli made Aite write me a letter.’
- (78) a. *uhī kuṭuni bud^hike git gaike lagalə*
 u-hī kuṭuni bud^hi-ke git ga-ike
 he-ERG Kutuni Budhi-DAT song sing-INF
 lag-a-lə
 apply-CAUS-PST
 ‘He made Kutuni Budhi sing a song.’ (SQ.BLD.376)
- b. *ud^heike lagalə*
 ud^he-ike lag-a-lə
 fly-INF apply-CAUS-PST
 ‘(They caused her) to fly.’ (HoF.SLD.025)
- c. *əse coke kaṭikun c^hahokke dabike lagalə*
 əse coke kaṭ-ikun c^haho-k-ke
 then Y-shaped stickcut-SEQ son-POSS.3SG- DAT
 dab-ike lag-a-lə
 press down-INF apply-CAUS-PST
 ‘Having cut the Y-shaped stick, he made his son dive.’ (HoF.SLD.025)

10.5.2 Passive

Verb morphology, case marking, word order etc are the major features to describe the passive constructions (see Keenan 1985b; Shibatani 1985; Manninen and Nelson 2004; Murphy 2004).

We find two types of passive constructions in Darai. Firstly, there is a morphological passive marked with *-inuhuk*. The suffix *-inuhuk* can only passivize the sentences in the past tense. Unlike in the past tense, the same suffix can not be used to mark a passive in the non-past tense. Consider examples (79-81).

- (79) a. *məi sor marlə*
 məi sor mar-lə
 I pig kill-PST
 ‘I killed a pig.’
- b. *sor marinuhuk*
 sor mar-inuhuk
 pig kill-PASS
 ‘The pig was killed.’
- (80) a. *məi birəu lillə*
 məi birəu lil-lə
 I medicine swallow-PST
 ‘I swallowed the medicine.’
- b. *birəu llinuhuk*
 birəu lil-inuhuk
 medicine swallow-PASS
 ‘The medicine was swallowed.’
- (81) a. *məi boslə*
 məi bos-lə
 I sit-PST
 ‘I sat.’
- b. *bosinuhuk*
 bos-inuhuk
 sit-PASS
 ‘The act of sitting was done/(I) sat (PASS).’
- (82) a. *məi dzəilə*
 məi dza-lə
 I go-PST
 ‘I went.’
- b. *dzainuhuk*
 dza-inuhuk
 go-PASS
 ‘The act of going was done/(I) went (passive).’

- (83) a. *məi b^hat k^həitəm*
 məi b^hat k^ha-tə-m
 I rice eat-NPST-1SG
 ‘I eat rice.’
- *b. *b^hat k^haiinuhuk*
 b^hat k^ha-inuhuk
 rice eat-PASS
 ‘Rice is eaten.’

Sentences (79b) and (80b) are the passive transformations of (79a) and (80a) respectively. They are grammatical and acceptable. In these sentences, the objects of the sentences are promoted to the subject positions and subjects are demoted. Aside from this, the suffix *-inuhuk* is added to the verb. Even an intransitive verb is used in the passive construction as in (81b). Conversely, example (83b) is not a passive transformation of (83a) because the sentence in (80b) is in the non-past tense.¹⁴

Secondly, impersonal passive sentences are found in corpus. They are close to functional passive constructions.¹⁵ There are a large number of sentences with the demotion of the subject but the verb forms remain unchanged. Such impersonal sentences either agree with the first person plural (84a-d) or the third person singular (85a-b).¹⁶ These are the functional equivalents of basic passives in the non-past tense.

- (84) a. *ote g^hər banatahī*
 ote g^hər ban-a-ta-hī
 that side house make-CAUS-NPST-1PL
 ‘The house is made there.’

¹⁴ Keenan (1985b:272) notes, "Language without passives have somewhat more grammaticalized means for expressing functional equivalents of basic passives."

¹⁵ Payne (2006:254) states, "Personal passives impersonal passives downplay the centrality of AGENT-like participants. The downplayed participant is not specific individual. It is usually non-identifiable, unknown and/or vague entity."

¹⁶ Keenan (1985b) discusses personal and impersonal passive. Impersonal subject typically lacks a specified overt subject and finite verb shows default agreement.

- b. *pəhadkə b^hasajə krija hamrə b^hasajə kədzija kəhətahī*
 pəhad-kə b^hasa-jə krija hame-rə b^hasa-jə
 hill-GEN language-LOCwe-[OBL]GEN language-LOC
 kədzija kəhə-ta-hī
 Kajiya tell-NPST-1PL
 ‘(The death ritual) is called Kriya in Pahade language but Kajiya in our
 language.’ (DR.CND.001)
- c. *əse bəllə nun k^ha-ta-hī rə morlə dinse dawa kərtahī*
 əse bəllə nun k^ha-ta-hī rə mor-lə din-se
 then only salt eat-NPST-1PLand die-PFV day-ABL
 dawa kər-ta-hī
 a ritual after death do-NPST-1PL
 ‘Then, only salt is eaten and Dawa is performed from the day of the
 death.’ (DR.CND.008)
- d. *pindo partahī*
 pindo par-ta-hī
 a ball of rice for offering make-NPST-1PL
 ‘Pindo (a ball of rice for offering) is made.’ (DR.CND.017)
- (85) a. *dzeṭ^ha c^hahit*
 dzeṭ^ha c^hah-i-t
 first need-3SG-NPST
 ‘The first son is needed.’ (KaQ.SLD.139)
- b. *mod ənek kaməjəsbə cahit*
 mod ənek kamsəbəjə
 home made beer several work-PL-LOC
 c^hah-i-t
 need-3SG-NPST
 ‘The home made beer is needed in all (religious works).’
 (HtMW.SD.020)

Examples (84a-d) show that the agents are deleted whereas the objects are taken to the subject positions. There is no change in verb morphology in these sentences. The sentences in (84-85) are like passive because of the deletion of subjects and promotion of objects to the subject positions.

A few arguments may be made regarding the passive constructions in Darai. First of all, morphologically marked passive in Darai is restricted to the past tense. Secondly, Darai does not allow periphrastic construction to change a sentence into passive. Finally, in many places, passive meaning is achieved simply by demoting the agent and promoting the patient to the subject position without altering verb morphology in the non-past tense. It may be called the 'functional equivalent of passive' (Keenan 1985b:247).

10.6 Speech act distinction in syntax

Following Dryer (2007b) and Saddock and Zwicky (1985:165) we briefly outline the major and sentence types in Darai. Saddock and Zwicky (1985:155) note:

The speakers of any language can accomplish a great many communicative tasks with the sentences of their language: they can start a conversation order someone to do something, narrate a tale, ask for information, promise to do something at some future time, report what they know or have heard, express surprise or dismay at what is going on about them, suggest a joint action, give permission for someone to do something, make a bet, offer something to someone and so on.

Declarative sentences in Darai are most natural. Although we have not discussed declarative sentence as special types of sentences, they are the most basic and occur frequently in texts (27-35). Major sentences include declarative, imperative and interrogative. Different sections where these sentence types are discussed are referred to in Table (10.3).

TABLE 10.3 Sentence types in Darai

Sentence types	Sections
Imperatives	6.2.3
Interrogative	10.3
Vocative	4.1.3
Exclamatory	8.3

In addition to these, some minor types include exclamative and vocative sentences as in (86).

- (86) a. *e abəi məi heralə*
 e abəi məi hera-lə
 oh mother I become tired-PST
 'Mother, I am very tired.' (KaQ.SLD.082)
- b. *e baba merə pəran kək^hnə dzait*
 e baba məi-rə pəran kək^hnə dza-i-t
 oh father I-[OBL]GEN life how go-3SG-NPST
 'My father, how can I die ?' (IMM.SU.075)

10.7 Summary

This chapter discussed the simple sentence and its modifications. Darai is an SOV language. Darai has postpositions and genitive precedes the noun. Some elements do not follow the normal constituent order for some pragmatic reasons. In terms of subject, object, adjunct there are seven clause types in Darai. This chapter discussed copular clauses, such as equational, attributive, predicative and possessive clauses which are formed with two copulas *hək^hə-* and *ətə-* as well as their suppletive past form *rəhə-*. The copula *hək^hə-* is used in nominal predicative and predicative adjective while the latter in predicative locative and possessive clauses. There are two types of questions, viz. content question and yes/no question. Various elements such as subject, direct object, indirect object and adverb can be questioned. Yes/no questions are formed with a rising intonation without changing other elements in the sentence. The verb in a sentence can be fronted to emphasize it. Negation is morphologically coded. There are three main negative markers mainly affixing with non-past tense, past tense and imperative as well as optative sentences. Causative is formed morphologically and periphrastically. The former is more productive than the latter. Morphologically passive transformation is restricted to the past tense but functional passive is possible in both tenses.

CHAPTER 11

CLAUSE COMBINING

11.0 Outline

This chapter deals with clause combining in Darai. This chapter is organized into six sections. A framework for clause combining is given in section 11.1. Section 11.2 discusses the coordination. We analyze the subordination in section 11.3. Section 11.4 presents the tail-head linkage. We outline the direct and indirect speech in section 11.5. We summarize the findings of this chapter in section 11.6.

11.1 Framework for clause combining

Clause combining normally involves two basic concepts: coordination and subordination.¹ Lehmann (1988:221) mentions that subordination is related to dependency. By contrast, the units in question are syntactically equivalent in coordination. Blühdorn (2008:59) notes that they are also called "hierarchical and non-hierarchical connection in language." There is no sharp dichotomic distinction between these two types of connections. Givón (2001b:328) notes, "binary distinction between subordinate and coordination is untenable." Thus, teasing them apart is difficult. Blühdorn (2008:61) further notes, "Clause combining can be studied from the point of view of syntax, semantics and discourse." However, we will limit the scope of our discussion within syntax and semantics.

The typological studies place the strategies of clause combining in a continuum (see Payne 2006; Lehmann 1988). Givón (2001b:329) states, "...syntactic devices... that signal the stronger dependence of subordinate/ adverbial and coordinate/chained clauses- but to a smaller degree in different ratios." He explains the continuum of clause combining through Figure 11.1. We find similar view articulated in Payne (2006). Payne (2006) further notes, "There is a single clause with a high degree of grammatical integration in one extreme while there are two separate clauses with no grammatical integration in the other."

¹ Foley and Van Valin (1984:241-242) on the other hand proposes following three kinds of logical possibilities in clause combining:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|
| a. Coordination: - embedded | -dependent |
| b. Subordination: + embedded | +dependent |
| c. Cosubordination: -embedded | +dependence |

- most dependent ('semantic')

- Verbal complements
- Subordinate/adverbial clauses
- Coordinate/chained clauses

- least dependent ('pragmatic')

FIGURE 11.1 A continuum of interclausal dependency (Givón 2001b:328)

Languages have various kinds of sentences between these two extremes. Some clauses are dependent whereas other clauses are least dependent. The notions of 'coordination' and different topics which come under 'subordination' such as relative clauses, adverbial clauses and complement clauses have their distinct position in the continuum in terms of their dependency.

As shown in Figure 11.1 coordinate clauses in Darai are fully inflected. Such clauses will be discussed under coordination in this chapter. As shown in Figure 11.1 complement clauses are dependent compared to the coordinate clauses. We will focus on two features such as 'hierarchical downgrading' and 'desententialization' discussed by Lehmann (1988) in the following paragraphs.

Firstly, let's examine 'hierarchical downgrading' of clauses. A subordinate construction is a part of higher construction. Lehmann (1988:184) notes, "A subordinate clause is downgraded to a particular constituent within a main clause." Subordinating conjunctions may join two clauses and this is the beginning of subordination. Lehmann (1988) explains that the examples of relative clauses (correlative dispatch) are halfway between parataxis and hypotaxis. Lehmann (1988:184) again notes, "In medial clauses, the last verb in the sentence is the main verb while all the preceding clauses are subordinate to the main verb."

This is expressed in the Figure 11.2 and illustrated in examples (1) through (3). All examples are from Lehmann (1988:183-184).

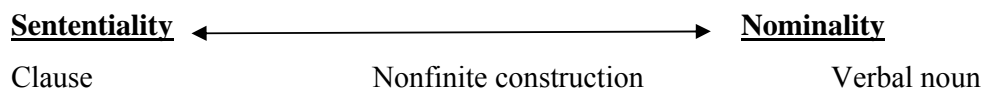


FIGURE 11.3 Desententialization (Lehmann 1988:200)

Subordination is related to interlacing. Lehmann (1988:204) notes, "The semantic aspect of interlacing is that the two propositions share some elements of meaning." Lehmann (1988:204) further remarks, "The linked propositions may share any bit of meaning such as the sharing of predicate, of tense and aspect and of actants." The two propositions may share their predicate or there may be the ellipsis of the elements. Consider the example (4). (Example (4) is from Lehmann 1988:204).

(4) As a field can not be fertile without cultivation, so the mind (can not be fruitful) without instruction.

In (4) the verb of the main clause is deleted which may be similar to the preceding clause. Aside from this, sharing of tense and aspect is another feature related to interlacing. Subordinate clauses share the tense and aspect of the main clause.

In addition to the traditional notions coordination and subordination, clauses should also be analyzed by means of semantic features. This is why we have also employed Dixon (2009) in the course of analyzing the clause combining in Darai. Dixon (2009) presents the summary of clause combining in Table 11.1.

TABLE 11.1 Semantic types of clause linking (Dixon 2009:2)

	Linking type	Exemplified in English
I	TEMPORAL Temporal succession Relative time Conditional	and, then, and then after, before, when, since, until, while If (then...)
II	CONSEQUENCE Cause Result Purpose	because, therefore and so in order that, (in order, for) to
III	POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCE	in case, lest
IV	ADDITION Unordered addition Same event addition Elaboration Contrast	and and, moreover apposition but, although
V	ALTERNATIVES Disjunction Rejection Suggestion	or instead of rather than
VI	MANNER Real Hypothetical	like, in the way that as if (like)

11.2 Coordination

In Darai free constituents are conjoined at phrase and clause levels. Darai permits the following three logical possibilities of coordination.²

- i. Conjunction
- ii. Disjunction
- iii. Rejection

11.2.1 Conjunction

Some types of coordination which Darai permits are discussed in the following paragraphs.

² We follow Payne (1985a:4) for discussing the types of coordination Darai permits, namely conjunction (p and q); disjunction (p or q); and rejection (not p and not q). Although Payne proposes five logical possibilities, postsection (p and not q) such as 'John is not rich, and happy', and presection (not p and q) such as 'He wanted to do so and I don't blame him' are not natural in Darai. Even the elicited sentences do not sound natural and we have not discussed them here.

i. Conjunction with a coordinator

Coordination is accomplished by juxtaposing two independent clauses. Coordination between the two constituents of a sentence is possible with the coordinator *rə* 'and'.

A co-ordinate sentence in Darai is a construction consisting of two or more members. They are noun phrases or verb phrases which are equivalent in grammatical functions. Brackets are used to show coordinated constituents in this section.

- (5) a. *lə [dʒet^{hi} dulhirke] rə [kanc^{hi} dulhirke] ijə kəhikun kəhələ*
lə dʒet^{hi} dulhi-r-ke rə kanc^{hi}
 PART elder wife-2SGPOSS-DAT and young
dulhi-r-ke ijə kəh-ikun kəhə-lə
 wife-2POSS-DAT this say-SEQ say-PST
 ‘Well, (the hermit) said that that was for his elder wife and another (that) for his younger wife.’ (KaQ.SLD.043)
- b. *[sutkeri] rə [c^hawake] her bicar kəri rəhit*
sutkeri rə c^hawa-ke herbicar
 child-delivered woman and child-DAT care
kər-i rəh-i-t
 do-ABS remain-3SG-NPST
 ‘...takes care of the child-delivered woman and the child.’ (UT.SD.005)
- c. *[məncinde kaɬ^hkə ɖoŋga] rə[hūkari kaɬ^hkə bahana]*
məncinde kaɬ^h-kə ɖoŋga rə hūkari
 Manchinde wood-GEN boat and Hunkari
kaɬ^h-kə bahana
 wood-GEN oar
 ‘...the boat of Manchinde wood and oar of Hunkari wood.’
 (SQ.BLD.370)

As can be seen in (5), the coordinator connects two NPs. Similarly, the conjunction also connects the verb phrases in (6a) and adjectives as in (6b-c).

- (6) a. *[poslə] rə [pəltələ]*
pos-lə rə pəltə-lə
 enter-PST and fall-PST
 ‘(He) entered and fell down.’ (SQ.BLD.170)

- b. *g^hõuka [bəḍkə] rə [lamə] ətəi*
 g^hõuka bəḍkə rə lamə ətə-i
 net big and long COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘The net is big and long.’
- c. *c^hõuḍ [modelə] rə [dz^həgrehə] ətəi*
 c^hõuḍ modelə rə dz^həgrehə ətə-i
 son sick and quarrelsome COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘The boy is sick and quarrelsome.’

Sentential coordination is also possible between the clauses although we have a few examples in our discourse data. An example is illustrated in (7).³

- (7) *[uhĩ guleliĩ cərəike hanlə] rə [cərəi morlə]*
 u-hĩ guleli-ĩ cərəi-ke han-lə rə
 he-ERG catapult-INST bird-DAT hit-PST and
 cərəi mor-lə
 bird die-PST
 ‘He hit the bird with a catapult and the bird died.’

ii. Juxtaposition

More than two noun phrases or verb phrases are often juxtaposed without any coordinator. This process has been described as 'zero strategy' (Payne 1985a:25).⁴ Additionally, the use of adverbial *punu* ‘also’ functions as a connector when the sentences are juxtaposed in Darai. The constituents can be repeated many times (9c). Examples in (8-12) illustrate various cases of juxtaposition.

³ The conjunction *rə* ‘and’ is seemingly a Nepali loan.

⁴ Haiman (1988:xi) mentions, "Coordinating conjunction, both between phrases and between clauses, is absent in many languages, and, where it exists, is often derived from a hesitation marker, a perfective aspect marker or a word meaning originally 'with' or 'also'." Coordinating conjunction is absent in most cases in Darai (also see Masica 1991:398).

- (8) a. *[məntinne kaʔ^hkə ɖoŋga] [hukari kaʔ^hkə bəhana] banalə*
 məntinne kaʔ^h-kə ɖoŋga
 Mantinne wood-GEN boat
 hukari kaʔ^h-kə bəhana bana-lə
 Hukari wood-GEN oar make-PST
 ‘(He) made the boat of Hunkari wood and oar of Hunkari wood.’
 (SQ.BLD.253)
- b. *[bubaik] [amaik] gout k^haikə pərit*
 buba-k ama-k gout k^ha-ike
 father-3SG.POSS mother-3SG.POSS urine of cow eat-INF
 pər-i-t
 AUX-3SG-NPST
 ‘The father and mother should drink (lit. eat) sacred urine of cow.’
 (MtU.SD.021)
- (9) a. *u hatt^hikə uprə piʔ^hihĩ [sutlə] [nidalə]*
 u hatt^hi-kə uprə piʔ^hi-hĩ
 he elephant-LOC above back-LOC
 sut-lə nida-lə
 sleep-PST fall asleep-PST
 ‘He slept right at the back of the elephant and fell asleep.’
 (SQ.BLD.038)
- b. *əite k^həni səbei b^hai [nidalə] [sutlə]*
 a-te k^həni səbei b^hai nida-lə sut-lə
 a-SIM while all brother fall asleep-PST sleep-PST
 ‘While coming all brothers fell asleep and slept.’ (SQ.BLD.023)
- c. *səbəi [t^hoklarə] [d^huslarə] [gari sərəp delarə]*
 səbəi-i t^hok-larə d^hus-larə garisərap de-larə
 all-ERG hit-PROS beat-PROS accusations give-PROS
 ‘All used to hit him, beat and curse (him).’ (OK.BLD.170)

We see various elements being juxtaposed in examples (8-9). For instance, NPs are juxtaposed in (8a-b), the verb phrases are juxtaposed in (9a-b) and non-finite forms of the verbs are juxtaposed in (9c). Sometimes a long list of items occurs

without a coordinator. In example (10) three NPs are simply coordinated by juxtaposition.

- (10) a. *radzaĩ toi [ek muri caur] [nun] [tel] deike saktas*
 radza-ĩ toi ek muri caur nun
 king-ERG you one twenty pathis rice salt
 tel de-ike sək-tə-s
 oil give-INF finish-NPST-2SG
 ‘You may give one muri of rice, salt, (and) oil...’ (KaQ.SLD.123)

Particle *punu* ‘also’ coordinates the sentences as can be seen in (11). It is also used for the same subject coordination (11a).

- (11) a. *məi [pədtəm punu] [lek^htəm punu]*
 məi pəḍ-tə-m punu lek^h-tə-m punu
 I read-NPST-1SG also write-NPST-1SG also
 ‘I read, (and) I also write.’
- b. *batas punu əilə pani punu porlə*
 batas punu a-lə pani punu por-lə
 wind also come-PST water also fall-PST
 ‘The wind blew, (and) it rained.’

Conjoining of two clauses in Darai is often accomplished by juxtaposition. Numerals are juxtaposed, normally of two numerals such as ‘four’ or ‘five’ in example (12b). When numerals precede a noun in juxtaposition, this means the approximate amount or quantity. For example in (12a) the crops will ripen or would be ready to reap in nearly ten or twelve days. Examples are shown in (12a-c).

- (12) a. *[dəs] [barə] dinəjə dzəite tə paklə*
 dəs barə din-jə dza-te tə pak-lə
 ten twelve day-LOC go-SIM PART ripen-PST
 ‘While going (there), the crops were ready to reap in (around) ten or twelve days.’ (KaQ.SLD.092)

- b. *dʰɪd [car] [pāc] məhinajə dekʰa porɪ tʰalit*
dʰɪd car pāc məhina-jə dekʰa
 abdomen four fivemonth-LOC look
por-i tʰal-i-t
 fall-ABS begin-3SG-NPST
 ‘The abdomen is bigger (lit. begins to appear) within four or five months.’ (MtU.SD.004)
- c. *ota ota [pāc bigʰa] [cʰə bigʰakə] hamrə kʰandansəb*
ota ota pāc bigʰa cʰə
 that side that side five bigʰa six
bigʰa-kə hame-rə kʰandan-səb
 bigʰas-GEN we-[OBL] GEN relative-PL
 ‘Our relatives of that side, (who have) about five bigʰas or six bigʰas of land...’ (PtP.CND.070)

11.3.2 Disjunction

Payne (1985a:39) states, "Disjunction is possible by means of simple juxtaposition or by use of an identical coordinator." Darai allows both of these strategies.

The disjunctive coordinators are *tərə* 'but', *ehābe* 'but', *ətʰəwa* 'or' and *ki* 'or'.⁵ The disjunction occurs at the beginning of the second clause.

- (13) *mod dʰerei ənnəsəbkə bʰəit [tərə mod kʰas kərikun*
makaike banatahī]
mod dʰerei ənnə-səb-kə bʰə-i-t tərə
 beer many grain-PL-DAT become-3SG-NPST but
mod kʰas kər-ikun makai-kə bana-ta-hī
 beer particular do-SEQ maize-GEN make-NPST-1SG
 ‘The home made beer is made from several grains but it is mainly made from the maize grains.’ (HtMW.SD.023)

⁵ There are two coordinators for 'but', i.e. *tərə* and *ehābe* 'but'. Of these two, the former is more frequent in the corpus but is seemingly a Nepali loan. The native disjunctive coordinator is *ehābe* 'but'.

- (14) a. *din^həri bon g^humlə [ehābe pətao nidzə paulə]*
 din b^həri bon g^hum-lə ehābe pətao
 day all jungle walk around-PST but mushroom
 nidzə pa-lə
 NEG get-PST
 ‘I roamed the jungle the whole day but I did not find mushroom.’
- b. *k^hoŋga laɣalə pāc din b^həilə [ehābe mac^hə badz^hlə nidzə]*
 k^hoŋga laɣa-lə pāc din b^həi-lə
 trap make-PST five day become-PST
 ehābe mac^hə badz^hlə nidzə
 but fish be trap-PST NEG
 ‘(I) set the trap five days back but the fish were not trapped.’
- (15) a. *b^hic^hc^ha magike [ət^həwa k^haike]*
 b^hic^hc^ha mag-ike ət^həwa k^ha-ike
 alms beg-INF or eat-INF
 ‘To beg alms or to eat.’ (SQ.BLD.343)
- b. *aŋgare idar [ət^həwa d^harake .tikike pərit]*
 aŋgare idar ət^həwa d^hara-ke .tik-ike
 charcoal well or tap-ACC/DAT to put Tike
 pər-i-t
 AUX-3SG-NPST
 ‘We should put Tike on to the well or the tap.’ (MtU.SD.019)
- (16) a. *hat^ht^hi ətəi [ki gāiɖa]*
 hat^ht^hi ətə-i ki gāiɖa
 elephant COP.NPST-3SG or rhino
 ‘Is it an elephant or rhino...?’ (SQ.BLD.029)
- b. *rəhərəĩ [ki kərəĩ]*
 rəhər-ĩ ki kər-ĩ
 interest-INST or compulsion-INST
 ‘Whether by interest or compulsion?’

- c. *uhĩ rintihin aṭai [ki suttihin aṭai]*
 u-hĩ rin-tihin aṭə-i ki
 he-ERG cook-PROG AUX.NPST-3SG or
 sut-tihin aṭə-i
 sleep-PROG AUX.NPST-3SG
 ‘Is he cooking or sleeping?’

In (13) the disjunctive marker *təra* 'but' is used to connect the sentences. Similarly, sentences are connected with the native coordinator *ehābe* 'but' in (14a-b). Two NPs are combined with *aṭ^həwa* 'or' in (15a) and *ki* 'or' is used to coordinate the NPs or verb phrases (16a-c). When conjoining clauses *ki* 'or' indicates that one clause is true. It has a disjunctive meaning.

In Darai, *ki ... ki* 'either...or' is used as the discontinuous disjunctive marker. The disjunct particle precedes each noun it occurs with. Examples with the disjunct particles in the discourse are infrequent.

- (17) a. *ki bubam ki amam ait*
 ki buba-m ki ama-m a-i-t
 Either father-1SG or mother-1SG come-3SG-NPST
 ‘Either (my) mother or father will come.’
- b. *ki tohe auk ki bəinike paṭ^hauk*
 ki tohe a-uk ki bəini-ke paṭ^ha-uk
 Either you come-IMP sister-DAT send-IMP
 ‘Either (you) come or send your sister.’

Disjunctive meaning is found with the juxtaposed clauses in the discourse data. Examples are illustrated in (18).

- (18) a. *[pəhaḍke nuwarən kəhətahat][hame kəhətahĩ uṭ^həuni]*
 pəhaḍ-ke nuwarən kəhə-ta-hat
 hill-hill Nwaran (naming ceremony) say-NPST-3PL
 hame kəhə-ta-hĩ uṭ^həuni
 we say-NPST-1PLUthauni (naming ceremony)
 ‘The people from the hill call it Nwaran whereas we call it Uthauni.’
 (DP.CND.101)

- b. *[məntinne kaɬʰ tə ijə bʰəinei][hukari kaɬʰ kono bʰəit]*
 məntinne kaɬʰ tə ijə bʰə-inei hukari
 Mantinne wood PART this become-MIR Hukari
 kaɬʰ kono bʰə-i-t
 wood who become-3SG-NPST
 ‘This is the Mantinne wood (but) which is the Hukari wood...’
 (SQ.BLD.250)

11.3.3 Rejection

Payne (1985b:40) mentions, "Strategies for rejection consist of standard conjunction and negation or iterated particles." In Darai the rejection consist of negative particles *nə ... nə* 'neither... nor'. Examples are given in (19).

- (19) a. *herte kʰəna tə [nə pucʰihik][nə muhek]*
 her-te kʰəna tə nə pucʰihi-k
 look-SIM while PART NEG tail-3SG.POSS
 nə muhe-k
 NEG mouth-3SG.POSS
 ‘While seeing it, it (had) neither tail nor mouth.’ (DaF.CND.054)
- b. *adzuse [nə badza bʰəibək] [nə badzabək]*
 adzu-se nə badza bʰəi-bə-k
 toady-ABL NEG drum become-POSB-3SG
 nə badza-bə-k
 NEG play-POSB-3SG
 ‘From today onwards there may be neither any (musical) instrument nor (they) might be played.’ (DaF.CND.054)
- c. *merə [nə sor][nə cʰegri] atəi*
 məi-rə nə sor nə cʰegri atə-i
 I-[OBL] GEN NEG pig NEG goat COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘I have neither a pig nor a goat.’

11.2.4 Ellipsis in coordination

Coordination allows deletion (see Haspelmath 2004:31). Consider example (20). The cases of ellipsis sites are referred to by 'Ø'.

- (20) a. *bud^hiniĩ [pihini kəhəli] rə [Ø meskəri kərli]*
 bud^hini-ĩ pihini kəhə-l-i rə meskəri kər-l-i
 Budhini-ERG riddle tell-PST-F and joke do-PST-F
 'Budhini told the riddles and made jokes.'
- b. *əite k^həni səbei b^hai [nidalə] [Ø sutlə]*
 a-te k^həni səbei b^hai nida-lə sut-lə
 a-SIM while all brother fall asleep-PST sleep-PST
 'While coming, all brothers fell asleep and slept.' (SQ.BLD.023)
- (21) *[məntinne kaɬ^hkə ɖoŋga Ø] [hukari kaɬ^hkə bəhana] banalə*
 məntinne kaɬ^h-kə ɖoŋga
 Mantinne wood-GEN boat
 hukari kaɬ^h-kə bəhana bana-lə
 Hukari wood-GEN oar make-PST
 'The boat of Hunkari wood and oar of Hunkari wood were made.'
 (SQ.BLD.253)

In example (20a-b) the subject is deleted and the verb is deleted in (21). In (20a) the second part (conjunct) shows the ellipsis and the identical material is 'Budhini'. Similarly in (20b) the identical element is 'all brothers'. It is a case of catalipsis. The identical element in (21) is 'made'.

11.3 Subordination

Longacre (1985:237) notes, "The subordination functions as noun phrases, modifiers of nouns and as modifiers of verb phrases or entire proposition." Subordination involves three kinds of clauses: complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses.⁶ All subordinated clauses are given in brackets in this section.

⁶ See Kroeger (2005:219).

11.3.1 Complement clauses

Noonan (1985:42) mentions, "Complementation refers to the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate." We will briefly discuss about complementation strategies, complementation types and the distribution of the complements.

Complement in Darai is formed mainly by complement taking verbs. Some complements carry a formal marking of subordination whereas others do not. Complement in Darai is formed either like sentences (22-23) or non-finite forms of the verbs (24). The former of these is finite and independent whereas non-finite complements are dependent on the main clause. Examples are illustrated (22) through (24).

(22) *[d^huŋrojǎ ətəi] kəhələ*
 d^huŋro-jǎ ətə-i kəhə-lə
 bamboo pot-LOC COP.NPST-3SG say-PST
 '(He) said, 'It is in the bamboo pot.' (SQ.BLD.159)

(23) *[hamrake punu pəskuk] kəhikun kəhələ*
 hame-ke punu pəsk-uk
 we-[OBL] DAT also serve food-IMP
 kəh-ikun kəhə-lə
 COMP say-PST
 '(The husband) said, "Serve the food also for us." (IMM.SU.099)

(24) *[bihanəjǎ g^humike] ramrə hək^həi*
 bihanə-jǎ g^hum-ike ramrə hək^hə-i
 morning-LOC roam-INF good COP.NPST-3SG
 'It is good to walk in the morning.'

In (22) and (24) the entire sentences are complements of the matrix clauses. There are not any changes in tenses and pronoun references.⁹ There is no formal marking of the complement clauses in (22 and 24). By contrast, example (23) is connected by converb *kəhikun* 'say-SEQ' as a complementizer.

As presented in (22) through (24), we see different strategies when a sentence or non-finite form of the verb serves as complements. Darai employs mainly two

⁹ Masica (1991:401) mentions, "NIA clauses with final subordinators are normally found to the left of the main sentence".

strategies for complementation: (a) A direct quote occurs before a complement taking predicate without any complementizer; (b) the verb *kəhikun* 'say-SEQ' occurs as a complementizer after statement or question.¹⁰

Thus, the sequential converb *kəhikun* 'say-SEQ' is also a complementizer in Darai. Genetti (2007:415) notes, "It represents the speech that the characters would use if they were living out of the story." The verb *kəhikun* shows what is actually uttered. Examples with the complementizer *kəhikun* 'say-SEQ' are given in (25).

- (25) a. *[bistarei bora] kəhikun kəhələ*
 bistarei bora kəhikun kəhə-lə
 slowly speak COMP say-PST
 '(She) told them to speak softly.(JaH.SLD.058)
- b. *[məi məhə kaḏtəm] kəhikun kəhələ*
 məi məhə kaḏ-tə-m kəh-ikun kəhə-lə
 I honey cut-NPST-1SG COMP say-PST
 "I will take out honey, he said."(HoF.SLD.023)
- c. *[kon ait] kəhikun ramei puc^hlə*
 kon a-i-t kəh-ikun ram-ei
 who come-3SG.NPST COMP Ram-ERG
 puc^h-lə
 ask-PST.3.SG
 'Ram asked who would come.'

i. Complement types

Complement clauses may precede or follow the matrix verb. They are finite or non-finite (see Kroeger 2005:220). Thus, the forms of the complementizer may vary.

a. Full sentence complementation

Direct quotes do not take any complementizers. This structure is mainly used in utterance predicates like *kəhə* 'say, tell, call', *puc^h* 'ask'. Examples are in (26-31).

¹⁰ Genetti (2005:46) notes that quotative complement in South Asian languages often involves the participial construction.

- (26) *[adzu pəscimkə kod^horəjə d^huktəm] kəhələ*
 adzu pəscim-kə kod^hor-jə d^huk-tə-m
 today west-GEN corner-LOC wait-NPST-1SG
 kəhə-lə
 say-PST
 '(He) said, "I would wait in the west corner.' (JaH.SLD.026)
- (27) *[məi purei g^hər purike] kəhələ*
 məi purei g^hər pur-ike kəhə-lə
 I all house fill-INF say-PST
 '(He) said, "I will fill up the whole house.' (SoaO.JD.016)
- (29) *[dzəitəm] kəhələ babuī*
 dza-tə-m kəhə-lə babu-ī
 go-NPST-1SG COMP father-ERG
 'Father said, "(I) go."
- (30) *ama ke puc^hlə [anlə abe kohodokə bija]*
 ama-ke puc^h-lə an-lə abe
 mother-DAT ask-PST bring-PST mother
 kohodo-kə bija
 pumpkin-GEN seed
 '(He) asked his mother, "Did you bring the seed of pumpkin ?'
 (KaQ.SLD.087)
- (31) a. *p^heri dinəjə aikunu puc^hlə [toi kuc^hika sutli adzu]*
 p^heri din-jə a-ikunu puc^h-lə toi
 again day-LOC come-SEQ ask-PST you
 kuc^hika sut-l-i adzu
 where sleep-PST-F today
 '... Again next day, having come, he asked, "Where did you sleep
 today... ?' (JaH.SLD.033)

- b. *məi [terake kam kərirəte] dek^hlə*
 məi toi-ke kam kər-i rəhə-te
 I you-DAT work do-ABS remain-SIM
 dek^h-lə
 see-PST
 'I saw you working.'

b. Participial complement

Noonan (1985:62) notes, "Participles are not the heads of constructions but rather modify some nouns which function as heads; i.e. in complementation." They occur with immediate perception predicates such as *see, hear, watch and feel* in English as Noonan (1985) points out. Participial complement is possible in Darai as presented in (32-33).

- (32) *məi [c^hegri dug^hritihin] dek^hlə*
 məi c^hegri dug^hr-tihin dek^h-lə
 I goat run-PROG see-PST
 'I saw a goat running.'
- (33) *məi [merə saŋg^hatisəbke ka^hi barte kərtihin] dek^hlə*
 məi məi-rə saŋg^hati-səb-ke ka^hi
 I I - [OBL] GEN friend-PL-DAT wood
 bər-te kər-tihin dek^h-lə
 burn-SIM do-PROG see-PST
 'I saw my all friends burning the wood.'

ii. Distribution

Complements clauses generally occur as subject or object of the matrix clause (Payne 1997:313). We present below the distribution of the complement clause as subject and object. Examples are illustrated in (34) and (35) where they function as subject and object complements respectively.

i. Prenominal relative clause¹¹

A participial clause is a more common relative clause in Darai which exhibits the non-finite forms. Like Nepali, Darai also uses a technique of relativization through participial phrases. It employs three non-finite forms, the participle *-lə* for past constructions, *-larə* for prospective and *-tihin* for 'progressive' clauses. The relative clauses precede the head of NP. In (36), there is the relativization through the participial phrases *p^hodlə b^hatise* 'crush-PFV fermented rice-COM'.

- (36) *[p^hodlə b^hatise] moc^hike*
 p^hod-lə b^hati-se moc^h-ike
 crush-PFV fermented rice-COM mix-INF
 ‘Mix with the rice which is fermented.’ (HtMW.SD.032)

Although this kind of relative clause is also described as 'adjectival clause' or 'participial clause', functionally this is a relative clause. We would cite example from Payne (1997:326) where he describes the same phenomenon as prenominal relative clause.

- (37) Eser [uyuy-na] kadin-I tanyor
 Eser sleep-PART woman-ACC knows
 ‘Eser knows the woman who is sleeping.’

In Darai 'mango eating children have stomach pain' in Darai is equivalent to 'The children who ate mango have stomach pain' in English (38a). Similarly, 'the man who came yesterday' has equivalent to 'yesterday come-PFV man' in Darai as its literal translation as in (38b). Examples are given in (38).¹²

- (38) a. *[am k^hailə bətakə pət] bot^hlə atəi*
 am k^hai-lə bəta-kə pət bot^h-lə
 mango eat-PST boy-GEN stomach ache-PST
 atə-i
 AUX.NPST-3SG
 ‘The children who ate mango have stomach ache.’

¹¹ Although the participial forms do not have any relativizing words, they are taken as relative clauses functionally. Ricardi (2003:631) notes, "Nepali shows a marked-preference for relativization through adjectival phrases." We find similar analysis in Regmi (1978:21). Kroeger (2005:233) notes that participial relative clauses are common in other languages as well.

¹² Despite examples obtained through elicitation, postnominal relative clauses do not occur in the corpus.

- b. *[kalu əilə manus] dzəilə ətəi*
kalu a-lə manus dza-lə ətə-i
yesterday come-PFV man go-PST AUX.NPST-3SG
‘The man who came yesterday has gone.’

ii. Relative-correlative clauses

Darai has an inventory of relative-correlative pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. Relative-correlative clauses are formed using these pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. Masica (1991:410) mentions:

Relative clauses present a much more complicated picture. For one thing they involve the characteristic Indo-Aryan (Old as well as New) relative-correlative construction, where the modifying clause, marked by a member of the "J" set of relative pronouns, adverbs and other words is "represented" correlative in its role slot (i.e. basically that of Modifier in the NP) in the main clause.

Correlative words occur in place of a noun. The head noun appears in the main clause. In this way the relative word *dzətka* 'this much' is a correlative word in example (39) and the second clause comments on the preceding entity *otkai* 'that much' in a relative-correlative construction (see Kroeger 2005:234). This is illustrated in (39).

- (39) *[dzətka dherei pac^hu k^ha^hike suru kərlə][otkai mod sawad b^həit]*
dzətka dherei pac^hu k^ha-ike suru
this much much later eat-INF begin kər-lə
otkai mod sawad
do-PST that much home made beer tasty
b^hə-i-t
become-3SG-NPST
‘The latter you begin drinking (it), the tastier it becomes.’
(HwMW.SD.043)

The sets of relative-correlative forms are summarized in Table (11.2).

TABLE 11. 2 Relative correlatives in Darai

Correlative constituent	Pronouns/ adjectives/ adverbs in antecedent proposition	Pronouns/ adjectives/ adverbs in main proposition
Time	<i>dzəbə</i> ‘when’	<i>təbə</i> ‘then’
Size	<i>dzəbdə</i> ‘how big’	<i>obdə</i> ‘that much big’
Location	<i>dzuc^{hi}</i> ‘where’	<i>uc^{hi}</i> ‘there’
Amount	<i>dzətka</i> ‘how much’	<i>otka</i> ‘that much’
Person/ object	<i>dzono</i> ‘who’ <i>dze</i> ‘what’	<i>uwə</i> ‘he’ <i>uhəi</i> ‘that’
Manner	<i>dzəsnə</i> ‘how’	<i>osnə</i> ‘like that’

Examples (40) illustrate relative-correlative constructions formed with pronouns, adjectives and adverbs respectively.

- (40) a. *dzono h̄əsuwa toh̄ə lelə ətəs uwə ləgahə ətəi*
 dzono h̄əsuwa toh̄ə le-lə ətə-s
 which sickle you bring-PFV AUX.NPST-2SG
 uwə ləgahə ətə-i
 that sharp COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘The sickle which you have taken is sharp.’
- b. *dzono əili rəhəi uwə gah̄ə ramri rəhəi*
 dzono a-l-i rəhə-i
 who come-NPST-F AUX.PST-3SG
 uwə gah̄ə ramri rəhə-i
 that very beautiful-F COP.PST-3SG
 ‘Whoever had come was beautiful.’

- c. *dzəsin dzəsin məi piŋri calatəm osin osin*
muhujə lagaikun toi piŋri calaisai
- | | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|-----|--------|--------------------|
| dzəsin | dzəsin | məi | piŋri | cal-a-tə-m |
| what manner | what manner | I | finger | move-CAUS-NPST-1SG |
| osin | osin | toi | piŋri | cala-isai |
| that way | that way | you | finger | move-IMP.FUT |
- ‘You move the fingers... as I move mine.’ (DaF.CND.087)

Some further examples of relative-correlative clauses are illustrated in (41).

- (41) a. *uwə dzət kai maŋit otkai detəm*
- | | | | |
|------|--------------|--------------|-----------|
| uwə | dzət kai | maŋ-i-t | wət kai |
| that | as much as | ask-3SG.NPST | that much |
| | de-tə-m | | |
| | give-NPST-SG | | |
- ‘I will give him as much as he asks.’
- b. *tohe dzəsnə c^hegri k^hostəs osnei c^hegri ətəi*
- | | | | |
|-----------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| tohe | dzəsnə | c ^h egri | k ^h os-tə-s |
| you | kind of | goat | search-NPST.2SG |
| osnei | c ^h egri | ətə-i | |
| like that | goat | COP.NPST-3SG | |
- ‘We’ve got the kind of goat you look for.’
- c. *dzəhāsəmmə ʉt^həuni nakərəi wəhāsəmmə dzaike namiləi*
- | | | |
|------------|----------------------|---------------|
| dzəhāsəmmə | ʉt ^h əuni | na-kər-əi |
| as far as | Uthauni | NEG-do-3SG |
| wəhāsəmmə | dza-ike | na-mil-əi |
| that far | go-INF | NEG-agree.3SG |
- ‘As long as Uthauni is not done, he is not allowed to go (there).’
(MtU.SD.012)
- d. *dzəbə pani pərit təbə beŋgo basit*
- | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|---------------|------|-------|--------------|
| dzəbə | pani | pər-i-t | təbə | beŋgo | bas-i-t |
| when | water | fall-3SG-NPST | then | frog | cry-3SG-NPST |
- ‘When it rains, then the frog cries.’

- e. *dzono c^hɔ̃ud əilə rəhəi usəb merə sahāti hək^həi*
 dzono c^hɔ̃ud a-lə rəhə-i
 who son come-PFV AUX.PST.3SG
 u-səb məi-rə sahāti hək^hə-i
 they I-[OBL]GEN friends COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘The boys who had come are my friends.’
- f. *dzəsin dzəsin kəhəte dzəite osin osin sosrehike*
.təkraike dzəite
 dzəsin dzəsin kəhə-te dza-te
 what manner what manner say-SIM go-SIM
 osin osin sosreh-ike .təkra-ike dza-te
 that way that way father-in-law give-SIM go-SIM
 ‘As (one) says, give the father-in-law in the same manner.’
 (DP.CND.093)
- g. *dzəc^hike hame goli c^hadlə uc^hin bər pipəl rəhəi*
 dzəc^hike hame goli c^had-lə uc^hi-n
 where we bullet leave-PST there-EMPH
 bər pipəl rəhə-i
 Bar tree Peepole tree COP.PST-3SG
 ‘The Bar and Peepole trees were right there where we shot.’

ii. Headless relative clauses

There is a head which is modified by a clause in all types of relative clauses. There are instances where relative clauses occur without head nouns (see Kroeger 2005:238; Payne 1997:328). Examples mentioned in (42) illustrate headless relative clauses. The head NP in these sentences are missing. Instead, the generic words such as *dzitisukei* ‘whatever’ serves this purpose.

- (42) a. *terake [dzitisukei mən pərit] k^hauk*
 tera-ke dziti-sukei mən pər-i-t
 you-[OBL]DAT whatever soul fall-3SG-NPST
 k^ha-uk
 eat-IMP
 ‘Eat whatever you want.’

- b. *dziti b^həine punu məi nadzam*
 dziti b^hə-ne punu məi
 whatever become-COND also I
 na-dza-m
 NEG-go-NPST-1SG
 ‘I won’t go whatever the case is.’

In (42a-b) the relative clauses are without any head nouns. They are therefore headless relative clauses.

11.3.3 Adverbial clauses

Thompson and Longacre (1985:172) note that the devices found for marking subordinate clauses are subordinating morpheme, special verb forms and word order. Adverbial clauses discussed here are purposive, causal, reason, substitute, conditional, concessive, possible consequence, converb and time clauses.¹³

i. Purposive clause

Thompson and Longacre (1985:184) mention, "Purposive clauses express a motivating event." There are two ways of coding purposive clauses in Darai. Firstly, purposive clause is coded by infinite which is optionally followed by the postposition *lagi* 'for the sake of' as in (43). Secondly, purposive clause is morphologically coded by the suffix *-e*. Although the language consultants say these two can be used interchangeably to encode a purposive clause, the former is more frequent than the latter in the corpus. The purposive *-e* clause rarely occurs in our corpus. Purpose clauses generally precede the main clause.

- (43) a. *[ote dzaike] nidzə səklə*
 ote dza-ike nidzə sək-lə
 there go-INF NEG finish-PST
 ‘(I) could not go there.’ (PtP.CND.048)

¹³ Diessel (2001) discusses the ordering of adverbial clauses in typological perspective. He concludes that adverbial clauses may precede or follow the main clause with the languages with flexible constituent order.

- b. *u dzailə [cəri k^hər-ike]*
 u dza-lə cəri k^hər-ike
 he go-PST graze-INF
 ‘He (the demon) went to graze.’ (SQ.BLD.153)
- c. *[gok^hrike] dzailə*
 gok^hr-ike dza-lə
 bathe-INF go-PST
 ‘(She) went to bathe.’ (KaQ.SLD.134)
- d. *[terake leike] ailə*
 toi-ke le-ike a-lə
 you-[OBL]DAT bring-INF come-PST
 ‘(I) came to bring you.’ (KaQ.SLD.121)
- (44) a. *[mac^hə mare] dzau*
 mac^hə mar-e dza-u
 fish kill-PURP go-HOR
 ‘Let’s go to catch fish.’ (BF.SLD.007)
- b. *[k^het dzote] dzau*
 k^het dzot-e dza-u
 field plough-PURP go-HOR
 ‘Let’s go to plough the field.’
- c. *[pani k^hae] dzailə*
 pani k^ha-e dza-lə
 water eat-PURP go-PST
 ‘(He) went to drink water.’
- d. *[auk k^hae] kəhəte*
 a-uk k^ha-e kəhə-te
 come-IMP eat-PURP say-SIM
 ‘Come to eat, (he) said.’ (BF.SLD.103)

ii. Causal clause

Cause is most commonly expressed by means of the adverb *gunei* 'therefore' (46c) or *uhəigunei* 'therefore' (46a-b). The words simply stand for 'reason'.

uhəigunei 'therefore' originates from the two words, *uhəi* 'that' *gunei* 'reason'.

Among these two, the former clause shows the cause and the following clause shows the effect (see Bhatia 2005:75). Causal clauses are finite and follow the main clause.

- (45) a. *dzeɬ^hi dulhik tə pac^hese k^həili*
[uhəigunei uhī sorkə c^hawa paulə]
 dzeɬ^hi duli-k tə pac^hese k^ha-l-i
 elder wife-3SG.POSS PART later-ABL eat-PST-F
 uhəigunei uhī sor-kə c^hawa pa-lə
 therefore he-ERG pig-GEN child give birth-PST
 'The elder wife ate (it) later.' 'Therefore, she gave birth to a pig son.'
 (KaQ.SLD.066-67)

- b. *pidrənijə d^herei pidarkə ruk^h rəhələhun*
[uhəigunei pidrəni rəhələhun]
 pidrəni-jə d^herei pidar-kə ruk^h rəhə-lə-hun
 Pidrani-LOC more Pidar-GEN tree COP.PST-HS
 uhəigunei pidrəni rəhə-lə-hun
 therefore Pidrahani remain-PST-HS
 'Perhaps there were several trees of Pidar (trees). Therefore, the place was called Pidrahani.' (In.UN.015)

- c. *d^herei ɖaralarə gunei dərai*
 d^herei ɖara-larə gunei dərai
 much become frightened-PROS reason Darai
 'They were much frightened, (and) therefore (named) Darai.'
 (In.SU.019)

iii. Reason clause

Thompson and Longacre (1985:185) state, "An adverbial clause has a reason if the event coded by the adverbial clause can be realized ." Thompson and Longacre (1985:185) further mention, "The events are 'unrealized' in purposive clauses whereas the events may be realized in reason clauses." The reason clause is coded by *kikekəte*

'because'. This conjunction originates from two words *kike* 'why' and *kətə* 'say-SIM'. *kəhətə* is also pronounced as *kətə* and the reason marker is pronounced as *kikekətə* 'because (lit why saying)'.

- (46) a. *mod hamrə dərəikə nab^həi naib^həi*
[kikekətə k^həna mod ənek kaməjə̃səb cahit]
- | | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| mod | hame-rə | dərəi-kə | |
| home made beer | we-[OBL] GEN | Darai-GEN | |
| nai-b ^h ə-i | nai-b ^h ə- | kikekə-te | k ^h əna |
| NEG-become-3SG | NEG-become-3SG | because | while |
| mod | ənek | kamə-jə̃-səb | cah-i-t |
| home made beer | several | work-LOC-PL need-3SG-NPST | |
- ‘The home made beer is indispensable thing for us because this is required in several (religious) occasions (lit. works).’ (HtMW.SD.020)

- b. *am tə dz^hərte nidzə*
- | | | | |
|-------|------|-----------------------|-------|
| am | tə | dz ^h ər-te | nidzə |
| mango | PART | fall-SIM | NEG |
- ‘(He said), 'The mango does not fall down.’ (KaQ.SLD.049)
- [kikətə tin̄ta am lob kərlə]*
- | | | | | |
|---------|-----------|-------|-------|--------|
| kikətə | tin-ta | am | lob | kər-lə |
| because | three-CLF | mango | greed | do-PST |
- ‘The mango does not fall because he (showed) greed for three mangoes.’ (KaQ.SLD.050)

iv. Temporal clause

Thompson and Longacre (1985:180) note:

The morphemes signaling succession or temporal sequence relationships between clauses are typically either independent morphemes on the order of the English *when*, *before*, *after* etc. or verbal affixes.

The conjunction *əse* or *həse*, 'then' or 'and then' which are free variations is used to link sequential events. It also shows chronological sequences of clauses in natural discourse. The time marker *əse* 'then' appears clause initially. For example in (47) the time relation is indicated by the conjunction *əse* 'then'. Examples (47a-b) are

illustrations. The events are in 'temporal succession' (see Dixon 2009:9) in temporal clauses.

- (47) a. *dɔŋga rok-lə*
 dɔŋga rok-lə
 boat stop-PST
 'The boat stopped.' (SQ.BLD.332)
[əse kʰəbər kər-ikun ogʰəri radzake kʰəbər kər-lə]
 əse kʰəbər kər-ikun ogʰəri radza-ke kʰəbər kər-lə
 and then message do-SEQ Oghari king-DAT message do-PST
 'Then, having informed, he informed Oghari King.' (SQ.BLD.333)
- b. *dʰeluwajə dzʰulaike pər-it*
 dʰeluwajə dzʰula-ike pər-i-t
 cradle-LOC swing-INF AUX-3SG-NPST
 '(We) should swing the child in the cradle.' (MtU.SD.029)
[əse bəllə cʰawake sutaike]
 əse bəllə cʰawa-ke sut-a-ike
 and then only son-DAT sleep-CAUS-INF
 'Then only we make the child sleep.' (MtU.SD.030)

Another temporal clause in Darai shows the relative time (see Dixon 2009:10). The clause refers to the whole length of time (see Watters 2009:108) indicated by *-ilaləi* 'during' or 'as long as' as in (48).

- (48) a. *məi [khailaləi] bəsuk*
 məi kha-ilaləi bəs-uk
 boat eat-till sit-IMP
 'Sit as long as I eat.'
- b. *məi [khailaləi] u-hī kʰet rop-lə*
 məi kha-ilaləi u-hī kʰet rop-lə
 I eat-till he-ERG field plant-PST
 'While I was eating, he planted the field.'
- c. *uhī [cʰadilaləi] kʰəilə*
 u-hī cʰad-ilaləi kʰa-lə
 he vomit-till eat-PST
 'He ate until he vomited.'

- d. *[ijə c^hopra banate kəte aɡ^hu] b^hərenjə boslə*
 ijə c^hopra bana-te kəte aɡ^hu
 this small house make-SIM than before
 b^həren-jə bos-lə
 jungle-LOC sit-PST
 ‘I lived in the forest before I built the house.’
- e. *[b^hat paknepar] məi terake bolatəm*
 b^hat pak-ne-par məi toi-ke
 rice cook-COND-later I you-[OBL]DAT
 bola-tə-m
 call-NPST-1SG
 ‘I will call you after the rice is cooked.’

The example (48d) signals that the act of 'sitting' continues during 'eating'. Similar meaning is expressed in (48e). In example (48d) the adverbial 'before' is used to mark the adverbial clause. Similarly in (48e) we find the use of the adverb 'later'.

v. Substitutive clause

Thompson and Longacre 1985:199) say, "Substitutive clauses are those in which subordinating markers for signaling the replacing of an expected event by an unexpected one." They again state that the conjunctions such as 'instead of' or 'rather than' are used for this purpose in English. *'Harry decided to eat the salad rather than send it back to the kitchen'* is a substitutive clause because the second clause substitutes the first one (ibid). We have only a few examples of the substitutive clause in Darai expressed through *bəru* 'instead'. Examples are provided in (49a-b).¹⁴

- (49) a. *morlə manus dziikun naiabi*
 mor-lə manus dzi-ikun nai-a-bə-i
 die-PST man live-SEQ NEG-come-POSB-3SG
 ‘The dead man may not come becoming alive.’ (SQ.BLD.312)

¹⁴ Dixon (2009:23) notes that semantically this type of clauses may be termed 'alternative suggestion'. In this case, one of the alternatives suggested is more suitable than others (see Watters 2009:111).

[*bəru dzaũ cok^ho b^həike*]

bəru dza-ũ cok^ho b^hə-ike
instead go-HOR.1PL pure become-INF

‘Instead, let’s go to be pure (sacred).’ (SQ.BLD.313)

b. *məi naidzam abe pahaḍ*

məi nai-dza-m abe pahaḍ
I NEG-go-1SG now hill

‘I shall not go to the hill now.’ (IMM.SU.135)

[*bəru məi mədesəjə̃ dzaikun bostəm*]

bəru məi mədes-jə̃ dza-ikun bos-tə-m
instead I plain-LOC go-SEQ sit-NPST-1SG

‘Instead, I will go to the plains (Terai) and sit there.’ (IMM.SU.135)

In both of these examples, the second part of the clause appears as an alternative to the main clause. In (49a) ‘Instead, let’s go to be pure.’ shows a contrast with the preceding clauses. Such clauses are also related to preference.¹⁵

vi. Conditional clauses

Conditional adverbial clauses are morphologically coded in Darai. Protasis or ‘if’ clause is marked with *-ne* or *-le* in Darai. Conditional is thus marked by morphological element. Subordinator (subordinating conjunction or particle) *par* or *sit* optionally occurs in conjunction with the conditional marker. In (50) the conditional clause codes a real situation if the season is hot and it (the thing) should be kept in thick layer.

(50) a. [*gəɾəm məhina b^həine*] *patro rak^hike*

gəɾəm məhinab^həi-ne patro rak^h-ike
hot time become-COND thin keep-INF

‘Keep in a thin layer, if the season is hot.’ (HtMW.SD.010)

¹⁵ This kind of clause is mentioned as ‘rejected alternative’ (Leech and Svartvik 1975: 139). Dixon (2009:30) on the other hand states that it is a subtype of alternatives.

- b. *[toi səti dzəine] məi punu dzəitəm səti*
 toi səti dzəi-ne məi punu
 you immolation go-COND I also
 dza-tə-m səti
 go-NPST-1SG immolation
 'If you immolate, I will also immolate.' (IMM.SU.003)

The clauses presented in (50) are simple conditional clauses. Distinction should be made between simple and hypothetical conditional. Hypothetical conditionals are distinguished from simple conditional because there is the presence of past tense marker which is further accompanied by *par b^həine* in the protasis and *laharəi* (verb inflection) in the apodosis (then clause). Verb inflection in detail is given in Appendix (3d).

- (51) a. *uk^hrai-ke bolalə b^həine par u ramalaharəi*
 uk^hrai-ke bola-lə b^həi-ne par
 he-[OBL]DATcall-PST become-COND COND.PART
 u rama-lahar-əi
 he become happy-COND-3SG
 'He would have been happy if he had been called.'
- b. *c^hahim əili b^həine məi ciṅni kətlarəm*
 c^hahi-m a-l-i b^həi-ne məi
 daughter-1SG come-PST-F become-COND I
 ciṅni kətlarəm
 chicken cut-HYP-1SG
 'I would have killed the chicken if my daughter had come.'

Hypothetical conditional constructions with past tense and *b^həine* clause describe the situation that can not be fulfilled. They refer to the past, i.e. hypothetical conditions. With hypothetical conditions, as in example (51), the verb in the main clause occurs with *b^həine* 'become-COND'.

vii. Concessive clauses

Thompson and Longacre (1985:198) note, "'Concessive' is a general term for a clause which makes a concession, against which the proposition in the main clause is contrasted." Darai has a concessive subordinator such as 'although' or 'though' in

English.¹⁶ This follows the main verb. The clause with *mare/mahũ* 'though' signals the 'counter expectation' given in the main clause. The language consultants say that these two concessive particles can be used interchangeably. Concessive clauses typically precede the main clauses.

- (53) a. *uhĩ cinlə mare nidzə b^hetlə*
 u-hĩ cin-lə mare nidzə-b^het-lə
 he-ERG recognize-PST CONC NEG-meet-PST
 ‘Although he recognized, he did not meet me.’
- b. *osnə mare k^həpikun boslə dad^ha b^hat k^haikun*
 osnə mare k^həp-ikun bos-lə
 like that although bear-SEQ live
 dad^ha b^hat k^ha-ikun
 burned rice eat-SEQ
 ‘Although I had to eat burned rice, I lived by resisting all the things.’
 (OK.JD.018)
- c. *uhĩ nidzə paulə mahũ delə*
 u-hĩ nidzə pa-lə mahũ de-lə
 he-ERG NEG get-PST CONC give-PST
 ‘Although he did not get (money), he gave (it to me).’

viii. Possible consequence

Possible consequence is not well-conventionalized in Darai. Possible consequence can not be expressed morphologically. It is possible periphrastically with the word *nətrə* 'otherwise'. Dixon (2009:6) states that possible consequence shows the action 'to avoid possible consequence'.

¹⁶ Givón (2001a) states, "Concessive clause involves a presupposed contrast or counter expectancy with the ADV (adverb) clause supplying the ground for the counter-expectation and the main clause supplying the less-likely event or state."

- (54) a. *məi lokatəm toi*
[nətrə merə bubahim k^hait terake]
 məi loka-tə-m toi
 I hide-NPST-1SG you
 'I will hide you.' (SQ.BLD.071)
- nətrə məi-rə buba-m k^ha-i-t*
 otherwise I-[OBL]GEN father-1SG eat-3SG-NPST
 toi-ke
 you-[OBL]GEN
 'Otherwise my father will eat you. (SQ.BLD.072)
- b. *sud^hernikə rə bahunke ramrəse babaikə pərit*
[nətrə b^hara rəhit]
 suud^herni-kə rə bahun-ke ramrə-se baba-ike
 midwife-GEN and priest-GEN good-ABL sprinkle-NF
 pər-i-t nətrə b^hara rəhə-i
 fall-3SG-NPST otherwise debt COP.PST-3SG
 'The priest and the midwife should be sprinkled with water. Otherwise,
 he is (will be) in debt. (MtU.SD.024)

ix. Converb clauses¹⁷

Clauses connected by converbs are very common in Darai. Following the general literature on converbs in the context of the languages of Nepal (Noonan 1999; Peterson 2002; Genetti 2005; Yadava 2005), we present the converb clause in the following sections. Based on Peterson (2002), we can point out three non-finite forms of verbs in Darai: *-ikun*, *-te*, *-tihin*. Among these forms, *-ikun* is a sequential converb and *-te* is a simultaneous converb. On the other hand, *-tihin*, which is basically a progressive form, is also used as a 'continuous converb'.

¹⁷ Masica (1991:399) remarks that conjunctive participle is a unique way of chaining sentences.

a. Sequential converb

In the clauses where the simultaneous converb connects the sentences, this has a temporal relation to a main clause. The converb is the primary means to indicate a sequence of events in Darai. Genetti (2005:51) mentions, "A converb construction is used to link two clauses denoting sequential relationship." They are found densely in narrative and procedural texts.

(55) a. *dz^hunuṭ^həsai ɖaratəs kəhikun b^həjab^hərkə sor anikun k^halṭa
k^hənikun kəɖəriṅkə ɖāṭ^h bic^haikun b^həjab^hərkə kohodo anikun
rati rati dz^hapikun puri delə*

dz^hun-ṭ^hə-sai ɖara-tə-s kəh-ikun
NEG-stand-IMP.FUT frighten-NPST-2SG say-SEQ
b^həjab^hərkə sor anikun k^halṭa k^hən-ikun
all pig bring-SEQ ditch dig-SEQ
kəɖəriṅ-kə ɖāṭ^h bic^ha-ikun b^həjab^hərkə
plant-GEN stem spread-SEQ all
kohodo an-ikun rati rati
pumpkin bring-SEQ night night
dz^hap-ikun puri de-lə
cover-SEQ cover-ABS give-PST

‘“Don't get up, you will be frightened,” having told this, having brought all the pigs, having dug the ditch, having brought all the pumpkin seed, he planted (lit. covered) all of it.’ (KaQ.SLD.098)

b. *[goli hanikun] morlə*

goli han-ikun dza-lə
bullet shoot-SEQ go-PST

‘Having been shot (it) died.’ (SQ.BLD.034)

c. *[dui tin hāga d^hərikun] boslə*

dui tin hāga d^hər-ikun bos-lə
two three branch hold-SEQ sit-PST

‘Having held two or three branches, (he) stayed (there).’ (SQ.BLD.114)

In (55b-c) the converbs contain sequences of events. 'The demon did like that and went' and 'He held the branches of the trees and sat.' Converb clauses also have

the meaning of manner in Indo-Aryan languages (see Peterson 2002: 106; Yadava 2005:444) as shown in (56).

- (56) a. *[osin kərikun] car b^hai b^həilə*
 osin kər-ikun car b^hai b^həi-lə
 that way do-SEQ four brother become-PST
 ‘Having done like that they became four (in number).’ (SQ.BLD.006)
- b. *ū hāsikun bollə*
 u-ī hās-ikun kəhə-lə
 he-ERG laugh-SEQ tell-PST
 ‘He tell (us something) laughing.’

b. Simultaneous converb¹⁸

Thompson and Longacre (1985:188) note, "Simultaneity clauses code the relationship called 'overlap'". This refers to a co-temporal clause. The situation referred by the suffix *-te* indicates this simultaneous action to that of the main clause.

An example is provided in (57).

- (57) *uhī suga b^hette k^hənajə anlə*
 u-hī suga b^het-te k^həna-jə an-lə
 he-ERG parrot meet-SIM while-LOC bring-PST
 ‘He brought the parrot while he found (it).’ (HP.BLD.003)

Two sentences in (57) are combined as presented earlier. For example, in the example (58) 'while' clause denotes the overlapping actions.

- (58) *route route route u uc^hin sutlə*
 ro-te ro-te ro-te
 weep-SIM weep-SIM weep-SIM
 u uc^hin sut-lə
 he there sleep-PST
 ‘While crying, he slept right there.’ (SQ.BLD.037)

In the clauses where the simultaneous converb connects the sentences, this has a temporal relation to a main clause. This is further illustrated in (59).

¹⁸ Peterson (2002:102) shows that the simultaneous converb may not show total simultaneity whereas the continuous converb refers to total simultaneity.

- (59) *məi dug^hrəte dug^hrəte g^hər ai puglə*
 məi dug^hrə-te dug^hrə-te g^hər a-i pug-lə
 I run-SIM run-SIM house come-ABS reach-PST
 "I arrived home as I kept running."(HoF.SLD.023)

c. Continuous converb

The progressive form of the verb, when used as a converb, shows a complete simultaneity. It is also used to give the simultaneous meaning as in simultaneous converb. The continuous converb is also used to mark the 'total simultaneity' (Peterson 2002:112). Examples (61) shows that the action 'speaking' and 'laughing' occur together in the same time frame. Similarly we find total simultaneity between 'ploughing' and 'looking' in (61b). Example (61a) gives the manner reading.¹⁹

- (60) *məi əina hertihin bar costəm*
 məi əina her-tihin bar cos-tə-m
 I mirror look-PROG hair comb-NPST-1SG
 'I comb my hair looking at mirror.'

- (61) a. *uhĩ hostihin borait*
 u-hĩ hos-tihin bora-i-t
 he-ERG laugh-PROG speak-3SG-NPST
 'He speaks smiling.'

- b. *hertihin hertihin car pāc kət^ht^ha dzoti səklə*
 her-tihin her-tihin car pāc kət^ht^ha
 look-PROG look-PROG four five piece of land
 dzot-i sək-lə
 plough-ABS finish-PST
 'He ploughed instantly four or five Kaththas (unit of land) while looking.'(BF.SLD.125)

¹⁹ Noonan (2000:404-405) shows that 'progressive form' when used as a converb shows 'simultaneity', 'temporally overlapping' action or 'expression of manner'.

- c. *ek kan dui kan b^haitihin radzakə ləgi pugləhun*
 ek kan dui kan b^hai-tihin radza-kə
 one ear two ear become-PROG king-GEN
 ləgi pug-lə-hun
 near reach-PST-HS
 ‘...the (message) reached the king while it was spreading from one to another.’ (In.SU.008)

Note that the continuous converbs are used in elicited examples (60, 61a) and it is also found in the discourse data (61b-c).

x. Manner clauses

Dixon (2009:35) notes, "The action described by the focal clause is done in the manner described by the supporting clause." Following is an example of manner clause in Darai.

- (62) *u [morbok dzəhin] kəlkələlə*
 u mor-bo-k dzəhin kəlkələ-lə
 he die-POSB-3SG like cry loud-PST
 'He cried as if he would die.'

11.4 Tail-head linkage²⁰

Ebert (1997:156) mentions that the tail-head linkage is a typical means of connecting clauses. She further notes:

A typical means of connecting two sentences in a narrative is tail-head linkage. The finite verb or sometimes the verb with a complement (its “tail”) is repeated at the beginning of the sentence that relates a new, temporally subsequent event.

The tail-head linkage is seen in several places in various kinds of texts. Consider the examples in (63).

²⁰ This sort of clause combining in narrative technique is also referred to as 'recapitulation' in (Genetti 2007:438, Craine 1992:43).

- (63) a. *dui din pac^hu b^hatise dz^hor bohⁱt*
 dui din pac^hu b^hati-se dz^hor boh-i-t
 two day later fermented rice-ABL liquid flow-3SG-NPST
 ‘The liquid starts to flow after two or three days.’ (HtMW.SD.039)
[dz^hor boh^one par mod sawat b^həit]
 dz^hor boh^o-ne par mod
 liquid flow-COND PART home made beer
 sawad b^həit
 tasty become-3SG-NPST
 ‘If the liquid flows, the home made beer becomes tasty.’
 (HtMW.SD.040)
- b. *suga b^hət^lə*
 suga b^hət-lə
 parrot meet-PST
 ‘... (he) found (lit. met) a parrot.’ (HP.BLD.002)
[b^hət^{te} k^hənajə anlə]
 b^hət-te k^hənə-jə an-lə
 meet-SIM while-LOC bring-PST
 ‘While getting (lit. finding it), they brought (it) home.’ (HP.BLD.003)

As can be seen in pairs of the sentence (63), the tail-head linkage occurs at the beginning of the second sentence. This consists of recapitulation of the final clause of the previous sentence. Genetti (2007:438) notes, "In this kind of recapitulation the participial construction; it makes a transition between preceeding and following events across a major syntactic (sentence) boundary."

11.5 Direct and indirect speech²¹

Darai prefers the 'direct speech' in the natural conversation. All sentences mentioned in (64) from discourse data are in direct speech. The first and second person pronouns refer to the subject and object of the main clause. The verbs *puc^h* 'ask', *kəhə* 'say', *sun* 'hear', *cah* 'want' are used as verbs of quotation.

²¹ Marked preference for direct quotation can be taken as an areal feature (see Genetti 2007, Ricardi 2003).

- (64) a. *sunkesri rani kəhələ ic^hin bos toi*
 sunkesri rani kəhə-lə ic^hi-n bos toi
 Sunkesri queen say-tell here-EMPH live-IMP you
 ‘Sunkesri queen said, ‘Sit right here’. (SQ.BLD.068-69)
- b. *ḍ^huḡrojə atəi kəhələ*
 ḍ^huḡro-jə atə-i kəhə-lə
 bamboo pot-LOC COP.NPST-3SG say-PST
 ‘He said, ‘It is in the bamboo pot.’ (SQ.BLD.159)
- c. *ḍ^hilo anisai kəhələ*
 ḍ^hilo an-isai kəhə-lə
 slow bring-IMP.FUT say-PST
 ‘(He) said, ‘Bring it slowly.’ (OK.JD.010)
- d. *amake puc^hlə anlə abe kohodokdə bija*
 ama-ke puc^h-lə an-lə abe
 mother-DAT ask-PST bring-PST now
 kohodo-kə bija
 pumpkin-GENseed
 ‘(He) said to his mother, ‘Did you bring the seeds of pumpkins?’
 (KaQ.SLD.087)

For example in (65) the first person singular refers to the narrator and the second person pronoun to the addressee.

- (65) a. *məi terə dzogikə pakalə b^hat naik^ham kəhikun kəhələ*
 məi toi-rə dzogi-kə paka-lə b^hat
 I you-[OBL]GEN hermit-GEN cook-PST rice
 nai-k^ha-m kəh-ikun kəhə-lə
 NEG-eat-1SG say-SEQ say-PST
 ‘(The man) told him that he would not eat rice cooked by a hermit like
 him.’ (KaQ.SLD.174)
- b. *dzəitəm kəhələ bubāi*
 dza-tə-m kəhə-lə bubā-i
 go-NPST-1SG say-PST father-ERG
 ‘Father said that he would go.’

However, one strategy often employed in indirect reports is the use of sequential converb *-ikun* followed by the finite verb of saying like *kəhə* 'tell/ask' and *puc^h* 'ask'. Consider the examples mentioned in (66).

- (66) a. *dukta d^hərisai tin̄ta d^hərisai kəhikun kəhələ*
 duk-ta d^hər-isai tin-ta
 two-CLF hold-IMP.FUT three-CLF
 d^hər-isai kəh-ikun kəhə-lə
 hold-IMP.HON say-SEQ say-PST
 '(He) requested them to hold two or three root.' (SQ.BLD.109)
- b. *hamrake punu pəskun kəhikun kəhələ*
 hame-ke punu pəs-kuk kəh-ikun kəhə-lə
 we-[OBL]DAT also serve-IMP say-SEQ say-PST
 'The husband told her to serve (the food) also for them.' (IMM.SU.099)

11.6 Summary

We discussed clause combining in this chapter. The discussion shows that the clause combining techniques known as 'subordination' and 'coordination' can be analyzed by placing them in a continuum. There is a subordination in one extreme whereas in the next extreme lies coordination. In terms of the dependency, converb clauses can be placed next to coordination, whereas complement clauses and adverbial clauses are close to subordination.

Some topics covered in our discussion are coordination with conjunction and juxtaposition. In a similar manner, disjunction is also possible with coordinators and simply by juxtaposition. We discussed complement types such as full sentence complementation, infinitive complementation and participial complementation. They can be used as subject and object. Darai distinguishes the relative clauses such as pronominal relative, relative-correlative and headless relative clauses. Adverbial clauses discussed are purposive clause, causal clause, reason clause, time clause, substitutive clause, conditional clause, concessive clause and converb clauses. We find the use of the tail-head linkage, which is also known as recapitulation. Darai prefers 'direct speech' in natural conversation.

CHAPTER 12

DISCOURSE

12.0 Outline

Different genres were recorded, transcribed and interlinearized while building the corpus of this study. It is therefore relevant to characterize the kinds of texts vis-à-vis the grammar. This chapter analyzes the discourse in Darai. This chapter consists of three parts. Section 12.1 discusses proverbs, riddles and other text types. We present an elaborate discourse analysis of a text entitled ‘Jackal and Hen’ in section 12.2. The findings of this chapter are presented in section 12.3.

12.1 Text types

Our corpus comprises short narratives, procedural texts, conversations and interviews. Details related to types of texts are found in Appendix (5).

12.1.1 Proverbs

Proverbs are a great repository of every society. They are transmitted through generations orally. They help drive home the message effectively. A few proverbs widely used in Darai are listed in (1).

- (1) a. *əilem dzəilem tato pina k^həilem*
a-le-m dza-le-m tato pina
come-PST-1SG go-PST-1SG hot oil-cake
k^ha-le-m
eat-PST-1SG
‘I came, I went and I ate oil-cake.’
‘I was indecisive.’ (IMM.SU.055)

- b. *dzok^hin hərnikə dug^hras ok^hin kukurkə mutas*
 dzok^hin hərni-kə dug^hr-as ok^hin
 where deer-GEN run-DESID there
 kukur-kə mut-as
 dog-GEN urinate-DESID
 ‘When a deer wants to run, the dog wants to urinate.’
 ‘To be engaged in some trivial things when it is time for urgent work.’
- c. *nə cərikə cit nə mənəwakə hit*
 nə cəri-kə cit nə mənəwa-kə hit
 neither bird-GEN cit nor bird-GEN benefit
 ‘A silent place attracts neither the birds to live nor are there settlements
 of the people.’
- d. *dzəsənə dzəsənə cərəi osnei osnei boli*
 dzəsənə dzəsənə cərəi osnei osnei boli
 like like bird like like speech
 ‘There are languages (intentions) according to the types of people.’
- e. *ˈtʰaũ nə ˈtʰəhər buɖ^hikə rəhər*
 ˈtʰaũ nə ˈtʰəhər buɖ^hi-kə rəhər
 place not decision old woman-GEN wish
 ‘The situation when one has only wishes but lacks knowledge.’
- f. *pəɖ^hlə ɡunlə kjahau nidzə kam hor dzotne mamei mam*
 pəɖ^h-lə ɡun-lə kiti-hau nidzə kam
 read-PST read-PST what-INDEF NEG work
 hor dzot-ne mam-ei mam
 plough plough-COND rice-EMP rice
 ‘There is not work if one reads (studies) but gets the foods if he
 ploughs (the field).’

12.1.2 Riddle

The riddle, '*pihini*' in Darai, has also been the subject of interest for the linguists as it is characterized by certain structural pattern. The riddles in Darai are rather brief. The first part generally supplies the background information and the second part asks the question. Deinhart (1998:96) mentions:

A riddle can be viewed as a discourse type involving a two-part structure: an initial 'text' (the 'precedent') in which the riddler supplies a series of clues (generally sufficient or misleading) from which a second 'text' (the 'sequent') is to be surmised by the riddlee. The precedent is often but not necessarily, expressed in the form of a question. Together, the precedent and the sequent make up the riddling text a whole.¹

There are two parts in all the riddles in Darai. The first part supplies the background whereas the second part poses a question as a rule.

- (2) a. *brindabənanəjə̃ kədzadə dadzu kəhit kiti hək^həi*
 brinda bən-jə̃ kədzadə dadzu kəh-i-t
 dense jungle-LOC black brother speak-3SG-NPST
 kiti hək^hə-i
 what COP.NPST-3SG
 'A black brother speaks in a dense forest. What is this?'
 "The solution is: Falling down the tree with an axe in the jungle."
- b. *nani nani pok^hərajə̃ dzəlt^həl pani uc^hin g^humit cəmpa rani*
kiti hək^həi
 nani nani pok^həra-jə̃ dzəlt^həl pani
 small small pond-LOC full water
 uc^hi-n g^hum-i-t cəmpa rani
 there-EMPH roam-3SG-NPST Champaqueen
 kiti hək^hə-i
 what be-NPST-3SG
 'In a small pond, there is water and in it swims Champarani. What is it?'
 ?'
 "The solution is: A fishing net spreading for catching fish."

¹ Deinhart (1998:99) notes that a riddle is brief question and answer exchange between two people.

- c. *c^hattis k^hamo bəttis dwar uc^hin dz^hulit balkuwar kiti hək^həi*
c^həttis k^hamo bəttis dwar uc^hi-n
 thirty six pillar thirty two door there-EMPH
dz^hul-i-t balkuwar kiti hək^hə-i
 flow-3SG-NPST Balkuwar what COP.NPST-3SG
 ‘About thirty six pillars and thirty two doors and Balkuwar spreads
 right there. What is it?’
 “The solution is: A trap for catching birds.”

12.1.3 Procedural texts and narratives

Our corpus contains some procedural texts. Payne (1997:360) mentions, "Procedural discourses, like narratives, are usually organized according to time." They tell us how something is done. Several sentences of procedural texts have either passive constructions or the infinitive form of verb. Consider the following examples from 'how death ritual is performed', in which a majority of sentences are passive-like. A repeated pattern in this kind of clauses is 'Do this and this' or 'Having done this, do this'. Let's examine the examples in (3).

- (3) a. *uc^hise p^heri dzəitahĩ g^hətəjə*
uc^hise p^heri dza-ta-hĩ g^hət-jə
 now onwards again go-NPST-1PL cremation ground
 ‘Then (we) go to the cremation grounds.’ (DR.CND.016)
- b. *pindo partahĩ*
pindo par-ta-hĩ
 ball of rice for offering make-NPST-1PL
 ‘Then Pindo (a ball of rice to offer) is made.’ (DR.CND.017)

Such texts maintain thematic continuity. Payne (1997:344) notes, "The thematic continuity refers to the fact that discourse tends to revolve around recurring "themes"." Similar kinds of constructions are available in the texts. Following are some further illustrations:

- (4) a. *u ek din rak^htahĩ ʊt^hatahĩ*
u ek din rak^h-ta-hĩ ʊt^h-a-ta-hĩ
 that one day put-NPST-1PL raise-CAUS-NPST-1PL
 ‘That is kept one day (and) it is ended (lit. raised).’ (DR.CND.025)

- b. *g^harəikə dzəhin murti banaikun uk^hrake selai detahĩ*
 g^hər-əi-kə dzəhin murti bən-a-ikun
 house-EMPH-GEN like idol make-CAUS-SEQ
 u-ke sela-i de-ta-hĩ
 he-[OBL] DAT cremate-ABS give-NPST-1PL
 ‘Having made a statue like idol at home, (it) is cremated.’
 (DR.CND.033)
- c. *uc^hise aikunu p^hulpati k^hostahĩ*
 uc^hise a-ikunu p^hulpati k^hos-ta-hĩ
 now onwards come-SEQ Phulpati search-NPST-1PL
 ‘Having come from there, Phulpati is searched.’ (DR.CND.034)

As can be seen in (4) the sentences are predominantly in the functional passive. In addition, we also see the use of sequential converb as a technique of 'chronological linkage' maintaining the sequences of events. Procedural texts are also characterized by the use of infinitive form of verbs. Following are some examples:

- (5) a. *pəhila g^haməjə suk^haikə əse kʉtike*
 pəhila g^ham-jə suk^h-a-ikə əse kʉt-ike
 first sun-LOC dry-CAUS-INF then pound-INF
 ‘First, dry in the sun and then pound (bush and rice).’ (HtMW.SD.003)
- b. *b^hidzalə caur kʉtikunu pʉt^ha banaikə*
 b^hidza-lə caur kʉt-ikunu pʉt^ha ban-a-ikə
 moisten-PRF rice pound-SEQ flour make-CAUS-INF
 ‘Make flour after beating the moistened rice.’ (HtMW.SD.004)
- c. *əse pʉt^ha banaikunu uwə pʉt^ha kʉtlə dz^hāgise misaikə*
 əse pʉt^ha bana-ikunu uwə pʉt^ha
 then flour make-SEQ that flour
 kʉt-lə dz^hāgi-se misa-ikə
 pound-PFV bush-ABL mix-INF
 ‘Then, having made the flour, mix the flour with the bush and rice which had been pounded’ (HtMW.SD.005)

Narratives are more common texts we collected and available in our corpus followed by procedural texts. Let's see some of the features shared by these different kinds of texts based on Longacre and Levinsohn (1978:133).

TABLE 12.1 Classification of discourse genres
(Longacre and Levinsohn 1978:104)

Features↓	Text type	
	Narrative	Procedural
Chronological linkage	√	√
Agent orientation	√	×
Projected time	×	√
Tension	√	√ (×)

Table (12.1) reveals that both narratives and procedural texts have 'chronological linkage'. In the narratives, the characters are involved in the development of the story. The narratives have thus agent-orientation. Longacre and Levinsohn (1978:104) note that the ordinary stories do not have projected time whereas prophetic stories have. On the other hand, procedural texts have chronological linkage but do not have agent orientation. They have projected time as well because this provides instructions how one would do it. There are some procedural texts which may not have tension but some of them have tension as well (Longacre and Levinsohn 1978:104).

12.1.4 Tense, aspect and mood in discourse

This part deals with the frequency of tense, aspect and mood (TAM) marking in a narrative and a procedural text. These TAM features were fully analyzed in Chapter 6. Table (12.2) presents the token frequency of different TAM markers.

TABLE 12.2 Number of TAM markers in texts

Narrative			Procedural texts		
TAM categories	Occurrence	Percentage	TAM categories	Occurrence	Percentage
Past tense	62	44.92	Infinitive	32	30.47
Sequential converb	18	13.04	Sequential converb	25	23.80
SIM	22	15.94	Non-past	22	20.95
Non-past	4	2.89	Conditional	13	12.38
Desiderative	8	5.79	Simultaneous converb	2	1.904
Infinitive	4	2.89	Prospective	4	3.80
Imperative	3	2.17	Perfect	6	5.71
Perfect	7	5.07	Habitual	1	0.95
Copula (Past)	2	1.44			
Absolutive	4	2.89			
Inferential	1	0.72			
Possibility	1	0.72			
Frustrative	1	0.72			
Absence of copula due to negative	1	0.72			

Table (12.2) and figure (12.1) show TAM markers on verbs.² We find the ample use of infinitive in the procedural texts. This is followed by sequential converb. We find the use of non-past tense in the procedural texts because the present habit is also expressed by the non-past tense. It is followed by the perfect aspect of the verb.

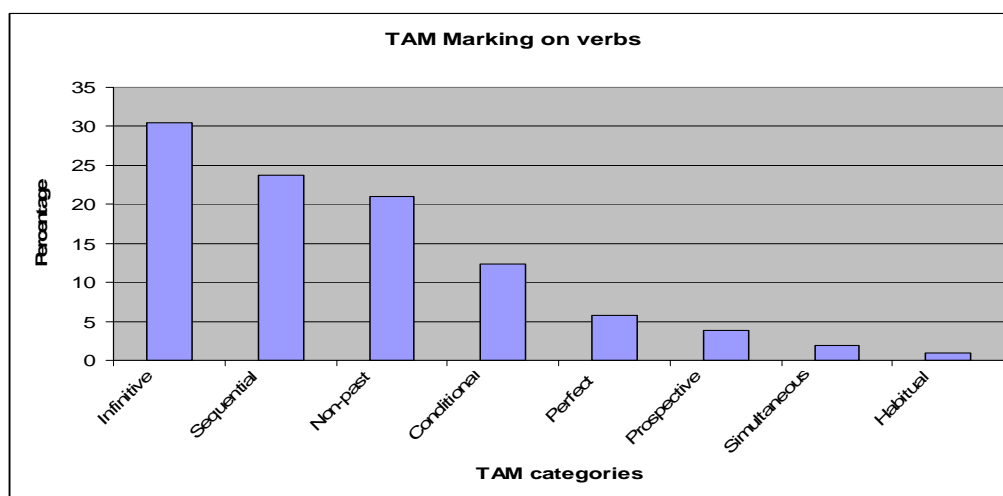


FIGURE 12.1 TAM markers in a procedural text

² The text count for this analysis is based on two texts, i.e. 'How to make wine' and 'Jackal and hen'. Both of them are included in the appendix.

Figure 12.1 shows that the procedural texts have fixed kinds of structures. It is natural because sentences used in procedural texts have repetitive patterns (or structures). Procedural texts can be compared with the narratives. Now, let's examine the narrative.

When we look at the features of narrative in terms of TAM encoding, we find a contrasting picture. The past tense prevails in the narrative. This is followed by simultaneous and sequential converbs. We can also see other aspect and mood markers in the narratives. This is shown in Figure (12.2).

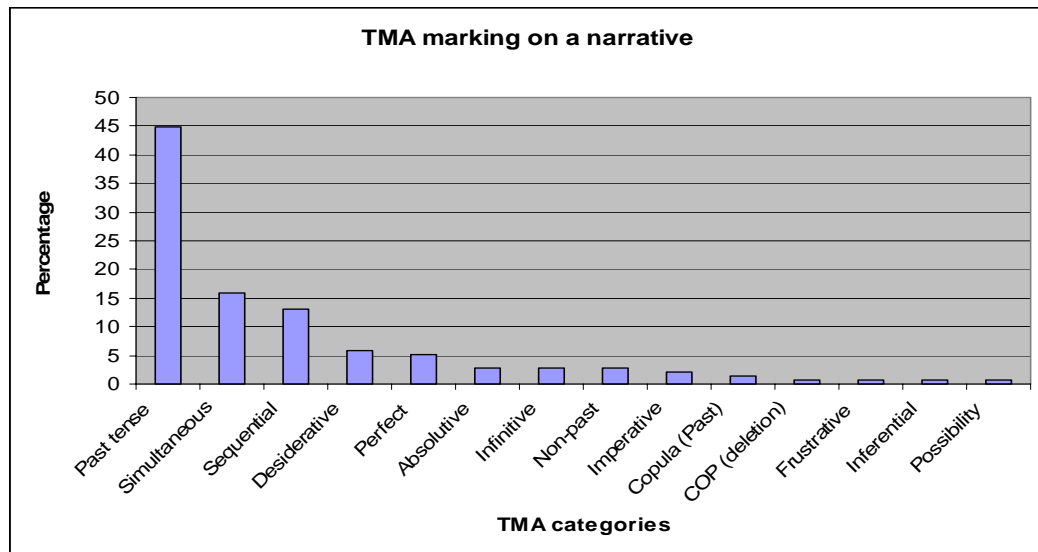


FIGURE 12.2 TAM markers in a narrative

These two kinds of texts have some similarities but they are distinct. First of all, they are characterized by chronological linkage. We find the use of the sequential converb in both kinds of texts although the precise percentage differs. Secondly, they also differ in 'agent orientation'. Thus, we find the sentences which contain agents in narrative texts but the sentences in procedural texts lack them. Thirdly, narratives have more diverse aspect and modality markers than the procedural texts. A comparative picture of a narrative and a procedural text on the basis of the tense, aspect and mood markers is shown in Figure (12.3).

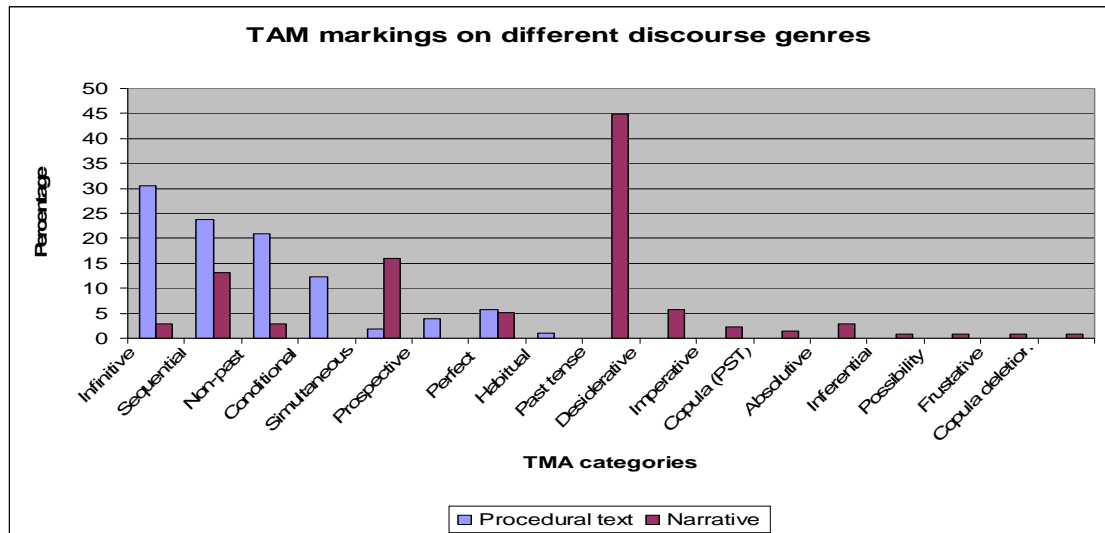


FIGURE 12.3 Comparative TAM marking in different discourse genres

The differences between these different texts were found. The most evident structure is the past tense in the narrative texts whereas the infinitive in the procedural texts. It shows that each type of text characterizes a distinct structure. They both have chronological linkage. Chronological linkage in both sorts of texts is expressed by the sequential converb. These tendencies will further help analyze the other text types as well. Use of non-past tense, perfect aspect and simultaneous converb are also found in both kinds of texts. Conditional mood, prospective and habitual aspects are present only in the procedural text. Some TAM categories observed only in the narrative are imperative, inferential, possibilitive, frustrative and so on.

12.2 Discourse analysis

We use 'discourse' as language in use (see Kärkkäinen, Sorjonen and Helasvuo 2007). Longacre and Levinsohn (1978:103) note that different sorts of texts are characterized by different sorts of analytical problems:

In selecting the beginning text for field analysis, one likes to find as strategic a place to begin as possible. If one sort of text bristles with problems while another is simpler, it is wiser to begin with the latter and gain background for approaching the former. In many parts of the world, it proves useful to use narrative discourse for beginning discourse analysis.

Narratives have some common features. Payne (1997:351) notes, "Narrative discourse is normally organized according to time." Events are related sequentially in narratives. The events in a story fall in event-line whereas the description, evaluation and non-sequential information fall within 'non-event' line. The text we have chosen for discourse analysis is a narrative. As listed in Table (11.1) a narrative has chronological linkage. A story develops through time and has agent orientation. Narratives are episodic. Talking about the field analysis of discourse Longrace and Levinsohn (1978:103) further highlight:

A formulaic beginning may be termed *aperture*. A formulaic ending may be termed *finis*. If such a formulaic beginning is present, the discourse is most likely gets going in a section found in the following slot, which can be termed *stage* for narrative discourse and *introduction* for other types. Closure, which precedes *finis*, is a wrap-up of a discourse in a manner which is specific to the content of that discourse.

This text entitled "Jackal and Hen" was narrated by Mr. Som Lal Darai, a resident of Kathar VDC of eastern Chitwan.

11.2.1 Beginning (*aperture*)

A narrative may begin in a number of ways but Darai has formulaic way of beginning a story. This is a common device to mark a narrative. The following is the beginning of a narration or *aperture*.

- (6) a. *eka desəjǎ ekta gau rəhəi*
 eka des-jǎ ek-ta gau rəhə-i
 one country one-CLF village COP.PST-3SG
 ‘Once upon a time there was a village in a country.’ (JaH.SLD.001)
- b. *bəsti boslə*
 bəsti bos-lə
 settlement sit-PST
 ‘People settled there. (lit. The settlements sat there).’ (JaH.SLD.002)

Other narratives also have the same method of beginning stories as can be seen in (7). The first sentence contains a copular verb. The verb is stative copula *rəhə* 'COP.PST'.

(7) *eka desəjə̃ buḍ^ha buḍ^hi rəhəi*
 eka des-jə̃ buḍ^ha buḍ^hi rəhə-i
 one country old man old woman COP.PST-3SG
 ‘Once upon a time there were an elderly couple in a country.’
 (HP.BLD.001)

(8) *eka desəjə̃ eḳta radza rəhəi*
 eka des-jə̃ eḳta radza rəhə-i
 one country-LOC one-CLF king COP.PST-3SG
 ‘Once upon a time there was a king in a country.’ (KaQ.SLD.001)

As can be seen in (6) through (8), the stories have the formulaic beginning. Although the major character(s) are presented in the beginning of the narrative, some other participants are introduced to set the scene. The beginning of a narrative provides location where the story takes place. The location of this story is a house in the vicinity of a forest. All actions take place in the same location. The story gradually develops. There are a few characters: hen, jackal and chicken. Among these, the jackal and hen are the major characters whereas chickens may be regarded as the minor ones. Background of the story consists of chain of events or the episodes related to the central characters. The initial paragraphs contain the complication and the later part contains the resolution.

The first 13 sentences of the story convey the setting with the use of the past tense. They constitute a good example of a narrative setting.³ The story upto this point provides background information. As the story progresses, there is a shift from the past to the non-past tense. Thus, there is a shift from narration to the direct discourse. This process repeats in the story as the story progresses towards the peak. The jackal is motivated by dishonest intention. He makes the hen his religiously bonded friend. Let's consider the following examples which reveal the intention of the jackal.

(9) *uk^hrə c^hawake k^haikē kosis kərlə*
 u-rə c^hawa-ke k^ha-ikē kosis kər-lə
 he-[OBL]GEN son-DAT eat-INF attempt do-PST
 ‘He made an attempt to eat its chickens (lit. children).’ (JaH.SLD.013)

³ Bieri, Schulze and Hale (1973:401) note that event-focused backbones are characterized by clause chaining across paragraph boundaries.

Longacre and Levinsohn (1978:107) note, "Each discourse type has its favoured tense/aspect for the mainline of its development and other tense/aspects for other functions." The story employs past tense for narrating the story except in a few places where non-past tense is employed. The non-past tense is mainly employed in the direct discourse or conversation. We find the use of non-past tense only in a few places (8 places). The whole narrative is told in the past tense. As presented in examples (6), this story begins and ends with the past tense. As the discourse shifts from indirect narration to the direct discourse we find the use of the non-past tense.

(10) a. *uhĩ puc^hte k^həni ciŋnike toi kəc^hi ɖ^huktəs*
 u-hĩ puc^h-te k^həni ciŋni-ke
 he-ERG inquiry-SIM while hen-DAT
 toi kəc^hi ɖ^huk-tə-s
 you where wait-NPST-2SG
 'While inquiring (he said to) the hen, "Where do you wait ?'
 (JaH.BLD.014)

b. *ciŋniĩ kəhələ dze ijə kod^horojəjə məi ɖ^huktəm*
 ciŋniĩ kəhə-lə dze ijə kod^hor-jə
 hen-ERG say-PST PART this corner-LOC
 məi ɖ^huk-tə-m
 I wait-NPST-1SG
 'The hen said, 'I will wait in this corner.' (JaH.SLD.015)

Most of the sentences are declarative and affirmative. There is a shift from the past to non-past tense. Consider the incident when the jackal returns to forest as he fails to meet the chicken in the night. This is narrated in the past tense followed by the use of non-past tense in the direct discourse (as in 11g).

(11) a. *osin kərte kərte behan b^həilə*
 osin kər-te kər-te behan b^həi-lə
 that way do-SIM do-SIM morning become-PST
 'The morning approached (lit. became) while (he was) continuing doing it.' (JaH.SLD.019)

- b. *sjar g^hərə dzəilə behaudo*
 sjar g^hərə dza-lə behaudo
 jackal house go-PST towards the evening
 'The jackal went to the forest (lit. home) at the daybreak.'
 (JaH.SLD.020)
- c. *ərkən din hã uhəi din aikun p^heri puc^hlə*
 ərkən din hã uhəi din
 next day yes the same day
 a-ikun p^heri puc^h-lə
 come-SEQ again ask-PST
 'Having come the next day, no the same day, he asked (the hen).'
 (JaH.SLD.021)
- d. *adzu tə nidzə b^hetlə məi terake kuc^hi d^huklə rəhəs
 kəhikun kəhələ*
 adzu tə nidzə b^het-lə məi toi-ke
 today PART NEG meet-PST I you-[OBL]DAT
 kuc^hi d^huk-lə rəhə-s kəh-ikun kəhə-lə
 where wait-PST COP.PST-2SG say-SEQ say-PST
 'The jackal said he had not met him that night and asked where he had
 waited.' (JaH.SLD.022)
- e. *tə ciŋni kəhələ dze məi purwəkə kod^horəjə d^huklə rəhəm*
 tə ciŋni kəhə-lə dze məi purwə-kə
 PART chicken say-PST PART I east-GEN
 kod^horə-jə d^huk-lə rəhə-m
 corner-LOC wait-PST COP.PST-1SG
 'The chicken said, "I had waited in the eastern corner."' (JaH.SLD.023)
- f. *toi tə nidzə əilə k^hodzike ic^hi herlə kəhikun*
 toi tə nidzə a-lə k^hodz-ike
 you PART NEG come-PST search-INF
 ic^hi her-lə kəh-ikun
 there look-PST say-SEQ
 'You did not come to search, to look for, he said.' (JaH.SLD.024)

g. *i oskəne adzu kəc^{hi} d^huktəs təu kəhələ*
 i oskəne adzu kəc^{hi}
 this in that case today where
 d^huk-tə-s təu kəhəl-lə
 wait-NPST-2SG PART say-PST

‘He said , "Where will you wait tonight? ' (JaH.SLD.025)

The jackal asks the hen where they live each day in order to kill and devour the chicken. Being aware of the intention of the jackal, the hen changes the places to stay in each night. They live in the eastern corner one day whereas in the western corner on the other day. After four days, the hen moves to the creeper of the beans. Next day, they hide in the pot of gourd in order to keep themselves safe from the jackal.

(12) *simikə dz^haləjə d^hukte k^həni sjar əilə rati*
 simi-kə dz^hal-jə d^huk-te k^həni sjar
 bean-GEN creeper-LOC wait-SIM while jackal
 a-lə rati
 come-PST night

‘While hiding in the bean creeper, the jackal came in the night.’
 (JaH.SLD.038)

12.2.2 Marking of peak

The 'peak' refers to the high points in the story. Longrace and Levinsohn (1978:109) note that the peak is marked by the following devices: (a) by rhetorical underlining; (b) by a concentration of participants; (c) heightened vividness attained through tense shifts (e.g. from past to historical present); (d) by change of pace through variation in size of units; and (e) by a change of vantage point or orientation-including role reversal.

This narrative virtually contains above-mentioned characteristics for attaining the peak. Firstly, there is rhetorical underlining. In other words, there have been repetitions in the structures of the sentences when the story progresses towards the peak. Consider examples (11) through (13). The text exhibits the repetition of structures. Repetitions are used show the main events in the narratives.

- (13) a. *ekṭaī kəhəte abei merə hagas*
ek-ta-ī kəhə-te abei məi-rə hag-as
one-CLF-ERG tell-SIM mother I-GEN defecate-DESID
‘One said, "Mother, I want to defecate.’ (JaH.SLD.052)
- b. *arkohī kəhəte abei merə padas*
arko-hī kəhə-te abei məi-rə pad-as
another-ERG tell-SIM mother I-GEN fart-DESID
‘One said, "Mother, I want to fart.’ (JaH.SLD.053)
- c. *arkohī kəhəte abei merə mutas*
arko-ī kəhə-te abei məi-rə mut-as
next-ERG tell-SIM mother I-GEN urinate-DESID
‘One said, "Mother, I want to pass urine.’ (JaH.SLD.054)
- d. *amahī kəhələ dze bistari kəhə*
ama-ī kəhə-lə dze bistari kəhə
next-ERG tell-PST PART slowly speak.IMP
‘Mother said, "Speak softly (in a low voice).’ (JaH.SLD.055)
- e. *sjar əilə ətəi*
sjar a-lə ətə-i
jackal come-PST AUX.NPST-3SG
‘The jackal has come.’ (JaH.SLD.056)

In addition to this, all characters gather at the stage at this time. Despite the use of past tense in the major sections of the story, we find the use of non-past tense. There is also the use of dialogue instead of narration and shift from narration to direct discourse.

12.2.3 Resolution

As the story progresses, the story moves towards resolution.

- (14) a. *əse tə sjar dərei b^hagte k^həni k^hab^hojə muḍ^hek*
bədzraikunu pəkləkkei muḍek p^hutlə
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|------|----------------------|-----------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| əse | tə | sjar | dəre-i | b ^h ag-te | k ^h əni | k ^h ab ^h o-jə |
| then | PART | jackal | fear-INST | run away-SIM | while | pillar-LOC |
| muḍ ^h e-k | | bədzra-ikunu | | pəkləkkei | | |
| head-POSS.3SG | | hit-SEQ | | ONO | | |
| muḍ-k | | p ^h ut-lə | | | | |
| head-POSS.3SG | | break-PST | | | | |
- ‘While running away, the jackal hitting against the wooden pillar, (its) head broke all of a sudden.’ (JaH.SLD.062)
- b. *sjar morlə*
- | | |
|--------|---------|
| sjar | mor-lə |
| jackal | die-PST |
- ‘The jackal died.’ (JaH.SLD.063)

The story ends when the jackal dies. In this way, the jackal's plan to kill the chickens fails but he dies at the end of the story. This is also the resolution of the story.

12.2.4 Some discourse features

We describe a few discourse features such as recapitulation, use of conversation, emphatic clitic, discourse particles and word order.

i. Recapitulation and sequencing

Recapitulation (or tail-head linkage) is a device in narrating stories in Darai discourse. This should be contrasted with *-ikun* which shows the sequence of events.⁴ This also shows that time sequencing is linear in Darai.

⁴ See section tail-head linkage (11.4) for details.

- (15) a. *ciṅni rati sādzhə p^heri simikə dz^haləjə d^hukli*
 ciṅni rati sādzhə p^heri simi-kə dz^hal-jə
 hen night evening again bean-GEN creeper-LOC
 d^huk-l-i
 wait-PST-F
 ‘Then in the night, the hen waited in the bean creeper.’ (JaH.SLD.037)
- b. *simikə dz^haləjə d^hukte k^həni sjar əilə rati*
 simi-kə dz^hal-jə d^huk-te k^həni
 bean-GEN creeper-LOC wait-SIM while
 sjar a-lə rati
 jackal come-PST night
 ‘As the hen waited in the bean plant, the jackal came in the night.’
 (JaH.SLD.038)

The word *əse* 'then' provides a temporal link for sentences.

- (16) a. *pəscimkə koḍ^horəjə d^hukli əse rati sjar aikunu k^hodzi laləi*
 pəscim-kə koḍ^horə-jə d^huk-l-i əse rati sjar
 west-GEN corner-LOC wait-PST-F then night jackal
 a-ikunu k^hodz-i laləi
 come-SEQ search-ABS INSTAN
 ‘(The hen) waited in the western corner (and) then arriving there in the
 night, the jackal began to search.’ (JaH.SLD.017)
- b. *p^heri u b^hātakə dzəri d^hərikun boslə əse sādzh^h əilə*
 p^heri u b^hāta-kə dzəri d^hər-ikun bos-lə
 again he eggplant-GEN root hold-SEQ sit-PST
 ‘He sat there by holding the root of the eggplant.’ (SQ.BLD.132)
 əse sādzh^h a-lə
 then evening come-PST
 ‘Then the evening came.’ (SQ.BLD.133)

Thus tail-head linkage and use of *əse* 'then' are main ways of giving the passage of time in Darai texts.

ii. Conversation

Discourse is made up of several conversations. Kärkkäinen, Sorjonen and Helasvuo (2007:302) mention, "Spoken interaction is not monolithic whole but is made up of many types such as conversation among people." Language also differs from one genre to another. We will analyze a short conversation as a part of discourse and its role in the development of the narrative.

This conversation is taken from almost towards the end of this narrative. This occurs around the climax of the story and this leads to the denouement.⁵

- (17) Child 1: Mother, I want to defecate.
Child 2: Mother, I want to fart.
Child 3: Mother, I want to urinate.
Mother: Tell me slowly (in low voice). The jackal has come. He (your father (*in derogatory sense*)) will eat you. Speak in low pitch. (JaH.SLD.052-56).

In the story, this conversation is among the hen and chickens. Firstly, the participants in this conversation take turns while speaking. The turn taking forms coherent sequence of actions. The turns in this conversation often switch from one participant to another. The jackal comes there to kill and devour the chickens if he knows the places they stay. However, the jackal does not know where they live. The jackal has already come to the place and the children (chickens of the hen) manage to tell him lies. The mother therefore tells them not to speak loudly so that the jackal could not hear their conversation.

Dialogue is used to advance the event-line of the narrative. There are a very few place where dialogue is used. As mentioned earlier, often peak of the discourse contains dialogue. In this narrative the conversation begins only in the fourteenth sentence where the jackal asks the chicken where they live during the night.

- (18) a. *uhĩ puc^hlə toi kəc^hi d^huktəs*
u-hĩ puc^h-lə toi kəc^hi d^huk-tə-s
he-ERG ask-PST you where wait-NPST-2SG
'He asked, "Where do you wait... ?' (JaH.SLD.014)

⁵ This is the literal translation of the texts.

- b. *ciḡniĩ kəhələ dze ijə p^həlna kod^horojǎ mǎi ɖ^huktəm*
 ciḡni-ĩ kəhə-lə dze ijə p^həlna
 chicken-ERG say-PST PART this this
 kod^horo-jǎ mǎi ɖ^huk-tə-m
 corner-LOC I wait-NPST-1SG
 ‘The chicken said, “I will wait in this very corner.’ (JaH.SLD.015)

iii. Particles⁶

We find only two discourse particles used in the texts. They are given in (19).

- (19) a. *adzu tə nidzə b^hetlə*
 adzu tə nidzə b^het-lə
 today PART NEG meet-PST
 ‘As for today, I did not meet him....’ (JaH.SLD.022)
- b. *ciḡni kəhələ dze mǎi purwəkə kod^horǎjǎ ɖ^huklə rəhəm*
 ciḡni kəhə-lə dze mǎi purwə-kə kod^horə-jǎ
 hen say-PST PART I east-GEN corner-LOC
 ɖ^huk-lə rəhə-m
 wait-PST AUX.PST-1SG
 ‘The chicken said, I had waited in the east corner.’ (JaH.SLD.023)

iv. Emphatic clitic

We find the use of emphatic clitic in Darai texts.⁷ Following are some instances where the emphatic clitics are used in this narrative.

- (20) a. *g^hərei c^hadlǎ*
 g^hər-ei c^had-lǎ
 house-EMPH leave-PST
 ‘(They also) left the house.’ (JaH.SLD.005)

⁶ Particles have been analyzed in (8.2).

⁷ Emphatic clitic is discussed in (8.1).

- b. *uhəi din aikun p^heri puc^hlə*
 u-həi din a-ikun p^heri puc^h-lə
 that-EMPH day come-SEQ again ask-PST
 ‘Having come (to the same place) right in the same day he inquired.’
 (JaH.SLD.021)

v. Word order and clause order

Unmarked word order in Darai is SOV. In a few places in the text, deviations from unmarked word order are attested. There are examples in which a noun phrase follows the verbs in a few places as can be seen in (21).

- (21) a. *bon dzəilə sjar*
 bon dza-lə sjar
 forest go-PST jackal
 ‘The jackal went to the forest.’ (JaH.SLD.041)
- b. *p^heri əilə sjar*
 p^heri a-lə sjar
 again come-PST jackal
 ‘The jackal came again.’ (JaH.SLD.044)
- c. *tumbajə d^hukli ciŋni*
 tumba-jə d^huk-l-i ciŋni
 pot-LOC wait-PST-F hen
 ‘The hen waited in the gourd pot.’ (JaH.SLD.049)

A purposive clause precedes the clause on which it depends. In the natural texts there are contexts where deviations from the unmarked order are common. A postposed purpose clause is found in (22).

- (22) *ciŋni p^heri niskələ cərike*
 ciŋni p^heri niskə-lə cəɾ-ike
 hen again come out-PST graze-INF
 ‘The chicken again came out to graze (roam).’ (JaH.SLD.043)

12.3 Summary

We presented texts and discourse in this chapter. There are proverbs and riddles in the Darai language. There are two parts in the riddles. The first part supplies the background whereas the second part poses a question. The different kinds of texts such as narratives and procedural texts have characteristic patterns. In the procedural texts, the verb forms are either in impersonal passive or end in infinitive. They resolve around certain themes. Time sequencing is linear. The segmentation of the discourse in the narratives reads like 'Do this. Having done this, do this.' The next sentence generally begins with 'Having (finished) ...' repeating the last verb. On the other hand, narratives have chronological linkage such as beginning, middle and end. Different sorts of texts have distinct TAM markers. The beginning has certain pattern. Peak is marked with the repetitions of structures. Tail-head linkage (recapitulation) is a device in narratives.

CHAPTER 13

CONCLUSION AND TYPOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

13.1 Conclusion

This dissertation is a grammatical description of the Darai language. We try to focus on findings of the preceding chapters as well as the typological implications of the study. Finally, we propose a subclassification of the Darai language.

In Chapter two we presented the socio-cultural as well as sociolinguistic situation of the Darai language. The sociolinguistic survey reveals that language variation is attested at lexical and grammatical levels between the language varieties spoken in Chitwan and Tanahun. The Darai language is being well used in all domestic domains. Bilingualism in Nepali seems to be increasing in all locations. The level of language endangerment may vary from one village to another. Attitudes towards the continuance of the Darai language are very positive. These characteristics place Darai as a 'definitely endangered language'.

In Chapter three we summarized phonological features of Darai. Darai has six vowels. Length is not contrastive in vowels. Nasal vowels occur only with a few lexical items. A brief acoustic analysis of vowels exhibits that the mid vowels /o/ and /e/ are near to high vowels. Low vowels /ə/ and /a/ are very close. Darai has a total of 29 consonants. There are bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal sounds in terms of places of articulation. Voicing and aspiration are contrastive in the plosives and affricates. Aside from this, aspiration (or breathiness) attested in nasals (/m^h/, /n^h/), lateral /l^h/ and trill /r^h/, occurs only in intervocalic position. Initial consonant cluster is mainly limited to C + glides (Cj or Cw) as well as C + r. Many NIA languages share this feature (Masica 1991:125).

Five chapters (4 to 8) were devoted to analyzing the morphology of Darai. We analyzed nouns and noun morphology in Chapter four. Nouns inflect for number, pronominal marking, indefinite marking and cases. The pronominal possessive suffixes are used to mark the kinship relations and ownership. Morphologically-encoded indefiniteness is also attested in Darai nouns. Additionally, nominal-based split ergativity is attested in Darai (see section 4.1.3.6). There is no formal distinction of gender in pronouns. The third person pronouns are based on remote

demonstratives. Darai pronouns are characterized by three and two levels of honorificity in the second and third person pronouns respectively.

We discussed adjectives in Chapter five. Phonologically, most of the Darai adjectives are polysyllabic. Compared to noun and verb, adjectives form a smaller class in size. The semantic categories of adjectives and their functions are analyzed in this chapter. Darai also allows adjectives without noun constructions. Some *-o* ending adjectives in Hodgson's (1857) list are *-ə* ending at present.

We examined verbs and verb morphology in Chapter six. Verbs exhibit a contrast of past and non-past tenses. Morphological aspects in Darai are habitual, progressive, perfect and imminent. The imperative mood also evidences a distinction between present and delayed (future) imperatives. Desiderative, imperative, prohibitive, hortative, optative and conditional moods are morphologically realized. Different modalities which are morphologically encoded are possibility, obligation, inference, mirativity, frustrative and dubitative. Bound morphemes to denote frustrative and dubitative markers are typologically interesting features among Indo-Aryan languages. Additionally, mirativity and hearsay are the features attested in verb morphology. The verb agreement is triggered by person, number, gender and honorificity. Moreover, verb agreement triggered by cases (genitive and dative) and referential hierarchy are evident in Darai. In a few instances the language consultants claim that there are speech variations of old and new generations. It suggests language change. Further investigation will shade light on this aspect.

We discussed adverbs in Chapter seven. In addition to free lexical items, adverbs in Darai are derived from other categories, largely from adjectives. In Chapter nine, emphatic clitic, discourse particles, interjections, onomatopoeia and echo words are analyzed. Despite the influences of neighbouring languages, Darai has retained a number of native discourse particles which frequently occur in discourse.

We presented the structure of the noun phrase in Chapter nine. Noun phrases in Darai are left-branching. All modifiers occur in pre-nominal position. Movement and replacement tests were conducted to see whether a group of words is a phrase. We presented various modifiers vis-à-vis the noun as well as their possibility of combinations. The number of modifiers in a noun phrase is normally limited in corpus despite several possibilities of combination.

We looked at the simple sentence and its modifications in Chapter ten. Unmarked constituent order is SOV. Possessor precedes the possessed, numerals and demonstratives precede the noun and an auxiliary verb follows the main verb. There are intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses. The indirect object precedes the direct object in a ditransitive clause. There are two types of questions, viz. content and yes/no question. Negation is morphologically coded. There are three negative markers mainly affixing with non-past tense, past tense, imperative and optative sentences. The negative markers in Darai are determined by tense and moods. Interestingly, there is a presence of a bound morpheme which always collocates with a negative construction. Between the two types of causatives, viz. morphological and periphrastic, the former is more productive than the latter in corpus data. Morphologically passive transformation is confined to the past tense.

In Chapter eleven we discussed two main methods of clause combining: coordination and subordination. In addition to the use of coordinators, coordination is possible simply by juxtaposing the items without any coordinators. It is common in many other IA languages (see Masica 1991:398). Some topics covered in coordination are conjunction, disjunction and rejection. We presented that subordination involved three kinds of clauses: complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses. Darai relative clauses are predominantly prenominal followed by relative-correlative and headless relative clauses. The categories of adverbial clauses discussed are purposive, causal, reason, substitutive, conditional, concessive, possible consequence, converb and time clauses. Purposive clauses are formed by two ways, with the help of an infinitive and with a purposive marker *-e*. Darai discourse is characterized by the head-tail linkage. The suffix *-ikun* serves two functions: sequential converb and complementation. The clause combining is productive. In this way, Chapters (9-11) describe the major parts of syntax.

In Chapter twelve we presented discourse analysis. Proverbs and riddles are analyzed in the beginning. The discourse analysis shows that the narratives and procedural texts have distinct features. In the procedural texts, for example, the segmentation of the discourse pattern can be seen where the verb forms are either in functional passive or end in infinitive. The segmentation of the discourse in the narratives reads like 'Do this. Having done this, do this.' In addition to this, recapitulation is a connecting device in narratives. A comparative examination of

different sorts of texts (such as narratives and procedural texts) displays distinct sorts of tense, aspect and mood markers.

13.2 Typological implications

Areally, Darai is located in the central and western Nepal along with Bote, Kumal and Chitwania Tharu.¹ The following paragraphs include a typological profile of Darai with an emphasis on its similarities and differences, especially from the viewpoint of areal typology.

13.2.1 Phonology

The area of the phonological study in this section includes consonants, vowels and nasalisation of some IA languages. Many languages have 29 consonant phonemes, viz. Darai, Nepali, Bote and Danuwar. The largest number of consonants is found in Rajbanshi and Chitwania Tharu (viz. 34). Thus, Darai shares a consonant phoneme inventory with its close neighbors.

All the languages under consideration are characterized by phonological traits such as aspiration and voicing (also see Michailovsky 1988; Masica 1991; Ohala 1991; Neukom 1999; Abbi 2001). Aspiration is characterized in stops (or plosives) and affricates in all languages, viz. Darai, Nepali, Maithili, Bote, Danuwar, Rajbanshi and Kumal. It is worthwhile to mention that breathiness in nasals, lateral and trill occurs only in intervocalic position in Darai. There is the presence of breathiness in the Chitwania Tharu, one of the direct neighbours of Darai in Chitwan (see Leal 1972). On the other hand, the aspiration is robust in nasals, laterals, flap and glide in Bhojpuri (Shukla 1981) and Rajbanshi (Wilde 2008). The languages with breathiness in nasal, lateral and trill are mainly located to the east of Darai territory.

This survey has revealed that the most widespread system is the six vowel system. There are parallel front and back vowels and height contrast in the central vowels. This phonological feature is shared by other languages, viz. Bote, Danuwar and Kumal (see Poudel 1999:13; Bhandari 2001:19; Gautam, Parajuli and Thokar 2006). Darai distinguishes vowels on the scale of height and fronting rather than on length. The largest number of vowels is found in Maithili (viz. eight vowels). The status of the nasal vowels is not the same in all languages. We find a handful of

¹ We based on our secondary sources for the purpose of this section.

examples with nasal vowels in Darai. Contrastive nasal vowels are difficult to find in Rajbanshi (Wilde 2008:31). Chitwania Tharu has nasal vowels except the vowel /ə/ (Leal 1972:28). The comparison of phoneme inventories shows that close neighbours of Darai, viz. Kumal and Bote share more traits than distant ones. Thus, Darai shares a number of phonological characteristics that are shared by several IA languages.

13.2.2 Morphology

The area of the morphological study in this discussion includes pronoun systems, pronominal possessive suffixes and tense systems.

i. Pronoun system

The shapes of the personal pronouns show some striking similarities. This is shown in Table 13.1.

TABLE 13.1 Pronouns

Pronouns	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Darai	məi	hame	toi	toisəb	u	usəb
Nepali	mə	hami	timi	timihəru	u/uni	u/unihəru
Kumal	mor	ham	tor	təruhəru	u	unihəru
Bote	məi	hami	təi	tahan	i/u	inhan/unhan
Majhi	muī	haī	tui	toralə	hoi	holə
Danuwar	mui	haməi	tui	torlok	u	olok
Maithili	həm	həmsəb	tō	tōsəb	u	usəb
Rajbanshi	mui	hama	tui	tʌm ^h ha	uhā	ʌm ^h a

All the languages have the first person initial *m-* except Maithili in which it begins with *h-*. Similarly, all the first person plural pronouns begin with *h-*. In the same way, all the second person pronouns begin with *t-*. Majhi is distinct in the third person singular pronoun which begins with *h-*. The pronouns in all other languages begin with vowels, viz. *o-*, *u-* *i-* or *ʌ-*. As shown in Table 13.1 all languages normally have similarity in the structure of the pronouns. Many similarities are found in the shapes, number and person distinctions despite the differences in the degree of honorificity.

ii. Pronominal possessive suffixes

Darai and Majhi stand out among others in characterizing pronominal possessive suffixes. The pronominal possessive suffix is considered to be a typologically interesting feature among IA languages. This shared trait occurs in at least two IA languages, viz. Darai and Majhi. This feature is shared by Tibeto-Burman languages and a language isolate.² Several languages are typologically dependent marking but Darai has both dependent-marking as well as head-marking following Nichols (1986). It is a typologically uncommon feature among IA languages.

iii. Tenses

Masica (1991:279) observes, "The real tenses are past and present in IA languages to which future tense may be added." Some languages distinguish the categories of two tenses (past and non-past) whereas some others have three categories (past, present and future). The former group includes Darai, Kumal, Danuwar, Majhi and Nepali whereas the latter includes Bote, Rajbanshi and Maithili. Tense markers are shown in Table 13.2.

The past tense marker *-l* is seen in some languages, viz. Darai, Danuwar and Maithili. Similarly, the past tense marker *-l* and/or *-k* occur in some languages, viz. Kumal, Majhi, Rajbanshi and Maithili. Thus, Darai shares the actual form of the past tense marker *-l* with several IA languages, particularly with its easterly neighbours.

Darai and Bote have the non-past tense marker *-t* whereas Kumal has *-l~n*. Darai and Bote stand out among other languages in this respect. Many languages viz. Nepali, Majhi, Danuwar and Maithili share the same tense suffix *-c^h* for present (non-past tense) and Rajbanshi employs the suffix *-c*. Darai and Bote stand out among others in actual non-past tense marker (see Bandhu et. al 1999:110). Despite this, Darai shares similar tense marker and tense categories with several IA languages.

² Limbu (A Kiranti language of Sino-Tibetan language family) and Kusunda (a language isolate in Nepal) also exhibit this trait in addition to Indo-Aryan Darai and Majhi. Pokharel (2006:152) notes that with respect to the 'head-marking' or 'dependent-marking' this is a striking feature.

TABLE 13.2 Tense suffixes

	Past tense			Present (non-past)			Future
	<i>-l</i>	<i>-l~n</i>	<i>-j</i>	<i>-c^h</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-l~n</i>	<i>-b</i>
Darai	√	-	-	-	√	-	
Nepali	-	-	√	√	-	-	
Kumal	-	√	-	-	-	√	
Bote			(√)		√		√
Majhi	-	√	-	√	-	-	
Danuwar	√	-	-	√	-	-	
Maithili	√	-	-	√	-	-	
Rajbanshi	-	√	-	<i>-c</i>	-	-	√

13.2.3 Syntax

The discussion is limited to gender, negative affixes and verb agreement.

i. Gender

Gender opposition (masculine vs. feminine) is found in Darai. Gender is a property of nouns, adjectives and certain verb forms in Darai. The feminine suffix *-i* (developed from Sanskrit Feminine extension *-ika* (Masica 1991:222)), is shared by several languages, viz. Darai, Nepali, Kumal, Majhi, Danuwar, and Maithili. Darai verb agreement because of gender is discussed in (see 6.3.1). An inflection of adjective is discussed in (4.1.3). Unlike Bote (see Poudel 1999) and Danuwar (see Timilsina and Das 2008: 41) in which adjectives do not inflect for gender, Darai adjectives inflect for gender sharing this features with the rest of IA languages, viz. Nepali, Maithili and Majhi.

ii. Negation

The negative affixes in these IA languages are very similar and include mainly negative prefixes despite a few cases of suffixes. The negative marker mainly contains *n-* except in Majhi and Danuwar which also possess the negative prefix *b-*. Additionally, noticeable is the presence of a marker in some languages which begin

with *dz-/ dz^h-* in prohibitive (negative imperative). They include Darai, Majhi, Danuwar and Bote. This is shown in Table 13.3.

TABLE 13.3 Negative affixes

			Separate prohibitive
	Prefix	Suffix	Prefix
Darai	nai/nidzə	-	dz ^h un
Nepali	nə-	-nə	-
Bote	na-	-	dz ^h in
Majhi	bəi-	-nai	dzun
Danuwar	-nəi	-bəi	dz ^h un
Maithili	nəi-	-	-
Rajbanshi	ni ~ na	-	-
Kumal	nə-	-	-

Thus, the first difference is that the negative affix is placed before or after the negated constituent. Darai has preverbal negative prefix or particle. Darai, Bote, Majhi and Danuwar stand out among IA languages in that they employ a distinct negative prefix in prohibitive sentences. The comparison shows that *dz^hin/ dz^hun /dzun* are areal prohibitive prefixes. Furthermore, selection of a negative marker is also determined by tense in Darai. This trait is also shared by Danuwar and Majhi. Nepali and Kumal have both prefix and suffix (see Gautam, Parajuli and Thokar 2006: X) in negating the constituents. Several IA languages make a distinction between imperative and non-imperative negation (Abbi 2001:180). Additionally, it should be noted that the variations of negative affixes according to tenses and aspects are also possible.

iii. Verb agreement

The available literature exhibits that verbs agree to number, person, gender and honorificity in several IA languages (see Poudel 1999; Bhandari 2001; Parajuli

2000; Dhakal 2008; Banjade 2002).³ Genitive agreement is also characterized in Darai. Darai shares this feature with easterly neighbours, viz. Rajbanshi (Wilde 2008:153), Magahi (Verma 1991:140) and Maithili (Yadav 1996:114). Dative subject agreement is found in Darai including its eastern neighbors, viz. Maithili and Rajbanshi (Yadava 1996:111; Wilde 2008:172).

Agreement on both subject and object is also a typical feature of Tibeto-Burman languages (see DeLancey 1989; Bauman 1974; van Driem 1993). A Darai verb can code agent and patient (1b), or it can code subject, object, honorificity, and number (1a). Verbs in Darai may compose of three or four morphemes. Examples from chapter 6 are repeated here for further illustrations.

- (1) a. *detahĩkansəb*
 de-ta-hĩ-kan-səb
 give-NPST-1PL-3SG.H-PL
 'We give (it) to them.'
- b. *anhalmis*
 an-hal-mi-s
 bring-PST-1SG-2SG
 'I brought you.'

Some IA languages, viz. Darai, Maithili, Rajbanshi, Magahi can cross-reference both subject and object. Masica (2005:86) notes that simultaneous subject-object marking is a characteristic feature of Munda languages of Bihar and further notes (1991:344) that it is of 'recent origin' in IA languages. The IA languages have elaborate inflectional morphology. They mainly include tense/mood, aspect, person, and gender markers. Despite similarities in inflectional categories, there are also differences in the subcategories and actual functions of the affixes.

Furthermore, Darai has dative subject construction which is a feature of both IA and other languages of this region (Masica 1991:346). IA languages typically have relative-correlative constructions (Masica 1991: 410; Abbi 2001: 29) which are discussed in detail in (11.3.2).

³ Since all these works are based on elicited data there are possibilities that more features related to verb agreement may come up when corpus data from each language will be analyzed.

13.2.4 Typological profile

This brief discussion includes a typological profile of Darai. Darai phonemic inventory shares the features of minor IA languages with 29 consonants and 6 vowels. The language has the characteristics of both head-marking and dependent marking types. The language is predominantly SOV in terms of its word order correlations. Numerals, quantifiers, classifiers, demonstratives and adjectives precede the head noun within the noun phrase.

The language also has a grammatical gender. Grammatical relations are expressed by case markers and case-marking postpositions. Agents of the transitive clauses may be marked with ergative case because Darai characterizes a split ergative system. In general, Darai is mainly suffixing but negative markers are prefixed. Verbs are marked for tense, aspect, mood and modality. Darai thus encodes the information such as subject, object, gender, number and honorificity in its verbs.

13.2.5 Proposed classification

Following Grierson (1903a; 1903b; 1903c; 1904) and Masica (1991; 2005) the subclassification of Darai is proposed in the following paragraphs: (a) Grierson (1903a:6) notes, "Eastern languages do not tolerate an initial *j* or *w*." There are only a few examples of words which begin with these sounds in Darai. (b) Eastern languages are characterized by 'inflectional synthesis' compared to western languages. Several agreement features are suffixed to the verbs (Grierson 1903a:7). As we noted earlier in this section, Darai verb can code both the subject and object. Darai thus characterizes this feature. (c) 'Dative-accusative' marker in the 'eastern' languages is *ke-* (Grierson 1904:4). The same morpheme marks the dative-accusative case in Darai. (d) Grierson (1903a:8) states, "The typical letter of genitive case is *r* in eastern languages." Darai only retains the genitive case marker *r* in the first person as well as second and third person singular in addition to some interrogative pronouns. The second and third person plural pronouns and other nouns take the genitive case *k*. (e) 'Eastern' languages are characterized by the past tense suffix *l-* with Marathi (Grierson 1903a:8; Masica 1991:270; Masica 2005:86). Darai characterizes this trait as it contains *l-* to mark past tense as well as perfect aspect. (f) Grierson (1903b:3) states, "Distinction of gender is slightly observed in 'Bihari' languages." Grammatical gender distinction is evident in Darai in noun, adjectives and certain verb forms. (g) The

copula (or auxiliary) *baṭi* is common in some eastern IA languages (Grierson 1903a:8). Darai possesses copula *baṭə*. (h) Masica (1991:271) notes that the plural suffix *-səb* is characterized in 'eastern languages' such as Magahi, Bhojpuri and Maithili. This is a plural marker suffixed not only to the nouns but also to the verbs for the same function. (i) Future *b* is another prominent feature of eastern languages (Grierson 1903a:8). The suffix simply marks possibility in Darai, however.

However, the following features of Darai are found in non-eastern IA languages: (a) Grierson (1903a:8) mentions that vowel of genitive singular is *o* in the east and *e* in the west e.g. in 'Bihari' 'my' is *mor*, Oriya *mora*, Hindi *mera*. Darai does not share this feature with 'eastern' languages as Darai genitive pronouns retain *e* with the genitive pronouns in the middle. Grierson (1903a:8) again states, "The relative and the connected pronouns end in *e* in the east, but usually *o* in the west." Darai does not share feature with the 'eastern group' because Darai contains the pronouns with *o*, e.g. *kono* 'who'.

The genetic classification of Darai is not determined in the recent linguistic literature (see Yadava 2003; Asher and Moseley 2007; Lewis 2009). The grammatical features discussed in the preceding chapters and the typological profile of Darai, Darai may be subclassified as an 'eastern' IA language, closely related to Bhojpuri, Maithili as well as Majhi as shown in Figure 13.1. It is to be noted that Darai is subclassified for the first time in terms of the detailed grammatical characteristics.

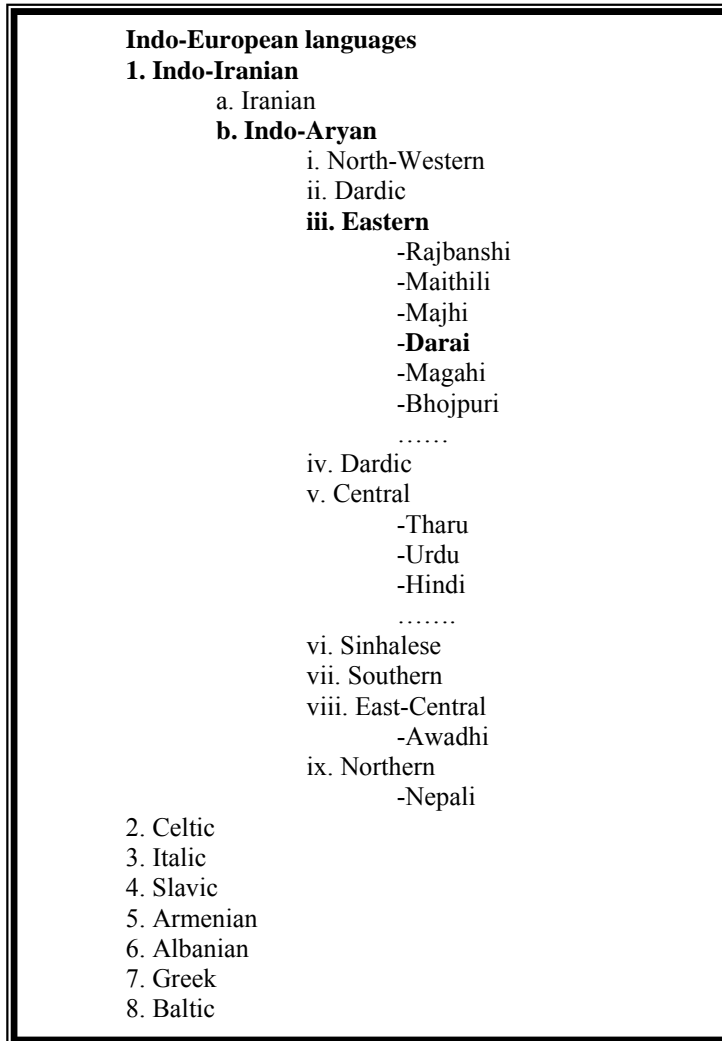


Figure 13.1 Proposed classification of Darai
(Adapted from Yadava 2003:145)

13.3 Suggestions for the further research

A comparison of Darai grammar with the grammar of other Indo-Aryan languages of Nepal is not within the scope of this dissertation. Further investigation on typological-comparative work within Indo-Aryan languages in Nepal is necessary to analyze some features attested in this study. Thus, the following research topics are suggested for further research:

- (1) Darai in areal-typological perspective
- (2) Comparative study of verb morphology of Darai and other Indo-Aryan languages of Nepal.

13. Are there the places where only Darai language is spoken?

VDCs Yes No

Villages Yes No

Toles Yes No

III. BILINGUALISM/MULTILINGUALISM

14. How many languages do you know?

(a) One (b)Two (c)Three (d) Four

15. Can a small Darai child understand everything his Nepali-speaking teacher says when he first goes to school?

Yes No

IV. INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION AND MARRIAGE

16. What is your grandparent's mother tongue?

Darai Nepali

English Others

17. What is your parent's mother tongue?

Darai Nepali

English Others

18. What is your mother tongue?

Darai Nepali

English Others

19. What is your children's mother tongue?

Darai Nepali

English Others

20. Are there restrictions that the Darais youths should necessarily marry a Darai?

Yes No

21. Are there certain groups with which you don't intermarry?

Yes No

VII. LANGUAGE ATTITUDE

32. Compared to the Nepali language, how would you rate your own mother tongue?

- rich Yes No
sweet Yes No

33. Do you think that Darai language will be spoken when the children who are now young grow up and become old ?

- Yes No

34. How do you feel when you hear Darai young people speaking other languages instead of Darai?

- (a) good (b) bad

VIII. MISCELLENEOUS

35. Where do people speak Darai the most purely?

- Tanahun Chitwan Nawalparasi Gorkha

36. Do you recognize a Darai who has stopped speaking Darai language?

- Yes No

37. Is there any organization or body of responsible for cultural and linguistic policy and planning with respect to this language?

- Yes No

38. Please give some names of organization if you know any.

.....
.....

**APPENDIX 2:
RESPONDENTS' BACKGROUND INFORMATION¹**

S.N.	Name	Age	Age Group	Sex	Marital Position	Dist-ripts	VDCs and Municipa-lities.	Villages
1	Manamaya Darai	19	15-24	F	Unm	Chit.	Kathar	Pidrahani
2	Rupa Darai	39	35-44	F	Married	Chit.	Bharatpur	Krishnapur
3	Sikhhani Darai	40	45-54	F	Married	Chit.	Bharatpur	Bhojad
4	Mayaram Darai	63	55-64	M	Married	Chit.	Bharatpur	Pidrahani
5	Somlal Darai	71	65above	M	Married	Chit.	Bharatpur	Pidrahani
6	Nome Darai	34	25-34	M	Married	Chit.	Bharatpur	Pidrahani
7	Siraba Darai	65	65 above	M	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Pidrahani
8	Ratani Darai	70	65 above	F	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Pidrahani
9	Santu Darai	36	35-44	M	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Pidrahani
10	Sanchari Darai	65	65 above	F	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Pidrahani
11	Sanche Darai	40	35-44	M	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Pidrahani
12	Budhdhilal Darai	54	50-59	M	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Pidrahani
13	Nathuram Darai	61	55-64	M	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Pidrahani
14	Bishnu Maya Darai	32	25-34	F	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Pidrahani
15	Phirala Darai	61	55-64	M	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Pidrahani
16	Bharat Darai	21	15-24	M	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Pidrahani
17	Prakash Darai	21	15-24	M	Unm	Chit.	Kumroj	Kapiya
18	Rajendra Darai	24	15-24	M	Married	Chit.	Bharatpur	Bhojad
19	Buddhi Sindh Darai	36	35-39	M	Married	Chit.	Ratnanagar	Tandi
20	Santa Ram Darai	17	15-24	M	Married	Chit.	Ratnanagar	Tandi
21	Budhi Ram Darai	39	35-44	M	Married	Chit.	Ratnanagar	Tandi
22	Aita Ram Darai	45	35-44	M	Married	Chit.	Ratnanagar	Tikauli baz.
23	Garmi Darai	58	50-59	F	Married	Chit.	Ratnanagar	Tikauli baz.
24	Nathu Ram Darai	60	60 above	M	Married	Chit.	Ratnanagar	Beltandi
25	Bimala Darai	50	50-59	F	Married	Chit.	Ratnanagar	Amelia
26	Shyani Darai	60	50-59	F	Married	Chit.	Ratnanagar	Beltandi
27	Urmila Darai	16	15-24	F	Married	Chit.	Ratnanagar	Bhojad
28	Jena Darai	55	50-59	F	Married	Chit.	Ratnanagar	Dhikuwa
29	Mani Ram Darai	44	35-44	M	Married	Chit.	Bharatpur	Naurange
30	Phul Maya Darai	35	35-44	F	Married	Chit.	Ratnanagar	Naurange
31	Mangal Ram Darai	42	35-44	M	Married	Chit.	Bharatpur	Naurange
32	Sam Lal Darai	43	35-44	M	Married	Chit.	Bharatpur	Naurange
33	Kalpu Ram Darai	45	45-54	M	Married	Chit.	Chainpur	Una Tole
34	Tej Kumar Darai	40	35-44	M	Married	Chit.	Chainpur	Una Tole
35	Sita Ram Darai	44	35-44	M	Married	Chit.	Jagatpur	Una Tole
36	Dhani Ram Darai	61	55-64	M	Married	Chit.	Chainpur	Una Tole
37	Shambhu Darai	37	35-44	M	Married	Chit.	Chainpur	Una Tole
38	Kaman Singh Darai	55	55-64	M	Married	Chit.	Chainpur	Una Tole
39	Sarita Darai	34	25-34	F	Married	Chit.	Chainpur	Una Tole
40	Jiban Darai	50	45-54	M	Married	Chit.	Chainpur	Una Tole
41	Ganesh Darai	55	45-54	M	Married	Chit.	Chainpur	Una Tole
42	Ajita Darai	18	15-24	F	Unm	Chit.	Kathar	Sundi

¹ In order to accommodate data, we have used following abbreviation convention particular to this table: Unm. = Unmarried, Chit. = Chitwan district, Naw.= Nawalparasi district. Among the Village Development Committee and Municipalities, Bharatpur Municipality and Ratnanagar Municipality are in Chitwan district whereas Vyas Municipality is in Tanahun. All remaining places are the Village Development Committees. The rest of the abbreviations are consistent throughout this study.

43	Dukhi Ram Darai	42	35-44	M	Married	Chit.	Chainpur	Una Tole
44	Channu Darai	55	55-64	M	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Sundi
45	Sunita Darai	25	25-34	F	Married	Chit.	Chainpur	Chainpur
46	Nathu Darai	75	65 above	M	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Sundi
47	Aita Maya Darai	30	25-34	F	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Pidrahani
48	Somiya Darai	65	65 above	F	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Sundi
49	Dipendra Kumar Darai	25	25-34	M	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Sundi
50	Guni Ram Darai	80	65 above	M	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Sundi
51	Kamala Darai	17	25-34	M	Married	Chit.	Kathar	Pidrahani
52	Sajita Darai	19	15-24	F	Unm	Chit.	Kathar	Sundi
53	Hira Darai	30	25-34	F	Unm	Chit.	Chainpur	Kansigaun
54	Budhini Darai	49	45-54	F	Unm	Chit.	Chainpur	Kansigaun
55	Bimala Darai	23	15-24	F	Married	Chit.	Chainpur	Kansigaun
56	Chatra Bahadur Darai	53	45-54	F	Married	Chit.	Chainpur	Kansigaun
57	Aitaram Darai	57	44-54	M	Married	Chit.	Chainpur	Kansigaun
58	Buddhi Darai	44	35-44	M	Married	Chit.	Chainpur	Ramkola
59	Amrit Darai	22	15-24	M	Unm	Chit.	Chainpur	Ramkola
60	Pradip Kumar Darai	39	35-44	M	Unm	Chit.	Chainpur	Ramkola
61	Ramji Darai	50	44-55	M	Unm	Chit.	Chainpur	Ramkola
62	Somala Darai	38	35-44	F	Married	Chit.	Chainpur	Ramkola
63	Dik Bahadur Darai	51	44-55	M	Unm	Tan.	Vyas	Bhadgaun
64	Sabi Maya Darai	75	65 above	F	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Bhadgaun
65	Jamuna Darai	31	25-34	F	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Bhadgaun
66	Netra Bahadur Darai	37	35-44	M	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Bhadgaun
67	Chij Bahadur Darai	37	35-44	M	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Bhadgaun
68	Yam Bahadur Darai	30	25-34	M	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Bhadgaun
69	Sunita Darai	25	25-34	F	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Bhadgaun
70	Jamuna Darai	30	25-34	F	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Bhadgaun
71	Dhan Bahadur	71	65 above	M	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Pateni
72	Durga Darai	40	35-44	F	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Pateni
73	Laxmi Darai	60	55-64	F	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Pateni
74	Bal Bahadur Darai	58	-59	M	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Pateni
75	Hemlal Darai	48	45-54	M	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Pateni
76	Dhanimaya Darai	45	45-54	F	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Pateni
77	Punam Darai	24	25-34	F	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Pateni
78	Durga Maya Darai	55	55-64	F	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Pateni
79	Som Bahadur Darai	62	55-64	F	Married	Tan.	Vyas	Pateni
80	Prem Darai	49	45-54	M	Married	Chit.	Jagatpur	Khadgauli
81	Suraj Darai	20	15-24	M	Married	Chit.	Jagatpur	Khadgauli
82	Bimala Darai	42	35-44	M	Unm	Chit.	Jagatpur	Khadgauli
83	Krishna Darai	20	15-24	M	Unm	Chit.	Jagatpur	Khadgauli
84	Bal Bahadur Darai	30	25-34	M	Married	Chit.	Jagatpur	Khadgauli
85	Buddhi Ram Darai	36	35-44	M	Married	Chit.	Jagatpur	Khadgauli
86	Dinesh Darai	18	15-24	M	Unm	Chit.	Jagatpur	Khadgauli
87	Yam Kumari Darai	26	25-34	F	Married	Chit.	Jagatpur	Khadgauli
88	Buddhi Maya Darai	38	35-44	F	Married	Chit.	Jagatpur	Khadgauli
89	Aita Ram Darai	67	65 above	M	Married	Chit.	Jagatpur	Khadgauli
90	Tul Bahadur Darai	50	45-54	M	Married	Chit.	Jagatpur	Khadgauli
91	Bikram Darai	46	45-54	M	Married	Chit.	Jagatpur	Khadgauli
92	Uma Darai	22	15-24	F	Married	Naw.	Dibyapuri	Paranpur
93	Bhim Bahadur Darai	42	35-44	M	Married	Naw.	Dibyapuri	Paranpur
94	Shanti Darai	33	25-34	F	Married	Naw.	Dibyapuri	Paranpur
95	Ek Bahadur Darai	38	35-44	M	Married	Naw.	Dibyapuri	Paranpur
96	Chirkanti Darai	28	25-34	F	Married	Naw.	Dibyapuri	Paranpur

97	Khagisara Darai	55	45-54	F	Married	Naw.	Dibyapuri	Paranpur
98	Jamuna Darai	28	25-34	F	Married	Naw.	Dibyapuri	Paranpur
99	Aisore Darai	30	25-34	F	Married	Naw.	Gaindakot	Pipaltar
100	Sitamaya	51	45-54	F	Married	Naw.	Gaindakot	Pipaltar
101	Shakti Darai	28	25-34	M	Unm	Naw.	Gaindakot	Pipaltar
102	Sagar Darai	30	25-34	M	Unm	Naw.	Gaindakot	Pipaltar
103	Harsa Darai	30	25-34	M	Married	Naw.	Gaindakot	Pipaltar
104	Suka Bahadur Darai	47	45-54	F	Married	Naw.	Gaindakot	Pipaltar
105	Sunil Darai	26	25-34	M	Unm	Naw.	Gaindakot	Pipaltar

**APPENDIX 3:
VERB PARADIGMS**

Appendix 3(a)

1. Verb inflections for habitual, progressive, past/perfect, prospective, conditional.

		Habitual	Progressive	Past/perfect	Prospective	Conditional
Verb type 1a		-te	-tihin	-lə	-larə	-ne
	laha-‘bathe’	laha-te	laha-tihin	laha-lə	laha-larə	laha-ne
	nida-‘sleep’	nida-te	nida-tihin	nida-lə	nida-larə	nida-ne
	de-‘give’	de-te	de-tihin	de-lə	de-larə	de-ne
	uɖ ^h e-‘fly’	uɖ ^h e-te	uɖ ^h e-tihin	uɖ ^h e-lə	uɖ ^h e-larə	uɖ ^h e-ne
	bohə/buhə-‘float’	bohə-te	bohə-tihin	bohə-lə	bohə-larə	bohə-ne
Verb type 1b	rəhə-‘remain’	rəhə-te	rəhə-tihin	rəhə-lə	rəhə-larə	rəhə-ne
	k ^h or-‘bathe’	k ^h or-te	k ^h or-tihin	k ^h or-lə	k ^h or-larə	k ^h or-ne
Verb type 2	puc ^h -‘ask’	puc ^h -te	puc ^h -tihin	puc ^h -lə	puc ^h -larə	puc ^h -ne
	a-‘come’	əi-te	əi-tihin	əi-lə	əi-larə	əi-ne
Verb type 3	dza-‘go’	dzəi-te	dzəi-tihin	dzəi-lə	dzəi-larə	dzəi-ne
	c ^h i-‘touch’	c ^h iu-te	c ^h iu-tihin	c ^h iu-lə	c ^h iu-larə	c ^h iu-ne
	pi-‘drink’	piu-te	piu-tihin	piu-lə	piu-larə	piu-ne
	d ^h o-‘wash’	d ^h ou-te	d ^h ou-tihin	d ^h ou-lə	d ^h ou-larə	d ^h ou-ne
Verb type 4	ro-‘cry’	rou-te	rou-tihin	rou-lə	rou-larə	rou-ne
	k ^h əs-‘fall down’	k ^h əs-te	k ^h əs-tihin	k ^h əs-lə	k ^h əs-larə	k ^h əs-ne
Verb type 5	k ^h asa-‘make one fall down’	k ^h asa-te	k ^h asa-tihin	k ^h asa-lə	k ^h asa-larə	k ^h asa-ne
	gok ^h r-‘bathe’	gok ^h rə-te	gok ^h rə-tihin	gok ^h rə-lə	gok ^h rə-larə	gok ^h rə-ne
	gəbs-‘bury in the mud’	gəbsə-te	gəbsə-tihin	gəbsə-lə	gəbsə-larə	gəbsə-ne

Appendix 3(b)

2. Verb inflections in non-past tense

Verb type		1SG	1PL	2SG	2SG.H	2PL	2PL.H	3SG	3SG.H	3PL	3PL.H
1a	laha-‘bathe’	laha-tə -m	laha-ta -hĩ	laha -tə-s	laha-ta -u	laha-tahə -səb	laha-ta -u-səb	laha-i-t	laha-ta -hat	laha-tahə -səb	laha-ta -hat (-səb)
	nida-‘sleep’	nida-tə -m	nida-ta -hĩ	nida -tə-s	nida-ta -u	nida-tahə -səb	nida-ta -u-səb	nida-i-t	nida-ta -hat	nida-tahə -səb	nida-ta -hat (-səb)
	ud ^h e-‘fly’	ud ^h e-tə -m	ud ^h e-ta -hĩ	ud ^h e -tə-s	ud ^h e-ta -u	ud ^h e-tahə -səb	ud ^h e-ta -u-səb	ud ^h e-i-t	ud ^h e-ta -hat	ud ^h e-tahə -səb	ud ^h e-ta -hat (-səb)
	bohə/buhə- ‘float’	bohə-tə -m	bohə-ta -hĩ	bohə- tə-s	bohə-ta -u	bohə-tahə -səb	bohə-ta -u-səb	boh-i-t	bohə-ta -hat	bohə-tahə -səb	bohə-ta -hat (-səb)
	rəhə-‘remain’	rəhə-tə -m	rəhə-ta -hĩ	rəhə- tə-s	rəhə-ta -u	rəhə-tahə -səb	rəhə-ta -u-səb	rəh-i-t	rəhə-ta -hat	rəhə-tahə -səb	rəhə-ta -hat (-səb)
1b	k ^h or-‘bathe’	k ^h or-tə -m	k ^h or-ta -hĩ	k ^h or -tə-s	k ^h or-ta -u	k ^h or-tahə -səb	k ^h or-ta -u-səb	k ^h or-i-t	k ^h or-ta -hat	k ^h or-tahə -səb	k ^h or-ta -hat (-səb)
	puc ^h -‘ask’	puc ^h -tə- m	puc ^h -ta -hĩ	puc ^h -tə-s	puc ^h -ta -u	puc ^h -tahə -səb	puc ^h -ta -u-səb	puc ^h -i-t	puc ^h -ta -hat	puc ^h -tahə -səb	puc ^h -ta -hat (-səb)
2	a-‘come’	əi-tə -m	əi-ta -hĩ	əi-tə-s	əi-ta-u	əi-tahə -səb	əi-ta -u-səb	a-i-t	əi-ta -hat	əi-tahə -səb	əi-ta -hat (-səb)
	dza-‘go’	dzəi-tə -m	dzəi-ta -hĩ	dzəi-tə -s	dzəi-ta -u	dzəi-tahə -səb	dzəi-ta -u-səb	dza-i-t	dzəi-ta -hat	dzəi-tahə -səb	dzəi-ta -hat (-səb)
3	c ^h i-‘touch’	c ^h iu-tə -m	c ^h iu-ta -hĩ	c ^h iu-tə -s	c ^h iu-ta -u	c ^h iu-tahə -səb	c ^h iu-ta -u-səb	c ^h i-i-t	c ^h iu-ta -hat	c ^h iu-tahə -səb	c ^h iu-ta -hat (-səb)
	pi-‘drink’	piu-tə -m	piu-ta- hĩ	piu-tə-s	piu-ta -u	piu-tahə -səb	piu-ta -u-səb	pi-i-t	piu-ta -hat	piu-tahə -səb	piu-ta -hat (-səb)
	d ^h o-‘wash’	d ^h ou-tə -m	d ^h ou-ta -hĩ	d ^h ou -tə-s	d ^h ou-ta -u	d ^h ou-tahə -səb	d ^h ou-ta -u-səb	d ^h o-i-t	d ^h ou-ta -hat	d ^h ou-tahə -səb	d ^h ou-ta -hat (-səb)
	ro-‘wash’	rou-tə -m	rou-ta -hĩ	rou- tə-s	rou-ta -u	rou-tahə -səb	rou-ta -u-səb	ro-i-t	rou-ta -hat	rou-tahə -səb	rou-ta -hat (-səb)
4	k ^h əs-‘fall down’	k ^h əs-tə -m	k ^h əs-ta -hĩ	k ^h əs- tə-s	k ^h əs-ta -u	k ^h əs-tahə -səb	k ^h əs-ta -u-səb	k ^h əs-i-t	k ^h əs-ta -hat	k ^h əs-tahə -səb	k ^h əs-ta -hat (-səb)
	k ^h asa -‘mak	k ^h asa-tə	k ^h asa-ta	k ^h asa-	k ^h asa-ta	k ^h asa-tahə	k ^h asa-ta	k ^h asa-i	k ^h asa	k ^h asa-tahə-	k ^h asa

	e one fall down'	-m	-hĩ	tə-s	-u	-səb	-u-səb	-t	-ta-hat	səb	-ta-hat (-səb)
5	gok ^h r-'bath e'	gok ^h rə-tə -m	gok ^h rə-ta -hĩ	gok ^h rə -tə-s	gok ^h rə-ta -u	gok ^h rə-tahə -səb	gok ^h rə-ta -u-səb	gok ^h r-i -t	gok ^h rə- ta-hat	gok ^h rə-tahə -səb	gok ^h rə-ta-hat (-səb)
	gəbs-'bury in the mud'	gəbsə-tə- m	gəbsə-ta- hĩ	gəbsə- tə-s	gəbsə-ta -u	gəbsə-tahə- səb	gəbsə-ta- u-səb	gəbs-i-t	gəbsə -ta-hat	gəbsə-tahə- səb	gəbsə -ta-hat(-səb)

Appendix 3(c1)

Inflections of verb *de-* 'give' in past and non-past tense. Description can be found in (6.3.4).

		Object agreement									
		1SG	1PL	2SG	2SG.H	2PL	3SG	3SG.H	3PL	3PL.H	
subject agreement	1SG	NPST	-	-	de-ta -mi-r(s)	de-ta -mi-u	-	de-ta -mi-k	de-ta -mi-kan	-	de-ta-mi -kan-səb
		PST	-	-	de-hal -mi-r(s)	de-hal -mi-u	-	de-hal -mi-k	de-hal -mi-kan	-	de-hal -mi-kan-səb
	1PL	NPST	-	-	-	-	-	de-ta -hi-k	de-ta -hi-kan	-	de-ta-hi -kan-səb
		PST	-	-	-	-	-	de-hal -hi-k	de-hal -hi-kan	-	de-hal-hi -kan-səb
	2SG	NPST	-	-	-	-	-	de-ta -si-k	de-ta -si-kan	-	de-ta-si -kan-səb
		PST	-	-	-	-	-	de-hal -si-k	de-hal -si-kan	-	de-hal-si -kan-səb
	2SG.H	NPST	-	-	-	-	-	de-ta -u-k	de-ta -u-kan	-	de-ta-u -kan-səb
		PST	-	-	-	-	-	de-hale -u-k	de-hale -u-kan	-	de-hale -u-kan-səb
	2PL	NPST	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		PST	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3SG	NPST	-	-	de-tai -r(s)	de-ta -u	-	de-tai -k	de-tai -kan	-	de-tai -kan-səb
		PST	-	-	de-hali -r(s)	de-hal -u	-	de-hali -k	de-hali -kan	-	de-hali -kan-səb
	3PL	NPST	-	-	de-tai -r(s)	de-ta -u-səb	-	de-tai -k	de-tai -kan	-	de-tai -kan-səb
		PST	-	-	de-hali -r(s)	de-hal -u-səb	-	de-hali -k	de-hali -kan	-	de-hali -kan-səb

Reflexives are not included in the table. In addition, the blank slots show that the verbs agree only with the subject.

- (1) a. *məi dehalmis*
 məi de-hal-mi-s
 I give-PST-1SG-2SG
 ‘I gave you.’
- b. *terake dehalmir*
 toi-ke de-hal-mi-r
 you-[OBL] DAT give-PST-1SG-2SG
 ‘I gave you.’
- c. *məi dehalmiu*
 məi de-hal-mi-u
 I give-PST-1SG-2SG.H
 ‘I gave you (SG.H).’
- d. *məi dehalmik*
 məi de-hal-mi-k
 I give-PST-1SG-3SG
 ‘I gave him.’
- e. *məi dehalmikan*
 məi de-hal-mi-kan
 I give-PST-1SG-3SG.H
 ‘I gave him (H).’
- f. *məi dehalmikansəb*
 məi de-hal-mi-kan-səb
 I give-PST-1SG-3SG.H-PL
 ‘I gave them (H).’
- (2) a. *hame dehalhik*
 hame de-hal-hi-k
 we give-PST-1PL-3SG
 ‘We gave him.’

- b. *hame dehalhikan*
 hame de-hal-hi-kan
 we give-PST-1PL-3SG.H
 ‘We gave him (H).’
- c. *hame dehalhikansəb*
 hame de-hal-hi-kan-səb
 we give-PST-1PL-3SG.H-PL
 ‘We gave them (H).’
- (3) a. *toi dehalsik*
 toi de-hal-si-k
 you give-PST-2SG-3SG
 ‘You gave him.’
- b. *toi dehalsikan*
 toi de-hal-si-kan
 you give-PST-2SG-3SG.H
 ‘You gave him (H).’
- c. *toi dehalsikansəb*
 toi de-hal-si-kan-səb
 you give-PST-2SG-3SG.H-PL
 ‘You gave them (H).’
- (4) a. *tohe dehaleuk*
 tohe de-hale-u-k
 you give-PST-2SG.H-3SG
 ‘You (H) gave him.’
- b. *tohe dehaleukan*
 tohe de-hal-u-kan
 you give-PST-2SG.H-3SG.H
 ‘You (H) gave him (H).’

- c. *tohe dehaleukansəb*
tohe de-hal-u-kan-səb
you give-PST-2SG.H-3SG.H-PL
‘You (H) gave them (H).’
- (5) a. *uhĩ dehalis*
u-hĩ de-hali-s
he-ERG give-PST-2SG
‘He gave you.’
- b. *terake uhĩ dehalir*
toi-ke u-hĩ de-hali-r
you-[OBL] DAT he-ERG give-PST-1SG-2SG
‘He gave you.’
- c. *uhĩ dehaliu*
u-hĩ de-hali-u
he-ERG give-PST-2SG.H
‘He gave you (SG.H).’
- d. *uhĩ dehalik*
u-hĩ de-hali-k
he-ERG give-PST-3SG
‘He gave him.’
- e. *uhĩ dehalikan*
u-hĩ de-hali-kan
he-ERG give-PST-3SG.H
‘He gave him (H).’
- g. *uhĩ dehalikansəb*
u-hĩ de-hali-kan-səb
he-ERG give-PST-3SG.H-PL
‘He gave them (H).’

Appendix 3(c2)

Inflection of verb *mar-* 'kill' in past and non-past tense. Description can be found in (6.3.4).

		Object agreement									
		1SG	1PL	2SG	2SG.H	2PL	3SG	3SG.H	3PL	3PL.H	
subject agreement	1SG	NPST	-	-	mar-ta -mi-r(s)	mar-ta -mi-u	-	mar-ta -mi-k	mar-ta -mi-kan	-	mar-ta-mi -kan-səb
		PST	-	-	mar-hal -mi-r(s)	mar-hal -mi-u	-	mar-hal -mi-k	mar-hal -mi-kan	-	mar-hal -mi-kan-səb
	1PL	NPST	-	-	-	-	-	mar-ta -hi-k	mar-ta -hi-kan	-	mar-ta-hi -kan-səb
		PST	-	-	-	-	-	mar-hal -hi-k	mar-hal -hi-kan	-	mar-hal-hi -kan-səb
	2SG	NPST	-	-	-	-	-	mar-ta -si-k	mar-ta -si-kan	-	mar-ta-si -kan-səb
		PST	-	-	-	-	-	mar-hal -si-k	mar-hal -si-kan	-	mar-hal-si -kan-səb
	2SG.H	NPST	-	-	-	-	-	mar-ta -u-k	mar-ta -u-kan	-	mar-ta-u -kan-səb
		PST	-	-	-	-	-	mar-hale -u-k	mar-hale -u-kan	-	mar-hale -u-kan-səb
	2PL	NPST	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		PST	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3SG	NPST	-	-	mar-tai -r(s)	mar-ta -u	-	mar-tai -k	mar-tai -kan	-	mar-tai -kan-səb
		PST	-	-	mar-hali -r(s)	mar-hal -u	-	mar-hali -k	mar-hali -kan	-	mar-hali -kan-səb
	3PL	NPST	-	-	mar-tai -r(s)	mar-ta -u-səb	-	mar-tai -k	mar-tai -kan	-	mar-tai -kan-səb
		PST	-	-	mar-hali -r(s)	mar-hal -u-səb	-	mar-hali -k	mar-hali -kan	-	mar-hali -kan-səb

Appendix 3(c3)

Verb agreement in ditransitive verbs
(Kotapish and Kotapish 1975: 140-141)

	'Receptor referents'					
	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	-	-	-mi-s	mi-u	-mi-k	-mi-kan
1PL	-	-	Only subject agreement	Only subject agreement	Only subject agreement	Only subject agreement
2SG	Only subject agreement	Only subject agreement	-	-	-si-k	-si-kan
2PL	Only subject agreement	Only subject agreement	-	-	-uøk	-uøkan
3SG	Only subject agreement	Only subject agreement	-is	-ø-iu	-ø-ik	-ø-ikan
3PL	Only subject agreement	Only subject agreement	-ø-is	-ø-iu	-ø-ik	-ø-ikan

Appendix 3(d)

Verb agreement in possibility (6.3.3), counterfactual (6.2.3.6), and inferential (6.2.4.3) and optative (6.2.3.5) sentences.

Verb	Moods	1SG	1PL	2SG	2SG.H	2PL	2PL.H	3SG	3SG.H	3PL	3PL.H
dza- 'go'	Counterfactual	dzəi -larə-m	dzəi -lahari-hi	dzəi- larə-s	dzəi- larə-u	dzəi-lahar -u-səb	dzəi-larə -u-səb	dzəi-larə- i	dzəi-lara -hat	dzəi-larə -səb	dzəi-lara -hat-səb
kər- 'do'	Possibility	kər -bo-m	kər -bo-i	kər -bo-s	kər -bo-u	kər-bo -səb	kər-bo -u-səb	kər-bo- kan-səb	kər-bo -kan	kər-bo -kan-səb	kər-bo -kan-səb
kər- 'do'	Inference1	kər-lə -m-ai	kər -lə-h-ai	kər-lə -s-ai	kər-lə -hw-ai	kər-lə -s-ai	kər-lə -hw-ai-səb	kər-lə-h- ai/k ^h -ai	kər-lə -k ^h ən-ai	kər-lə -hai/k ^h -ai-s əb	kər-lə -k ^h ə-nai -səb
	Inference2	rəli -m-ai	rəli -h-ai	rəli -r-ai	-	rəli-s-ai	-	rəli-h-ai/ k ^h ai	-	rəli-k ^h -ai-səb	-
pəḍ^hə 'read'	Optative	-	-	-	-	-	-	pəḍ ^h u-s	-	pəḍ ^h u-s	-

Appendix 3 (e)

Inflections of copula (and auxiliaries) for nominative and genitive/dative.

Verb	Agreement types	1SG	1PL	2SG	2SG.H	2PL	2PL.H	3SG	3SG.H	3PL	3PL.H
hək^hə- COP.NPST	NOM/ERG	hək ^h ə -m	hək ^h i -hĩ	hək ^h ə -s	hək ^h ə-u	hək ^h ə -səb	hək ^h ə -u-səb	hək ^h ə -i	hək ^h ə -t	hək ^h ə -səb	hək ^h ə -t-səb
	Dative/GEN	hək ^h ə -m	hək ^h ə -hĩ	hək ^h i -r	hək ^h i-u	hək ^h ə -səb	hək ^h i -u-səb	hək ^h i -k	hək ^h i -kan	hək ^h ə -səb	hək ^h ə -səb
ətə- COP.NPST	NOM/ERG	ətə -m	ətə -i	ətə -s	ətə-u	ətə -səb	ətə -u-səb	ətə -i	ətə -t	ətə -səb	ətə -səb
	Dative/GEN	əti -m	əti -hĩ	əti -r	əti-u	ətə -səb	əti -u-səb	əti -k	əti -kan	əti -kan	əti -kan
rəhə- ‘COP.PST’	NOM/ERG	rəhə -m	rəhə -i	rəhə -s	rəhə-u	rəhə -səb	rəhə -u-səb	rəhə -i	rəhə -t	rəhə -səb	rəhə -səb
	Dative/GEN	rəhi -m	rəhə -i	rəhi -r	rəhi-u	rəhə -səb	rəhi -u-səb	rəhi k	rəhi -kan	rəhi -kan	rəhi -kan

(1) Copular clauses

- a. *məi gurəu həkhəm*
məi gurəu həkhə-m
I priest COP.NPST-1SG
'I am a (Darai) priest.'
- b. *tohe gurəu həkhəu*
məi gurəu həkhə-u
I priest COP.NPST-2SG.H
'You are a (Darai) priest (H.SG).'
- c. *u gurəu həkhəi*
u gurəu həkhə-i
he priest COP.NPST-3SG
'He is a (Darai) priest.'
- d. *unhen gurəu həkhət*
unhen gurəu həkhə-t
he priest COP.NPST-3SG.H
'He is a (Darai) priest (H.SG).'

(2) Possessive clauses

- a. *ijə merə c^hegri həkhim*
ijə məi-rə c^hegri həkhə-m
this I-[OBL]GEN goat COP.NPST-1SG
'This is my goat.'
- b. *ijə terə c^hegri həkhir*
ijə toi-rə c^hegri həkhə-r
this I-[OBL]GEN goat COP.NPST-2SG
'This is your goat.'

- c. *ijə unhenkə c^hegri həkhikan*
 ijə unhen-kə c^hegri həkhi-kan
 this he-GEN goat COP.NPST-3SG.H
 ‘This is his goat (H).’
- d. *ijə unhensəbkə c^hegri həkhikansəb*
 ijə unhen-səb-kə c^hegri həkhi-kan-səb
 this he-GEN goat COP.NPST-3SG.H-PL
 ‘This is their priest (H).’

(3) Locative clauses

- a. *məi g^hərəjə ətım*
 məi g^hərə-jə ətə-m
 I house-LOC COP.NPST-1SG
 ‘I am at home.’
- b. *təhe g^hərəjə ətıu*
 təhe g^hərə-jə ətə-u
 I house-LOC COP.NPST-2SG.H
 ‘You are at home (SG.H).’
- c. *unhen g^hərəjə ətət*
 unhen g^hərə-jə ətə-t
 he house-LOC COP.NPST-3SG.H
 ‘He (H) is at home.’
- d. *usəb g^hərəjə ətəsəb*
 usəb g^hərə-jə ətə-səb
 they house-LOC COP.NPST-3SG.H
 ‘They are at home.’

(4) Auxiliary *atə-* in dative clauses

- a. *merake b^huk laglə atəm*
mәi-ke b^huk lag-lә atә-m
I-[OBL]DAT hunger apply-PRF COP.NPST-1SG
'I am hungry.'
- b. *terake b^huk laglə atir*
toi-ke b^huk lag-lә atә-r
you-[OBL]DAT hunger apply-PRF COP.NPST-2SG
'You are hungry.'
- c. *toherәke b^huk laglə atiu*
tohe-ke b^huk lag-lә atә-u
you-[OBL]DAT hunger apply-PRF COP.NPST-2SG.H
'You are hungry(H.SG).'
- d. *unhenke b^huk laglə atikan*
unhen-ke b^huk lag-lә atі-kan
you-[OBL]DAT hunger apply-PRF COP.NPST-3SG.H
'He is hungry (H).'

(5) Possessive clauses

- a. *merә c^hegri morlә rәhәm*
mәi-rә c^hegri mor-lә rәhә-m
I-[OBL]GEN goat die-PRF AUX.PST-1SG
'My goat had died.'
- b. *terә c^hegri morlә rәhir*
toi-rә c^hegri mor-lә rәhi-r
you-[OBL]GEN goat die-PRF AUX.PST-2SG
'Your goat had died.'

c. *uk^hrə c^hegri morlə rəhik*

u-rə	c ^h egri	mor-lə	rəhi-k
he-[OBL]GEN	goat	die-PRF	AUX.PST-3SG

‘His goat had died.’

d. *unhekə c^hegri morlə rəhikan*

unhen-kə	c ^h egri	mor-lə	rəhi-kan
he (H)-GEN	goat	die-PRF	AUX.PST-3SG.H

‘His goat had died.’

Appendix 3 (f)

Inflection of verbs for nominative/ergative and genitive/dative and in (focused) past tense.

Verb	Agreement types	1SG	1PL	2SG	2SG.H	2PL	2PL.H	3SG	3SG.H	3PL/3PL.H
cahə- 'want'	Dative/ GEN(NPST)	caha -ti-m	cah-i-t	caha- ti-r	caha- ti-u	caha- ti-u-səb	caha-ti -u-səb	caha-t- i-k	caha-t-i -kan	caha-ti -kan-səb
	Dative/ GEN (PST)	cahi -le-m	caha-lə	cahi -le-r	cahi -le-u	cahi- le-u-səb	cahi-le -u-səb	cahi-le -k	cahi-le -kan	cahi-le -kan-səb
uʰ- 'stand'	Dative/GEN (NPST)	uʰ-ta -hi-m	uʰ-i-t	uʰ -tahi-r	uʰ -tahi-u	uʰ -tai-u-səb	uʰ-tai -u-səb	uʰ-ta-hi -k	uʰ-ta-hi -kan	uʰ-ta-hi kan-səb
	Dative/GEN (PST)	uʰi- le-m	uʰ-lə	uʰi -le-r	uʰi -le-u	uʰi -le-u-səb	uʰi-le -u-səb	uʰi-le -k	uʰi-le -kan	uʰa-le -kan-səb
botʰ- 'ache'	Dative/GEN (NPST)	botʰ- tai-m	botʰ -tai-t	botʰ-ta hi-r	botʰ -tahi-u	botʰ-tai -u-səb	botʰ-tai -u-səb	botʰ-ta -hi-k	botʰ-ta -hi-kan	botʰ-ta -hikan-səb
	Dative/GEN (PST)	botʰi -le-m	botʰ-lə	botʰi -le-r	botʰi -le-u	botʰi-le -u-səb	botʰi-le -u-səb	botʰi- le-k	botʰi-le -kan	botʰi-le -kan-səb
kəkə- 'say'	Focus PST	kəha -le-m	kəha -li-hī	kəha -le-r	kəha -le-u	kəha -le-u	kəha-le -u-səb	kəha- le-k	kəha-le -kan	kəha -le-kan
bos- 'sit'	Focus PST	bos-hal e-m	bosha-l i-hī	bos- hale-r	bos -hale-u	bos -hale-u	bos-hale -u-səb	bos- hale-k	bos-hale -kan	bos-hale-kan

(1) Dative agreement

- a. *merake c^hegri cahatim*
mәi-ke c^hegri caha-ti-m
I-[OBL]DAT goat need-NPST-1SG
'I need a goat.'
- b. *teurake c^hegri cahatiu*
tohe-ke c^hegri caha-ti-u
you-[OBL]DAT goat need-NPST-2SG.H
'You need a goat.'

(2) Dative agreement

- a. *merake ris uṭ^htaim*
mәi-ke ris uṭ^h-tai-m
I-[OBL]DAT anger stand-NPST-1SG
'I am angry.'
- b. *unhenke ris uṭ^hilekan*
unhen-ke ris uṭ^h-tai-kan
he-DAT anger stand-NPST-3SG.H
'He is angry.'

APPENDIX: 4
INDEX OF GRAMMATICAL MORPHEMES

Morpheme	Gloss	Use
-hĩ	1PL	first person, plural
-m	1SG	first person singular
-m	1SG.POSS	first person singular, pronominal
-r	2SG	second person singular
-s	2SG	second person singular
-u	2SG.H	second person singular, honorific
-r	2SG.POSS	second person singular, pronominal
-kan	3SG.H	third person plural, third person singular honorific
-t	3PL.H	third person, plural, honorific
-h	3SG	third person singular
-i	3SG	third person singular
-k/-k ^h	3SG	third person singular
-hat	3SG.H	third person singular honorific
-k	3SG.POSS	third singular pronominal
-se	ABL	ablative case
-i	ABS	absolute
-e	ADJV	adjectivizer
-se	ADVZ	adverbializer
-a	CAUS	causative
-dzena	CLF	classifier
-ta	CLF	classifier (non-human)
-se	COM	comitative
-ne	COND	conditional
-ke	DAT/ACC	dative/accusative
-as	DESID	desiderative
-isin	DUB	dubitative
-ei	EMPH	emphatic
-n	EMPH	emphatic
-be	EMPH.NEG	emphatic negation
-ĩ/-i/-hĩ	ERG	ergative marker
-i	F	feminine

-kə	GEN	genitive marker
-rə	GEN	genitive case
-te	HAB	habitual
-u	HON	honorific
-u/-əũ	HOR	hortative
-hun	HS	hearsay
-əu	IMI	imminent
-uk	IMP	imperative
-o	IMP.HON	imperative, honorific
-isai	IMP.FUT	imperative, future
-hun	INDEF	indefinite
-ike	INF	infinitive
-ai	INFR	inferential
-jə̃	LOC	locative case
-hĩ	LOC (EMPH)	locative, emphatic
-inei	MIR	mirative
nai-	NEG	Negative
dz ^h un-	PROH	prohibitive
-ai	NOML	nominalizer
-tə/-ta/-tahə	NPST	non-past
-nei	OBLIG	obligation in the past tense
-səb	PL	plural
-bə/bi	POSB	possibility
-tin/tihin	PROG	progressive
-larə	PROS	prospective
-hal/hale	PST	past
-lə	PST/PRF	past tense/perfect
-e	PURP	purposive
-ikun	SEQ	sequential converb
-te	SIM	simultaneous converb

APPENDIX 5: SAMPLE TEXTS

The texts presented in the appendix consist of narratives, personal memories, conversations and procedural texts. The first is a procedural text (death ritual) told by Cham Narayan Darai, and this was recorded in Kathar VDC of the Chitwan district. The second is also a procedural text contributed by Samita Darai. This text was recorded in Kathmandu. The third text is a conversation between Mangal Ram Darai and a woman recorded by Nepal Darai Development Society in order to prepare an ethnographic sketch of the Darai ethnic group. The fourth text was narrated by Som Lal Darai and recorded in Kathar VDC of Chitwan district. The last text (a personal narrative) included in the text is told by Cham Narayan Darai, and this was recorded in Mangalpur VDC of Chitwan district.

The texts have been minimally edited by removing repetition and false starts. Places where materials have been omitted are marked with ellipsis [...] in the translation. Within each text, Darai sentences are numbered with abbreviated title and speakers. The first line contains the Darai utterances in their natural form. The second sentence (line) contains the Darai forms divided into morphemes. The corresponding English glosses and grammatical abbreviations immediately follow in the third line. Literal English translation is in the fourth line. The texts are presented in the same layout as Darai examples in the examples. The examples from the texts have been thoroughly mentioned in the texts. Following texts are included in appendix 5:

- (a) Death Ritual
- (b) How to make wine
- (c) Interview
- (d) Jackal and Hen
- (e) Past to Present

In addition to the texts mentioned in the appendix, various texts were collected, and interlinearized in Toolbox, computer software, while building the corpus. The examples from the following texts have been used in the dissertation:

SN	Texts	Speakers and age	Abbreviation of texts and speakers
1	Bhothi fish	Som Lal Darai-53	BF.SLD
2	Darai and flute	Cham Narayan Darai-60	DaF.CND
3	Darai priest	Cham Narayan Darai-60	DP.CND
4	Death ritual	Cham Narayan Darai-60	DR.CND
5	Exciting incidents	Cham Narayan Darai-60	EI.CND
6	Marriage to Uthauni	Samita Darai -25	MtU.SD
7	Immolation	recorded by Nepal Darai Development Society	IMM.SU
8	Gorkhali and Lunge King	Phirla Darai -61	GaLK.PD
9	Harmaniya parrot	Buddhi Lal Darai-55	HP.BD
10	Honey or faeces ?	Som Lal Darai-53	HoF.SLD
11	How to make wine	Samita Darai -25	HtMW.SD
12	How we came to Pidrahani	Phirla Darai -61	HwCtP.PD
13	Interview	recorded by Nepal Darai Development Society	In.UN
14	Jackal and hen	SomLal Darai-53	JaH.SLD
15	Karbire King	SomLal Darai-53	KK.SLD
16	King and queen	SomLal Darai-53	KaQ.SLD
18	Marriage to Uthauni	Samita Darai -25	MtU.SD
19	Orphan king	Jivan Darai-50	OK.JD
20	Past to Present	Cham Narayan Darai-60	PtP.CND
21	Sunkesri queen	Buddhi Darai-55	SQ.BD
22	Uthauni	Samita Darai -25	UT.SD

(a) Death Ritual

DR.CND.001

<i>pəhaḍkə</i>		<i>b^hasajə</i>		<i>krija</i>
pəhaḍ-kə		b ^h asa	-jə	krija
hill	-GEN	language	-LOC	mourning

<i>hamrə</i>		<i>b^hasajə</i>		<i>kədzija</i>		<i>kəhətahī</i>
hame -rə		b ^h asa	-jə	kədzija	kəhə	-ta -hī
we -GEN		language	-LOC	mourning	say	-NPST -1PL

(The death ritual) is called 'kriya' in Pahade language (Nepali language) but 'kajiya' in ours.

DR.CND.002

<i>ə</i>	<i>pəhile</i>	<i>morne sit</i>		<i>sətigəti</i>	<i>kərike</i>
ə	pəhile	mor -ne sit		sətigəti	kər -ike
yes	firstly	die -COND COND.PART		mourning	do -INF

<i>k^hənijə</i>		<i>beṭa</i>	<i>c^hawa</i>	<i>b^həine</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>dui</i>
k ^h əna	-jə	beṭa	c ^h awa	b ^h əi	-ne sit	dui
while	-LOC	son	son	become	-COND COND.PART	two

<i>b^hai</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>b^hai</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>b^hai</i>	<i>dzəmmei</i>	<i>ṭikike</i>
b ^h ai	tin	b ^h ai	ek	b ^h ai	dzəmmei	ṭik -ike
brother	three	brother	one	brother	all place	Tika -INF

<i>bar</i>	<i>g^hug^hatahī</i>		<i>muḍ^h</i>	<i>k^hurtahī</i>
bar	g ^h ug ^h a	-ta -hī	muḍ ^h	k ^h ur -ta -hī
abstain	throw	-NPST -ERG	head	shave -NPST -1PL

g^hatəjə

<i>g^ha ṭ</i>	<i>-jə</i>
river-bank	-LOC

Yes, if (someone) dies, in doing death ritual, if one has sons, they receive Tika (mark on the forehead) and shave the heads right in the cremation grounds.

DR.CND.003

<i>uc^hise</i>	<i>əitahī</i>	<i>g^hər</i>
uc ^h i -se a -ta -hī		g ^h ər
there -ABL come -NPST -1PL		house

Then, (they) come back home.

DR.CND.004

<i>g^hər</i>	<i>aikunu</i>	<i>ekṭa</i>	<i>pahaḍe</i>	<i>c^hep</i>	<i>ekṭa</i>
g ^h ər	a -ikunu	ek - ṭa	pahaḍ -e	c ^h ep	ek - ṭa
house	come -SEQ	one -CLF	hill -ADJZ	way	one -CLF

<i>məd^hese</i>	<i>c^hep</i>
məd ^h es -e	c ^h ep
terai -ADJZ	way

Having come home, (there are two ways of death rituals), one Pahade Chep, another Madhesi Chep.

DR.CND.005

pahaḍe c^hep kərne sit g^hər
 pahaḍ -e c^hep kər -ne sit g^hər
 hill -ADJZ way do -COND COND.PART house

aikunu sag b^hat nun k^həitahĩ
 a -ikunu sag b^hat nun k^ha -ta -hĩ
 come -SEQ curry rice salt eat -NPST -1PL

If the ritual is performed according to Pahade Chep, (the men in mourning) eat rice and curry with salt after they come home.

DR.CND.006

məd^hese c^hep kərne sit dud^hse b^hat
 məd^hes -e c^hep kər -ne sit dud^h -se b^hat
 terai -ADJZ way do -COND COND.PART milk -with rice

k^həitahĩ begər nunkə
 k^ha -ta -hĩ begər nun -kə
 eat -NPST -1PL without salt -GEN

If the ritual is performed according to Madhesi Chep, (the man in mourning) eat rice and milk without salt.

DR.CND.007

tin din səmmə hame nun c^haḍtahĩ
 tin din səmmə hame nun c^haḍ -ta -hĩ
 three day till we salt leave -NPST -1PL

We do not eat (lit. leave) salt for three days.

DR.CND.008

əse bəllə nun k^həitahĩ rə morlə
 əse bəllə nun k^ha -ta -hĩ rə mor -lə
 then after a while salt eat -NPST -1PL and die -PFV

dinse dawa kərtahĩ
 din -se dawa kər -ta -hĩ
 day -ABL a ritual after death do -NPST -1PL

Then only salt is eaten and Dawa is performed from the day of death.

DR.CND.009

morlə din ek dawa arkon din dui
 mor -lə din ek dawa arkon din dui
 die -PFV day one a ritual after death another day two

dawa tisrən din tin dawa
 dawa tisrən din tin dawa
 a ritual after death third day three a ritual after death

One Dawa on the day (a man) died, two Dawa on the next day and three Dawa on the third day.

DR.CND.010

tə dawa meʃit bəllə
 tə dawa meʃ -i -t bəllə
 PART a ritual after death end -3SG -NPST after a while

əse nunse b^hat k^həʃitahĩ.
 əse nun -se b^hat k^ha -ta -hĩ
 then salt -with rice eat -NPST -1PL
 As Dawa ends, the rice is eaten with salt.

DR.CND.011

p^heri uhəi rəhəi abe u tə
 p^heri u -həi rəhə -i abe u tə
 again that -EMPH COP.PST -3SG now that PART

kədzija kərike.
 kədzija kər -ike
 mourning do -INF
 There he is, now he has to do kajiya (death ritual).

DR.CND.012

ap^hnə mənəkə kura abe p^heri dui məhinajə p^heri
 ap^hnə mən-kə kura abe p^heri dui məhina -jə p^heri
 self soul-GEN thing now also two month -LOC also

kərtahĩ tin məhinajə p^heri kərtahĩ
 kər -ta -hĩ tin məhina -jə p^heri kər -ta -hĩ
 do -NPST -1PL three time -LOC also do -NPST -1PL

turuntei p^heri kərtahĩ.
 turuntei p^heri kər -ta -hĩ
 immediately again do -NPST -1PL
 The things you wish may be done within two months, three months (or) immediately.

DR.CND.013

uc^hise kədzija t^halne sit
 uc^hi -se kədzija t^hal -ne sit
 there -ABL mourning begin -COND COND.PART

gəduwa d^hərlə kəhətahĩ.
 gəduwa d^hər -lə kəhə -ta -hĩ
 beginningn of Kajiya hold -PST say -NPST -1PL
 Then if the kajiya begins, (that) is called gaduwa holding.

DR.CND.014

gəduwa d^hərne sit səmcar
 gəduwa d^hər -ne sit səmcar
 beginningn of Kajiya hold -COND COND.PART message

puretahĩ.

pure -ta -hĩ

take things-NPST-1PL

If the death ritual begins, (we'll) send message (to relatives).

DR.CND.015

celibeṭi p^hupucela mamacela
celibeṭi p^hupu - cela mama - cela
female kins father's sister - relative maternal uncle - relative

car c^hak nun barike pərit.
car c^hak nun bar -ike pər -i -t
four time salt abstain -INF AUX -3SG -NPST

The sisters and aunt (father's sisters), the relatives on their side and maternal uncle's side should not eat salt (lit. leave salt) for four times (two days).

DR.CND.016

uc^hise p^heri dzəitahĩ g^haṭəjə.
uc^hise p^heri dza -ta -hĩ g^haṭ -jə
now onwards again go -NPST -1PL cremation grounds -LOC
Then (we) go to the cremation grounds.

DR.CND.017

pinḍo partahĩ.
pinḍo par -ta -hĩ
ball of rice for offering make -NPST -1PL
Then Pindo (a ball of rice to offer) is made.

DR.CND.018

tə pinḍo parikunu uc^hika
tə pinḍo par -ikunu uc^hika
PART ball of rice for offering make -SEQ there

kərtahĩ hamrə
kər -ta -hĩ hame -rə
do -NPST -1PL we -GEN

kəhideũ tin kisimkə aṭəi.
kəhə -i - de -ũ tin kisim -kə aṭə -i
say -3SG - give -HOR.1PL three type -GEN COP.NPST -3SG
Having made Pindo, it is done there. Let me say, there are three ways (kinds) of doing this.

DR.CND.019

g^haṭihi nei kaṭmeṭ
g^haṭ -ihi nei kaṭmeṭ
cremation grounds -LOC.EMPH PART ending of Kajiya

kərtahĩ.

kər -ta -hĩ
do -NPST -1PL

The ritual (ending of Kajiya) is finished on the cremation grounds.

DR.CND.025

u ek din rak^htahĩ *uṭ^hatahĩ.*
 u ek din rak^h -ta -hĩ uṭ^h -a -ta -hĩ
 that one day put -NPST -1PL raise -CAUS -NPST -1PL
 That is kept one day and then ended.

DR.CND.026

p^heri arko dəsəhikə *car pāc dinəjə*
 p^heri arko dəsəhĩ -kə car pāc din -jə
 again next Dashain (festival) -GEN four five day -LOC

b^həit *bəḍkə* *b^hat* *kəhətahĩ.*
 bhə -i -t bəḍkə b^hat kəhə -ta -hĩ
 become -3SG -NPST big rice say -NPST -1PL
 The day in the next four or five days is called Badka Bhat (lit. big rice).

DR.CND.027

uhəujə *p^heri* *p^huləu* *rak^htahĩ.*
 u -həu -jə p^heri p^huləu rak^h -ta -hĩ
 that -EMPH -LOC again Phulau put -NPST -ERG
 Then Phulou is kept.

DR.CND.028

uhəi *uṭ^haikun* *ṭaṅtahĩ* *rə*
 u -həi uṭ^h -a -ikun ṭaṅ -ta -hĩ rə
 that -EMPH raise -CAUS -SEQ spread -NPST -ERG and

ekei *coṭi* *aguhi* *bihibar* *pəilete* *rəhəi*
 ek -ei coṭi aguhi bihibar pəile -te rəhə -i
 one -EMPH times before Thursday find -HAB AUX.PST -3SG
 The ceremony may be extended till Thursday if it (the death) is on Thursday.

DR.CND.029

abe tə uhəi *sohoriakə*
 abe tə u -həi sohorai -kə
 now PART that -EMPH Sohorai festival -GEN

aūsi *pəiletahat.*
 aūsi pəile -ta -hat
 half moon find -NPST -3PL
 The half moon with the approaching of Sohorai approaches (lit. is found).

DR.CND.030

aũsijã *murti rak^hikunu* *tin* *din sãmmãn*
 aũsi -jã murti rak^h -ikunu tin din sãmmãn
 half moon -LOC idol put -SEQ three day as long as

rak^htahĩ.

rak^h -ta -hĩ
 put -NPST -1PL

Having kept the idol for three days on the day of half moon, it is done (the process continued) for three days.

DR.CND.031

tin *din pugte* *car bãdze* *pãc* *bãdze* *g^hãrse*
 tin din pug -te car bãdze pãc bãdze g^hãr -se
 three day reach -SIM four o'clock five o'clock house -ABL

p^huləu *u^hatahĩ*

selatahĩ.

p^huləu u^h -a -ta -hĩ sela -ta -hĩ
 Phulau get up -CAUS -NPST -1PL end -NPST -1PL

The Phoulou is picked up, and cremated finally from the house from four to five o'clock when the three days are over.

DR.CND.032

arko nidzə *səklaharə* *g^hərəjã* *rak^hike*
 arko nidzə sək -laharə g^hər -jã rak^h -ike
 next NEG finish -PROS house -LOC put -INF

g^hatihĩ

nei səb^həit^hok

g^hat -hĩ nei səb^həi - t^hok
 cremation grounds -LOC PART all - thing

səman ledzikun *ek c^hin* *g^hatəjã*
 səman ledz -ikun ek c^hin g^hat -jã
 goods take -SEQ one short time cremation grounds -LOC

rak^htahĩ.

rak^h -ta -hĩ
 put -NPST -1PL

After completing the next day from home, taking all things from home, this is placed there for some time.

DR.CND.033

g^hərēikə *dzəhin* *murti banaikunu*
 g^hər -ei -kə dzəhin murti bən -a -ikunu
 house -EMPH -GEN like idol make -CAUS -SEQ

uk^hrake

selai

detahĩ.

u -ke sela -i de -ta -hĩ
 he -[OBL] DAT end -ABS give -NPST -1PL

Having made the statue like idol at home, they cremate it.

DR.CND.034

uc^hise aikunu p^hulpati k^hostahĩ.
 uc^hi -se a -ikunu p^hulpati k^hos -ta -hĩ
 there -ABL come -SEQ Phulpati search -NPST -1PL
 Having come from there, Phulpati (flower) is searched.

DR.CND.035

ukrə dzon morlaharəkə
 u -rə dzon mor -laharə -kə
 that -[OBL] GEN whoever die -PROS -GEN

c^hahok c^hahik batik
 c^haho -k c^hahi -k baṭi -k
 son -3SG.POSS daughter -3SG.POSS COP.NPST. -3SG

ukrake gaũkə manuseĩ gaũ
 u -ke gaũ -kə manus -ĩ gaũ
 it -[OBL] DAT village -GEN man -INST village

səmadz milikun ṭopi goro perikun bərk^hi bartahĩ.
 səmadz mil -ikun ṭopi goro per -ikun bərk^hi bar -ta -hĩ
 society agree -SEQ cap white dress -SEQ white turban abstain -
 NPST -1PL

All people gathering from neighbourhood, the white dress is worn (to him), the sons of the the dead man.

DR.CND.036

bərk^hi p^herike pərit.
 bərk^hi p^her -ike pər -i -tə
 white turban change -INF AUX -3SG -NPST
 (One) should change the turban.

DR.CND.037

rəŋgin luga dz^hula gone lagai
 rəŋgin luga dz^hula gone ləg -a -i
 colourful cloth blouse saree put -CAUS -ABS

detahĩkansəb.

de -ta -hĩ -kan -səb
 give -NPST -ERG -3SG.H -PL
 We dress them the colourful clothes such as blouses and sarees.

DR.CND.038

uk^hrake gaũsəbeĩ rəŋgin gone
 u -ke gaũ -səb -ĩ rəŋgin gone
 he -[OBL] DAT village -PL -ERG colourful saree

peratahĩhun.

per -a -ta -hĩ -hun
 wear -CAUS -NPST -1PL -HS
 We give them the colourful clothes, blouse and are worn to them.

DR.CND.039

<i>hamrə</i>	<i>sōskriti</i>	<i>ihəi</i>	<i>baṭəi</i>
hame -rə	sōskriti	i -həi	baṭə -i
we -GEN	culture	this -EMPH	COP.NPST -3SG

dərəikə mərənkə.
 dərəi -kə mərən -kə
 Darai -GEN death -GEN
 This is our culture, the rituals of the death of Darai.

(b) How To Make Wine**HtMW.SD.001**

<i>mərca ek kisimkə dz^hāgise banatahī</i>
mərca ek kisim -kə dz ^h āgi -se bən -a -ta -hī
yeast one type -GEN bush -ABL become -CAUS -NPST -1PL

Yeast is made from a kind of bush (plant).

HtMW.SD.002

<i>surujā caur b^hidzaikun dz^hāgi</i>
suru -jā caur b ^h idz -a -ikun dz ^h āgi
beginning -LOC rice moisten -CAUS -SEQ bush
<i>bonse anikun suk^haikun kuṭike pərit.</i>
bon -se an -ikun suk ^h -a -ikun kuṭ -ike pər-i-t
jungle -ABL bring -SEQ ECHO. -CAUS -SEQ pound -INF AUX-3SG-NPST

In the beginning having drenched rice, having dried the (leaves of medicinal) bushes from jungle, (we) should pound them.

HtMW.SD.003

<i>pəhila g^haməjā suk^haike əse kuṭike.</i>
pəhila g ^h am -jā suk ^h -a -ike əse kuṭ -ike
first sun -LOC dry -CAUS -INF then pound -INF

Dry in the sun first, and then pound (bush and rice).

HtMW.SD.004

<i>b^hidzalə caur kuṭikunu piṭ^ha banaike.</i>
b ^h idz -a -lə caur kuṭ -ikunu piṭ ^h a bən -a -ike
moisten -CAUS -PFV rice pound -SEQ flour become -CAUS -INF

Make flour (after) beating the moistened rice.

HtMW.SD.005

<i>əse piṭ^ha banaikunu uwə piṭ^ha</i>
əse piṭ ^h a bən -a -ikunu uwə piṭ ^h a
then flour become -CAUS -SEQ that flour

kuṭlə dzʰāgise misaike.
 kuṭ -lə dzʰāgi -se misa -ike
 pound -PFV bush -with mix -INF

Then having made the flour, mix it with the bush and the rice which have been pounded.

HtMW.SD.006

uwə misaikunu cukti cukti pani gʰalike.
 uwə misa -ikunu cukti cukti pani gʰal -ike
 that mix -SEQ little little water pour -INF

Having mixed (the flour) add (lit. pour) a little water.

HtMW.SD.007

pani ʈʰik matra gʰalikon dəlla pərne
 pani ʈʰik matra gʰal -ikun dəlla pər -ne
 water right quantity pour -SEQ ball fall -COND

dzəsne bʰəine par dəlla parike.
 dzəsne bʰəi -ne par dəlla par -ike
 like become -COND COND.PART ball make -INF

When (flour) is likely to be shaped into balls after having added appropriate quantity of water, turn them into balls.

HtMW.SD.008

dəlla parikunu supajə rakʰikunu sutaike.
 dəlla par -ikunu supa -jə rakʰ -ikunu suta -ike
 ball make -SEQ flat basket -LOC put -SEQ spread -INF

After having made the balls and kept them in the basket, spread (it) in the basket.

HtMW.SD.009

sutate dzaḍa məhina bhəine par
 suta -te dzaḍa məhina bhə -ne par
 spread -SIM cold time become -COND COND.PART

puwar əlik baklo rakʰike pərit.
 puwar əlik baklo rakʰ -ike pər -i -t
 straw a bit thick put -INF AUX -3SG -NPST

While spreading, if the season is cold, (we) should spread it in the thick straw.

HtMW.SD.010

tərə gərəm məhina bhəine patro patro rakʰike.
 tərə gərəm məhina bhə -ne patro patro rakʰ -ike
 but hot time become -COND thin thin put -INF

Keep in a thin (layer) if the season is hot.

HtMW.SD.011

ərkə dinəjə mərca gorə b^həit.
 ərkə din -jə mərca gorə bhə -i -t
 other day -LOC yeast white become -3SG -NPST

Next day the yeast becomes white.

HtMW.SD.012

əse ərkə dinəjə patsəb puwar haṭaikun rak^hike.
 əse ərkə din -jə pat -səb puwar haṭ -a -ikun rak^h -ike
 then next day -LOC leaf -PL straw remove -CAUS -SEQ put -INF

Then, keep (it) by (having) removed the leaves and straw next day.

HtMW.SD.013

rak^hne par uwə mərca əli həlka rə gorə
 rak^h -ne par uwə mərca əli həlka rə gorə
 put -COND COND.PART that yeast more light and white
 bənīt.
 bən -i -t
 become -3SG -NPST

If the yeast is kept separate, it becomes a bit light and white.

HtMW.SD.014

uwə mərəcakə basna gurija basait.
 uwə mərəca -kə basna gurija basa -i -tə
 that yeast -GEN smell sweet smell sweet -3SG -NPST

That yeast smells sweet.

HtMW.SD.015

uwə mərca uṭ^haikunu ekṭa
 uwə mərəca uṭ^h -a -ikunu ek -ṭa
 that yeast raise -CAUS -SEQ one -CLF

b^həḍija ḍeli k^hend^hri
 b^həḍija ḍeli k^hend^hri
 pot for making beer basket pot (of bamboo strips)

ət^həwa kjahau suk^hk^ha b^həḍijajə rak^hike.
 ət^həwa kjahau suk^hk^ha b^həḍija -jə rak^h -ike
 or any dried up pot for making beer -LOC put -INF

Keep the yeast in any pot like Deli, Khendhri, or in some other dry pots after lifting the yeast.

HtMW.SD.016

osekəri bənlə mərəcake
 osekəri bən -lə mərca -ke
 that way become -PFV yeast -DAT

hame c^huʔtəi agikə rap^hkə nədzik
 hame c^huʔtəi agi -kə rap^h -kə nədzik
 we separate fire -GEN heat -GEN near

dz^hunḍaikun rak^htahĩ.
 dz^hunḍa -ikun rak^h -ta -hĩ
 hang -SEQ put -NPST -1PL

We hang the yeast made in this way in a separate place near the fire.

HtMW.SD.017

ijə mərca ek dek^hi dui həpta b^hitrə g^halike b^həit.
 ijə mərca ek dek^hi dui həpta b^hitrə g^hal -ike bhə -i -t
 this yeast one from two week in pour -INF become -3SG -
 NPST

The yeast should be poured (into a pot) within one to two weeks.

HtMW.SD.018

uwə mərca bəni səklə pəc^hi
 uwə mərca bən -i sək -lə pəc^hi
 that yeast become -ABS finish -PFV after

b^hatijə haltahĩ.
 b^hati -jə hal -ta -hĩ
 fermented rice -LOC pour -NPST -1PL

The fermented rice is mixed (put with yeast) after the yeast is ready.

HtMW.SD.019

mod hamrə ekdəm məhətwəpurnə cidz hək^həi.
 mod hame -rə ekdəm məhətwəpurnə cidz hək^hə -i
 beer we -GEN very important thing COP.NPST -3SG

Mod (a type of home made beer) is a very important thing of us.

HtMW.SD.020

mod hamrə dərəikə nəb^həi
 mod hame -rə dərəi -kə nə - b^hə -i
 beer we -GEN Darai -GEN NEG - become -3SG

naib^həi kikekəte k^həna mod
 nai - b^hə -i kike -kə -te k^həna mod
 NEG - become -3SG why -GEN -SIM while beer

ənek kaməjəsəb cahit.
 ənek kam -jə -səb cah -i -t
 several work -LOC -PL need -3SG -NPST

The beer is an indispensable thing for us because this is required in several (religious) occasions (lit. works).

HtMW.SD.021

dərəisəbeĩ mod banatahĩ.
 dərəi -səb -ĩ mod bən -a -ta -hĩ
 Darai -PL -ERG beer become -CAUS -NPST -ERG

All Darais make (home made) beer.

HtMW.SD.022

uwə mod kəske banaike kəhi məi kəhəte
 uwə mod kəske bən -a -ike kəhə -i məi kəhə -te
 that beer how become -CAUS -INF say -ABS I say -HAB

ətə-m.
 AUX.NPST -1SG

I tell (you) how the beer is made.

HtMW.SD.023

mod d^herei ənnəsəbkə b^həit
 mod d^herei ənnə -səb -kə bhə -i -t
 beer several grain -PL -GEN become -3SG -NPST

tərə mod k^has kərikun makaikə banatahĩ.
 tərə mod k^has kər -ikun makai -kə bən -a -ta -hĩ
 but beer especially do -SEQ maize -GEN become -CAUS -NPST -ERG

The beer is made from several grains but it is mainly made from maize grains.

HtMW.SD.024

makaikə suk^haikunu əlik k^həsrə k^həsrə kərikun pisike.
 makai -ke suk^h -a -ikunu əlik k^həsrə k^həsrə kər -ikun
 pis -ike
 maize -DAT ECHO -CAUS -SEQ a bit coarsely coarsely do -SEQ
 grind -INF

Having made the maize grain, dry in the hot sun (and) grind the maize grains rather coarsely.

HtMW.SD.025

k^həsrə k^həsrə kərikun pisike
 k^həsrə k^həsrə kər -ikun pis -ike
 coarsely coarsely do -SEQ grind -INF

səkne par u^haikun
 sək -ne par u^h -a -ikun
 finish -COND COND.PART raise -CAUS -SEQ

p^həḍkikun d^hoikun t^hikkə parike.
 p^həḍk -ikun d^ho -ikun t^hikkə par -ike
 winnow -SEQ wash -SEQ exact make -INF

Make ready the grains after the grains are ground coarsely, and lifted (it), purified and washed.

HtMW.SD.026

ekta b^hədijajə od^hən tataike.
 ek - ʈa b^hədija -jə od^hən tata -ike
 one -CLF pot -LOC pot for boiling water heat -INF

Heat water in a big boiling pot.

HtMW.SD.027

od^hən d^hikne par d^houlə caur g^halike.
 od^hən d^hik -ne par d^ho -lə caur g^hal -ike
 pot for boiling water heat -COND COND.PART wash -PFV rice pour -
 INF

If the boiling pot is hot, add the rice which is washed.

HtMW.SD.028

agi g^həmkate kərike.
 agi g^həmkā -te kər -ike
 fire burn -SIM do -INF

Keep on burning fire.

HtMW.SD.029

b^hat dzəhin c^həḍkike suru b^həit.
 b^hat dzəhin c^həḍk -ike suru bhə -i -t
 rice like boil -INF beginning become -3SG -NPST

c^həḍkəne par səbdz^haikē.
 c^həḍk -ne par səbdz^h -a -ike
 boil -COND COND.PART leave cook by heat -CAUS -INF

The rice-like things begin boiling. If it boils, leave it to be boiling.

HtMW.SD.030

b^hati səbdz^hisəkne par
 b^hati səbdz^h -i -sək -ne par
 fermented rice leave cook by heat -3SG -finish -COND COND.PART

b^hətehətijə pəirike.
 b^hətehəti -jə pəir -ike
 big vessel -LOC spread out -INF

Mix (the powder) into the cooked rice (for a while).

HtMW.SD.031

gərəm məhinajə purei ciso banaikun
 gərəm məhina -jə purei ciso bən -a -ikun
 hot time -LOC completely cold become -CAUS -SEQ

rə dzaḍaun məhina b^həine par
 rə dzaḍaun məhina b^həi -ne par
 and cold time become -COND COND.PART

<i>məntato</i>	<i>b^həine</i>	<i>par</i>	<i>mətrei</i>	<i>sutaike</i>	<i>pərit.</i>
məntato	b ^h əi	-ne par	mətrei	suta	-ike pər-i-t
hot (little)	become	-COND COND.PART	only	spread-INFAUX-3SG-NPST	

(It) should be spread only after getting cold if it is a hot season but if it is a cold season it should be spread only after it (becomes) a bit warm.

HtMW.SD.032

<i>sutlarə</i>	<i>kəte</i>	<i>əgaði</i>	<i>b^hatike</i>
sut -larə	kəhə	-te əgaði	b ^h ati -ke
sleep -PROS	say	-SIM before	fermented rice -DAT

<i>məsinəse</i>	<i>p^hoðeike</i>	<i>rə</i>	<i>mərcakə</i>	<i>ðəllakə</i>
məsinəse	p ^h oðe	-ike rə	mərca -kə	ðəlla -kə
finely	grind	-INF and	yeast -GEN	ball -GEN

<i>b^hatikə</i>	<i>matra</i>	<i>ənusar</i>	<i>dui tin</i>
b ^h ati	-kə matra	ənusar	dui tin
fermented	rice -GEN	quantity	according to two three

<i>ðəllake</i>	<i>məsinəse</i>	<i>maðikun</i>	<i>d^hulo</i>
ðəlla -ke	məsinəse	mað -ikun	d ^h ulo
ball -DAT	finely	massage -SEQ	dust

<i>banaikun</i>	<i>p^hoðlə</i>	<i>b^hatise</i>	<i>moc^hike.</i>
bən -a	-ikun p ^h oð	-lə b ^h ati	-se moc ^h -ike
make -CAUS -SEQ	crush	-PFV fermented	rice -ABL mix -INF

Earlier to spreading the brewed rice, mix them (fermented rice and yeast) with two or three balls of crushed yeast in relation to the quantity of fermented rice.

HtMW.SD.033

<i>sutate</i>	<i>k^həna</i>	<i>sutlarə</i>
suta -te	k ^h əna	sut -larə
spread -SIM	while	sleep -PROS

<i>b^həðijajə</i>	<i>tərə</i>	<i>ek pətrə</i>	<i>pat</i>	<i>ðisaike</i>
b ^h əðija	-jə	tərə	ek pətrə	pat
pot for making	beer -LOC	but	one level	leaf to spread

<i>əse</i>	<i>mərca</i>	<i>rə</i>	<i>b^hati</i>	<i>misa</i>	<i>-ike</i>
əse	mərca	rə	b ^h ati	misa	-ike
then	yeast	and	fermented	rice	mix -INF

While spreading in the pot, there should be a pot of layer of leaves, and the mix the yeast and fermented rice.

HtMW.SD.034

<i>b^hatike</i>	<i>uhəi</i>	<i>uprə</i>	<i>pəirike.</i>
b ^h ati	-ke u	-həi uprə	pəir -ike
fermented	rice -DAT	that -EMPH	above spread out -INF

Spread the rice right above it.

HtMW.SD.035

p^heri ek pətrə pateĩ d^hakike.
 p^heri ek pətrə pat -ĩ d^hak -ike
 again one level leaf -INST cover -INF

Again cover it with a layer of leaves.

HtMW.SD.036

d^haki səkne par uhəi
 d^hak -i sək -ne par u -həi
 cover -ABS finish -COND COND.PART that -EMPH

b^hati d^hakikun beske k^hād^hike əse keṭakeṭi
 b^hati d^hak -ikun beske k^hād^h -ike əse keṭakeṭi -ĩ
 fermented rice cover -SEQ very much press -INF then children -ERG

nidzə b^heṭlarə t^haũjə rak^hike.
 nidzə b^heṭ -larə t^haũ -jə rak^h -ike
 NEG find -PROS place -LOC put -INF

When it begins boiling, you should squeeze and keep it in the place where children do not reach it.

HtMW.SD.037

pat k^has kərikun b^hāṭikə cahit.
 pat k^has kər -ikun b^hāṭi -kə cah -i -t
 leaf especially do -SEQ eggplant -GEN need -3SG -NPST

A Bhandi (leaf of a kind of plant) in particular is required.

HtMW.SD.038

b^hāḍikə naib^həine salkə punu b^həit.
 b^hāḍi -kə nai - b^hə -i -ne sal -kə punu bhə
 -i -t
 bhandi tree -GEN NEG - become -ABS -COND sal tree -GEN also become-
 3SG -NPST

If Bhandi leaf is not available, saal leaves also work.

HtMW.SD.039

dui din pac^hu b^hatise dz^hor bohīt.
 dui din pac^hu b^hati -se dz^hor boh -i -t
 two day later fermented rice -ABL liquid flow -3SG -NPST

The liquid starts to flow after two days.

HtMW.SD.040

dz^hor bohone par mod sawad b^həit
 dz^hor boh -ne par mod sawad bhə -i -t
 liquid flow -COND COND.PART beer sweet become -3SG -NPST

rə ijə bela uṭ^haike pərit.
 rə ijə bela uṭ^h -a -ike pər -i -t
 and this time raise -CAUS -INF AUX -3SG -NPST

If liquid flows, the beer becomes sweet and this should be kept this time.

HtMW.SD.041

kūḍake d^hoikun bərsijə
 kūḍa -ke d^ho -ikun bərsi -jə
 water vessel -DAT wash -SEQ fire burned from smoke husk -LOC

suk^haike obane par b^hati
 suk^h -a -ike oba -ne par b^hati
 ECHO -CAUS -INF become dry -COND COND.PART fermented rice

uṭhaikun kūḍajə g^halike.
 uṭh -a -ikun kūḍa -jə g^hal -ike
 rise -CAUS -SEQ water vessel -LOC pour -INF

Having washed the pot (Kunda), it is kept dry near the fire (and) if it is hot it is lifted and kept in a water vessel.

HtMW.SD.042

əse uhəi sutalə patkə
 əse u -həi sut -a -lə pat -kə
 then that -EMPH spread -CAUS -PFV leaf -GEN

kūḍakə buckono banaikun
 kūḍa -kə buckono bən -a -ikun
 water vessel -GEN lid of leaves become -CAUS -SEQ

ṭ^həmmə b^həilarə kərikun kəsike.
 ṭ^həmmə b^həi -larə kər -ikun kəs -ike
 tightly become -PROS do -SEQ tighten -INF

Tighten the neck of the pot, having tightened it with same leaves used for spreading.

HtMW.SD.043

eske rak^hlə dzətka d^herei pac^hu
 eske rak^h -lə dzətka d^herei pac^hu
 in this way put -PFV that much several later

k^haikə suru kərlə otkai mod sawad b^həit.
 k^ha -ike suru kər -lə otkai mod sawad bhə -i -t
 eat -INF beginning do -PRF that much beer sweet become -3SG -NPST

The later you begin drinking, the tastier it becomes after it is kept like this.

HtMW.SD.044

tərə koḍajə g^hallə dui din pac^hu k^haikə suru
 tərə koḍa -jə g^hallə dui din pac^hu k^ha -ike suru
 but pot -LOC add two day later eat -INF beginning

kərtahĩ.

kər -ta-hĩ
do -NPST-1PL

But (beer) is started to be drunk after 2 days of keeping it in the pot.

(c) Interview

In.UN.001

paukə kətka bərsə b^həilə
pau -kə kətka bərsə b^həi -lə
you (HH) -GEN how much year become -PST
Q:How old are you ?

In.UN.002

sa^hi bərsə b^həilə.
sa^hi bərsə b^həi -lə
sixty year become -PST
A:(I) am sixty years old.

In.UN.003

hame dərəi kitise nam rəhələhai
hame dərəi kiti -se nam rəhə -lə -h -ai
we Darai what -ABL name COP.PST -PST -3 -INFR
Q: From what (how) were we named Darai ?

In.UN.004

e pəhila hamrə radza nəb^həi.
e pəhila hame -rə radza nə - b^hə -i
EXCL first we -GEN king NEG - become -3SG
A: Eh, First we did not have a king.

In.UN.005

t^harukə t^haru radza rəhəi guruŋ guruŋ mægər mægər
t^haru -kə t^haru radza rəhə -i guruŋ guruŋ mægər mægər
Tharu -GEN Tharu king COP.PST -3SG Gurung Gurung Magar Magar
A: Tharu had a Tharu king, Gurung had a Gurung king and Magar had a Magar king.

In.UN.006

dzatei b^hərikə radzjə
dzat -ei b^həri -kə radzjə
caste -EMPH full -GEN country
A: Each caste had a country.

In.UN.007

rəhəte k^hənijə hamrake lək^həŋte k^həni u.
rəhə -te k^həna -jə hame -ke lək^həŋ -te k^həna u
remain -SIM while -LOC we -[OBL] DAT drive away -SIM while
that

A: In such a case, they drove our king.

In.UN.008

pəhilese nei dərəi.

pəhile -se nei dərəi
 firstly -ABL PRT Darai

Q: We were Darais from the beginning.

In.UN.009

ote pəhaḍkə məhətəuke midzar

ote pəhaḍ -kə məhətəu -ke midzar
 there hill -GEN chief of village -DAT chief of village

kəhəte rəhəs.

kəhə -te rəhə -s
 say -HAB AUX.PST -2SG

A: The chief (Mukhiya) of the hill used to be called Mijar.

In.UN.010

dəməulijə ukrə naũ nei midzar

dəməuli -jə u -rə naũ nei midzar
 Damauli -LOC that -[OBL] GEN name PART chief of village

aṭikan ni.

aṭi -kan ni
 COP.NPST -3SG.HPART

A: In Damauli his name is Mijhar, isn't it so ?

In.UN.011

aguhin pəhaḍəjə pəhaḍke punu midz^har

agu -hin pəhaḍ -jə pəhaḍ -ke punu midzar
 front -EMPH hill -LOC hill -DAT also chief of village

kəhəlarə cələn rəhəi.

kəhə -laharə cələn rəhə -i
 say -PROS tradition AUX.PST -3SG

A: Then (long ago) in the hills, there was a tradition of calling the people living in the hills Mijhar.

In.UN.012

hame ete mohotəu cəutərə kəhələ dzəhin ote pəhaḍəjə

hame ete mohotəu cəutərə kəhə -lə dzəhin ote pəhaḍ -jə
 we here Mohotau Chautare say -PST like there hill -LOC

midz^har.

midzar
 chief of village

Q: As we call Mohotau, (and) Chautare, they call Mijhar (in the hills) that side.

In.UN.013

uwə tə u b^həinei.
 uwə tə u b^hə -inei
 that PART that become -MIR
 Q:He has to be like that !

In.UN.014

hame cāhi dze sunlə
 hame cāhi dze sun -lə
 we PART PART listen -PST
 Q:We heard (that).

In.UN.015

pidrənijǎ d^herei piḍarkə ruk^h rəhələhun
 pidrəni -jǎ d^herei piḍar -kə ruk^h rəhə -lə -hun
 Pidrahani -LOC several tree -GEN tree AUX.PST -PST -HS

uhəigunei pidrəni rəhələhun.
 uhəigunei pidrəni rəhə -lə -hun
 therefore Pidrahani COP.PST -PST -HS
 Q: Perhaps there were several trees of Pidar (trees) in Pidrahani. Therefore this place is called Pidrahani.

In.UN.016

həbək^hai.
 həbək^hai
 PROB
 A: It might be so.

In.UN.017

hame dərəi dzati cāhi kitise rəhələ hətahai.
 hame dərəi dzati cāhi kiti -se rəhə -lə hətahai
 we Darai caste PART what -ABL AUX.PST -PST possibly
 Q: How might have we Darai people been named Darai ?

In.UN.018

kəhəuti aḷəi ni
 kəhə -əuti aḷə -i ni
 say -NMLN COP.NPST -3SG PART
 Q:There is a saying, you know.

In.UN.019

d^herei ḍaralaharə gunei dərəi.
 d^herei ḍara -laharə gunei dərəi
 several get frightened -PROS reason Darai
 Q: (They) were much frightened and therefore (named) Darai.

b^həite k^həna hamrakehun lək^hətłə
 b^həi -te k^həna hame -ke -hun lək^hət -lə
 become -SIM while we -DAT -also drive away -PST
 A: In this way, as there were kings of each caste, we were driven away.

In.UN.026

hə tə.
 hə tə
 yes PART
 A: Yes.

In.UN.027

lə həi t^hər punu dz^hun kəhə hai.
 lə həi t^hər punu dz^hun kəhə hai
 PART PART caste also NEG.IMP say PART
 A: "You know, don't tell your caste, okay?"

In.UN.028

sodz^həi dərəikə dərəi kəhə hai kəhikun kəhələ.
 sodz^həi dərəi -kə dərəi kəhə hai kəhə -ikun kəhə -
 lə
 straight -EMPH Darai -GEN Darai say PART say -SEQ say -
 PST
 A: He told (them) to say straightforwardly that the Darais were called Darai.

In.UN.029

ic^hise b^hagikun dzəilə radzakə k^hələksəb.
 ic^hi -se b^hag -ikun dza -lə radza -kə k^hələk -səb
 here -ABL run away -SEQ go -PST king -GEN heir -PL
 A: Having run away from here, the offspring of the king went.

In.UN.030

hame cāhi ekta dukta c^hutłə cāhi
 hame cāhi ek -ta dui -ta c^hut -lə cāhi
 we PART one -CLF two -CLF leave behind -PFV PART
pəhadpətti dzəiləhun.
 pəhad - pətti dza -lə -hun
 hill - towards go -PST -HS
 A: We are probably one or two who were left behind went towards the hills.

In.UN.031

citəwənhī radza rəhəi.
 citəwən -hī radza rəhə -i
 Chitwan -LOC.EMPH king COP.PST -3SG
 Q: Was there also the king even in Chitwan ?

In.UN.032

hã citəwənhĩ radza rəhəi.
 hã citəwən -hĩ radza rəhə -i
 yes Chitwan -LOC.EMPH king COP.PST -3SG
 A: Yes, there was also a king even in Chitwan.

In.UN.033

kon tʰaũjã.
 kon tʰaũ -jã
 which place -LOC
 Q: In which place ?

In.UN.034

kʰəi ijə uwə tʰaũ tə nidzə pəttə.
 kʰəi ijə uwə tʰaũ tə nidzə pəttə
 PART this that place PART NEG knowledge
 A: I donot know whether this or that place.

In.UN.035

məkəi bʰuʈneĩ buɖʰo kəhəte rəhəi.
 məkəi bʰuʈne -ĩ buɖʰo kəhə -te rəhə -i
 maize Bhutne -ERG old man say -HAB AUX.PST -3SG
 A: Makai Bhutne Budho used to say the matters (things) (he had) spoken and heard.

In.UN.036

kəhətəhəsəb etese əilə.
 kəhə -tahə -səb ete -se a -lə
 say -NPST.PL -PL here -ABL come -PST
 Q: Do they say they came from this side ?

In.UN.037

nidzə.
 nidzə
 NEG
 A: No.

In.UN.038

pəhilehĩ dzəilə səmpəti cʰaɖikun.
 pəhile -hĩ dza -lə səmpəti cʰaɖ -ikun
 firstly -EMPH go -PST property leave -SEQ
 A:(They) went earlier having left all the properties.

In.UN.039

dzjan tə dzogaike pərnei ni.
 dzjan tə dzoga -ike pər -nei ni
 body PART save -INF become -OBLIG PART
 A: (One) had to save his life (lit. body), isn't it ?

In.UN.040

arkakə nokəri punu kərike pərnei.

arka -kə nokəri punu kər -ike pər -nei
 next -GEN service also do -INF AUX -OBLIG

A: (One) had to be loyal (lit. should do) to service of other people.

In.UN.041

kəi bərsə ic^hi radzje calalə.

kəi bərsə ic^hi radzje cəl -a -lə
 how much year here country move -CAUS -PST

Q: How long did he rule here ?

In.UN.042

k^hoi kəi bərsə calalə.

k^hoi kəi bərsə cəl -a -lə
 PART how much year move -CAUS -PST

A: (I don't know) how long he ruled.

In.UN.043

kəi bərsə etka otka tə nidzə t^haha.

kəi bərsə etka otka tə nidzə t^haha
 how much year this much that much PART NEG knowledge

A: I don't know this much or that much (lit. this much long or that much long).

In.UN.044

hamrə radzakə naũ kjahau rəhəi

hame -rə radza -kə naũ kjahau rəhə -i
 we -GEN king -GEN name something COP.PST -3SG

kəhit nihidzə kəhələ herəu babu.

kəhə -i -t nidzə kəhə -lə her -əu babu
 say -3SG -NPST NEG say -PST consult -OPT.1PL dear son

A: I do not know how our king was named, let's see my dear (son).

In.UN.045

tərə radzje rəhəihun.

tərə radzje rəhə -i -hun
 but country AUX.PST -3SG -HS

A: But people said there was a country.

In.UN.046

t^harukə t^haru radzje.

t^haru -kə t^haru radzje
 Tharu -GEN Tharu country

A: Tharu kingdom of Tharus.

In.UN.047

uhəihun sətje dzugəjə kətka

u -həi -hun sətje dzugə -jə kətka
 that -EMPH -also Satya time -LOC how much

kətka pəisa gaḍlə baṭikanhun.
 kətka pəisa gaḍ -lə baṭi -kan -hun
 how much money small pond -PFV AUX.NPST. -3SG.H -HS
 A: He had buried great amount of money (they say).

u radzakə c^hawak tə ekta
 u radza -kə c^hawa -k tə ek -ta
 that king -GEN son -3SG.POSS PART one -CLF

punu c^hawa nihidzəhun.
 punu c^hawa nidzə -hun
 also child NEG -HS
 A: He did not even have a child.

In.UN.048

niputri
 niputri
 childless
 A: childless.

In.UN.049

k^hali həruwa cəruwakə b^həreĩ
 k^hali həruwa cəruwa -kə b^hər -ĩ
 only worker cowboy -GEN belief -ERG

həruwaĩ cəruwakə səmpəti k^həine punu kətka
 həruwa -ĩ cəruwa -kə səmpəti k^ha -ne punu kətka
 worker -ERG cowboy -GEN property eat -COND also how much

ho kətka ho uk^hrə səmpəti.
 ho kətka ho u -rə səmpəti
 PART how much PART that -[OBL] GEN property
 A: (He lived) Only by the supports of his servants and like, even when the servants inherited (lit. ate) all his properties, he had much properties (lit. how much properties he had ?).

In.UN.050

radzakə səntansəb ic^hika kuc^hi hamrə citəwənjə
 radza -kə səntan -səb ic^hika kuc^hi hame -rə citəwən -jə
 king -GEN children -PL here where we -[OBL]GEN Chitwan -
 LOC

Q: Where are the king's children in Chitwan ?

In.UN.051

isəb tə radzakə səntan hək^hətsəb
 i -səb tə radza -kə səntan hək^hə -t -səb
 this -PL PART king -GEN children COP.NPST -H -PL

kəhikun kəhəlaharə aṭəsəb ki nihidzə.
 kəhə -ikun kəhə -laharə aṭə -səb ki nidzə
 say -SEQ say -PROS AUX.NPST -PL or NEG

Q: Do they say that these are the children of the king or not ?

In.UN.052

k^hoi u tə nihidzə pəttə.
k^hoi u tə nidzə pəttə
 PART that PART NEG knowledge
 A: Well, I don't know that.

In.UN.053

sərk^harēi pəkḍit kəhikun nai kəhəsəb.
sərk^har -ĩ pəkḍ -i -t kəhə -ikun nai kəhə -səb
 government -INST seize -3SG -NPST say -SEQ NEG say -PL
 A: Having thought (lit. said) that government would arrest (them), they do not say about this.

In.UN.054

keni t^həkuri tə t^həkuri nei hame hamrake
keni t^həkuri tə t^həkuri nei hame hame -ke
 PART Thakuri PART Thakuri PART we we-[OBL] -DAT
kəhələ aṭəi ke tə aṭətsəbhun.
kəhə -lə aṭə -i ke tə aṭə -t -səb -hun
 say -PST AUX.NPST -3SG what PART COP.NPST -NPST -PL -HS
 A: In fact we certainly are Thakuris, we are told so.

In.UN.055

əru t^hər hāḍikale bənpale t^hulicəure bəḍg^həre aṭəsəb.
əru t^hər hāḍikale bənpale t^hulicəure bəḍg^həre aṭə-səb
 other caste Handikale Banpale Thulichaire Badghare
 COP.NPST-PL
 A: Other castes (of Darais) are Handikale, Banpale, Thulichaire, (and) Badghare.

In.UN.056

hamrake tə pəhilehise ləmdzuṅe
hame -ke tə pəhile -hĩ -se ləmdzuṅ -e
 we -[OBL] DAT PART firstly -EMPH -ABL Lamjung -ADJZ
kəhələ kere.
kəhə -lə kere
 say -PST PART
 A: We were called Lamjunge from the beginning.

In.UN.057

koneĩ kəhələ i kura badze terake
kone -ĩ kəhə -lə i kura badze təi -ke
 who -ERG say -PST this thing grandfather you -[OBL] DAT
 Q: Grandfather, who told you these things ?

In.UN.058

pəhilehise tə hamrake ləmdzuṅe
pəhile -hi -se tə hame -ke ləmdzuṅ -e
 firstly -EMPH -ABL PART we -[OBL] DAT Lamjung -ADJZ

kəhəte rəhəi.
 kəhə -te rəhə -i
 say -HAB AUX.PST -3SG
 A: (They) used to call us Lamjunge since long ago.

In.UN.059

dzimdar leikun pe mohətu kəhətahatsəb tou.
 dzimdar le -ikun pe mohətu kəhə -ta -hat -səb tou
 landlord take -SEQ PART chief say -NPST -3PL -PL PART
 A: As he took Jimdar (they) call us Mohatau.

In.UN.060

i kura merake b^huṭne buḍ^hoi kəhələ həi.
 i kura məi -ke b^huṭne buḍ^ho -i kəhə -lə həi
 this thing I -[OBL] DAT Bhutne old man -ERG say -PRF PART
 A: This thing was informed (told) to me by Bhutne Budho.

In.UN.061

ləmdzuṣe cāhi pau kon pustajə əilə.
 ləmdzuṣ -se cāhi pau kon pusta -jə a -lə
 Lamjung -ABL PART you (HH) which generation -LOC come -PST
 Q: (In) which generation did you come down from Lamjung ?

In.UN.062

dzidzu badzekə palajə əilə.
 dzidzu badze -kə pala -jə a -lə
 great grandfather -GEN time -LOC come -PST
 A: (We) migrated (lit. come) in great grandfather's time.

In.UN.063

ek ɖoko saman leikun əilə.
 ek ɖoko saman le -ikun a -lə
 one basket thing take -SEQ come -PST
 A: (We) came down having taken a basketful of things.

In.UN.064

aikun sərəsər kuc^hi boslə.
 a -ikun sərəsər kuc^hi bos -lə
 CAUS -SEQ straightly where stop -PST
 Q: Having come here, where did you live (directly) ?

In.UN.065

mad^hapurəjə boslə.
 mad^hapurə -jə bos -lə
 Madhapura -LOC stop -PST
 A: (We) lived in Madhapura.

In.UN.066

pau uc^hin dzərmələ.

pau uc^hi -n dzərm -lə
 you (HH) there -EMPH sprout -PST
 Q: Were you born right there ?

In.UN.067

nihidzə buba dzərmələ.

nidzə buba dzərm -lə
 NEG father sprout -PST
 A: No, (my) father was born there.

In.UN.068

məi tə ic^hiin dzərmələ.

məi tə ic^hi -n dzərm -lə
 I PART here -EMPH born -PST
 A: I was born right here.

In.UN.069

əse kəi bərsə boslə mad^hapurəjə

əse kəi bərsə bos -lə mad^hapurə -jə
 then how much year stop -PST Madhapura -LOC
 Q: How long (many years) did you live in Madhapur ?

In.UN.070

k^hoi kəi bərsə boslə.

k^hoi kəi bərsə bos -lə
 PART how much year stop -PST
 A: (I'm not sure) how long I lived.

In.UN.071

əse pəc^hise dzəilə k^həndrəməli.

əse pəc^hi -se dza -lə k^həndrəməli
 then after -ABL go -PST Khandramali
 A: Later (I) went to khandramali.

In.UN.072

uc^hise hame piq^hrəni əilə.

uc^hi-se hame piq^hrəni a -lə
 there-ABL onwards we Pidrani come -PST
 A: We came to Pidrahani from there.

In.UN.073

səbse ag^hu citəwənəjə dərəisəb kuc^hika boslə.

səb -se ag^hu citəwən -jə dərəi -səb kuc^hi -ka bos -lə
 all -ABL early Chitwan -LOC Darai -PL where -near stop -PST
 Q: Which place did the Darais live very early in Chitwan ?

In.UN.074

səbse *agađi* *mad^hapur* *piṭ^huwajǎ* *bəsti* *bosləhun.*
 səb -se agađi mad^hapur piṭ^huwa -jǎ bəsti bos -lə -hun
 all -ABL early Madhapur Pithuwa -LOC settlement sit -PST -HS
 A: In the earliest time, the settlement was in Madhapur, Pithuwa (they say).

In.UN.075

piṭ^huwajǎ *kəceheri* *kərike* *bolate* *k^həna*
 piṭ^huwa -jǎ kəceheri kər -ike bola -te k^həna
 Pithuwa -LOC meeting do -INF call -SIM while

badza *badzaikunu* *bolate* *rəhəsəb.*
 badza badza -ikunu bola -te rəhə -səb
 musical instrument play -SEQ call -HAB AUX.PST -PL
 B: While calling to attend a meeting in Pithuwa they used to (call) people having played musical instruments.

In.UN.076

pəhile *citəwənkə* *dərəike* *bəndzare* *radzaĩ*
 pəhile citəwən -kə dərəi -ke bəndzare radza -ĩ
 firstly Chitwan -GEN Darai -DAT Banjara king -INST

lək^həṭlə.
 lək^həṭ -lə
 drive away -PST
 B: Did Banjara king drive away Darais from Chitwan ?

In.UN.077

əse *p^heri* *əlihaĩ.*
 əse p^heri a -lə -h -ai
 then again CAUS -PST -3 -INFR
 B: Again we came here.

In.UN.078

uc^hise *d^hereidzəso* *piṭ^huwajǎ* *boslə.*
 uc^hise d^hereidzəso piṭ^huwa -jǎ bos -lə
 now onwards mostly Pithuwa -LOC sit -PST
 B: Then most of (we) lived in Pithuwa.

In.UN.079

p^heri *pahađse* *ərusəb* *aikun* *kəcpəcejǎ* *boslə.*
 p^heri pahađ -se əru -səb a -ikun kəcpəce -jǎ bos -lə
 again hill -ABL other -PL come -SEQ Kachpache -LOC sit -PST
 B: Again having come from hills, others lived in Kachpache.

In.UN.080

dərəisəb *dzəmmei* *pəhađse* *əilə.*
 dərəi -səb dzəmmei pəhađ -se a -lə
 Darai -PL all hill -ABL come -PST
 B: Did all Darais come from the hills ?

In.UN.081

hame səb nihidzə məd^hesse ailə.
 hame səb nidzə məd^hes -se a -lə
 we all NEG terai -ABL come -PST
 B: We did not come from the plains.

In.UN.082

pausəb dəsəĩ mantahəsəb ki nihidzə.
 pau -səb dəsəĩ man -tahə -səb ki nidzə
 you (HH) -PL Dashain celebrate -NPST.PL -PL or NEG
 A: Do you observe Dashain or not ?

In.UN.083

cəite dəsəĩ aguhi bəḍkə dəsəĩ rəhəi.
 cəit -e dəsəĩ agu -hi bəḍkə dəsəĩ rəhə -i
 Chaitra -ADJZ Dashain front -EMPH big Dashain COP.PST -3SG
 B:Chaite Dashain was regarded as the main Dashain early.

In.UN.084

b^həisi rāgo katlarə cələn nihidzə kere.
 b^həisi rāgo ka ʈ -larə cələn nidzə kere
 buffalo he buffalo pass -PROS tradition NEG PART
 B:There was not a tradition of sacrificing buffaloes and he-buffaloes.

In.UN.085

k^hali sor hās ciṇni pərewa etka k^həilaharə.
 k^hali sor hās ciṇni pərewa etka k^ha -laharə
 only pig duck hen pigeon this much eat -PROS
 B: Pigs, ducks and chickens (were) to eat.

In.UN.086

sor k^həilarə tə abe səsto kere
 sor k^ha -larə tə abe səsto kere
 pig eat -PROS PART now cheap PART
d^harnikə suka mohor rəhəi.
 d^harni -kə suka mohor rəhə -i
 two and a half kilo -GEN twenty five paisa fifty paisa COP.PST -3SG
 B:It was (lit. is) cheap to eat pork (lit. pig), only fifty paisa or twenty paisa for one dharne (equal to 2.5kg).

In.UN.087

k^hali sor hās ciṇni pərewa etkai k^həilaharə.
 k^hali sor hās ciṇni pərewa etka -i k^ha -laharə
 only pig duck hen pigeon this much -EMPH eat -PROS
 B:We used to eat only pigs, ducks, pigeon, and all of this much to eat.

In.UN.088

sor k^həilaharə tə abe səsto kere.

sor k^ha -laharə tə abe səsto kere
 pig eat -PROS PART now cheap PART
 B:To eat pork (lit. pig) was cheap.

In.UN.089

d^harnikə suka mohor rəhəi.

d^harni -kə suka mohor rəhə -i
 two and a half kilo -GEN twenty five paisa fifty paisa COP.PST -3SG
 B:It cost only fifty paisa or twenty for one dharne.

In.UN.090

kərte kərte kərte mægərkə

kər -te kər -te kər -te mægər -kə
 do -SIM do -SIM do -SIM Magar -GEN

dzat kəhəne tə gahe hagaha.

dzat kəhə -ne tə ga -he hag -aha
 caste say -COND PART sing -FOC defecate -NMLZ
 B:As there was the turn of Magar, a Magar is a man who defecates much.

In.UN.091

dzonoksuk pawəni əine punu sorəkə

dzonoksuk pawəni a -ne punu sorə -kə
 whatever festival come -COND also sixteen -GEN

masu nab^həikun nihidzə b^həilaharəhun.

masu na - b^hə -ikun nidzə b^həi -laharə -hun
 meat NEG - become -SEQ NEG become -PST.COND -also
 B:Whatever festival had approached, (they) would have needed pork.

In.UN.092

masu k^hawai ərkə din kəhəlarəhun.

masu kha -ai ərkə din kəhə -larə -hun
 meat eat -NMLZ next day say -PROS -HS
 B:Eating the meat (he) is to say the next day...

In.UN.093

toi kətka hat həglə

toi kətka hat həg -lə
 you how much measurement unit (hand) pass faeces -PST

kəte k^həna məi dəs hat

kəhə -te k^həna məi dəs hat
 say -SIM while I ten measurement unit (hand)

həglə kəhəlarə.

həg -lə kəhə -larə
 pass faeces -PST say -PROS
 B:While being asked, "how long have defecated?", (the Magar said) he had defecated

(continuously) for five meters (lit. ten hands).

In.UN.094

ərkə din pəndrə hat həglaharə
ərkə din pəndrə hat həg -laharə
next day fifteen measurement unit (hand) pass faeces -PROS

kəhəlaharə.

kəhə -laharə
say -PROS

B: Next day he would say he defecated for seven and a half meter.

In.UN.095

osnə tə dzat usəb.
osnə tə dzat u -səb
like that PART caste that -PL

B: They belong to a caste like that.

In.UN.096

osnə cərkə g^haməjə rəksi mod cillo masu k^həite tə
osnə cərkə g^ham -jə rəksi mod cillo masu k^ha -te tə
like that hot sun -LOC wine beer oily meat eat -SIM PART

mori lələisəbhun.

mor -i lələi -səb -hun
die -ABS INSTAN -PL -HS

B: Owing to eating the oily meat and (drinking) wine in the hot season like that they died (they say).

In.UN.097

ek kan dui kan b^həitihin radzakə ləg^hi pugləhun.
ek kan dui kan b^həi -tihin radza -kə ləg^hi pug -lə -hun
one ear two ear become -PROG king -GEN near reach -PST -HS

B: As the message spread gradually (lit. spreading one ear, two ears and so on), it reached the king (they say).

In.UN.098

lə abe ijə dəsəhī
lə abe ijə dəsəhī
PART now this Dashain (festival)

nai manike hai kəhikun kəhələ.
nai man -ike hai kəhə -ikun kəhə -lə
NEG celebrate -INF PART say -SEQ say -PST

B: He said that they would not observe that festival (Dashain).

In.UN.099

pəhile tə hame uhi cəite dəsəike
pəhile tə hame u -hi cəit -e dəsəī -ke
firstly PART we that -EMPH Chaitra -ADJZ Dashain -DAT

tika lagate rəhəi ni.
 ʈika lag -a -te rəhə -i ni
 Tika make -CAUS -HAB AUX.PST -3SG PART
 B:Earlier we used to receive Tika in Chaitre Dashain.

In.UN.100

osnə cərkələ g^haməjə səsrali
 osnə cərk -lə g^ham -jə səsrali
 like that shine brightly -PFV sun -LOC wife's parent's home

mamauli tika lagaike dzəite
 mamauli ʈika lag -a -ike dza -te
 maternal uncle's home Tika feel -CAUS -INF go -SIM

ad^ha pəiḍahī morlaharəsəbhun.
 ad^ha pəiḍa -hī mor -laharə -səb -hun
 half road -LOC.EMPH die -PROS -PL -HS

B:While going to maternal uncle's home, and wife's parent's houses half way (to their destination) to receive Tika, while the sun was shining, they all died on the road (they say).

In.UN.101

cərkələ g^haməjə kodokə rəksi sorkə
 cərk -lə g^ham -jə kodo -kə rəksi sor -kə
 shine brightly -PFV sun -LOC millet -GEN wine pig -GEN

masu ke rə.
 masu ke rə
 meat what PART

B:The wine made from millet and pork in the hot sun.

In.UN.102

əse tə b^həʈ b^həʈ manus morlaharəsəbhun.
 əse tə b^həʈ b^həʈ manus mor -laharə -səb -hun
 then PART suddenly suddenly man die -PROS -PL -also

B:Then they died quickly one after another, (they said).

In.UN.103

pəhele tə məgərsəbeī ʈopərajə
 pəhele tə məgər -səb -ī ʈopəra -jə
 firstly PART Magar -PL -ERG leaves plate -LOC

masu k^həilaharəsəb.
 masu k^ha -laharə -səb
 meat eat -PROS -PL

B:Long ago Magars ate (lit. to eat) the meat in the leaf plates.

In.UN.104

hat^heī dz^hikte g^hig^hən lagit
 hat^h -ī dz^hik -te g^hig^hən lag -i -t
 hand -INST take out -HAB hatred make -3SG -NPST

kəhi cimṭaĩ dzʰikikun kʰailaharəsəb.

kəhə -i cimṭa -ĩ dzʰik -ikun kʰa -laharə -səb
say -ABS pincer -INST take out -SEQ eat -PROS -PL

B: Saying it is not good taking out the meat by hands, they ate meat having taken it with pincers.

In.UN.105

məgər kʰudra bəḍək bəḍkə bʰailarə.

məgər kʰudra bəḍkə bəḍkə bʰai -larə
Magar change big big become -PROS

B: The pieces of meat were larger.

In.UN.106

pəhile tə məgərəkə dzəbbəḍ radza ni.

pəhile tə məgər -kə dzəbbəḍ radza ni
firstly PART Magar -GEN big king PART

B: In the beginning, Magars had a great king, you know ?

In.UN.107

uhəi səbei kərte tə i dəsəĩ

u -həi səb -ei kər -te tə i dəsəĩ
that -EMPH all -EMPH do -HAB PART this Dashain

kuwārəkə sarlə.

kuwār -kə sar -lə
Kuwanr -GEN move -PST

B: This was shifted to Kuwar (Ashwin) due to them.

In.UN.108

gʰərtikə pəhilehise pani nihidzə

gʰərti -kə pəhile -hi -se pani nidzə
caste -GEN firstly -EMPH -ABL water NEG

cəlte rəhəi.

cəl -te rəhə -i
move -HAB AUX.PST -3SG

B: We did not use to drink water touched by Gharti (Water touched by Ghatri (ethnic group) is not culturally accepted).

In.UN.109

adzkal punu tə naicələi.

adzkal punu tə nai -cəl -i
these days also PART NEG -move -3SG

B: This is not even accepted today.

In.UN.110

hamrə dərəikə tʰər bʰəit ki nai
 hame -rə dərəi -kə tʰər bhə -i -t ki nai
 we -GEN Darai -GEN caste become -3SG -NPST or NEG
 A: Do we Darais have any caste or not ?

In.UN.111

kʰəi babu nihidzə tʰaha.
 kʰəi babu nidzə tʰaha
 PART dear son NEG knowledge
 Well my dear son, (I) do not know.

(d) Jackal and Hen**JaH.SLD.001**

eka desəjǎ ekta gaũ rəhəi.
 eka des -jǎ ek -ta gaũ rəhə -i
 one country -LOC one -CLF village COP.PST -3SG
 Once upon a time there was a village in a country.

JaH.SLD.002

bəsti boslə.
 bəsti bos -lə
 settlement stop -PST
 People settled there (lit. the settlements sat there).

JaH.SLD.003

uwə gaũ bəstike uʰaikunu arkə tʰaũ sərlə.
 uwə gaũ bəsti -ke uʰ -a -ikunu arkə tʰaũ sər -
 lə
 that village settlement -DAT raise -CAUS -SEQ next place move -
 PST
 The settlement was shifted and moved to the next place.

JaH.SLD.004

sərte kʰəni ukʰrə ucʰika gʰərəjǎ dzəmmei
 sər -te kʰəna u -rə ucʰika gʰər -jǎ dzəmmei
 move -SIM while it -[OBL] GEN there house -LOC all

ucʰin cʰađikunu arko tʰaũ dzəilə.
 ucʰi-n cʰađ -ikunu arko tʰaũ dza -lə
 there-EMPH leave -SEQ next place go -PST
 As they moved, they moved to the another place having left their house and all other things in the house.

JaH.SLD.005

g^hərei *c^hədlə*.
 g^hər -ei c^həd -lə
 house -EMPH. leave -PST
 (They also) left house.

JaH.SLD.006

g^hər *c^hədte* *k^həni* *uc^hika* *kei* *nə*
 g^hər c^həd -te k^həna uc^hika kei nə
 house leave -SIM while there something NEG

kei *ekta* *dukta* *malsəb* *p^heri*
 kei ek - ʔa dui - ʔa mal -səb p^heri
 something one -CLF two -CLF thing -PL again

c^huʔlə *palitrə* *c^huʔlə*.
 c^huʔ -lə palitrə c^huʔ -lə
 leave behind -PST domestic animals leave behind -PST
 As they left the house, some of thier belongings were left, their cattles were also left.

JaH.SLD.007

p^halp^hul *c^huʔlə*.
 p^halp^hul c^huʔ -lə
 fruits leave behind -PST
 The fruits were left.

JaH.SLD.008

c^hədikun *dzəilə*.
 c^həd -ikun dza -lə
 leave -SEQ go -PST
 Having left, (they) went.

JaH.SLD.009

uc^hika *ekta* *c^hawaili* *ciŋna*
 uc^hika ek - ʔa c^hawaili ciŋna
 there one -CLF young (chicken) chicken

c^huʔlə *rəlik^hai*.
 c^huʔ -lə rəhələ -k^h -ai
 leave behind -PFV AUX.PST -3SG -INFR
 A young chicken was also left there.

JaH.SLD.010

c^hawaili *ciŋna* *c^huʔte*
 c^hawaili ciŋna c^huʔ -te
 young (chicken) chicken leave behind -SIM

<i>k^hənijō</i>		<i>kuc^hise</i>		<i>kuc^hise</i>		<i>sjareĩ</i>	
k ^h əna	-jō	kuc ^h i	-se	kuc ^h i	-se	sjar	-ĩ
while	-LOC	where	-ABL	where	-ABL	jackal	-ERG

t^haha *paule*.

t ^h aha	pa	-lə
knowledge	find	-PST

As a young chicken was left behind, a jackal knew this from somewhere.

JaH.SLD.011

<i>kəc^hise</i>		<i>kəc^hise</i>		<i>sjareĩ</i>		<i>t^haha</i>
kəc ^h i	-se	kəc ^h i	-se	sjar	-ĩ	t ^h aha
where	-ABL	where	-ABL	jackal	-ERG	knowledge

<i>paute</i>		<i>k^hənijō</i>		<i>sjar</i>		<i>aikunu</i>		<i>ciṅni</i>	
pa	-te	k ^h əna	-jō	sjar	a	-ikunu	ciṅni	-se	
get	-SIM	while	-LOC	jackal	come	-SEQ	hen	-ABL	

mit *lagalə*.

mit	lag	-a	-lə
friend	make	-CAUS	-PST

As the jackal knew this from somewhere, the jackal came there and made the chicken religiously bonded friend.

JaH.SLD.012

<i>mit</i>		<i>lagate</i>		<i>k^həni</i>		<i>sjareĩ</i>
mit	lag	-a	-te	k ^h əna	sjar	-ĩ
friend	make	-CAUS	-SIM	while	jackal	-ERG

əse *puc^hi* *laləi*.

əse	puc ^h	-i	-laləi
then	ask	ABS	INSTAN

The jackal began to inquire instantly as he became the friend of chicken.

JaH.SLD.013

<i>uk^hrə</i>		<i>c^hawake</i>		<i>k^haike</i>		<i>kosis</i>		<i>kərlə</i> .
u	-rə	c ^h awa	-ke	k ^h a	-ike	kosis	kər	-lə
he	-[OBL]	GEN son	-ACC	eat	-INF	attempt	do	-PST

(He) made an attempt to eat its chickens (lit. children).

JaH.SLD.014

<i>uhĩ</i>		<i>puc^hte</i>		<i>k^həni</i>		<i>ciṅni</i>	
u	-hĩ	puc ^h	-te	k ^h əna	ciṅni	-ke	
that	-ERG	ask	-SIM	while	hen	-DAT	

<i>toi</i>	<i>kəc^hi</i>	<i>ḍ^huktəs</i>		<i>adzu</i>			
toi	kəc ^h i	ḍ ^h uk	-tə	-s	tə	-s	adzu
you	where	wait	-NPST	-2SG	NPST	-2SG	today

While enquiring he (the jackal) asked the chicken where he would wait in the night.

JaH.SLD.015

ciŋniĩ kəhələ dze ijə pʰəlna
 ciŋni -ĩ kəhə -lə dze ijə pʰəlna
 hen -ERG say -PST PART this this or that

kodʰorəjə məi dʰuktəm.
 kodʰorə -jə məi dʰuk -tə -m
 corner -LOC I wait -NPST -1SG
 The hen said, "I will wait in this corner."

JaH.SLD.016

purwəkə kodʰorəjə dʰukike
 purwə -kə kodʰorə -jə dʰuk -ike
 east -GEN corner -LOC wait -INF

cʰadikun pəscimkə kodʰorəjə
 cʰad -ikun pəscim -kə kodʰorə -jə
 leave -SEQ west -GEN corner -LOC

dʰukli ciŋni.
 dʰuk -li ciŋni
 wait -PST.F hen

Instead of having waited in the eastern corner the chicken waited in the western corner.

JaH.SLD.017

pəscimkə kodʰorəjə dʰukli əse rati sjar
 pəscim -kə kodʰorə -jə dʰuk -li əse rati sjar
 west -GEN corner -LOC wait -PST.F then night jackal

aikunu kʰodzi lələi.
 a -ikunu kʰodz -i -lələi
 come -SEQ search -ABS INSTAN

The hen waited in the western corner (and), the jackal having arrived there began to search.

JaH.SLD.018

sjarəĩ kʰodzte ijə kodʰor kʰodzte
 sjar -ĩ kʰodz -te ijə kodʰor kʰodz -te
 jackal -ERG search -SIM this corner search -SIM

uwə kodʰor kʰodzte tərə ciŋni dʰuklə
 uwə kodʰor kʰodz -te tərə ciŋni dʰuk -lə
 that corner search -SIM but hen wait -PFV

kodʰor cāhi nidzə dzəilə u kʰodzike.
 kodʰor cāhi nidzə dza -lə u kʰodz -ike
 corner PART NEG go -PST he search -INF

The jackal began to search this and that corner but he did not go to the corner where the chicken had been waiting.

JaH.SLD.019

osin kərte kərte behan b^həilə.
 osin kər -te kər -te behan b^həi -lə
 that way do -SIM do -SIM morning become -PST
 The morning approached as he continued doing this.

JaH.SLD.020

sjar g^həɾə dzəilə behaudo.
 sjar g^hər dza -lə behaudo
 jackal house go -PST daybreak
 The jackal went to the jungle (lit. home) at the daybreak.

JaH.SLD.021

ərkən din hǽ uhəi din
 ərkən din hǽ u -həi din
 another day yes that -EMPH day

aikun p^heri puc^hlə.
 a -ikun p^heri puc^h -lə
 CAUS -SEQ again ask -PST
 Having coming the another day (no, the same day) he asked (the hen).

JaH.SLD.022

adzu tə nidzə b^hetlə məi terake kuc^hi
 adzu tə nidzə b^het -lə məi təi -ke kuc^hi
 today PART NEG meet -PST I you -[OBL]DAT where

ɖ^huklə rəhəi kəhikun kəhələ.
 ɖ^huk -lə rəhə -i kəhə -ikun kəhə -lə
 wait -PFV AUX.PST -3SG say -SEQ say -PST
 The jackal said he had not met him that night and asked where he had waited.

JaH.SLD.023

tə ciŋni kəhələ dze məi purwəkə
 tə ciŋni kəhə -lə dze məi purwə -kə
 PART hen say -PST PART I east -GEN

kod^horəjǽ d^huklə rəhəm.
 kod^horə -jǽ d^huk -lə rəhə -m
 corner -LOC wait -PFV AUX.PST -1SG
 The chicken said, "I had waited in the eastern corner."

JaH.SLD.024

toi tə nidzə əilə k^hodzike ic^hi
 toi tə nidzə a -lə k^hodz -ike ic^hi
 you PART NEG CAUS -PST search -INF here
 You did not come to search here.

JaH.SLD.025

oskəne adzu kəc^hi d^huktəs
 oskəne adzu kəc^hi d^huk -tə -s
 in that case today that much wait -NPST -2SG

tə təu kəhələ.

tə təu kəhə -lə
 PART PART say -PST
 He said, "Where would you wait tonight ?"

JaH.SLD.026

adzu pəscimkə kod^horəjə d^huktəm kəhələ.
 adzu pəscim -kə kod^horə -jə d^huk -tə -m kəhə -lə
 today west -GEN corner -LOC wait -NPST -1SG say -PST
 He said, "I would wait in the western corner".

JaH.SLD.027

pəscimkə kod^horəjə d^huktəm kəhələ
 pəscim -kə kod^horə -jə d^huk -tə -m kəhə -lə
 west -GEN corner -LOC wait -NPST -1SG say -PST

ak^hirəjə uttər pəṭṭikə kod^horəjə d^hukli.
 ak^hir -jə uttər pəṭṭi -kə kod^horə -jə d^huk -li
 lastly -LOC north towards -GEN corner -LOC wait -PST.F
 He said I will wait in the western corner but in the end he waited in the northern corner.

JaH.SLD.028

ak^hir p^heri rati əiles
 ak^hir p^heri rati a -les
 lastly again night come -FRUS
 Again the night fell.

JaH.SLD.029

sjar purwəkə kod^hor pəsc^himkə kod^hor kərikun
 sjar purwə -kə kod^hor pəsc^him -kə kod^hor kər -ikun
 jackal east -GEN corner west -GEN corner do -SEQ

ohordohor kəṛte kəṛte
 ohordohor kər -te kər -te
 coming and going do -SIM do -SIM

uwə behan b^həilə.

uwə behan b^həi -lə
 that morningbecome -PST
 The jackal, having searched in the eastern corner and western corner, moved here and there, the morning fell.

JaH.SLD.030

behənə b^həilə k^həni uwə uttərkə
 behənə b^həi -lə k^həna uwə uttər -kə
 morning become -PST while that north -GEN

kod^hor k^hodzike nidzə dzəilə u.

kod^hor k^hodz -ike nidzə dza -lə u
corner search -INF NEG go -PST he

As the morning came, the jackal did not go to search in the northern corner.

JaH.SLD.031

nidzə dzəilə osin kərikun behanə b^həilə.

nidzə dza -lə osin kər -ikun behanə b^həi -lə
NEG go -PST that way do -SEQ morning become -PST

He did not go. Having done like this the morning came.

JaH.SLD.032

tə behanə b^həite p^heri u

tə behanə b^həi -te p^heri u
PART morning become -SIM again he

bon dzəilə.

bon dza -lə
jungle go -PST

He went to the jungle when there was the daybreak.

JaH.SLD.033

p^heri dinəjǎ aikunu puc^hlə toi

p^heri din -jǎ a -ikunu puc^h -lə toi
again day -LOC come -SEQ ask -PST you

kuc^hi sutli adzu nidzə

kuc^hi sut -li adzu nidzə
where sleep -PST.F today NEG

b^hetlə məi tə kəhikun kəhələ.

b^het -lə məi tə kəhə -ikun kəhə -lə
meet -PST I PART say -SEQ say -PST

Again next day, having come there he asked, "Where did you sleep today ? I did not meet you."

JaH.SLD.034

məi uttərkə kod^horəjǎ ɖ^huklə

məi uttər -kə kod^horə -jǎ ɖ^huk -lə
I north -GEN corner -LOC wait -PFV

rəhəm toi tə nidzə əilə

rəhə -m toi tə nidzə a -lə
AUX.PST -1SG you PART NEG CAUS -PST

k^hodzike kəhikun kəhələ.

k^hodz -ike kəhə -ikun kəhə -lə
search -INF say -SEQ say -PST

He said that he had slept in the northern corner and replied that he had not come to search him.

JaH.SLD.035

kəsna toi
 kəsna toi
 how you
 Oh, how you are.

JaH.SLD.036

nidzə t^haha nidzə
 nidzə t^haha nidzə
 NEG knowledge NEG

dek^hte rəlisai kəhələ
 dek^h -te rəhələ -s -ai kəhə -lə
 see -HAB AUX.PST -2SG -INFR say -PST
 The hen said to the jackal 'I did not know (I infer).'

JaH.SLD.037

əse p^heri u aikunu ciḡni rati
 əse p^heri u a -ikunu ciḡni rati
 then again he come -SEQ hen night

sādz^hə p^heri simikə dz^haləjǽ d^hukli.
 sādz^hə p^heri simi -kə dz^hal -jǽ d^huk -li
 evening again bean -GEN creeper -LOC wait -PST.F
 Then in the night, having come there the hen waited in the bean creeper.

JaH.SLD.038

simikə dz^haləjǽ d^hukte
 simi -kə dz^hal -jǽ d^huk -te
 bean -GEN creeper -LOC wait -SIM

k^həni sjar əilə rati.
 k^həna sjar a -lə rati
 while jackal come -PST night
 While hiding in the beam creeper, the jackal came in the night.

JaH.SLD.039

g^hərik uttər kod^horə g^həri
 g^hərik uttər kod^horə g^həri
 sometimes north corner sometimes

pəsc^him kod^horə g^həri purwəkə
 pəsc^him kod^horə g^həri purwə -kə
 west corner sometimes east -GEN

kod^horo kərikunu rat b^həri k^hodzte
 kod^horo kər -ikunu rat b^həri k^hodz -te
 corner do -SEQ night full search -SIM

k^hodzte p^heri behanə b^həilə.

k^hodz -te p^heri behanə b^həi -lə
search -SIM again morning become -PST

Having searched in the northern and western corner, and eastern corner, the jackal searched during the night, and then the morning came again.

JaH.SLD.040

behanə b^həilə p^heri bon dzəilə.

behanə b^həi -lə p^heri bon dza -lə
morning become -PST again jungle go -PST

He went to the jungle as there was the daybreak.

JaH.SLD.041

bon dzəilə sjar.

bon dza -lə sjar
jungle go -PST jackal

The jackal went to the forest.

JaH.SLD.042

bon dzəite k^hənijǎ behanə b^həilə.

bon dza -te k^həna -jǎ behanə b^həi -lə
jungle go -SIM while -LOC morning become -PST

The morning fell while (he was) going to the jungle.

JaH.SLD.043

ciṅni p^heri niskələ cərike.

ciṅni p^heri nisk -lə cər -ike
hen again appear -PST graze -INF

The chickens again came out to graze (roam).

JaH.SLD.044

p^heri əilə sjar.

p^heri a -lə sjar
again come -PST jackal

The jackal came again.

JaH.SLD.045

sjar əite k^həni p^heri kəc^hi ɖ^huklə

sjar a -te k^həna p^heri kəc^hi ɖ^huk -lə
jackal CAUS -SIM while again where wait -PFV

rəhəs kəhəter simikə dz^heləjǎ

rəhə -s kəh -te -r simi -kə dz^hel -jǎ
AUX.PST -2SG say -SIM -2SG bean -GEN creeper -LOC

ɖ^hukli rəhəm.

ɖ^huk -l-i rəhə -m
wait -PST-F AUX.PST -1SG

As the jackal came and said, 'Have you waited?' (and) he said, 'I was in the bean creeper.'

JaH.SLD.046

kəsnə tou toi osnə nidzə dek^hte tou
 kəsnə tou toi osnə nidzə dek^h -te tou
 how PART you like that NEG see -SIM PART

osnə p^heri kəhələ.

osnə p^heri kəh -lə
 like that again say -PST

Oh, I did not see you there (although) you said you would stay there.

JaH.SLD.047

p^heri əilə sjar.

p^heri a -lə sjar
 again come -PST jackal

The jackal came again.

JaH.SLD.048

əse p^heri aikun u din cahĩ g^hər b^hitrəhĩ

əse p^heri a -ikun u din cahĩ g^hər b^hitrə -hĩ
 then again CAUS -SEQ that day PART. house in -LOC.EMPH

ekṭa tumba rəhəi loukakə

ek - ṭa tumba rəhə -i louka -kə
 one -CLF pot COP.PST -3SG gourd -GEN

tumba

tumba

pot

As the jackal came there, there was also a pot of the gourd (where the chickens hid).

JaH.SLD.049

tumbajəḏ d^hukli ciṅni.

tumba -jəḏ d^huk -li ciṅni
 pot -LOC wait -PST.F hen

The hen waited in the gourd pot.

JaH.SLD.050

əse sjar aikunu simikə dz^hel

əse sjar a -ikunu simi -kə dz^hel
 then jackal CAUS -SEQ bean -GEN creeper

g^həri uttər koḏ^hori g^həri purwə koḏ^hori g^həri

g^həri uttər koḏ^hori g^həri purwə koḏ^hori g^həri
 sometimes north corner sometimes east corner sometimes

purwə kod^hori g^həri pəscim kod^hori kərikun

purwə kod^hori g^həri pəscim kod^hori kər -ikun
 east corner sometimes west corner do -SEQ

k^hodzi rəte.

k^hodz -i rəhə -te
search -ABS remain -SIM

Then, having come there, the jackal sometimes searched the eastern corner, northern corner, and western corner.

JaH.SLD.051

uhəi bək^hətəjə cɪŋnikə c^hawaik
u -həi bək^hətə -jə cɪŋni -kə c^hawa -k
that -EMPH time -LOC hen -GEN son -3SG

kok^hrəu hagas laglə
kok^hrəu hag -as lag -lə
any defecate -DESID make -PST

kok^hrəu mutas laglə.
kok^hrəu mut -as lag -lə
any urinate -DESID make -PST

At the same time, a young chicken said he felt like farting and another said he felt like defecating.

JaH.SLD.052

ekṭahī kəhəte abei
ek -ṭa -hī kəhə -te abe
one -CLF -ERG say -SIM mother

merə hagas.
məi -rə hag -as
I -[OBL] GEN defecate -DESID
One said, mother I want to defecate.

JaH.SLD.053

arkohī kəhəte abei merə padas.
arko -hī kəhə -te abe məi -rə pad -as
another -ERG say -SIM mother I -[OBL] GEN fart -DESID
Another said, mother I want to fart.

JaH.SLD.054

arkohī kəhəte abei merə mutas.
arko -hī kəhə -te abe məi -rə mut -as
another -ERG say -SIM mother I -[OBL] GEN urinate -DESID
Another said, mother I want to urinate.

JaH.SLD.055

amahī kəhələ dze bistari kəhə.
ama -hī kəhə -lə dze bistari kəhə
mother -ERG say -PST PART softly say
Mother said, "Speak softly (in a low voice).

JaH.SLD.056

sjar əilə aʔəi.
 sjar a -lə aʔə -i
 jackal come -PFV AUX.NPST -3SG
 The jackal has come.

JaH.SLD.057

bubahir k^həibir.
 buba -r k^ha -bi -r
 father -2.POSS eat -POS -2SG
 He will eat you (lit. your father will eat you).

JaH.SLD.058

bistarei bora kəhikun kəhələ.
 bistarei bora kəhə -ikun kəh -lə
 slowly speak say -SEQ say -PST
 (She) told them to speak softly.

JaH.SLD.059

arkohĩ kəhəte abei merə
 arko -hĩ kəhə -te abe məi -rə
 another -ERG say -SIM mother I -[OBL] GEN

padas p^heri abei merə
 pad -as p^heri abe məi -rə
 fart -DESID again mother I -[OBL] GEN

hagas arkohĩ
 hag -as arko -hĩ
 defecate -DESID another -ERG

kəte abəi merə mutas.
 kəhə -te abəi məi -rə mut -as
 say -SIM mother I -[OBL] GEN urinate -DESID

The next said, 'mother, I want to fart', again said, 'I want to defecate', and another said, 'mother I want to urinate'.

JaH.SLD.060

tə ekʔahĩ
 tə ek -ʔa -hĩ
 PART one -CLF -ERG

amahĩ kəhələ bistarei paduk
 ama -hĩ kəhə -lə bistarei pad -uk
 mother -ERG say -PST slowly fart -IMP.

kəhəte k^həni tə dərdərei padi
 kəhə -te k^həna tə dərdərei pad -i
 say -SIM while PART ONO fart -ABS

dələ beske.

de -lə beske
give -PST very much

And, (the mother) said to one to fart slowly, but he farted much loudly.

JaH.SLD.061

dərdərei padte k^həni tə tumba p^heri
dərdərei pad -te k^həna tə tumba p^heri
ONO. fart -SIM while PART pot again

dəŋraŋgei p^huʈlə.

dəŋraŋgei p^huʈ -lə
ONO. break -PST

The pot broke all of a sudden as he farted.

JaH.SLD.062

əse tə sjar dərəi b^hagte
əse tə sjar dər -ei b^hag -te
then PART jackal fear -EMPrun away -SIM

k^həni muḍek bədzralə ki
k^həna muḍ -k bədzra -lə ki
while head -3SG.POSS hit -PST QPART

k^hab^hoǰə muḍ^hek bədzraikunu pəkləkkei
k^hab^ho -ǰə muḍ^h -k bədzra -ikunu pəkləkkei
pillar -LOC head -3SG hit -SEQ ONO.

muḍ^hek p^huʈlə.

muḍ^h -k p^huʈ -lə
head -3SG break -PST

As the jackal, while running away because of fear, hitting against the wooden pillar its head broke all of a sudden.

JaH.SLD.063

sjar morlə.

sjar mor -lə
jackal die -PST

The jackal died.

(e) Past to Present

PtP.CND.001

nanijǽ t^haha nidzǽ.

nani -jǽ t^haha nidzǽ

young -LOC knowledge NEG

I did not know when I was small.

PtP.CND.002

badzebodzekǽ kǽske b^hǽilǽ kǽske nidzǽ.

badzebodze -kǽ kǽske b^hǽi -lǽ kǽske nidzǽ

grandparents -GEN how become -PST how NEG

How my grandparents became so and like

PtP.CND.003

mǽi nidzǽ t^haha.

mǽi nidzǽ t^haha

I NEG knowledge

I did not know.

PtP.CND.004

nanihĩ rǽhǽm

nani -hĩ rǽhǽ -m

young -1PL COP.PST -1SG

I was small.

PtP.CND.005

abe kǽse kǽhi deike merǽ

abe kǽse kǽhǽ -i de -ike mǽi -rǽ

now how say -ABS give -INF I -[OBL] GEN

sunlǽ kura

sun -lǽ kura

listen -PFV thing

How to say the things I heard?

PtP.CND.006

mǽi p^heri badzebodzeke tǽ dek^hlǽ

mǽi p^heri badzebodze -ke tǽ dek^h -lǽ

I again grandparents -ACC PART see -PST

tǽrǽ merǽ nidzǽ t^haha.

tǽrǽ mǽi -rǽ nidzǽ t^haha

but I -[OBL] GEN NEG knowledge

I saw my grandparents but I did not know (them).

PtP.CND.007

hame nanijǽ t^huhura b^hǽilǽ.

hame nani -jǽ t^huhura b^hǽi -lǽ

we young -LOC orphan become -PST

We became orphan when we were small.

PtP.CND.008

hame k^has kərikun tənəhüse dz^hərlə
hame k^has kər -ikun tənəhũ -se dz^hər -lə
we especially do -SEQ Tanahu -ABL fall down -PFV

rəlihai.

rəhə -lə -h -ai
AUX.PST -PST -3SG -INFR
We came down from Tahanun in particular.

PtP.CND.009

hamrə badze adzibadze
hame -rə badze adzibadze
we -GEN grandfather great grandfather
tənəhüse aikunu g^hempap^horəjə
tənəhũ -se a -ikunu g^hempap^horə -jə
Tanahu -ABL CAUS -SEQ Ghempaphor -LOC

boslə rəhələhai.

bos -lə rəhə -lə -h -ai
sit -PST AUX.PST -PST -3SG -INFR
Our grandfather and great grandfather settled down in Ghempaphor having come down from Tanahun.

PtP.CND.010

g^hempap^hor dəgrəuli uc^hise
g^hempap^hor dəgrəuli uc^hise
Ghempaphor Dagrauli now onwards
kəhi pərnei ete udzəlinəgərkə
kəhə -i pər-nei ete udzəlinəgər -kə
say -ABS AUX-OBLIG here Ujelinagar -GEN

ləg^hi əilə aʔəi.

ləg^hi a -lə aʔə -i
near come -PST COP.NPST -3SG
We have come to Gemphaphor, Dagrauli, then from there to Ujelinagar.

PtP.CND.011

ekei coʔi dzəilə məd^həbəni.
ek -ei coʔi dza -lə məd^həbəni
one -EMPH times go -PST Madhabani
At once (we) went to Madhubani.

PtP.CND.012

hamrə badze bodzekə
hame -rə badze bədz -kə
we -GEN grandfather play -GEN

p^heri bid^huwa biha kərlə rəlilai.
 p^heri bid^huwa biha kər -lə rəhə -lə -h -ai
 again widow wedding do -PFV AUX.PST -PST -3SG -INFR
 Our grandfather married a widow.

PtP.CND.013

kənja biha nidzə kərlə.
 kənja biha nidzə kər -lə
 unmarried girl wedding NEG do -PST
 He did not marry a girl.

PtP.CND.014

otehinkə bodzekə ag^hullə
 ote -hin -kə bədz -kə ag^hullə
 there -EMPH -GEN play -GEN former

g^hərpəttikə c^hahik
 g^hər - pətti -kə c^hahi -k
 house - towards -GEN daughter -3SG.POSS

anikunu dzəiməngəla məhətəu
 an -ikunu dzəiməngəla məhətəu
 bring -SEQ Jayamangala chief of village

g^hərəjə lagalə.
 g^hər -jə lag -a -lə
 house -LOC make -CAUS -PST
 Having taken (married) the child belonging to the former house owner, I was employed at the house of the man at Jayamangala.

PtP.CND.015

dzəiməngəla məhətəu g^hərəjə lagate
 dzəiməngəla məhətəu g^hər -jə lag -a -te
 Jayamangala chief of village house -LOC make -come -SIM

k^həna hamrə kəhi pərnei
 k^həna hame -rə kəhə -i pər -nei
 while we -GEN say -ABS AUX -OBLIG

kuṭumbə b^həilə.
 kuṭumbə b^həi -lə
 kith become -PST
 As I was with the chief in Jayamangala we became kiths.

PtP.CND.016

kuṭumbə b^həite k^həna hamrə
 kuṭumbə b^həi -te k^həna hame -rə
 kith become -SIM while we -GEN

bubakə dzənmə məd^həwəniǰə b^həilə.
 buba -kə dzənmə məd^həwəni -ǰə b^həi -lə
 father -GEN birth Madhawani -LOC become -PST
 As we became kiths, my father was born in Madhawani.

PtP.CND.017

ic^hin cəud^hərikə gai
 ic^hi -n cəud^həri -kə gai
 here -EMPH Chaudhary -GEN cow

caralə hamrə badzeĩ
 cər -a -lə hame -rə badze -ĩ
 graze -CAUS -PST we -GEN grandfather -ERG
 Our grandfather grazed the Chaudhari's cows right here.

PtP.CND.018

mad^həwəni se aikunu
 mad^həwəni -se a -ikunu
 Madhawani -ABL CAUS -SEQ

boslə kəc^hi d^huruwa.
 bos -lə kəc^hi d^huruwa
 sit -PST where Dhuruwa
 Having come to Madhiwani, we came (and) lived in Dhuruwa.

PtP.CND.019

d^huruwajǰə p^heri gai caralə.
 d^huruwa -ǰə p^heri gai cər -a -lə
 Dhuruwa -LOC again cow graze -CAUS -PST
 (We) again grazed cows in Dhuruwa.

PtP.CND.020

p^heri uc^hise aikunu
 p^heri uc^hise a -ikunu
 again now onwards CAUS -SEQ

belhəttə uc^hi p^heri gai caralə.
 belhəttə uc^hi p^heri gai cər -a -lə
 Belhatta there again cow graze -come -PST
 Then, having come Belha, then he again grazed cows.

PtP.CND.021

belhəttə se dzaikunu pərwanpur gauǰə
 belhəttə -se dza -ikunu pərwanpur gau -ǰə
 Belhatta -ABL go -SEQ Parwanpur village -LOC

k^heti kəri laləi.

k^heti kər -i laləi
farming do -ABS INSTAN

Having gone from Belhatta to Parwanpur village, he started farming instantly.

PtP.CND.022

pərwanpur gaũjã k^heti kərte k^həna uc^hi
pərwanpur gaũ -jã k^heti kər -te k^həna uc^hi
Parwanpur village -LOC farming do -SIM while there

kəc^hi pərnei dze.
kəc^hi pər -nei dze
where AUX -OBLIG PART

While we were farming in Parwanpur village, (something) happened.

PtP.CND.023

k^heti kərte kərte d^herei
k^heti kər -te kər -te d^herei
farming do -SIM do -SIM several

həidza laglarə.
həidza lag -larə
cholera feel -PROS

While farming, the cholera spread (lit. to spread).

PtP.CND.024

uc^hise dzəgətpur dzəilə
uc^hi -se dzəgətpur dza -lə
there -ABL Jagatpur go -PFV

rəlahai hamrə badze.
rəhə -lə -h -ai hame -rə badze
AUX.PST -PST -3 -INFR we -GEN grandfather

Then our grandfather went to Jagatpur (as I infer).

PtP.CND.025

dzəgətpur dzəite k^həna hamrə
dzəgətpur dza -te k^həna hame -rə
Jagatpur go -SIM while we -GEN

badzekə nam c^həndu dərəi.
badze -kə nam c^həndu dərəi
grandfather -GEN name Chandu Darai

As he went to Jagatpur, our grandfather's name was Chandu Darai.

PtP.CND.026

dzəbədə t^hulo rəhəi.
dzəbbəð t^hulo rəhə -i
big big COP.PST -3SG

He was very big.

PtP.CND.027

<i>bərəbəri</i>	<i>bərəbəri</i>	<i>kəte</i>	
bərəbəri	bərəbəri	kəhə	-te
Barabari	equal	say	-HAB
<i>rəhikan</i>	<i>ek^hni</i>	<i>bərəbəri</i>	<i>nəi</i>
rəhə	-kan	ek ^h ni	bərəbəri
COP.PST	-3.PL	now	Barabari
			PART

naū cəllə aḫəi.
 naū cəl -lə aḫə -i
 name move -PFV AUX.NPST -3SG
 Since he always says 'equal' all the time, his name was Barabari.

PtP.CND.028

<i>pac^hese</i>	<i>kəsərali</i>	<i>kəsərali</i>	
pac ^h e	-se	kəsərali	kəsərali
later	-ABL	Kasarali	Kasarali
<i>kəhətəhat</i>		<i>kəsərajə</i>	
kəh	-ta	-hat	kəsəra
say	-NPST	-3PL	Kasara
			-jə
			-LOC

boste k^həna.
 bos -te k^həna
 sit -SIM while
 Later on he was named Kasarali while staying in Kasara.

PtP.CND.029

<i>uc^hise</i>	<i>dzəgətpurəjə</i>	<i>hamrə</i>	
uc ^h i	-se	dzəgətpur	-jə
there	-ABL	Jagatpur	-LOC
			we
			-rə
			-GEN
<i>cəud^hə</i>	<i>big^ha</i>	<i>dzəga</i>	<i>badzekə</i>
cəud ^h ə	big ^h a	dzəga	badze
fourteen	bigha	land	grandfather
			-kə
			-GEN
<i>unnaissaje</i>	<i>unansəttəri</i>	<i>saləjə</i>	<i>salkə</i>
unnaissaje	unansəttəri	sal	-jə
ninety	nine	sixty	nine
		year	-LOC
		year	-GEN

ləmməri rəlahai.
 ləmməri rəhə -lə -h -ai
 registered AUX.PST -PST -3 -INFR
 Later on in 1979, our grandfather got fourteen bighas of registered (Lambari) land.

PtP.CND.030

<i>u</i>	<i>dzagakə</i>	<i>p^heri</i>	<i>merə</i>	<i>nidzə</i>	<i>t^haha.</i>
u	dzaga	-kə	p ^h eri	məi	-rə
that	land	-GEN	again	I	-[OBL]
				GEN	NEG
					knowledge

I do not know that land either.

PtP.CND.031

pac^hese mətɾəi sunte.
pac^he -se mətɾəi sun -te
later -ABL only listen -SIM
(I) heard (lit. to hear) about (it).

PtP.CND.032

uc^hise osin kərte kərte
uc^hise osin kər -te kər -te
now onwards that way (CORR) do -SIM do -SIM

dui tin bərsə k^heti kərlə bubai nanui.
dui tin bərsə k^heti kər -lə buba nanu -i
two three year farming do -PST father uncle -ERG
Doing like that, father and uncle cultivated the land for two or three years.

PtP.CND.033

uc^hise k^heti tuɬləhun.
uc^hise k^heti tuɬ -lə -hun
now onwards farming stop -PST -HS
Then the farming stopped (they say).

PtP.CND.034

koi arkakə g^hərəjǎ kadzalarə
koi arka -kə g^hər -jǎ kadza -larə
some next -GEN house -LOC work for others -PROS

koi gai caralarə ke kərlarə.
koi gai cara -larə ke kər -larə
some cow hole -PROS what do -PROS
Some people doing work in other's home, some grazing the land, some doing some work.

PtP.CND.035

osin kərte kərte
osin kər -te kər -te
that way do -SIM do -SIM

buba dui hədzdzar eg^harə saləjǎ bitlə.
buba dui hədzdzar eg^harə sal -jǎ bit -lə
father two thousand eleven year -LOC die -PST
Doing like that, father died in two thousand eleven VS.

PtP.CND.036

ama bitli dui hədzar terə saləjǎ.
ama bit -li dui hədzar terə sal -jǎ
mother die -PST.F two thousand thirteen year -LOC
Mother died in 2013.

PtP.CND.037

tə uc^hise məŋgəlpurəjə k^heti kərlə.
 tə uc^hise məŋgəlpur -jə k^heti kər -lə
 PART now onwards Mangalpur -LOC farming do -PST
 Then (we) farmed in Mangalpur.

PtP.CND.038

ihəi tə abe t^haha.
 i -həi tə abe t^haha
 this -EMPH PART now knowledge
 This is in particular now (I) know.

PtP.CND.039

uc^hise tə cəltə cəlte
 uc^hise tə cəl -tə cəl -te
 now onwards PART move -NPST move -SIM

t^hahəi t^haha aʔəi.
 t^haha t^haha aʔə -i
 knowledge knowledge COP.NPST -3SG
 After that, I know all the things.

PtP.CND.040

merə abe nanihī biha b^həilə.
 məi -rə abe nani -hī biha b^həi -lə
 I -[OBL] GEN now young -LOC wedding become -PST
 I married when I was very small.

PtP.CND.041

nanihī biha b^həite
 nani -hī biha b^həi -te
 young -EMPH wedding become -SIM

k^həna məi dui hədzar sətrə saləjə
 k^həna məi dui hədzar sətrə sal -jə
 while I two thousand seventeen year -LOC

anlə b^haudzeherke.

an -lə b^haudzehe -r -ke
 bring -PST sister -2SG -ACC

As my marriage took place in 2017, I brought (lit. married) your sister in law (elder brother's wife) again.

PtP.CND.042

dui hədzar sətrə saləjə ante k^həna
 dui hədzar sətrə sal -jə an -te k^həna
 two thousand seventeen year -LOC bring -SIM while

dui hədzar əʔ^harə
 dui hədzar əʔ^harə
 two thousand eighteen

PtP.CND.048

ote dzaike nidzə səklə.
 ote dza -ike nidzə sək -lə
 there go -INF NEG finish -PST
 (I) could not go there.

PtP.CND.049

uc^hise c^həttis saləjə nagərikta
 uc^hi -se c^həttis sal -jə nagərikta
 there -ABL thirty six year -LOC citizenship

banaikunu məi sukumbasi
 bən -a -ikunu məi sukumbasi
 become -CAUS -SEQ I landless

u^hikunu səitis saləjə məi
 u^h -ikunu səitis sal -jə məi
 raise -SEQ thirty seven year -LOC I

pərsa dzilla əilə.

pərsa dzilla a -lə
 Parsa district CAUS -PST

Having made the citizenship card, having becoming a landless person, I came to Parsa in 2037 VS.

PtP.CND.050

pərsa dzillajə duhəi b^hai
 pərsa dzilla -jə dui -əi b^hai
 Parsa district -LOC two -EMPH brother

əilihai.

a -lə -h -ai
 CAUS -PST -3 -INFR

Both of the brothers came to Parsa.

PtP.CND.051

uc^hi rəhəte boste rəhəte
 uc^hi rəhə -te bos -te rəhə -te
 there remain -SIM sit -SIM remain -SIM

boste toi p^heri dzəiləsai
 bos -te toi p^heri dza -lə -s -ai
 sit -SIM you again go -PST -2SG -INFR

citəwən.

citəwən
 Chitwan

Staying and living there, staying and living there, you went to Chitwan.

PtP.CND.052

citwən dzaikunu p^heri terə
 citwən dza -ikunu p^heri toi -rə
 Chitwan go -SEQ again you -[OBL] GEN

kərmə ramrə nidzə b^həilə.
 kərmə ramrə nidzə b^həi -lə
 fortune good NEG become -PST
 Having gone to Chitwan, your fortune was not good.

PtP.CND.053

tin tin goṭa milaikunu caroṭi
 tin tin goṭa mil -a -ikunu car - oṭi
 three three CLF agree -CAUS -SEQ four - CLF

dulhi b^həilə.
 dulhi b^həi -lə
 wife become -PST
 (You) married three (wives), (and) became four including this one.

PtP.CND.054

bəllə əḍlə.
 bəllə əḍ -lə
 after a while stop -PST
 Now (it) stopped.

PtP.CND.055

məi duk^h suk^hei kaṭ^hi beci
 məi duk^h suk^h -ei ka ṭ^hi bec -i
 I pain dry -EMPH. wood sell -ABS

beci ete ote kərikun bənbonehari
 bec -i ete ote kər -ikun bənbonehari
 sell -ABS here there do -SEQ working in jungle

kərikun duk^hə suk^hə kərikunu
 kər -ikun duk^hə suk^hə kər -ikunu
 do -SEQ suffering happiness do -SEQ

c^hawake məi hurkalə
 c^hawa -ke məi hurk -a -lə
 son -ACC I bring up -CAUS -PST

p^hurkalə rə səb^həni kəte merake
 p^hurkalə rə səb^h - əni kəhə -te məi -ke
 ONO and all - after that say -SIM I -[OBL] ACC

gahēmane duk^hə b^həilə baṭik.
 gahēmane duk^hə b^həi -lə baṭi -k
 very suffering become -PFV COP.NPST. -3SG

I grow up (my) children having done the work of hardships and ease, going to jungle, I grew

PtP.CND.062

adzu merə duk^hə hətlə.
 adzu merə duk^hə hət -lə
 today I.GEN suffering go back -PST
 Today I do not have hardships.

PtP.CND.063

terə duk^h aʃir.
 terə dui aʃi -r
 thirteen two COP.NPST -2SG
 You have pain (hardships).

PtP.CND.064

terə duk^h p^hunu tə məi
 toi -rə duk^h p^hunu tə məi
 you -[OBL] GEN pain also PART I

hertihin baʃəm.
 her -tihin baʃə -m
 look -PROG AUX.NPST -1SG.POSS
 I am also considering (lit. looking) your hardships.

PtP.CND.065

maja nidzə marlə aʃim.
 maja nidzə mar -lə aʃi -m
 love NEG kill -PFV AUX.NPST -1SG
 I have not given up love (to you).

PtP.CND.066

əite dzəite kərtihin
 a -te dza -te kər -tihin
 CAUS -HAB go -HAB do -PROG

baʃəm kere.
 baʃə -m kere
 AUX.NPST -1SG PART
 I have been coming and going.

PtP.CND.067

abe ke kərike tou
 abe ke kər -ike tou
 now what do -INF PART.
 Now what can I do ?

PtP.CND.068

hame ʃuhura pəilehise hela b^həilə.
 hame ʃuhura pəile -hī -se hela b^həi -lə
 we orphan get -EMPH -ABL hatred become -PST
 We orphans were despised from those days.

PtP.CND.069

k^hoi tou abe ek^hni p^heri dzəgaha
k^hoi tou abe ek^hni p^heri dzəgaha
 PART. PART. now now again land

naib^həinehun.

nai -b^həi -ne -hun
 NEG -become -COND -HS
 What happens, there is no land of yours.

PtP.CND.070

ota ota pāc big^ha c^hə big^hakə
ota ota pāc big^ha c^hə big^ha -kə
 that side that side five bigha six bigha -GEN

hamrə k^handansəb dadzub^haisəb
 hame -rə k^handan -səb dadzu - b^hai -səb
 we -GEN relatives -PL elder brother - brother -PL

nanusəb.

nanu -səb
 uncle -PL
 Our relatives, uncles, brothers of that side (who have) about five bighas or six bighas of land.

PtP.CND.071

bəḍkəbakə ek^hni hame p^heri tə
bəḍkə - ba -kə ek^hni hame p^heri tə
 big - EXCL -GEN now we again PART

bərabər aṭihī təu.
bərabər aṭi -hī təu
 frequently COP.NPST -1PL PART.
 We are now equal to our elder father.

PtP.CND.072

usəbkə p^heri kəhələ kok^hrahakə
 u -səb -kə p^heri kəh -lə kon -ha -kə
 that -PL -GEN again say -PST which -EMPH -GEN

ṭinkə c^hani aṭikan.
ṭin -kə c^hani aṭi -kan
 copper -GEN roof COP.NPST -3PL
 They have said (that) some have the (houses) with roofs of copper.

PtP.CND.073

iṭakə berha aṭikan.
iṭa -kə berha aṭi -kan
 brick -GEN wall COP.NPST -3PL
 (They have) walls (made of) bricks.

PtP.CND.074

kokrəu pəkka pəkka aṭikan.
 kokrəu pəkka pəkka aṭi -kan
 some certainly certainly COP.NPST -3PL
 Some have concrete walls.

PtP.CND.075

merəi c^hawakə p^heri
 məi -r -ei c^hawa -kə p^heri
 I -2SG -EMPH. son -GEN again
pəkka banahalekan dui b^hai.
 pəkka ban -lə -kan dui b^hai
 certainly tie -PST -3PL two brother
 My two sons (lit. two brothers son) have also made concrete (buildings).

PtP.CND.076

osin bistar bistar abe b^həibək tə.
 osin bistar bistar abe b^həi -bə -k tə
 that way slowly slowly now become -POSB -3SG PART
 Perhaps things may improve gradually.

PtP.CND.077

uhəi merə kəhəlarə
 u -həi məi -rə kəhə -larə
 that -EMPH I -[OBL] GEN say -PROS
kura dze babu.
 kura dze babu
 thing PART dear brother
 That is the thing I want to say, my brother.

PtP.CND.078

toi attikun dz^hunbos.
 toi att -ikun dz^hun-bos
 you irritate -SEQ PROH-sit
 Don't live by getting confused.

PtP.CND.079

ijə dzəgahake
 ijə dzəgaha -ke
 this land -ACC
rugikunu bəsuk.
 rug -ikunu bos -uk
 care -SEQ sit -IMP.
 Stay here caring this land.

PtP.CND.080

məi əite dzəite kərtəm.

məi a -te dza -te kər -tə -m
I come -HAB go -HAB do -NPST -1SG
I come and go (regularly).

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