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ABSTRACT

This study presents a linguistic description of the Dumi language within the framework of the functional-typological grammar (FTG) developed by Givón (2001) and further supplemented by Dixon (2004), Dryer (2006), Haspelmath (2004) and De Lancey (2010). Dumi is a less described Kirati language of the Rai group, spoken by an ethnic group 'Dumi' residing mainly in Northern Khotang District. This is a field-based linguistic study of the grammatical features of Dumi. It employs naturally occurring texts, supported by elicited sentences collected from the Dumi speaking areas basically from the Makpa area.

The main goal of this study is to analyze the forms and functions of different grammatical categories of the Dumi language at both proposition (i.e., sentence) and discourse levels and thus, compare them with the characteristic features of the other Kirati languages under the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family from the functional-typological perspective. This grammatical description covers the area of phonology, morphophonology, morphosyntax and discourse levels. It comprises twelve chapters and five appendices. There are 26 consonant and seven basic vowel phonemes with contrast in length in Dumi. The person and number are marked by both prefixes and suffixes. The numeral classifiers are not very productive and quite limited classifiers follow the nouns.

Dumi is an ergative-absolutive language. The grammatical functions in the clause are marked by case inflections. Dumi exhibits case-syncretism and inclusive-exclusive distinction. It has only two tenses: past and non-past. The verb agreement is triggered by the number, person and honorificity of the nominative subject. It is a left-branching and dependent marking language with the default SOV constituent order. It also exhibits the verbal and non-verbal predicates along with the displacement processes like L-dislocation or R-dislocation, topicalization and scrambling. It manifests both types of clause combining process: coordination and subordination. It also exhibits subordinating clauses like complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses, which have been dealt with in detail in this dissertation.

Reflexive and causatives are marked morphologically. Majority of the adjectives are formed by nominalization. The relative clauses are formed by nominalization employing the gap strategy. Dumi makes use of different morphosyntactic devices for the coherence of the clauses at the discourse levels. Furthermore, various types of discourses like narrative, procedural, behavioral and expository along with the discourse strategies have also been examined here. Based on the parameters discussed by Grierson and Masica, the Dumi language has also been classified and placed with the Eastern Himalayish group of the T-B branch. Typologically, it is very close to the Kirati languages of Rai group like Khaling, Koyee, etc.

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LIST OF PHONEMIC SYMBOLS USED FOR TRANSCRIPTION

A. Inventory of oral vowels in Dumi

S. N.	Phonemic (IPA) symbols	Equivalent Devanagari Script
1.	ʌ	अ
2.	ʌ:	अः
3.	a	आ
4.	a:	आः
5.	i	इ
6.	i:	इः
7.	e	ए
8.	e:	एः
9.	o	ओ
10.	o:	ओः
11.	u	उ
12.	u:	उः
13.	ɨ	ऌ
14.	ɨ:	ऌः

B. Inventory of consonants in Dumi

S.N.	Phonemic symbols	Equivalent Devanagari Script
1.	p	प
2.	p ^h	फ
3.	b	ब

4.	b ^h	भ
5.	t	त
6.	t ^h	थ
7.	d	द
8.	d ^h	ध
9.	k	क
10.	k ^h	ख
11.	g	ग
12.	g ^h	घ
13.	t ^s	च
14.	t ^{sh}	छ
15.	d ^z	ज
16.	d ^{zh}	झ
17.	m	म
18.	n	न
19.	ŋ	ङ
20.	j	य
21.	w	व
22.	r	र
23.	l	ल
24.	h	ह
25.	s	स
26.	ʔ	ʔ

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

(a) NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

A morpheme boundary and the corresponding English semantic units are indicated/ separated by a hyphen (-) throughout the dissertation. The following symbols are used in the text:

()	optional element
-	morpheme boundary
∑	stem
*	ungrammatical constructions
<	derived from
→	rewrite rule
∅	zero marker
[]	phonetic level notation
//	phonemic level notation
< >	orthographic notation
[.]	syllable boundary
#	word boundary
/_	the environment of
-	morpheme boundary; affix
+	in combination with; followed by
=	clitic boundary
?	question

(b) ABBREVIATIONS

In this work, glossing follows the Leipzig glossing rules (<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>) with some additions.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
1DU	first person dual
1PL	first person plural
1SG	first person singular
1/2	first person/second person entailment
2	second person
2DU	second person dual
2PL	second person plural
2SG	second person singular
2/3	second person/third person entailment
3	third person
3DU	third person dual
3PL	third person plural
3SG	third person singular
ABIL	ability
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolute
ADT	additive
ADD	address
ADJ	adjective
ADJVR	adjectivizer
ADV	adverb(ial)
ALL	allative
AMBL	ambulative
ANT	anterior

AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
BS	Bikram Sambat
C	complement
CAUS	causative
CERT	certainty
CLF	classifier
CO	coordinate conjunction
COM	comitative
COMPL	completive
CONC	concessive
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
COP	copula
CPL	collective plural
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DEST	destination
DET	determiner
DIR	direct marker
DIRT. EV	direct evidentiality
DIST	distal
DU	dual
DUR	durative
e	exclusive

ed.	editor
eds.	editors
e.g.	example
EMPH	emphatic
EPIST	epistemic
ERG	ergative
e / EXCL	exclusive
FOC	focus
GEN	genitive
HABT	habitual
HON	honorific
IMPRFT	imperative
i / INCL	inclusive
i.e.	that is
INCT	inceptive
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
INDIRT EVD	indirect evidentiality
INE	inessive
INF	infinitive
INST	instrumental
INT	intension
INTR	intransitive
IMPRFT	imperfect
IMPRFV	imperfective
IPA	international phonetic alphabet
IRR	irrealis
KRY	Kirat Rai Yayokkha

LOC	locative
LSN	Linguistic Society of Nepal
LWC	language of wider communication
M	male
MAN	manner
MIR	mirative
MNR	manner
MTCN	Mother Tongue Centre Nepal
N-	non- (e.g. NSG: non-singular, NPST. non-past)
NCLF	numeral classifier
NCSC	National Cultural Study Centre
NEG	negation, negative
NMLZ	nominalizer/nominalization
NNLPI	Nepali National Languages Preservation Institute
NPST	non-past
NOM	nominative
NSG	non-singular
NPST	non-past
O	object
DO	direct object
OBLG	obligative
OI	indirect object
OPT	optative
PFX	prefix
PNR	person, number and role

PRFT	perfect
PRFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSB	possibility
POSS	possessive
POST	posterior
POSTP	postposition
PRED	predicative
PRF	perfect
PFV	perfective
PROB	probability
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal/proximate
PRS	present
PST	past
PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
PTCP	participial
PURP	purposive
Q	question particle/marker
QUOT	quotative
RECP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
REM	remote
RPST	remote past
S	subject

SAP	speech act participant
SBJV	subjunctive
SEQ	sequential
SFX	suffix
SG	singular
SIL	summer institute of linguistics
SIM	simultaneous
SIML	similaritive
SORC	source
SUBM	subordinate marker
TAM	tense-aspect-mood
T-B	Tibeto-Burman
TEMP	temporal
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
UL	underlying (form)
V	verb
VDC(s)	village development committee(s)
VI	verb intransitive
VT	verb transitive
→	acting upon
↓	falling intonation
↑	rising intonation
'	word stress

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

Dumi is one of the Kirati languages of the Rai group.¹ ‘Kirat’ is an umbrella term, commonly used to refer to the people of the four major Kirat ethnic groups: Rai, Limbu, Sunuwar and Yakkha. Among 23 different Kirat Rai speech communities (See Appendix 4 (b) for details), Dumi belongs to the western Kirati group of the Eastern Himalayish sub-branch of the Tibeto-Burman branch² under the Sino-Tibetan language family. It is a less documented and a preliterate language spoken by an indigenous nationality referred to as ‘Dumi Rai’ inhabiting the hilly region of Khotang district in the Sagarmatha zone of eastern Nepal. Typologically, Dumi is one of the pronominalizing Kirati languages of the Rai group, carrying person and number indices in the verb root, sometimes for the agent participant or patient.

In the case of the multilingual setting of the 23 different Kirati languages of the Rai group (CBS, 2011) of individual Kirat communities, there is a complication in determining where one language ends and another begins. The geographical boundary of the Dumi speaking area includes other Kirat Rai communities like Thulung [tdh], Khaling [klr], Koyee [kkt], Sampang [rav], Nachhiring [ncd], Chamling [rab], etc.

At present, none of the Dumi people from their homeland ‘Kha.Ja.Ba.Sa.Ma.’³ are monolingual. There is day-to-day contact with other neighbouring Kirati Rai languages of the Rai group (i.e. multilingual setting) in the respective areas in socio-cultural and other daily activities. On the other hand, lack of an awareness program and due to heavy influence, the majority of the Dumi speakers are gradually shifting to the lingua franca Nepali⁴.

Dumi is an ethnonym and a loconym referring to both the Dumi community and the language they speak. The total population of the Dumi people is 12,000 in Nepal (Epele et al. 2012:45). According to the latest CBS report 2011, the total population of the Dumi is 7,638 of which only 2,500 (i.e., 32.7%) of the total population of Dumi speak this language as their mother tongue⁵. Epele et al. (2012:45-46) identify Dumi with the ISO code [639-3:dus]

¹ The Kirat language communities are: Athpare, Bahing, Bantawa, Belhare, Chamling, Chhintang, Chukwa, Chhulung, Dumi, Dungmali, Jerung, Khaling, Koyu/Koyee, Kulung, *Lambichhong*, Limbu, *Lingkhim*, Lohorung, Mewahang, *Mugali*, Nachhiring, Phangduwali, Puma, Sampang, Sunuwar, Thulung, Tilung, Umbule (Wambule), Yakkha and Yamphu.

² The name "Tibeto-Burman" was first applied to this group in 1856 by James Richardson Logan, who added Karen in 1858.

³ (a) The abbreviation ‘Kha.Ja.Ba.Sa.Ma.’ represents the main five VDCs: Kharmi, Jalapa, Baksila, Sapteshwor and Makpa in northern part of the Khotang district.

(b) The field study in ‘Kha.Ja.Ba.Sa.Ma.’ shows that the Dumi population is bilingual in Nepali. Some of the Dumi are also multilingual in Thulung, Nachhiring and Khaling in the Makpa area; Koyu/Koyee, Nachhiring and Sampang in the Baksila and Sapteshwor areas; Sampang and Chamling in the Kharmi and Jalapa areas.

⁴ In the Dumi speaking area, the Nepali language is known as ‘parbate’ or ‘Khas-Kura’ (i.e. the language usually used by Kshetri and Brahmin).

⁵ On the basis of the recent data gathered during the sociolinguistic field survey carried out by ‘The linguistic survey of Nepal (LinSuN)’ in the Dumi speaking area ‘Kha.Ja.Ba.Sa.Ma.’ (i.e., the origin or homeland of the Dumi speech community) in 2013.

and claim that there are three dialects: Kharbari (i.e., Jalapa), Lamdija (i.e., Baksila) and Makhpa (i.e., Makpa).

1.1 Naming, origin and migration

In this section, we first introduce the naming, origin and migration of the Dumi speech community. They are discussed one by one as follows:

1.1.1 Naming

The term ‘Dumi’ refers to an ethnic Rai group and the language they speak. Among the multilingual Kirat Rai communities, Dumi is one of the minority language groups that belongs to the western Kirat of Nepal (Hanßon, 1991:33). The Dumi people use *Dumi Radu* ‘Dumi Rai’ as an endonym in their mother tongue, which is the name most exclusively used for both the language and its speakers.⁶ In citing the chronicles from the Kirat Rai ancestral records, some Dumi people claim that the word ‘*Dumi*’ signifies a person’s name *Tumsoli*.

1.1.2 Origin

As mentioned earlier, the original homeland of the Dumi spreads over the five village development committees (VDCs) (i.e., abbreviated as ‘Kha.Ja.Ba.Sa.Ma’) in northern Khotang district⁷ in the Sagarmatha zone of eastern Nepal. In addition, there are many Dumi people who are outside their ancestral homeland that have been identified with the name of their homeland, viz., Makpali (i.e., Makhpa or Makpa VDC), Jalapali or Sasarkali or Kharbare (i.e., Jalapa VDC; old name Sasarka), Hachekali or Kubhindeli (i.e., Kubhinde VDC), Kharmile (i.e., Kharmi VDC, which was formed by splitting Sasarka Panchayat in 2019 B.S.), Baksile (i.e., Baksila VDC; old name Lamdija), or Saksile (a village name in Baksila VDC), etc. Other ethnic groups from the Dumi area recognize Dumi with various names like ‘Sotmali’, ‘Brasmi’, ‘Halaksu’, ‘Rankasu’ or ‘Kharmile’ too. Certain lineages (Samet) or clans (Pachha)⁸ within the Dumi ethnicity (Thar) may also identify themselves as the clan names like Brasmi, Halaksu, Khawachu, Rankasu, Ratku, Sarachu, Hamruchu, Sotmali, etc., and as the place-name: Makpali, Kharmile, Sasarkali, Jarangkali, Hanchekali, Sabrule, Chokhume, etc., which are often used interchangeably with Dumi in reference to their ethnicity.

The geographical information of the Dumi homeland is given in the map 1.1.

⁶ The resource persons from the Dumi speech community claim that the dialectic meaning of the term ‘Dumi’ indicates multi-meanings like ‘association’, ‘coming into contact’, ‘meeting together’, etc.

⁷ van Driem (1993:7) quotes Regmi (1983:213) that the Dumi constitute roughly one quarter of the population in Khotang district.

⁸ There are 21 identified clans in the Dumi ethnic group, viz., Halaksu, Ratku, Hajurchu, Rankasu, Chhachung, Riplachu, Murahā, Raichu, Walakpa, Hadi, Khawachu, Walakpu, Jipuchu, Turachu, Satma, Hamruchu, Sarachu, Harasi, Kharubu, Dimmachu and Luppo.

Map 1.1: Dumi residing areas in the map of Nepal

Source: Nepal atlas of language groups (2006)

1.1.3 Migration

Although the origin of the Dumi speech community is considered to be in the northern part of Khotang district, they migrated from their traditional homeland in search of a job opportunity or a change in profession. The majority of the Dumi speech communities are found to have settled in the core area of *Majha Kirat* ‘Middle Kirat,’ especially in sixteen village development committees (VDCs): Kharmi, Jalapa, Baksila, Sapteshwor, Makpa, Maheshwori (Ribdung-Raigaun), Sungdel, Patheka, Phedi, Kubhinde, Baspani, Diktel, Khartamchha, Nerpa, Haunchur and Lamidanda in Khotang district.

In addition, they are also found to have spread (or migrated) from their Dumi homeland from twenty different districts (for details see: Appendix 3a-ii), from the eastern most zone, Mechi to the western most zone, Mahakali of Nepal⁹ (CBS 2011). A recent trend is that most of the young Dumi people have moved outside their birthplace in search of job opportunities for a better source of income. Likewise, Dumis are also found to have been living in a small number in foreign lands like Darjeeling, Kalingpong, Sikkim, Kharsang, Bhutan, Burma (Myanmar), The United States of America, Hong Kong, The United Kingdom, Canada, etc.

⁹ The names of the twenty districts throughout the country as accordance with the Dumi population in decreasing order are Khotang, Sunsari, Morang, Udayapur, Ilam, Sankhuwasabha, Jhapa, Kathmandu, Bhojpur, Solukhumbu, Okhaldhunga, Panchthar, Lalitpur, Dhankuta, Bhaktapur, Banke, Taplejung, Tehrathum, Sindhuli and Kailali district.

1.2 Culture

In this section, we explore culture of the Dumi community : livelihood, occupation, festival and religion in the Dumi speech community. They are discussed as follows:

1.2.1 Livelihood

Dumi is one of the disadvantaged Kirat ethnic groups of Nepal. Like many other ethnic groups, Its main occupation is farming. Bista (1972:36) also comments that “Dumi (belongs to the Rai group) cultivate both dry and wet field: the dry terraces in maize, millet, wheat, and some mustard, and the wet fields in rice, so that they grow enough grain to meet their daily needs and use the excess to make spirits and beer, which they enjoy in great quantities. In addition they grow various types of vegetables, beans, potatoes, and fruits like oranges, bananas, jack fruit, and guavas. Based on the local production, their staple diet is a thick porridge of hand-ground flour of maize, millet, wheat and barley. Like members of other ethnic groups, many of the men have involved in non-farming jobs like becoming laborers on road projects or carpenters. Those who are educated have engaged in government jobs and business. Nowadays, the young Dumi people leave their villages in search of jobs, and those, who are living in the urban areas of the country are engaged in business and industry.

1.2.2 Occupation

The Dumi are the people of mongoloid stock practicing agriculture and animal husbandry as the traditional occupation in their homeland. Those who live in the remote villages are still dependent on the traditional agricultural system. Since the Dumi homeland is located entirely on hillsides, the majority of Dumi cultivate the traditional cereals like maize, millet, wheat, buckwheat, barley, oat, paddy, mustard, soybeans, beans, peas, sweet-potato, yam and potato in the dry terraces and paddy in the lowland (i.e., wet fields).

At present, they have also adopted new farming methods and started the production of seasonal cash crops locally. The local production from farming is mostly used for their daily needs and surplus is used to make local alcohol, or is sold locally on market days. Of those, millet, potato and maize are the popular grains and are especially used as the backbone of their usual heavy diet resources. The local food items *dʒa* ‘rice’ is prepared from the cereals like maize, wheat, oat, barley, and *raβ dʒa* ‘paddy rice’ is prepared from paddy. Likewise, *juwa* ‘brown paste’¹⁰, is prepared from millet, wheat, barley, maize and buckwheat flour and is supplemented with *ka* ‘curry’ (i.e., cooked vegetables or ground soya beans). They also have cattle, and pig, chicken, sheep, etc., as a complementary source of income, which also directly supplies the organic fertilizer for the local crop production.

Locally, the Dumi gather firewood from the forests, store it for use in the rainy season and carry water from the public water sources for their daily life¹¹. They buy necessities and sell their produce in the local markets. In addition, they also contribute to the civil services, teaching, business and industry. Many Dumi people live throughout the world in various occupations. They have been recruited into military service in the Nepal army, Indian army, British Gurkha Regiments and Singapore Police Force as well. Including Dumi, the Kirati people have earned a reputation for bravery especially serving in the armies and security forces of nations significantly due to the number of men that have served as British Gurkha

¹⁰ Alternatively, it is known as mountain cake.

¹¹ In a recent trend, the traditional water resources are in verge of extinction as their uses are replaced by a water supply pipeline.

soldiers across the globe. Also, a large number of youths have gone abroad in search of job opportunities.

1.2.3 Festivals

Dumi people observe almost all the national and local festivals on different occasions throughout the year. The most significant is the *tosi*, 'a traditional cultural dance' together with the mythical song called *dolokumma*, 'a song based on historical myth' with a typical Kirati rhythm'.¹² It is performed twice a year; during *t^{sh}irijamlo* 'Mansire Purne' (or *udhault puja* 'downward worship') the full moons in the Nepali month Mansir (i.e., November-December) and *d^hirijamlo* 'Baisakhe Purne' (or *ubhault puja* 'upward worship') the full moons in the Nepali month Baisakha (i.e., May-June).

One of the most important festivals in the Dumi community is during this occasion when they prepare and eat a variety of traditional foods and drink alcohol too. Both male and female from child to old age of the Dumi or Kirat community members take part in their traditional *tosi sili* 'a ritual Kirati dance'. They start this festival worshipping the *Bhume*, 'a holy place' and also the *suptulu*, 'the hearth' and dance together in a circle.

1.2.4 Religion

Like other Kirat Rai speech communities, the Dumi people follow nature worship. Basically, Kirat Rai people respect their ancestors and nature equally. They follow the typical religion of their own Kirat religion, which is a combination of shamanism and animism¹³. There is also the practice of other religions due to the direct influence of Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity. Since religious tolerance is one of the major characteristics of the multicultural community in Nepal, there is also the practice of following and enjoying Hindu festivals (i.e., Dashain and Dipawali) as well.

Rai shamanism centers on the local shamans practice of an oral tradition known as *Mundhum*, 'the sacred chant of the Kirat religion'. As for the Rai animistic practices, it seems that the most important aspects are the three sacred stones (i.e., *suptulu*) placed on the hearth for the respect of one's deceased ancestors. In traditional Dumi houses, the whole section of the kitchen on the side of the hearth is considered as a sacred place, such that outsiders, unless well-honored and specifically invited, are usually not allowed to sit or step on this side. The sacred side of the kitchen is referred to as the *mosum*, 'the upper part', and the rest of the parts as the ordinary side, *t^sasum*, 'the lower part'¹⁴.

1.3 Ethnolinguistic situation

The main purpose of this section is to introduce the lineages and clans, kinship and marriage patterns in the Dumi speech community. They are discussed as follows:

¹² There are different regional terms for this Kirat festival, viz., *sakela*, *sakewa*, *sakenwa*, *sakhewa*, *sakhel*, etc. The main theme for celebrating these two festivals is the respect to the nature (i.e., the land or earth) and the ancestral.

¹³ In all of the Kirat Rai communities, Shamanism centers on the local shamans' practice of an oral tradition known as *Mundhum*. Likewise, the most important aspects of animistic practices are three sacred stones (i.e., *suptulu*) placed on the hearth for the veneration of one's deceased ancestors.

¹⁴ In the *mosum*, 'the upper part of the hearth in a traditional Kirati Rai house', only the house honour (Unsure what 'house honour' means, respected elders or, the shaman are allowed to step on or sit there and others (even other family members, especially children) are strictly prohibited.

1.3.1 Lineages and clans

Dumi is less described but ethnically identified as a Kirat Rai speech community. Within the Dumi speech community, there is the sub-division of 7 *Samet* 'lineage' and 21 *Pachha* 'clan'¹⁵. The same sub-divisions are in the other Kirati Rai language groups. These lineages and clans in Dumi are also patrilineal¹⁶ (i.e., the ancestral descents are traced through the paternal line). Basically, the tracing of lineage and clan relationships, in addition to migration patterns, may sometimes provide insights for understanding the comparative histories of related speech varieties. In chronological information and the default account of the lineage names refer to the males and tend to end with '-pa' or '-pu' 'father' for the male. Similarly, this ending is substituted by '-ma' or '-mu' 'mother' for the female¹⁷ (for detail: Appendix 1: a).

1.3.2 Kinship patterns

Fergusson (1992:31) notes that each speech community in the South Asian region comprises more than one hundred kinship terms¹⁸ attested in normal everyday interactions. A kinsman is an individual to whom one or an 'ego' is related by genealogical connection and there are culturally posited relations among individuals. In the society, the relations are presumed to be established by process of conception and birth. Furthermore, the kinship terminology used in a society reflects the hierarchical intricacies, composition, directionality and intimacy of social behavior.

It is believed that language is a window through which we can inspect the society; linguists may find a society a complete mystery in the field of kinship that belongs to anthropology. Kinship terms are elements of meaning like phonemes. In Dumi, there are two types of kinship terms; affinal and non-affinal kinship terms, which are discussed as follows:

(a) Affinal kinship terms

For social norms and values, the affinal kinship relationship is a most. It concerns one's own generation, the first ascending generation. The first descending generation has also been elicited from respondents during the field study in the Dumi speech community (for detail: Appendix 1:b-d).

(b) Non-affinal kinship terms

The non-affinal kinship terms, for example, the great-grand kinsmen, the grand kinsmen, the parents and children, the siblings and cousins,¹⁹ have been elicited from the respondents during the survey in the Dumi community. According to van Driem (1993:21), the term *todu* or, *toduse* is only used with respect to the referent as offspring (for detail: Appendix 1:i).

¹⁵ For the historical evidences and mathematical calculation of steps in generations, there should be exactly seven consecutive generation gaps between the lineage and clan in Dumi.

¹⁶ Here I have borrowed the term patrilineal from Bayung (Lee, 2005:11) as the ancestral descent, traced through the paternal line.

¹⁷ Like Bayung (Lee, 2005:11), the default versions of the lineage names refer to the males, and tend to end with '-pa' as in Bayung '-cha', and this ending is substituted by '-ma' as in Bayung '-mi' for the female versions.

¹⁸ Rapacha (2005:285) quotes the suggestion posed by Abbi (2001:221) "...is one area, where linguists should treat with some caution, as the field of kinship belongs to anthropology ..."

¹⁹ Cross cousin marriage is restricted in Dumi speech community.

1.3.3 Marriage patterns

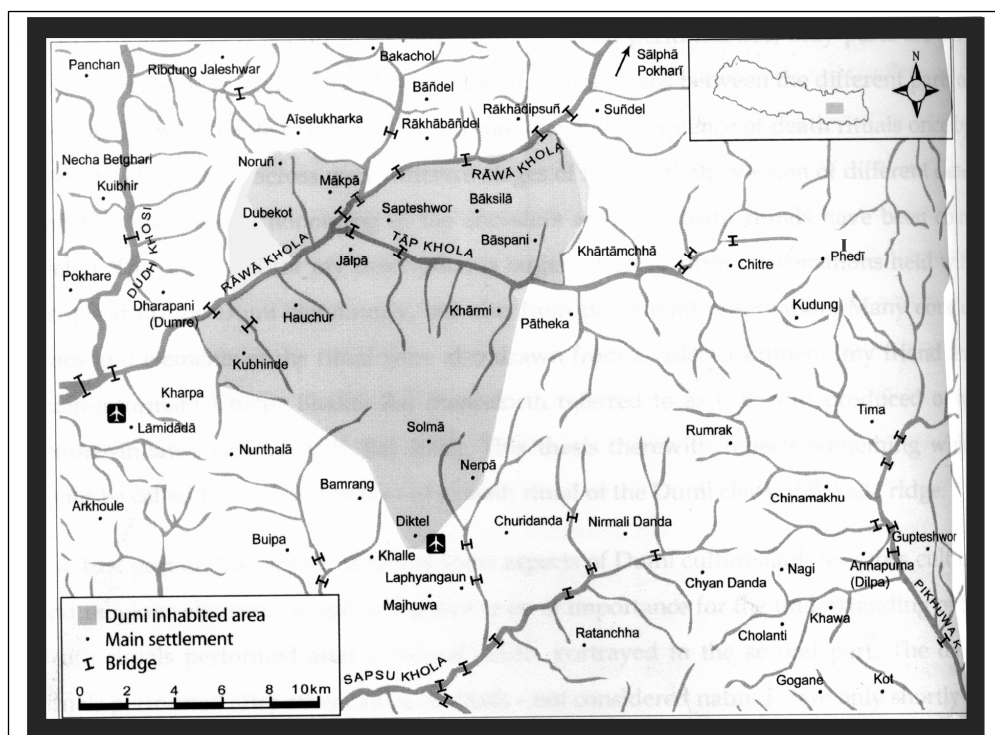
It is clear that the *Samet* ‘lineage’ and *Pachha* ‘clan’ do not have direct semantic overlaps. For this reason, *Pachha* will be used as a default term to refer to kinship groups within the Dumi speech community. In social practices, siblings within the same clan are prohibited from intermarriage. Furthermore, arranged marriages among Dumi clans, or between a Dumi Rai and someone from any other Kirat Rai speech communities, are common. However, traditionally, marriages with those from outside the Kirat Rai ethnicity are discouraged. However, a recent trend has been the gradual increase in such cross or inter-caste marriages. It normally happens through ‘love marriages’ (i.e., marriages in which a couple may fall in love, elope and are later publicly reconciled with their families).

1.4 Geographical location

As mentioned earlier, the traditional homeland of the Dumi speech community is situated in the 16 VDCs of northern Khotang district. The neighbouring Kirat Rai language groups are Thulung, Khaling, Nachhiring, Koyee, Sampang and Chamling. The sociolinguistic survey report (2014 A.D.) mentions that among the three varieties, retention of Dumi language in Jalapa, Kharmi, Baksila, Sapteshwor and Kubhinde as compared to Makpa area is very low.

In this regard, Dumi, in all its varieties, is spoken in the territory abutting the Rava and Tap rivers and their confluence and upstream from there (i.e., Dumi homeland comprises five VDCs: Makpa, Jalapa, Kharmi, Baksila and Sapteshwor). All these varieties are spoken in the adjoining area to one another, separated by uninhabited hill barriers between 1,400 to 2,100 meters in altitude. The geographical location of Dumi homeland in Khotang district is as shown in map 1.2.

Map 1.2: The Dumi-speaking area in northern Khotang district



Source: Rai and Poudel (1991:ix)

1.5 Genetic affiliation

In this section we first review the attempts made to classify the Dumi language²⁰ and its close relation to two other Kirati languages of the Rai group: Khaling and Koyee. Then we suggest a classification on the basis of the findings of the study. Matisoff (3002:6) states that ‘the Himalayish (i.e., Himalayan) group is considered to include Bodic languages, as well as Kanauri-Manchad, Kiranti (=Rai), Lepcha and Newar’.

1.5.1 Review of literature

Hanßon (1991:33) notes that Dumi is occasionally classified as a dialect of Khaling (cf. the introduction of S. and I. Toba, 1975). It is to be considered as a separate language of its own, especially with reference to syntax and verb morphology. Dumi has a different classification of the Kirati languages, which are classified as Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayish, Western Kirati (Koi-Wayu), Western Kirati, marginal northern sub-group, Khaling (Khaling bra), Dumi (*dumi boʔo*, *dumi bro*) with main three dialects: Eastern (with Sotmali), Western (Makpa), Southern (with Brasmi, nearly extinct) and Koyee (*Koi boʔo*, *Koyu boʔ*). In his reference to genetic proximity, Hanßon states that Dumi shows a very high percentage of cognates sharing with Khaling and Koyee.

van Driem (1993:1) classifies Dumi as one of the members of the Kirati languages, which is again one of the branches of Tibeto-Burman, corresponding to Benedict’s Bahing-Vayu nucleus²¹ (1972:5-11). He further mentions, within Kirati, Dumi’s closest relatives appear to be Khaling and Koyee.

Bradley (2002:18) notes that there is a linguistically close relation among the three Kirati Rai languages, which are spoken in eastern Nepal. Although the genetic classification under the Sino-Tibetan family has been done up to the Eastern Himalayish group, there is not any clear cut genetic classification among the Kirati languages of the Rai group and so that is true for the Dumi language. Linguistically, Dumi is closer to Khaling and Koyee²² though Michailovsky (2012:49) claims that Dumi is closer to Khaling, Thulung and Bahing.

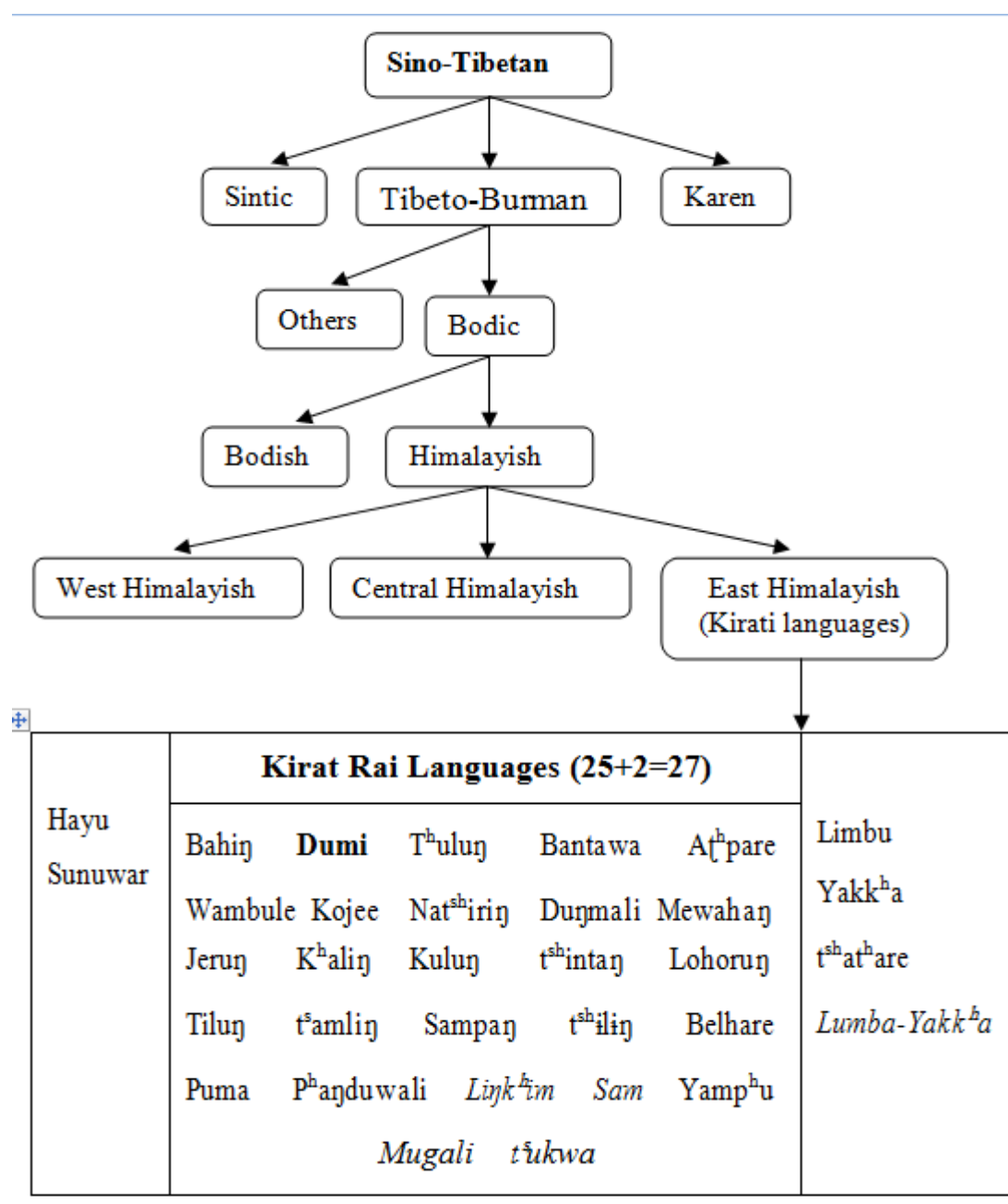
Based on Bradley (2002:16-19), Dumi has been classified as a member of a group referred to as ‘Rai’ Kirati under the Bodic section of East Himalayish (Regmi, 20013:42) as in Figure 1.1. We suggest the following classification.

²⁰ The T-B family, which extends over a huge geographic range, is characterized by great typological diversity, comprising languages that range from the highly tonal, monosyllabic, analytic type with practically no affixational morphology ... a tonal languages with complex systems of verbal agreement morphology (e.g. the Kiranti group of E. Nepal). While most T-B languages are verb-final... (Matisoff, 3002:59).

²¹ He categorizes this language as a member of Bahing-Vayu cluster under the Tibeto-Burman family.

²² Koyee people prefer to write down the spelling of their ethnic name as ‘Koyee’ or ‘Koyu’ rather than the previously documented ‘Koi’.

Figure 1.1: Linguistic affiliation of Dumi



Source: Epele et al. 2012, LinSuN

1.5.2 Place of Dumi among the other Kirati languages

It is challenging to classify the Tibeto-Burman languages. Some of the reasons are as follows:

The classification of Dumi presented in Figure 1.1 is not satisfactory. The classification was proposed on the basis of the morphosyntactic features of the related languages. However, this study has revealed such features in the Dumi language which motivate us to group this language not as a member of the east Himalayish languages (i.e., Kirati languages). Lahaussais (2009:1) quotes van Driem (2001:711); the homeland of the

Dumi is the Upper Dudhkosi area, along with Khaling and Koyee Kirat speech communities of the Rai group. The prominent features of the Dumi language are as follows:

- a. Dumi is a non-tonal language, unlike Kham and Chepang of the central Himalayish languages.
- b. Dumi shares complex verb morphology with other Kirati languages. The finite verb in Dumi like in other Kiranti languages is characterized by a complex system of person, number and role affixes.
- c. There is a loss of inverse marking in Dumi. Rather, Dumi develops the 'direct' marking in transitive constructions on the basis of the hierarchical pattern of the participants (i.e., 1→2, 2→3, 1→3).

1.6 Sociolinguistic situation

In this section, we discuss about the distribution of the speakers, general characteristics of the language, classification, language and dialects. They are discussed as follows:

1.6.1 Distribution of Dumi speakers

Dumi is a minority Kirat Rai speech community²³, which generally refers to the inhabitants of the hill area of Eastern Nepal. The latest census report 2011 shows that the total population of Dumi is 7,638. Among them, 4,078 (i.e. 53.4%) are female and 3,560 (i.e., 46.6%) are male. They have been living in 20 districts throughout the country. Dumi is currently classified on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) as (7) *Shifting*²⁴. This level of language vitality status is defined as, 'the child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but it is not being transmitted to their children' (Lewis, et al. 2015). Likewise, based on the field survey (2013) carried out by the Linguistic Survey of Nepal 'LinSuN', Dumi is roughly spoken by 2,500 (i.e., 32.7%) of the total population.²⁵ Of them, the majority of mother tongue speakers are aged Dumi people from their homeland in northern Khotang district.

Table 1.1 presents the population distribution of the Dumi community in their homeland in Khotang district of Sagarmatha zone in eastern Nepal (Map 1.1).

²³ Hanßon (1993:34) mentions the number of Dumi speakers about 1,000 to 2,000, with a strong tendency of decrease. On the other hand, the Ethnologue (2012) notes that the total population of Dumi speakers amounts to 2,500.

²⁴ John W. Eppele, M. Paul Lewis, Dan Raj Regmi and Yogendra P. Yadava. eds. (2012). *Ethnologue: Languages of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN).

²⁵ The majority of the Dumi speakers are from some villages like Norung, Lumdu-Chhuka, Ilim, Bepla, Bakchuwa, Lewa, Chaintar, etc. from the Makpa VDC whereas a very limited of them are from the other VDCs like Jalapa, Baksila, Kharmi and Sapteshwor in the northern part of Khotang district.

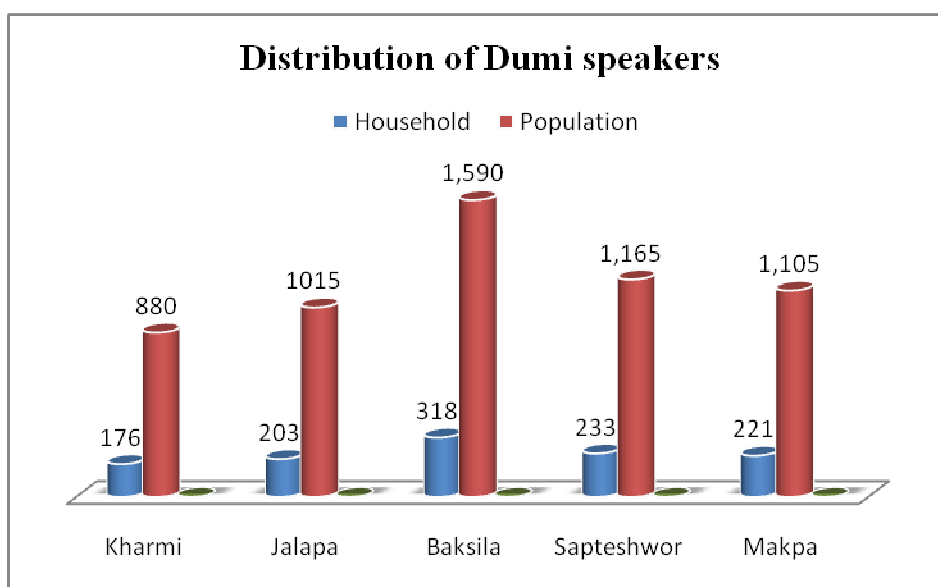
Table 1.1: Population distribution of Dumi speakers in their homeland

S.N.	VDCs	Household	Population	Percentage
1.	Kharmi	176	880	15.3%
2.	Jalapa	203	1015	17.6%
3.	Baksila	318	1,590	27.6%
4.	Sapteshwor	233	1,165	20.2%
5.	Makpa	221	1,105	19.2%
	Total	1,151	5,755	100%

Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Dumi (2014)

Table 1.1 presents the distribution of the Dumi speakers in their homeland (i.e., five VDCs: Kharmi, Jalapa, Baksila, Sapteshwor and Makpa) in Khotang District. The data show that the maximum (27.6%) numbers of Dumis are in Baksila VDC whereas the least (15.3%) number of Dumis reside in Kharmi VDC. Likewise, 19.2% of the Dumis are in the Makpa VDC (i.e., northern part of Rava Kola valley) in Khotang district.

Figure 1.2 shows the population distribution of Dumi speakers²⁶ in their homeland.

Figure 1.2: Distribution of Dumi households and speakers

Among these five VDCs: Makpa, Jalapa, Baksila, Kharmi and Sapteshwor, there is a gradual order of decreasing numbers in the retention of the Dumi language. Besides, there is a minority of Dumi speakers in other VDCs like Maheshwori (Ribdung-Raigaun), Sungdel,

²⁶ The National Language Recommendation Commission (NLRC 1994) classifies the languages of Nepal into four different levels of public status and prominence, viz., (i) languages with a literary tradition, (ii) languages with literary traditions in progress, (iii) languages with no literary tradition and (iv) languages at the verge of extinction or moribund.

Patheka, Phedi, Kubhinde²⁷, Baspani, Diktel, Khartamchha, Nerpa, Haunchur, Lamidanda, etc., in Khotang District.

1.6.2 General characteristics

Dumi shows a number of typological features in the linguistic domains of phonology, morphology, syntax and discourse-pragmatics. The Dumi phonemic inventory shares the features of minor T-B languages with 26 consonant phonemes (including glottal stop /ʔ/) and seven oral monophthongs with distinctive individual vowel length. The constituent structure of basic syllables in native words and nativized loan words in Dumi is (C) (C) v (C), where 'C' and 'v' represent the consonant and vowel phonemes, respectively.

The analysis in the level of word and sentence reveals that Dumi has the salient features of Kirati languages, viz., the language has a predominantly basic SOV structure, inclusive and exclusive non-singular first persons, the use of a three number system (singular, dual, plural), but there is an absence of paucal (or limited plural) as mentioned in Corbett (2004:22). Numerals, quantifiers, classifiers, adjectives and demonstratives precede the head noun within the noun phrase.

1.6.3 Classification

The Dumi people identify themselves as one of the independent speech communities. Like Hanßon (1991:35), the Dumi people have expressed their views that their language may be more closely related to Khaling and Koyee than any of the other Kirati Rai languages. Dumi is classified as: Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayish, Western Kirati (Koi-Wayu) and closer to Khaling and Koyee as the marginal northern sub-group. In his reference to genetic proximity, Hanßon (1991:34) states that Dumi shares more similarities with Khaling and Koyee than with any other Kirat Rai languages. Moreover, he mentions that the main dialects of Dumi are: Eastern (with Sotmali), Western (Makpa), Southern (nearly extinct) with 'Brasmi' (i.e., a lineage name in the Dumi speech community living in the Baksila and Sapteshwor areas).

From a geographical viewpoint, Sapteshwor VDC is considered as the central point of the Dumi homeland, with the other four VDCs surrounding it: Makpa to the north-west, Baksila to the northeast, Kharmi to the southeast and Jalapa to the southwest. Hanßon (1991:35) states that 'only the Makpa dialect seems to be spoken to some extent among members of the younger generation.' In his wide-ranging classification, he has also placed Thulung, Wambule and Jerung together in a second degree of relationship with Dumi and a third rank of relationship for Bayung (or Bahing), Sunuwar and Tilung. Thus, Dumi is classified as one of the members of the Western Kirati group in close proximity of the Nachhiring and Sampang speech communities.

1.6.4 Language and dialects

Hanßon (1991:34) claims that the most characteristic western dialect is the Makpa dialect, whereas the Baksila dialect (also known as 'Sotmali') can be considered the most characteristic eastern dialect. The 'Kharbari' dialect can be considered intermediate, whereas the Hacheka²⁸ seems to have more in common with the Lamdija dialect.' On this basis, there seems to be two distinct geographical dialects in Dumi as the western (i.e., Makpa and Jalapa) and eastern (Sapteshwor, Baksila and Kharmi) dialects.

²⁷ There are some Dumi speakers belonging to Satma clan in Kubhinde VDC. The linguistic features from this area show that it is closer to Baksila Dumi.

²⁸ One of the villages in Kubhinde VDC (i.e., closed to Jalapa VDC) there is a large number of Dumi people of Satma clan residing there for a long time.

However, this study has identified three main Dumi varieties²⁹. They are:

- a. Makpa variety: spoken in the northwestern part of the Dumi homeland;
- b. Baksila variety: spoken in the northeastern part of the Dumi homeland; and
- c. Jalapa variety: spoken in the southern part of the Dumi homeland.

So far as the dialectal variations of Dumi are concerned, van Driem (1993:4) states in this way that ‘the main area of Dumi has been found in the northern part of Khotang district, in the hills near the mid-area of the Rawakhola valley. The largest part of the area can be defined by the region round the middle and lower Tapkhola, down to the confluence of Tap and Rawa rivers.’ He subdivides Dumi into four dialects: surrounding the confluence in Sapteshwor (i.e., identical with the idiom ‘Brasmi’ in the LSN materials), south of the Tap and Rawa river (i.e., ‘Kharbari’ dialect that comprises Sasarka and Kubhinde) and Kharmi (i.e., the area in which Dumi is said to have become nearly extinct).

This study has also attested that, despite the various Dumi dialects, the term Dumi denotes one and only one minority Dumi speech community. The most easily identified differences between the Makpa variety versus the varieties spoken further south area are in the lexicon, especially in the nouns and adjectives and in the pronunciation.

(a) Dialectal variations

The label used by the Dumi themselves for their language is: *hopupo brΛ* ‘own speech or language’, *Dumi brΛ* ‘Dumi language’, or *Radu brΛ* ‘Kirat Rai language’³⁰. Likewise, the linguistic labels used by outsiders are: Dumi, Rai, Dumi-Rai and Kirati, etc. As we mentioned earlier, Dumi is spoken in a certain area by a limited number of speakers. In this section, however, we attempt to look whether there are any dialectal (or regional) variations in Dumi. The transcribed Dumi words (in the field or from the five survey points) from the wordlists were entered into the software called ‘WordSurv’ (Wimbish, 1989), a tool primarily used to determine the genetic relationship of the languages (or dialects). Similarly, the words from the selected wordlists were aligned on the basis of their phonetic similarities. Then, the percentages of lexical similarity were analysed in ‘WordSurv’.

(b) Multilingualism

In a multilingual country like Nepal, multilingualism is a common phenomenon. It is also found in the Dumi speech community in Khotang District. While administering the sociolinguistic questionnaire A, there were 60 participants (15 females and 45 males).

Table 1.2 presents the responses of the participants.

²⁹ In the writer’s view, it may be a safe and reasonable term to use ‘varieties’ rather than the dialects as there has not been any sufficient linguistic research in this language and not sufficient evidence to declare what a dialect is in such a minority and endangered Kirati language.

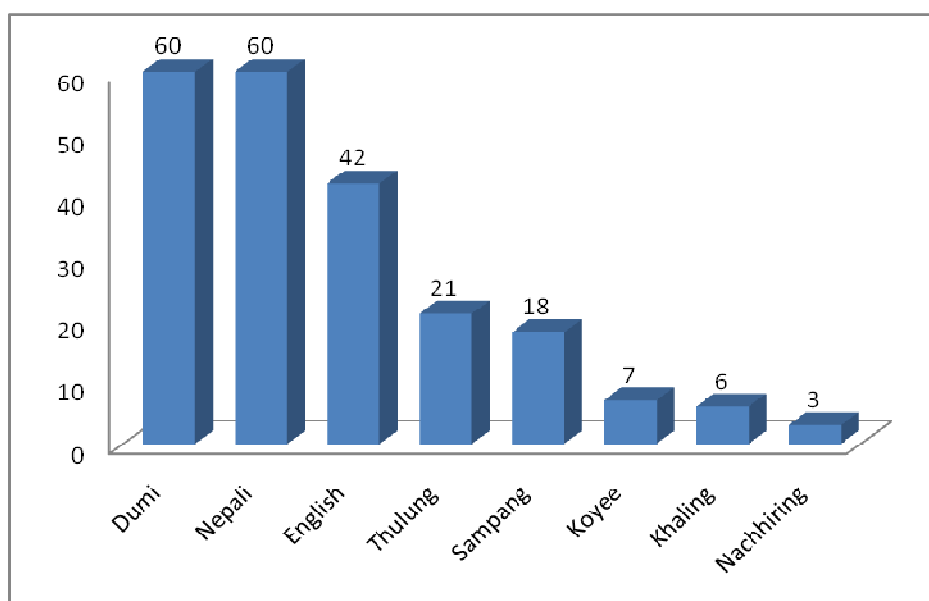
³⁰ In Baksila Dumi, the Dumi word *brΛ* ‘language’ is pronounced as *bΛ* or *Bo?* or *Bo’o* or *Bo*. Likewise, there seems to be the absence of alveolar trill /r/ in other Dumi words, viz., *grɨ* as *gɨ*, ‘throne’, *gro* as *go* ‘horn’, *kripna* as *kipna* ‘cut (with scissors)’, etc.

Table 1.2: Multilingualism in the Dumi community³¹ (N= 60)

	Languages	No. of speakers	Percentage
1.	Dumi	60	100%
2.	Nepali	60	100%
3.	English	42	70%
4.	Thulung	21	35%
5.	Sampang	18	30%
7.	Koyee	7	12%
8.	Khaling	6	10%
9.	Nachhiring	3	5%

Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Dumi (2014)

Table 1.2 shows the responses of the participants in the different languages that they employed. All the participants reported that they spoke both the Dumi and Nepali languages equally well. On the other hand, forty-two participants (70%) reported that they also spoke English; twenty-one participants (35%) reported that they also spoke Thulung; and eighteen participants (30%) reported that they spoke Sampang. Likewise, seven (12%), six (10%) and three (5%) participants reported that they spoke the Koyee, Khaling and Nachhiring languages, respectively.

Figure 1.3: Illustration of the existence of multilingualism

³¹ This data are based on the responses to the question ‘What languages can you speak?’ from sociolinguistic questionnaire A (SLQ-A).

Figure 1.3 shows that majority of the participants speak both the Dumi and Nepali languages while there is a gradually decreasing number of English, Thulung, Sampang, Koyee, Khaling, Nachhiring speakers in the Dumi speech community.³²

1.7 Lexical and phonetic similarity

In this section, we compare and analyze the 200 wordlist (improved version of 210 wordlist) using a computer software called COG, a recently developed program for lexical and phonetic comparison between and among dialects and languages. COG allows us to compare and analyze wordlists from different language varieties using a recursive approach. Using this program we can quickly make sense of the data and then more refine the wordlists and settings, improving the comparison results and the understanding of the varieties at each step. In this section, we first present the lexical similarity in percentage terms among the survey points in the Dumi speech community and then the phonetic similarities among the survey points.

1.7.1 Lexical similarity

Dumi presents different arrays of lexical similarity percentages among the five survey points. Table 1.3 presents the lexical similarity in percentage among the survey points in the Dumi speech community in the northern part of Khotang district.

Table 1.3: Lexical similarity key points in the Dumi speech community

	Kharmi	Jalapa	Makpa	Sapteshwor	Baksila
Kharmi		81	72	76	75
Jalapa	81		91	89	83
Makpa	72	91		87	81
Sapteshwor	76	89	87		93
Baksila	75	83	81	93	

Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Dumi (2014)

Table 1.3 shows that Jalapa, the core area of Dumi, exhibits a significant degree (ranging from 81% to 91%) of lexical similarity with other survey points (i.e., Kharmi, Makpa, Sapteshwor and Baksila). Moreover, of the total 200 words (the selected applicable words from the usual 210 wordlist), Jalapa exhibits the highest similarity with Makpa (i.e., 91%) and the least similarity with Kharmi (i.e., 81%). Makpa, another survey point, displays a significant degree (ranging from 72% to 91%) of lexical similarity with other survey points, highest with Jalapa and least with Kharmi, respectively. It is clear that the lexical similarity percentages categorize the survey points into three groups: Makpa and

³² In the Dumi homeland, other Kirati languages are considered as the second languages. For example, Makpa area: Thulung and Nachhiring, Baksila area: Koyee and Sampang, Kharmi area: Sampang and Chamling, etc.

Jalapa; Baksila and Sapteshwor and Kharmi as an isolated area. Among these varieties, Kharmi stands a bit remote. In addition, the attitudes and the perceptions of the speakers are also important factors in the evaluation of the dialectal variation. All the informants unanimously reported that Dumi does not significantly show a dialectal variation.

1.7.2 Phonetic similarity

Dumi presents different ranges of phonetic similarity percentages among the survey points. Table 1.4 presents the phonetic similarity percentage among the survey points in the Dumi speech community.

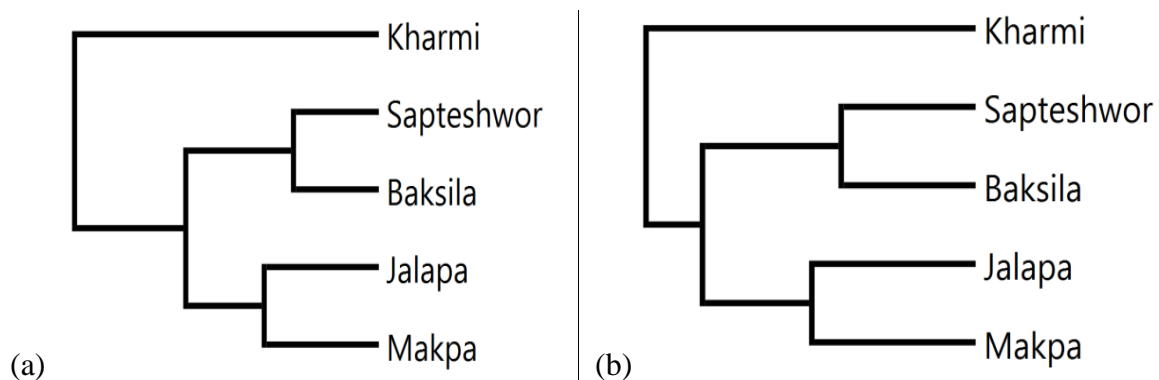
Table 1.4: Phonetic similarity in the five survey points (in percentage)

	Kharmi	Jalapa	Makpa	Sapteshwor	Baksila
Kharmi		87	82	85	84
Jalapa	87		92	89	85
Makpa	82	92		89	85
Sapteshwor	85	89	89		94
Baksila	84	85	85	94	

Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Dumi (2014)

Quite similar to lexical similarity, Table 1.4 shows that Jalapa, the core area of Dumi, exhibits a significant degree (ranging from 85% to 92%) of phonetic similarity with other survey points, (i.e., Kharmi, Makpa, Sapteshwor and Baksila). Moreover, of the total 200 words, Makpa exhibits the highest similarity with Jalapa (i.e., 92%) and the least similarity with Kharmi (i.e., 85%). Kharmi, another survey point, displays a significant degree (ranging from 82% to 87%) of lexical similarity with other survey points, highest with Jalapa (i.e., 87%) and least with Makpa (82%). This can also be presented in a hierarchical graph which displays the hierarchy of relation among the speech varieties based on COG.

Figure 1.4: Similarities matrix: (a) Lexical, and (b) Phonetic

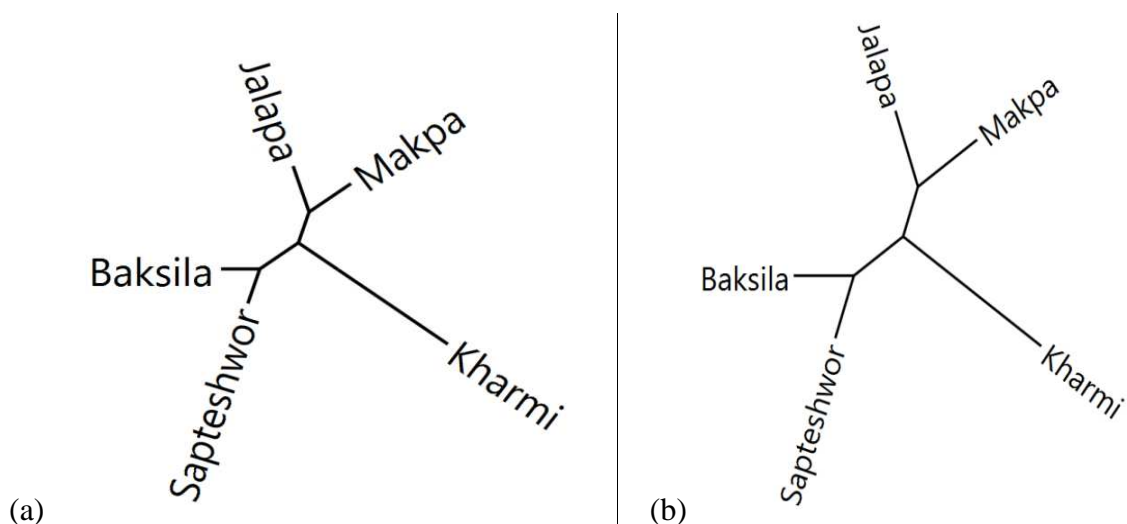


Figures 1.4 (a, b) show that there are basically three speech varieties of Dumi: Makpa and Jalapa; Sapteshwor and Baksila, and Kharmi as an isolated area. From the chart, we can

draw the conclusion that Makpa and Jalapa are both lexically and phonetically closer to each other than Sapteshwor and Baksila or Kharmi speech varieties of Dumii.

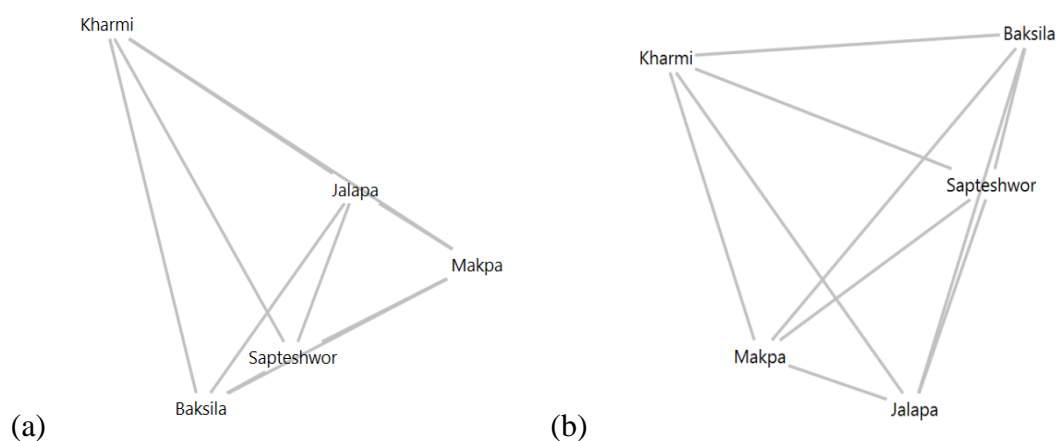
Similarly, the following tree diagram shows the distinct three varieties (Makpa and Jalapa; Sapteshwor and Baksila; and Kharmi) in Dumii.

Figure 1.5: Similarity matrix tree graph: (a) Lexical, and (b) Phonetic



Similarly, the network graph lays out the language varieties, where similar varieties will tend to cluster together. This can be represented in the form of a lexical and phonetic network graph in Figures 1.5 (a, b).

Figure 1.6: Similarity matrix network graph: (a) Lexical, and (b) Phonetic



Edges are drawn between varieties that meet a specified similarity threshold. This graph allows us to make clusters of similar varieties and how they might be connected. Figure 1.6 shows that the Makpa and Jalapa speech varieties of Dumii are closely related to each other both lexically and phonetically. Likewise, Sapteshwor and Baksila speech varieties are also closely related to each other lexically and phonetically. However, Kharmi stands a bit far from the other four varieties.

1.8 Summary

In this chapter, we looked at the Dumi language and people. Linguistically, Dumi is a member of the Western Kirati of the eastern Himalayish branch of the Bodic division of the Tibeto-Burman branch under the Sino-Tibetan family. Dumi is spoken mainly in Norung, Lumdu-Chhuka, Ilim, Bepla, Bakchuwa, Lewa, Chaintar villages of the Makpa Village Development Committee (VDC) in the Khotang district of Eastern Nepal. In addition to Dumi, everybody in this speech community can speak as least three languages, viz., Thulung, Sampang, Koyee, Nachhiring, Chamling, Nepali, etc. The Dumi community, in common with other indigenous communities, is gradually shifting to Nepali, the language of wider communication in the hilly areas in Nepal. In general, the Dumi people have a positive attitude towards their mother tongue. The level of intergenerational language transmission is strong and they have a sustainable orality, i.e., there exists an adequate oral use in every domain for which oral use is desired, but there is no written use. On this basis, Dumi may be categorized as 7 (shifting). By developing primers and teaching materials for the mother-tongue based multilingual education, the vitality of the language may be assured.

CHAPTER 2 PHONOLOGY

2.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the phonology of Dumi. It is organized into six sections. Section 2.1 deals with the vowel phonemes and document their acoustic features instrumentally. In section 2.2, we identify the consonant phonemes, their description, distribution and clusters. Section 2.3 provides the distinctive features of the phonemes on the basis of the phonetics of the language. We characterize the syllable structure in this language in section 2.4. Section 2.5 briefly deals with the suprasegmental features: length, stress and intonation. Finally, in section 2.6, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

2.1 Vowel phonemes

So far as the vowel phonemes are concerned, Benedict (1972:57) and Matisoff (2003:157) have proposed a five vowel system (i.e., /a, o, u, i, e/) for Tibeto-Burman languages in general. However, Dumi has a seven-vowel system (i.e., /a, i, o, u, ʌ, ɨ, e/). In terms of the size of the set of basic vowels used in the languages of the world, Dumi may be referred to as being above (i.e., seven vowels) the average vowel inventory of five to six vowels in a language (Maddieson, 2008b).

Among the seven vowels, there are two front, two central and three back vowels with contrastive height. There is contrast in length in each of the vowels as well. Like any other Kirati languages, the two types of vowels in Dumi are oral and nasal vowels. The oral vowels are further categorized into monophthongs and diphthongs. In this section, we first present an inventory of the oral monophthongs and their phonological oppositions and their positional distribution. Then, we examine the nasal monophthongs, followed by a discussion of the diphthongs in the language.

2.1.1 Inventory of oral monophthongs

In Dumi, there are seven phonemic vowels, each having a long and a short counterpart. This inventory forms a symmetrical and typologically common system. Table 2.1 presents the inventory of oral monophthongs³³ in Dumi.

Table 2.1: Inventory of the oral monophthongs

Position	Front	Central	Back
	unrounded	unrounded	rounded
High	i/i:	ɨ/ɨ:	u/u:
Mid	e/e:		o/o:
Low-mid			ʌ/ʌ:
Low		a/a:	

³³ Boyd (2012:51) quotes that van Driem (1993:50) has mentioned eight oral vowels (i.e., /i, e, œ, ɨ, a, u, o, ʌ/) together with their lengths only for five vowels /i:, e:, a:, u:, o:/ in Dumi. However, the phoneme /œ/ is not in use in the Makpa area at present.

Table 2.1 shows that there are seven oral monophthongs in terms of the height and front-back position of the tongue in Dumi. They are: high-front /i/ and /i:/, mid-front /e/ and /e:/, high-central /ɨ/ and /ɨ:/, low-central /a/ and /a:/, low-mid back /ʌ/ and /ʌ:/ and mid-back /o/ and /o:/, high-back /u/ and /u:/, respectively.

2.1.2 Phonological oppositions in vowels

The oral monophthongs present phonological oppositions in terms of length, tongue height and front-back positions.

Table 2.2 presents the contrast in terms of the length of these vowels.

Table 2.2: The contrast in length of the vowels

a.	/i/ vs. /i:/	/kina/	‘to quarrel’	/ki:na/	‘to buy’
		/minu/	‘person’	/mi:nu/	‘let him die’
b.	/e/ vs. /e:/	/dʒeta/	‘call him/her’	/dʒe:ta/	‘(s/he) talks’
		/k ^h eta/	‘comb’	/k ^h e:ta/	‘steal’
c.	/a/ vs. /a:/	/bana/	‘to say’	/ba:na/	‘to leak’
		/k ^h ana/	‘to be bitter’	/k ^h a:na/	‘grievance’
d.	/ʌ/ vs. /ʌ:/	/hʌna/	‘to snatch’	/hʌ:na/	‘to bring’
		/k ^h ʌʌ/	‘wild yam’	/k ^h ʌ:lʌ/	‘whole’
e.	/o/ vs. /o:/	/k ^h o/	‘if’	/kho:/	‘utensil’
		/to/	‘this’	/to:/	‘loom’
f.	/u/ vs. /u:/	/huna/	‘to come’	/hu:na/	‘to burn’
		/puna/	‘to weave’	/pu:na/	‘to pile up’
g.	/ɨ/ vs. /ɨ:/	/t ^s ɨ/	‘child’	/t ^s ɨ:/	‘poison’
		/t ^s ɨkta/	‘points out’	/t ^s ɨ:kta/	‘mole’

Table 2.2 shows the contrast in terms of the length of the vowels in Dumi.

(a) Height oppositions

We present the oppositions for the vowels in terms of the frontness of the tongue height as in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: The oppositions for the vowels in terms of tongue height

a.	/i/ vs. /e/	/d ^z ina/	‘to speak’	/d ^z ena/	‘to call’
b.	/e/ vs. /a/	/lem/	‘tongue’	/lam/	‘way’
c.	/i/ vs. /a/	/kina/	‘to quarrel’	/kana/	‘to bite’
d.	/i/ vs. /ʌ/	/pi/	‘ash’	/pʌ/	‘bloom’
e.	/ʌ/ vs. /a/	/kʌ/	‘curry’	/ka/	‘and’
f.	/i/ vs. /a/	/t ^s ipna/	‘to trap’	/t ^s apna/	‘to be able to’
g.	/u/ vs. /o/	/pu/	‘father’	/po/	‘pig’
h.	/o/ vs. /a/	/kokna/	‘to cut’	/kakna/	‘to peel out’
i.	/u/ vs. /a/	/t ^s upna/	‘to trap’	/t ^s apna/	‘to be able to’
j.	/i/ vs. /o/	/t ^s ikna/	‘to know’	/t ^s okna/	‘to ripen’
k.	/i/ vs. /ʌ/	/ki/	‘yam’	/kʌ/	‘curry’
l.	/i/ vs. /o/	/kikna/	‘to pin’	/kokna/	‘to cut’
m.	/u/ vs. /e/	/mu/	‘mother’	/me/	‘wife’
n.	/u/ vs. /ʌ/	/ulna/	‘to boil’	/ʌlna/	‘to uproot’

Table 2.3 shows the opposition for the vowels in terms of the tongue height in Dumi.

(b) Front-back oppositions

The oppositions for the vowels in terms of the frontness of the tongue height are presented in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4: The oppositions for the vowels in terms of the frontness of the tongue

a.	/i/ vs. /u/	/sina/	‘to bear fruit’	/suna/	‘to itch’
		/kirna/	‘to preserve’	/kurna/	‘to carry’
b.	/e/ vs. /ʌ/	/d ^z ena/	‘to speak’	/d ^z ʌna/	‘to graze’
		/t ^{sh} emna/	‘to trap’	/t ^{sh} ʌmna/	‘to dance’
c.	/e/ vs. /o/	/k ^h ena/	‘to steal’	/k ^h ona/	‘to bring up’
		/ŋena/	‘to get sick’	/ŋona/	‘to weep’

Table 2.4 shows the oppositions for the vowels in terms of the frontness of the tongue in Dumi.

2.1.3 Distribution of oral monophthongs

In this sub-section, we present an overview of the positional distribution of the oral vowels in the language. Table 2.5 provides an overview of the positional distribution of the oral monophthongs.

Table 2.5: Distribution of the oral monophthongs

Monophthongs	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
i	+	+	+
e	+	+	+
ɨ	+	+	+
ʌ	+	+	+
a	+	+	+
o	+	+	+
u	+	+	+

Table 2.5 shows that all the monophthongs (/i/, /e/, /ɨ/, /ʌ/, /a/, /o/ and /u/) can occur in all positions: word-initially, word-medially and word-finally.

Table 2.6 presents the examples for the positional distribution of the oral monophthongs.

Table 2.6: Positional distribution of the oral monophthongs

Monophthongs	Word initial		Word medial		Word final	
i	/inna/	‘to sell’	/lim/	‘seedling’	/hi/	‘blood’
e	/enna/	‘to remain’	/kenna/	‘to jump’	/ɲeɲe/	‘leading thread’
ɨ	/ina/	‘to burn’	/t ^s ikta/	‘mole’	/pɨ/	‘ash’
ʌ	/ʌmri/	‘orchid’	/kʌr/	‘wound’	/k ^h ʌrʌ/	‘gourd’
a	/ani/	‘you’	/nam/	‘sun’	/swala/	‘young’
o	/okna/	‘to crow’	/kokna/	‘to cut’	/t ^s o/	‘tip’
u	/um/	‘s/he’	/lum/	‘grave’	/lu/	‘stone’

Table 2.6 shows the positional distribution of the oral monophthongs.

2.1.4 Nasalized vowels

There are three distinctive nasal vowels in Dumi. They are: high-front /ĩ/, high-back /ũ/ and low-central /ã/. Table 2.7 presents the inventory of nasalized vowels.

Table 2.7: Inventory of the nasalized vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	ĩ		ũ
Low		ã	

Table 2.7 shows the inventory of the nasalized vowels in Dumi.

Table 2.8 presents the distribution of nasal vowels.

Table 2.8: Distribution of the nasal vowels

a.	/ĩ/	/b ^h ĩka/	‘why’
		/sĩbi/	‘beans’
b.	/ã/	/ãuli/	‘finger’
		/bjãsi/	‘low land’
c.	/ũ/	/p ^h ũli/	‘cave’
		/hiũdo/	‘winter’

Table 2.8 shows the distribution of the nasal vowels in Dumi.

Table 2.9 presents the phonological oppositions between the nasal vowels and corresponding oral vowels.

Table 2.9: Phonological oppositions (the nasal and the corresponding oral vowels)

a.	/ĩ/ vs. /i/	/sĩbi/	‘beans’	/sibi/	‘youngest female sibling’
b.	/ã/ vs. /a/	/sãbe/	‘fatty layer’	/sabe/	‘bread’
c.	/ũ/ vs. /u/	/p ^h ũli/	‘cave’	/p ^h uli/	‘stirred’

Table 2.9 shows the phonological oppositions between the nasal vowels and corresponding oral vowels.

2.1.5 Loan words

In Dumi, there are very few loan words, especially from Nepali, which are pronounced as the localized word with the distinct nasalized form as in (1).

- (1) /aũ^{hi}/ ‘ring’
 /bijās/ ‘interest’
 /bjāsi/ ‘low land’
 /k^hābo/ ‘pillar’
 /k^hāŋi/ ‘weaving cloth’
 /pijās/ ‘onion’
 /t^sΛĩ/ ‘particle’

2.1.6 Diphthongs

Dumi exhibits only a few diphthongs³⁴, all of them are rising ones, gliding from low or mid-low to high positions, front or back. The most frequently used diphthongs³⁵ are /Λi/, /Λu/, /ai/, /au/, /ei/, /ou/, /iu/, /ui/, /oi/ and /eu/. The mid-back vowel /Λ/ and the low-central vowel /a/ cluster with both the high vowels /i, u/. All the diphthongs occur word-medially, though there are some instances where they are attested in the initial and final positions as well. The examples and their distributions are given in Table 2.10 and Table 2.11, respectively.

Table 2.10: Diphthongs in Dumi

<u>iu</u>	<u>ui</u>
<u>ei/eu</u>	<u>oi/ou</u>
	Λi/Λu
	<u>ai/au</u>

Table 2.10 shows the diphthongs in Dumi.

Table 2.11 presents the distribution of diphthongs.

³⁴ Diphthongs, within a single syllable, are the combinations of two basic vowels. Likewise, vowel sequences are considered as the occurrence of two vowel sounds in the neighbouring syllables. In practice, it is difficult to distinguish between the vowel sequences and diphthongs in Dumi.

³⁵ van Driem (1993) mentions about the vowel and consonant phonemes together with their allophones, hiatus, the syllable and the orthography in Dumi. However, he describes nothing about the vowel sequence and diphthongs in the Dumi language from the Baksila area.

Table 2.11: Distribution of diphthongs

	Initial		medial		Final	
ɿi	/ɿisina/	‘to return’	/dʒɿisina/	‘to graze’	/mattɿi/	‘only’
ʌu	...		/k ^h ʌusi/	‘cotton’	/bʌk ^h ʌu/	‘dumb’
ai	...		/taisina/	‘come down’	/makai/	‘maize’
au	...		/bausa/	‘fox’	/sau/	‘black smith’
ei	...		/meisi/	‘buffalo’	/mei/	‘ok’
eu		/t ^h eu/	‘fat’
		/waseu/	‘fern’
oi	...		/doisi/	‘appeared’	...	
	/oisina/	‘to be ready’	/koisina/	‘to be cut’	...	
ou		/tou/	‘basket’
ui	/uisu/	‘a dowry pot’	/muisina/	‘to wear’	...	
			
iu	...		/liulima/	‘earthquake’	...	

Table 2.11 shows examples along with their distributions that all the diphthongs occur word medially, though there are some instances where they are attested to be in the initial and final positions as well.

Table 2.12 displays the vowel patterns in the formation of diphthongs³⁶.

³⁶ Though van Driem (1993:50) shows only five diphthongs in Dumi based on the Baksila variety, we can find ten diphthongs in practice in Makpa Dumi.

Table 2.12: The vowel patterns in formation of diphthongs

		Initial		medial		Final	
u → i	ui	/muisina/	‘to wear’	/muisina/	‘to wear’	...	
o → i	oi	/oisina/	‘to appear’	/doisina/	‘to be seen’	...	
Λ → i	Λi	/Λisina/	‘to return’	/dʒΛisina/	‘to graze’	/matΛi/	‘only’
a → i	ai	/aisina/	‘to sit’	/ηaisina/	‘to sit’	...	
e → i	ei	/meisi/	‘buffalo’	/meisi/	‘buffalo’	...	
i → i	ii	/iisu/	‘property’	/diisina/	‘collect’	...	
a → u	au	...		/daulo/	‘hearth’	...	
Λ → u	Λu	

Table 2.12 displays the one way relationship between the vowels involved in the formation of diphthongs. Moreover, the central vowel is only the beginning point. The mid-front vowel [e] also participates in diphthongs as the beginning point. Similarly the high-front vowel [i] only participates as the ending point for the diphthongs.

2.1.7 Formant frequencies

The frequencies of the first two formants (i.e., f_1 and f_2) for all the oral monophthongal vowels were measured with the help of target words as in (2).

- (2)
- a. /i/ /hip/ ‘cut (with sickle)’
 - b. /e/ /hep/ ‘to hug’
 - c. /a/ /hap/ ‘to be entangled’
 - d. /Λ/ /hΛp/ ‘drink’
 - e. /o/ /hop/ ‘estimate’
 - f. /u/ /hup/ ‘press on’
 - g. /i/ /hip/ ‘to choke’

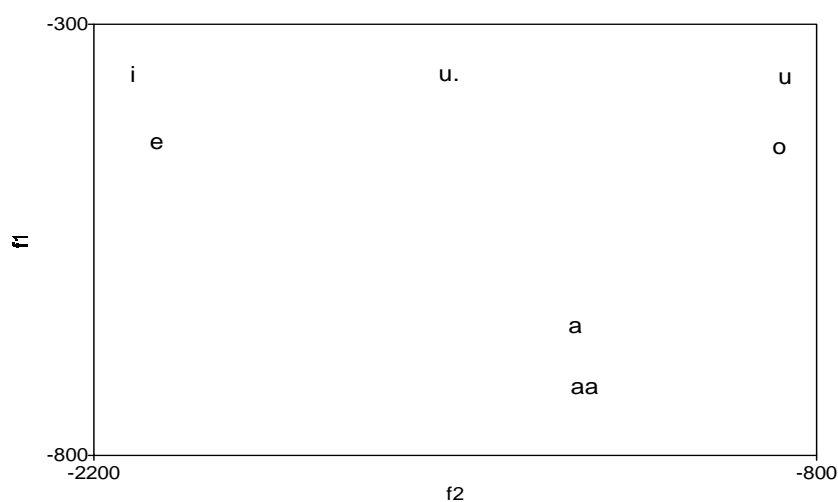
Table 2.13 presents the average first and second formant frequencies (i.e., f_1 and f_2) of the seven monophthongal vowels.

Table 2.13: Frequencies of the first two formants of the monophthongal vowels

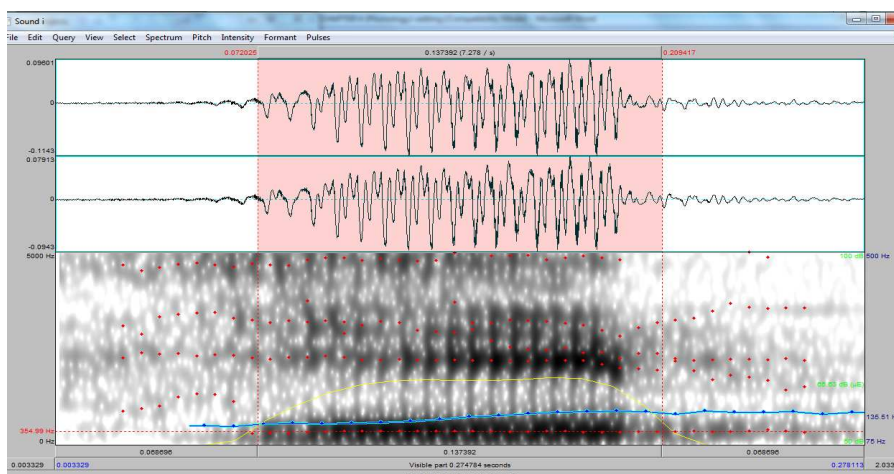
	[i]	[e]	[a]	[ʌ]	[o]	[u]	[ɪ]
f₁ (Hz)	359.77	437.55	721.82	650.39	442.10	361.67	358.52
f₂ (Hz)	2125.79	2078.35	1249.05	1267.22	872.36	863.94	1512.27

Table 2.13 presents the average values of the first and second formants (i.e., f_1 and f_2) of the seven monophthongs.

Figure 2.1 shows the spectrograms of the sounds/formants of the monophthongs.³⁷

Figure 2.1: Spectrograms of the sounds/formants of the oral monophthongs³⁸

The Figures 2.2 through 2.8 display the spectrograms for each of the sound. The sound analysis was done with the computer software Praat.

Figure 2.2: The spectrogram of the sound [i] in the word *hip* ‘cut’

³⁷ In the Figure 2.1, there is technically not supported by the IPA symbols. So the two vowels 'a' and 'a' are signified by 'a' and 'aa', respectively.

³⁸ The symbols 'u.' and 'aa' (in the Figure 2.1) represent 'i' and 'a', respectively.

Figure 2.3: The spectrogram of the sound [e] in the word *hep* ‘hug’

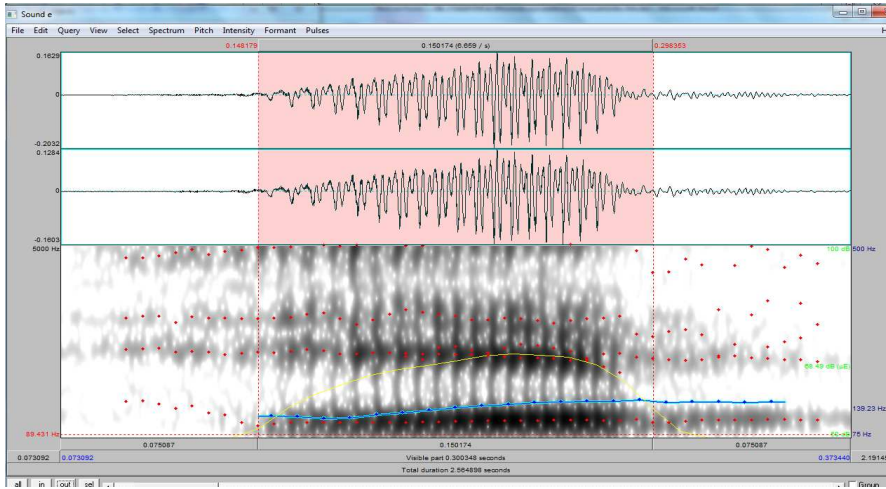


Figure 2.4: The spectrogram of the sound [a] in the word *hap* ‘entangled’

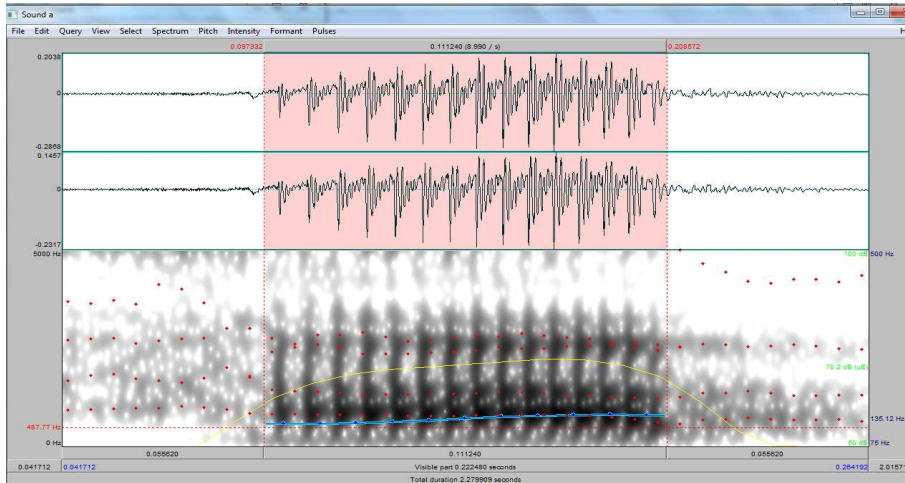


Figure 2.5: The spectrogram of the sound [ʌ] in the word *hap* ‘drink’

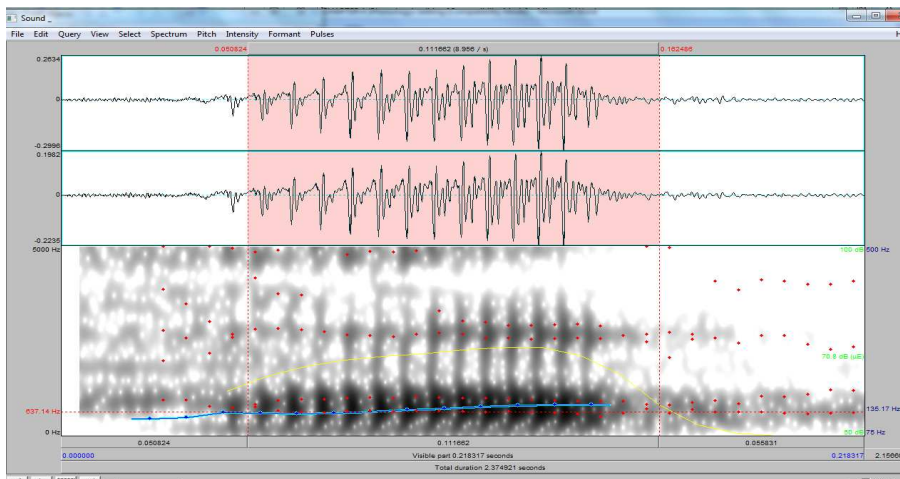


Figure 2.6: The spectrogram of the sound [o] in the word *hop* ‘estimate’

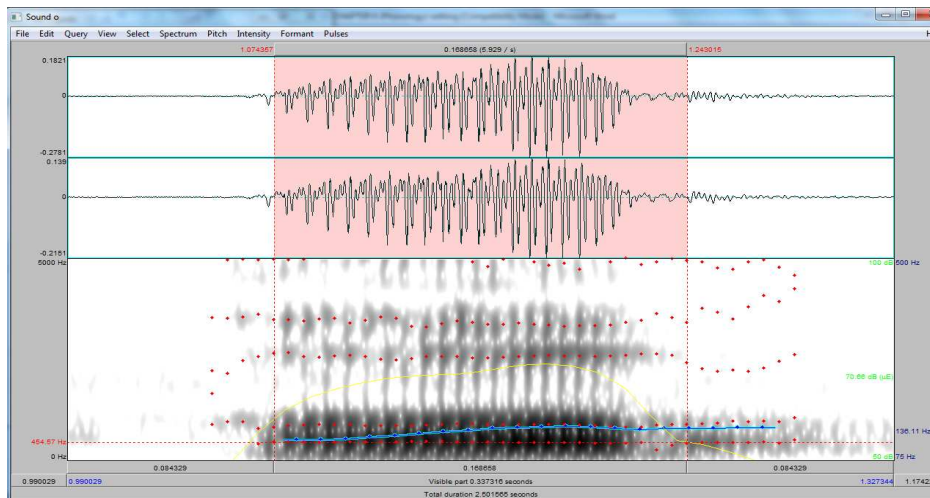


Figure 2.7: The spectrogram of the sound [u] in the word *hup* ‘press on’

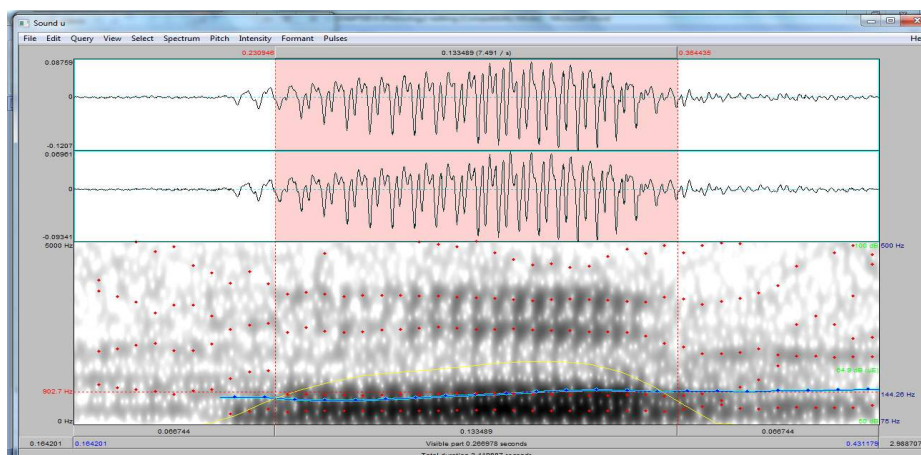
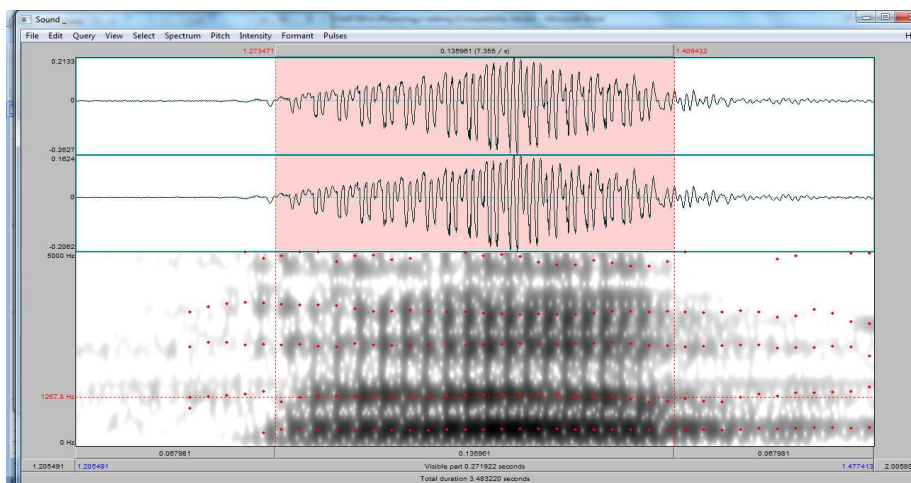


Figure 2.8: The spectrogram of the sound [ɨ] in the word *hɨp* ‘choke’



2.1.8 Mean duration

In this sub-section, we present the mean duration of the oral monophthongal vowels. Table 2.14 presents the mean duration of all the monophthongs that are found in this language.

Table 2.14: Duration of the monophthongs (6 milliseconds)

Monophthongs	target Dumi words	Mean duration
[i]	hip	0.2297
[e]	hep	0.3989
[a]	hap	0.1864
[ʌ]	hʌp	0.3672
[o]	hop	0.1923
[u]	hup	0.2456
[ɨ]	hip	0.2384

Table 2.14 shows that the mid-front vowel [e] has the longest duration and mid-back vowel [o] has the shortest duration. Figure 2.9 presents the mean durations of individual vowels.

Figure 2.9: Mean durations of monophthongs

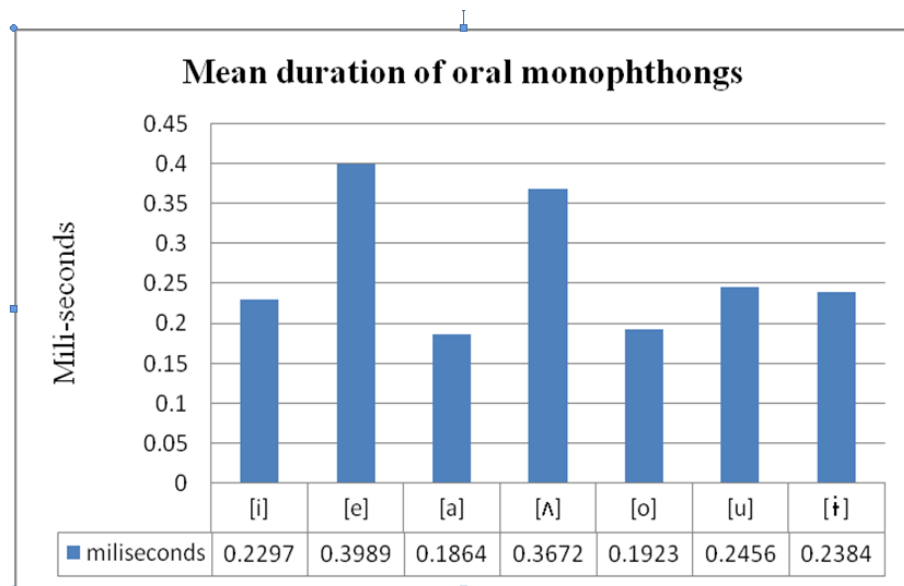


Figure 2.9 shows the mean duration of seven monophthongs. The duration ranges from 0.1823 to 0.3989 milliseconds. This presents, in fact, a little variation between the lengths of the monophthongs. They all are roughly of the same length. The difference between the longest and shortest vowel is only 1/10 of a second, which is the negligible length distinction in deed.

2.2 Consonant phonemes

Dumi has a rich inventory of phonemes. In this section, we first present an inventory of the consonant phonemes. Then, we establish phonological oppositions. In addition, the distribution of the consonants in the language is examined, which is followed by a discussion of consonant clusters.

2.2.1 Inventory of consonants

In Dumi, there are 26 consonants (excluding borrowed ones) occurring at only three points of articulation: bilabial, alveolar and velar. They show four-way contrasts³⁹ or oppositions: place of articulation, manner of articulation, voicing and aspiration. In terms of place of articulation, there are six types of consonant phonemes: bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. In terms of manner of articulation, there are seven types of consonant phonemes: stops, nasals, affricates, fricatives, trills, laterals and approximants.

Similarly, there are two types of consonant phonemes on the basis of voicing: voiceless and voiced. In terms of aspiration, there are two types of consonant phonemes: aspirated and unaspirated. The Dumi consonants⁴⁰ can be further classified into voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced aspirated (i.e., breathy voice). The classification and full inventory of consonant phonemes will be used throughout the dissertation (for a detailed list: Appendix-1(b)).

2.2.2 Description and distribution of consonants

So far as the consonant phonemes are concerned, there are three types of stops: bilabial, dental and velar. Likewise, nasals, alveolar, affricates, fricatives, liquids (laterals and trills), approximants and glottal stop are distinctly observed.

(a) Bilabial stops

In Dumi, there are four labial stops: /p/, /p^h/, /b/ and /b^h/. The phoneme /p/ is a voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop, whereas /p^h/ is a voiceless bilabial aspirated stop.

Likewise, the phoneme /b/ is a voiced bilabial unaspirated stop, whereas /b^h/ is a voiced bilabial aspirated stop. They show phonological contrast in terms of aspiration only in word initial position. The minimal pairs listed in (1) distinguish the consonants phonemes. The minimal (or sub-minimal) pairs of the labial stops (/p/, /p^h/, /b/, /b^h/) are listed as in (3).

³⁹ Paudyal (2015:287) notes that South Asian languages show a four way contrasts in stop consonants.

⁴⁰ van Driem (1993:50) includes the series of consonant phonemes /t/, /t^h/, /d/, /d^h/ in the list of consonants from Baksila (especially the ‘Halkhum’ village) area. However, in the Makpa area, it is not productive in pronunciation except for a very few Nepali loan words like *t^hanra* ‘supporting pole’, *k^hari* ‘weaving cloth’, *taka* ‘get bar’.

(3)	/p/ vs. /p ^h /	/pu/	‘father’	/p ^h u/	‘cock’
		/pe/	‘elder brother’	/p ^h e/	‘rupee’
	/p/ vs. /b/	/pukna/	‘to pile up’	/bukna/	‘to be born’
		/pʌna/	‘to tie’	/bʌna/	‘to insert’
	/p ^h / vs. /b ^h /	/p ^h al/	‘to destroy’	/b ^h al/	‘far’
		/p ^h u:/	‘power’	/b ^h u:/	‘front’
	/b/ vs. /b ^h /	/bal/	‘be lazy’	/b ^h al/	‘far’
		/bu/	‘tree’	/b ^h u/	‘front’
	/b/ vs. /m/	/bu/	‘tree’	/mu/	‘mother’
		/bo:na/	‘to bang’	/mo:na/	‘to finish’

The distribution of the labial stops is given in Table 2.15.

Table 2.15: Distribution of the labial stops (/p/, /p^h/, /b/, /b^h/)

	Word-initial		Inter-vocalic		Word-final	
/p/	/pu/	‘father’	/opo/	‘mine’	/tup/	‘play’
	/paru/	‘sky’	/hopu/	‘self’	/ʌp/	‘catch’
/p ^h /	/p ^h u/	‘foster’	/kap ^h e/	‘joiner’	...	
	/p ^h iru/	‘ginger’	/kʌ:p ^h u/	‘face’	...	
/b/	/bit ^{sh} u/	‘knife’	/ʌbu/	‘pine’	...	
	/but ^{sh} ʌ/	‘insect’	/k ^h liba/	‘dog’	...	
/b ^h /	/b ^h u/	‘front’	/lab ^h ou/	‘dumb’	...	
	/b ^h en/	‘fill’	

Table 2.15 shows that only the voiceless unaspirated /p/ occurs in the word final position. But, no voiceless aspirated /p^h/, voiced unaspirated /b/ and voiced aspirated /b^h/ can appear in the word final position.

(b) Dental stops

There are four dental stops: /t/, /t^h/, /d/ and /d^h/. The phoneme /t/ is a voiceless dental unaspirated stop, whereas /t^h/ is a voiceless dental aspirated stop. The phoneme /d/ is a voiced dental unaspirated stop, whereas /d^h/ is a voiced dental aspirated stop. They show phonological contrast in terms of aspiration only in word initial position as labial stops.

The minimal pairs of the dental stops (/t/, /t^h/, /d/, /d^h/) are listed as in (4).

(4)	/t/ vs. /t ^h /	/ta:na/	‘to scratch’	/t ^h a:na/	‘to snatch’
		/tjalna/	‘to uproot’	/t ^h jalna/	‘to peel out’
	/t/ vs. /d/	/tΛna/	‘to keep for’	/dΛna/	‘to receive’
		/tΛpna/	‘to knock down’	/dΛpna/	‘to chant’
	/d/ vs. /d ^h /	/dapsa/	‘to be taste’	/d ^h apsa/	‘flat’
		/dumna/	‘to meet’	/d ^h umna/	‘to blow’
	/t ^h / vs. /d ^h /	/t ^h una/	‘to pull’	/d ^h una/	‘to dig’
		/t ^h apsa/	‘to measure’	/d ^h apsa/	‘wide’
	/t/ vs. /n/	/tamna/	‘to reserve’	/namna/	‘day after tomorrow’
		/du/	‘about’	/nu/	‘name’

The distribution of the dental stops is given in the Table 2.16.

Table 2.16: Distribution of the dental stops (/t/, /t^h/, /d/, /d^h/)

	Word-initial		Inter-vocalic		Word-final	
/t/	/to: /	‘loom’	/p ^h ati/	‘egg’	/dit/	‘follow’
	/tum/	‘matter’	/kate/	‘opposite side’	/t ^s Λt/	‘tease’
/t ^h /	/t ^h o/	‘year’	/bet ^h o/	‘khukuri’	...	
	/t ^h Λkpuri/	‘girdle’	/k ^h ant ^h e/	‘nicely’	...	
/d/	/du/	‘context’	/ghΛdu/	‘waking moment’	...	
	/dok/	‘see’	/k ^h adi/	‘underworld’	...	
/d ^h /	/d ^h u/	‘dig’	
	/d ^h apsa/	‘wide’	

Table 2.16 shows that only the voiceless dental unaspirated stop /t/ occurs in the word final position. But, no voiceless dental aspirated stop /t^h/, voiced dental unaspirated stop /d/ and voiced dental aspirated stop /d^h/ can appear in the word final position.

(c) Velar stops

There are four velar stops: /k/, /k^h/, /g/ and /g^h/. The phoneme /k/ is a voiceless velar unaspirated stop, whereas /k^h/ is a voiceless velar aspirated stop. The phoneme /g/ is a voiced

velar unaspirated stop, whereas the segment /g^h/ is a voiced velar aspirated stop. They show phonological contrast in terms of aspiration only in word-initial position as labial and dental stops.

The minimal pairs of the velar stops (/k/, /k^h/, /g/, /g^h/) are listed as in (5).

- (5)
- | | | | | |
|---|------------------------|----------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| /k/ vs. /k ^h / | /kana/ | ‘to bite’ | /k ^h ana/ | ‘to be bitter’ |
| | /kina/ | ‘to quarrel’ | /k ^h ina/ | ‘to steal’ |
| /k/ vs. /g/ | /kʌ/ | ‘curry’ | /gʌ/ | ‘was’ |
| | /ku/ | ‘pour on’ | /gu/ | ‘cloth’ |
| /k ^h / vs. /g ^h / | /k ^h ʌlsa/ | ‘transporting’ | /g ^h ʌlsa/ | ‘large’ |
| | /k ^h ri:na/ | ‘to count’ | /g ^h rina/ | ‘to decay’ |
| /g/ vs. /g ^h / | /glumna/ | ‘to hatch’ | /g ^h lumna/ | ‘three days later’ |
| | /giru/ | ‘wastage’ | /g ^h iru/ | ‘parrot’ |
| /g/ vs. /ŋ/ | /gu/ | ‘cloth’ | /ŋu/ | ‘fish’ |
| | /go/ | ‘inside’ | /ŋo/ | ‘weep’ |

The distribution of the velar stops is given in the Table 2.17.

Table 2.17: Distribution of the velar stops (/k/, /k^h/, /g/, /g^h/)

	Word-initial		Inter-vocalic		Word-final	
/k/	/kʌ/	‘curry’	/tʌki/	‘cap’	/p ^h ik/	‘sweep’
	/kim/	‘house’	/lamt ^s uko/	‘door’	/tuk/	‘one’
	/kit/	‘buy’	/kakal/	‘basket’	/p ^h uk/	‘get up’
/k ^h /	/k ^h ur/	‘hand’	/nak ^h il/	‘mucus’	...	
	/k ^h ilʌm/	‘ghee’	/mok ^h o/	‘if’	...	
	/k ^h ʌldʒʌm/	‘goitre’	/mik ^h uma/	‘tear’	...	
/g/	/gu/	‘cloth’	/nigum/	‘blue’	...	
	/gatt ^h a/	‘shed’	/nagu/	‘rainbow’	...	
	/gʌndʌri/	‘neck’	/sago/	‘soul’	...	
/g ^h /	/g ^h em/	‘go around’	
	/g ^h ʌlsʌ/	‘big’	
	/g ^h iru/	‘parrot’	

Table 2.17 shows that only the voiceless velar unaspirated stop /k/ occurs in the word final position. But, no voiceless velar aspirated stop /k^h/, voiced velar unaspirated stop /g/ and voiced velar aspirated stop /g^h/ appear in the word final position.

(d) Nasals

Dumi comprises three nasal consonants: a bilabial /m/, an alveolar /n/ and a velar /ŋ/. The phoneme bilabial, alveolar and velar nasals show phonological oppositions in terms of

place of articulation. Dumi exhibits such oppositions in word-initially, intervocalically and word-finally. Following are the phonological oppositions among the nasals.

The minimal (or sub-minimal) pairs of the nasals (/ŋ/, /n/, /m/) are listed as in (6).

- (6) /m/ vs. /n/ /muru/ ‘smell’ /nuru/ ‘tiger’
 /mo/ ‘what’ /no/ ‘snow’
 /mam/ ‘that’ /nam/ ‘sun’
 /m/ vs. /ŋ/ /mu/ ‘mother’ /ŋu/ ‘fish’
 /mi/ ‘fire’ /ŋi/ ‘to hear’
 /mo/ ‘what’ /ŋo/ ‘to weep’
 /n/ vs. /ŋ/ /nu/ ‘mind’ /ŋu/ ‘fish’
 /ni/ ‘lineage’ /ŋi/ ‘to hear’
 /no/ ‘snow’ /ŋo/ ‘to weep’

The distribution of the nasals is given in the Table 2.18.

Table 2.18: Distribution of the nasals (/ŋ/, /n/, /m/)

	Word-initial		Intervocalic		Word-final	
/m/	/mi/	‘fire’	/t ^s ame/	‘needle’	/lem/	‘tongue’
	/mu/	‘mother’	/sumΛr/	‘disease’	/k ^h ilΛm/	‘ghee’
	/meisi/	‘buffalo’	/lu:mu/	‘lever’	/sulum/	‘grave’
/n/	/nu/	‘nose’	/sinΛm/	‘night’	/t ^s an/	‘pile up’
	/nam/	‘sun’	/sanuwa/	‘sense’	/tan/	‘bring down’
	/nokt ^{sh} o/	‘shaman’	/lΛnΛm/	‘rope’	/kan/	‘throw away’
/ŋ/	/ŋit ^s o/	‘ear’	/aŋu/	‘I’	/k ^h oŋ/	‘come up’
	/ŋu/	‘fish’	/ŋeŋe/	‘leading thread’	/p ^h iŋ/	‘send’
	/ŋin/	‘be afraid’	/naŋala/	‘extortion’	/t ^h aŋ/	‘fall’

Table 2.18 shows that all the three nasal consonants: a bilabial /m/, an alveolar /n/ and a velar /ŋ/ occur in the word initial, intervocalic and final position.

(e) Alveolar affricates

There are four alveolar affricates: /t^s/, /t^{sh}/, /d^z/ and /d^{zh}/. The phoneme /t^s/ is a voiceless alveolar unaspirated affricate, whereas /t^{sh}/ is a voiceless alveolar aspirated affricate. The segment /d^z/ is a voiced alveolar unaspirated affricate, whereas /d^{zh}/ is a voiced alveolar aspirated affricate. They show phonological contrast in terms of aspiration only in word-initial and intervocalic position.

The minimal (or sub-minimal) pairs⁴¹ of the alveolar affricates (/t^s/, /t^{sh}/, /d^z/, /d^{zh}/) are illustrated as in (7).

(7)	/t ^s / vs. /t ^{sh} /	/t ^s i/	‘alcohol’	/t ^{sh} i/	‘cornel’
		/t ^s uk/	‘to point out’	/t ^{sh} uk/	‘to be’
	/t ^s / vs. /d ^z /	/t ^s e:na/	‘to chop’	/d ^z e:na/	‘to call’
		/t ^s a/	‘disagreed’	/d ^z a/	‘rice’
	/t ^{sh} / vs. /d ^{zh} /	/t ^{sh} okna/	‘to pour water’	/d ^{zh} okna/	‘to strike’
		/t ^{sh} umsina/	‘to be backward’	/d ^{zh} umsina/	‘to get hurt’
	/t ^s / vs. /s/	/t ^s ili/	‘anger’	/sili/	‘action in dance’
		/t ^s uk/	‘point out’	/suk/	‘three’
	/t ^{sh} / vs. /s/	/t ^{sh} ana/	‘to grow’	/sana/	‘to block’
		/t ^{sh} jar/	‘filter’	/sjar/	‘louse’

The distribution of the alveolar affricates is given in the Table 2.19.

⁴¹ However, there is no minimal pair for the voiced alveolar unaspirated affricate /d^z/ and the voiced alveolar aspirated affricate /d^{zh}/.

Table 2.19: Distribution of the alveolar affricates⁴² (/t^s/, /t^{sh}/, /d^z/ and /d^{zh}/)

	Word-initial		Intervocalic		Word-final	
/t ^s /	/t ^s o/	‘tip’	/kot ^s okpu/	‘squirrel’		
	/t ^s iskil/	‘intestine’	/sat ^s eko/	‘wooden chop board’	...	
	/t ^s oŋgel/	‘tender’	/nat ^s ur/	‘jealousy’	...	
/t ^{sh} /	/t ^{sh} i/	‘kernel’	/bit ^{sh} u/	‘knife’	...	
	/t ^{sh} elmu/	‘straw mat’	/at ^{sh} emml/	‘two years later’	...	
	/t ^{sh} umpalu/	‘ant’	/mit ^{sh} erma/	‘sparkle’	...	
/d ^z /	/d ^z a/	‘rice’	/la:d ^z i/	‘shyness’	...	
	/d ^z Λm/	‘paddy’	/lud ^z Λm/	‘millet’	...	
	/d ^z u/	‘coldness’	/sod ^z a/	‘money’	...	
/d ^{zh} /	/d ^{zh} ara/	‘everyone’	/ad ^{zh} o/	‘once upon a time’	...	
	/d ^{zh} Λmbar/	‘boring’	/ad ^{zh} imna/	‘to satisfy’	...	
	/d ^{zh} i:ra/	‘obedient’	/mod ^{zh} oŋka/	‘last year’	...	

Table 2.19 shows that the phonemes voiceless alveolar unaspirated affricate /t^s/, voiceless alveolar aspirated affricate /t^{sh}/, voiced alveolar unaspirated affricate /d^z/ and voiced alveolar aspirated affricate /d^{zh}/ can occur only in word-initial and intervocalic position, but not in the word final position.

(f) Fricatives

There are two fricatives: /s/ and /h/. The phoneme /s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative, whereas /h/ is a voiced glottal fricative. They show phonological contrast in analogous environment in terms of place of articulation only in word-initial and medial position. The minimal or sub-minimal pairs of the fricatives (/s/, /h/) are listed as in (8).

- (8) /s/ vs. /h/
- | | | | |
|---------|----------|---------|---------|
| /sinΛm/ | ‘night’ | /hinΛm/ | ‘when’ |
| /si/ | ‘fruit’ | /hi/ | ‘blood’ |
| /su/ | ‘energy’ | /hu/ | ‘rain’ |

The distribution of the fricatives is given in the Table 2.20.

⁴² van Driem (1993:50) provides the list of consonants in Dumi, which lacks the distinct three sounds like, /t^s/, /t^{sh}/ and /d^z/ though it is in use in the Baksila area.

Table 2.20: Distribution of the fricatives (/s/ and /h/)

	Word-initial		Intervocalic		Word-final	
/s/	/sulam/	‘way of doing’	/asi/	‘who’	...	
	/si/	‘tea’	/dusu/	‘friend’	...	
	/somna/	‘evening’	/dosom/	‘hair’	...	
/h/	/hu/	‘rain’	/kuhuma/	‘cloud’	...	
	/hi/	‘blood’	/tehem/	‘like this’	...	
	/hikmel/	‘starvation’	/tuhe/	‘together’	...	

Table 2.20 shows that the phoneme voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ and voiced glottal fricative /h/ show phonological contrast in analogous environment in terms of place of articulation only in word-initial and intervocalic position.

(g) Liquids (laterals and trills)

The alveolar lateral segment /l/ shows phonological opposition with alveolar trill /r/ in word-initial, intervocalic and word-final position. The minimal pairs of the liquids (/l/ and /r/) are listed as in (9).

- (9) /r/ vs. /l/ /lanna/ ‘to come out’ /ranna/ ‘to make hole’
 /lu/ ‘stone’ /ru/ ‘helper’
 /lokna/ ‘to boil’ /rokna/ ‘to sieve’

The distribution of the lateral and trill is given in the Table 2.21.

Table 2.21: Distribution of the lateral /l/ and trill /r/

	Word-initial		Intervocalic		Word-final	
/r/	/rɒm/	‘body’	/su:ru/	‘rice’	/k ^h ur/	‘hand’
	/ribo/	‘rope’	/kuriu/	‘shadow’	/sisir/	‘upside down’
	/ru/	‘helper’	/k ^h ɒrɒ/	‘gourd’	/mur/	‘fur’
/l/	/lu/	‘stone’	/sulam/	‘way of doing’	/del/	‘village’
	/lɒ:su/	‘heal’	/salu/	‘bone’	/k ^h il/	‘feces’
	/lu:mu/	‘lever’	/k ^h ilɒm/	‘ghee’	/sel/	‘iron’

Table 2.21 shows that the alveolar lateral phoneme /l/ and the alveolar trill /r/ show phonological contrast in the word-initial, intervocalic and word-final position.

(h) Approximants

There are two approximants attested: /j/ and /w/. The labial approximant /w/ shows the phonological contrast with the palatal approximant /j/ only in word-initial and intervocalic positions. The minimal pairs of the approximants (/j/ and /w/) are listed as in (10).

- (10) /j/ vs. /w/
- | | | | |
|--------|-------------|--------|-------------------|
| /ja/ | ‘got blunt’ | /wa/ | ‘younger sibling’ |
| /jat/ | ‘like’ | /wat/ | ‘give birth’ |
| /jo/ | ‘flies’ | /wo/ | ‘particle’ |
| /jana/ | ‘to like’ | /wana/ | ‘to give birth’ |
| /jam/ | ‘season’ | /wam/ | ‘cross over’ |

The distribution of the approximants is given in the Table 2.22.

Table 2.22: Distribution of the approximants (/w/ and /j/)

	Word-initial		Intervocalic		Word-final	
/w/	/walali/	‘tell a lie’	/t ^{sh} Λwa/	‘dew’	...	
	/waje/	‘Terai’	/d ^h awa/	‘hurry’	...	
	/wo/	‘particle’	/kawa/	‘river’	...	
/j/	/jΛ/	‘back’	/tejo/	‘now’	...	
	/jo/	‘also’	/hijo/	‘when’	...	
	/jana/	‘to like’	/maju/	‘below’	...	

Table 2.22 shows that both the labial approximant /w/ and palatal approximant /j/ show the phonological contrast in terms of place of articulation only in word-initial and intervocalic position. Phonetically, both labial and palatal approximants (i.e., /w/, /j/) do not present breathy counterparts.

(i) Glottal stop

Like Yamphu (Rutgers, 1998:47), the glottal stop /ʔ/ shows the phonological representation only in word-final position⁴³. The minimal (or sub-minimal) pairs of the glottal stop /ʔ/⁴⁴ and /ø/ are listed as in (11).

⁴³ van Driem (1993:56) expresses his view about the glottal stop that ‘comparative evidence suggests that Dumi /ʔ/ reflects older final *-k, *-t, *-p. Some of the examples like *gra(t)nu* → *gra(ʔ)nu* → *ga:nu* → *ganu* ‘to burn’ justifies this statement.

⁴⁴ Phonemically the glottal stop /ʔ/ is replaced with the phonemes /p/or /t/or /k/or /Ø/. So as Rutgers (1998:47) discusses that ‘a syllable-final velar stop /-k/ is replaced by a glottal stop /- ʔ/ when followed by a syllable-initial stop, yielding the following forms in free variation’, which is also exactly similar in Dumi.

(11) /ʔ/ vs. /ø/ /meʔ/ ‘wife’ /me/ ‘exclamation’

/poʔ/ ‘loom’ /po/ ‘particle’

/biʔ/ ‘cow’ /bi/ ‘locative marker’

The distribution of the glottal stop is given in the Table 2.23.

Table 2.23: Distribution of the glottal stop /ʔ/

	Word-initial		Intervocalic		Word-final	
/ʔ/		/biʔ/	‘cow’
		/piʔ/	‘ash’
		/meʔ/	‘wife’
		/poʔ/	‘pig’
		/rwaʔ/	‘tape worm’
		/swaʔ/	‘hunger’
					/liʔ/	‘round worm’

Table 2.23 shows that the phonological representation of the glottal stop /ʔ/ occurs only in the word-final position.

2.2.3 Positional distribution of consonants

In this sub-section, we try to sketch phonological contrasts of the consonants and summarize the distribution of the consonants in different positions: word initial, intervocalic and word final. Table 2.24 provides a summary of their positional distribution.

Table 2.24: Positional distribution of consonants

	Consonant phonemes	Initial #-	Intervocalic v-v	Final -#
1.	/p/	+	+	+
2.	/p ^h /	+	+	-
3.	/b/	+	+	-
4.	/b ^h /	+	+	-
5.	/t/	+	+	+
6.	/t ^h /	+	+	-
7.	/d/	+	+	-
8.	/d ^h /	+	-	-
9.	/t ^s /	+	+	-
10.	/t ^{sh} /	+	+	-
11.	/d ^z /	+	+	-
12.	/d ^{zh} /	+	-	-
13.	/r/	+	+	+
14.	/l/	+	+	+
15.	/m/	+	+	+
16.	/n/	+	+	+
17.	/ŋ/	+	+	+
18.	/s/	+	+	-
19.	/h/	+	+	-
20.	/y/	+	+	-
21.	/w/	+	+	-
22.	/k/	+	+	+
23.	/k ^h /	+	+	-
24.	/g/	+	+	-
25.	/g ^h /	+	-	-
26.	/ʔ/	-	-	+

Table 2.24 shows the Positional distribution of consonants in Dumi.

Table 2.25 presents the examples for the positional distribution of the consonants in different positions: word-initial, inter-vocalic and word-final.

Table 2.25: Examples of the positional distribution of consonants

	Consonant phonemes	Initial		Intervocalic		Final	
		# -		v-v		- #	
1.	/p/	/pu:ma/	‘flower’	/opo/	‘my’	/t ^s ap/	‘can’
2.	/p ^h /	/p ^h urku/	‘dust’	/sup ^h ar/	‘root’	...	
3.	/b/	/bolo/	‘soon’	/pabu/	‘bamboo’	...	
4.	/b ^h /	/b ^h arlan/	‘thorn apple’	/gob ^h al/	‘towards’	...	
5.	/t/	/tam/	‘this’	/p ^h ati/	‘egg’	/k ^h et/	‘comb’
6.	/t ^h /	/t ^h ampu/	‘land’	/bet ^h o/	‘khukuri’	...	
7.	/d/	/del/	‘village’	/glɔdɔ/	‘dull’	...	
8.	/d ^h /	/d ^h amro/	‘cliff’	
9.	/t ^s /	/t ^s o/	‘tip’	/pit ^s i/	‘a little’	...	
10.	/t ^{sh} /	/t ^{sh} ari/	‘younger’	/grot ^{sh} u/	‘spider’	...	
11.	/d ^z /	/d ^z ak ^h a/	‘slowly’	/lud ^z ɔm/	‘millet’	...	
12.	/d ^{zh} /	/d ^{zh} ara/	‘everyone’	/ad ^{zh} oŋka/	‘last year’	...	
13.	/r/	/ribo/	‘rope’	/birɔsi/	‘chilli’	/k ^h ur/	‘hand’
14.	/l/	/lim/	‘seedling’	/k ^h ilɔm/	‘ghee’	/del/	‘village’
15.	/m/	/misma/	‘female’	/sumandu/	‘dark’	/rɔm/	‘body’
16.	/n/	/no/	‘snow’	/ani/	‘you’	/sen/	‘look’
17.	/ŋ/	/ŋilo/	‘teeth’	/aŋu/	‘I’	/p ^h iŋ/	‘send’
18.	/s/	/salu/	‘bone’	/asala/	‘tomorrow’	...	
19.	/h/	/hi/	‘blood’	/kuhuma/	‘cloud’	...	
20.	/y/	/jɔ/	‘back’	/tejo/	‘now’	...	
21.	/w/	/wari/	‘habit’	/kawa/	‘river’	...	
22.	/k/	/kim/	‘house’	/kakal/	‘basket’	/t ^s uk/	‘know’
23.	/k ^h /	/k ^h ilɔm/	‘ghee’	/mok ^h o/	‘if it is’	...	
24.	/g/	/gu/	‘cloth’	/nagu/	‘rainbow’	...	
25.	/g ^h /	/g ^h ɔlsa/	‘big’	
26.	/ʔ/		/biʔ/	‘cow’

Table 2.25 shows the examples of the positional distribution of consonants in Dumi.

From Table 2.25, we may generalize regarding the distribution of the consonants in the Dumi language as follows:

- a. All the consonant phonemes (except the glottal stop /ʔ/) occur in the word-initial position.
- b. The consonant segments (/p/, /k/, /t/, /r/, /l/, /ŋ/, /n/ and /m/) occur in all positions: word-initial, inter-vocalic and word-final.
- c. The segments (/p^h/, /b/, /b^h/, /t^s/, /t^{sh}/, /d^z/, /d^{zh}/, /j/, /w/, /k^h/, /t^h/, /d/, /g/, /s/ and /h/) occur only in the first two positions: word-initial and inter-vocalic.
- d. The two segments (/g^h/ and /d^h/) occur only in word-initial position.
- e. The glottal stop /ʔ/ occurs only in the word-final position.⁴⁵

2.2.4 Consonant clusters

This section describes the parameters for the possible syllable. The structure of the syllable is maximally CCVC (i.e. VC, CV, CCV, CV and CVC are possible as well). Consonant clusters in the final position are not attested in this language, but in the initial position, it is strictly restricted to glides and trill.⁴⁶

(a) Word-initial consonant cluster

Dumi exhibits the initial cluster of C + glides/liquids in its native words. As compared to the medial position, the initial consonant cluster is more common in the Dumi lexicon. The consonant clusters consist of C₁ and C₂; C₁ consists exclusively of stops, nasals, affricates, trills and fricatives, whereas C₂ exclusively consists of trill, lateral and approximants.

Table 2.26 presents the word-initial consonant clusters.

⁴⁵ (a) There is a complete deletion of glottal stop /ʔ/ in the pronunciation of young Dumi speakers.

(b) van Driem (1993:56) illustrates in many places that there is the use of glottal stop /ʔ/ even in word middle position in the original pronunciation of Dumi speakers from Halkhum village in the Baksila VDC of Khotang district in eastern Nepal.

⁴⁶ (a) Benedict (1972) and Matisoff (2003) claim that there are consonant clusters in the root initial and in the root medial positions.

(b) In consonant clusters with trill /r/ in Baksila, Dumi seems to delete the trill in recent trends. e.g., *grusi* is pronounced as *gusi* ‘strawberry’, *granam* is pronounced as *ganam* ‘nettle’.

Table 2.26: The word-initial consonant clusters

i. Consonant + Trill (/r/)		
/pr/	/pramna/	‘to scratch with fingers’
/p ^h r/	/p ^h rakna/	‘to dig with fingers’
/br/	/brΛ/	‘language’
/b ^h r/	/b ^h re:na/	‘to spoil’
/kr/	/kripna/	‘to cut (by scissors)’
/k ^h r/	/k ^h re:na/	‘to bite’
/gr/	/grana/	‘to burn’
/g ^h r/	/g ^h rina/	‘to rote’

ii. Consonant + Lateral (/l/)		
/pl/	/plumna/	‘to submerge’
/p ^h l/	/p ^h lΛmna/	‘to mix up’
/bl/	/blΛpna/	‘to be abnormal’
/b ^h l/	/b ^h le:na/	‘to boil’
/kl/	/klΛkna/	‘to smear’
/k ^h l/	/k ^h liba/	‘dog’
/gl/	/glΛdΛ/	‘dull’
/g ^h l/	/g ^h lumna/	‘three days later’

Table 2.26 shows the consonant clusters consist of C₁ exclusively of stops, nasals, affricates, trills and fricatives and C₂ exclusively consists of approximants (/j/ and /w/).

Table 2.27 presents the root-initial consonant clusters.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Benedict (1972:37) states that T-B consonant clusters found only in root-initial position. However, in Dumi, there are some consonant clusters found in root-medial position, viz., *tʔkʔjar-tʔkʔjar* ‘interrupting frequently’, *ljaptjarni* ‘immediately’, *mikʔladʔa* ‘gummy secretions around the eyes’,

Table 2.27: The root-initial consonant clusters [C + approximant (/j/ or /w/)]

i. Consonant + approximant (/j/)		
/pj/	/pjakna/	‘to plait’
/p ^h j/	/p ^h jakna/	‘to slap’
/bj/	/bjakna/	‘to insert’
/kj/	/kjakna/	‘to shell’
/k ^h j/	/k ^h jakna/	‘to hang’
/gj/	/gjakna/	‘to burst’
/tj/	/tjar/	‘bamboo strip’
/t ^h j/	/t ^h jalna/	‘to peel out’
/d ^{zh} j/	/d ^{zh} jarna/	‘to hate’
/t ^s j/	/t ^s jalna/	‘to tear’
/t ^{sh} j/	/t ^{sh} jalmu/	‘straw mat’
/sj/	/sjar/	‘louse’
/hj/	/hjakna/	‘to sieve’

ii.	Consonant + approximant (/w/)		
	/kw/	/kwam/	‘mouth’
	/tw/	/twana/	‘to feed’
	/t ^h w/	/t ^h wakna/	‘to strike’
	/d ^{zh} w/	/d ^{zh} wakna/	‘to bang’
	/t ^s w/	/t ^s wakna/	‘to trap’
	/t ^{sh} w/	/t ^{sh} wara/	‘goat’
	/sw/	/swa/	‘weed’

Table 2.27 shows the root-initial consonant clusters formed by the consonants and the approximant (/j/ or /w/).

etc... The feature of no consonant cluster in the word-final position agrees with his claim even in Dumi.

(b) Word-medial consonant cluster

There is a very frequent occurrence of consonant clusters in the word medial position of the Dumi lexicon, where there is almost no constraint in clustering two consonant phonemes. The possible consonant clusters in the medial position are illustrated in several classes as follows:

(c) Geminate within a morpheme

In the corpus, it is clearly seen that the gemination is strictly constrained. It is possible only with the plosives-voiced and voiceless, nasals and lateral within the morpheme boundary. Although the geminated phonemes in

Table 2.28 are within a single morpheme, they cross the syllable boundary which is indicated by the dots.

Table 2.28: The word-medial consonant cluster (Gemination)

/-pp-/	/sup.pu/	‘grass hopper’
/-kk-/	/tuk.kum/	‘above one’
/-bb-/	/rab.ba/	‘intentionally’
/-ll-/	/p ^h ul.lu/	‘empty’
/-mm-/	/nΛm.me/	‘daughter-in-law’
/-nn-/	/in.na/	‘to sell’

Table 2.28 shows that in the case of gemination, the first segment of the geminate goes with the preceding syllable, making it a closed one and the second segment onsetting the next syllable.

Table 2.29 presents the word-medial consonant cluster.

Table 2.29: The word-medial consonant cluster (-kk-, -tt-, -pp-)

/-kk-/	/muk.ku/	‘(you+me) did’
	/d ^z uk.ku/	‘(s/he+me) ate’
/-tt-/	/k ^h Λt.ta/	‘carries’
	/tit.ta/	‘meets’
/-pp-/	/sup.pur/	‘scabies’
	/pop.pou/	‘owl’

Table 2.29 shows the word-medial consonant cluster. However, across the morpheme boundary, the alveolar fricative /s/ can also be geminated as in Table 2.30.

Table 2.30: The word-medial consonant cluster (-ss-)

/-ss-/	/dis.so/	‘following’
	/k ^h Λs.so/	‘going on’
	/hes.so/	‘filtering’
	/les.so/	‘filtering’

Table 2.30 shows the word-medial consonant cluster in Dumi. Likewise, Table 2.31 presents the word-medial consonant cluster.

Table 2.31: The word-medial consonant cluster

/-kl-/	/sΛk.li/	‘two items’	/-lm-/	/del.me/	‘daughter-in-law’
/-k ^h l-/	/dΛk ^h .lΛ/	‘head’		/t ^{sh} elmu/	‘bamboo mat’
/-ks-/	/mik.si/	‘eye’	/-ln-/	/((dudu) pil.na/	‘to milk’
	/pok.su/	‘pork’	/-lt-/	/sul.tu/	‘naked’
/-k ^h r-/	/suŋ.k ^h rΛ/	‘wooden pestle’	/-ŋk-/	/kΛŋ.ku/	‘water’
/-pk ^h -/	/k ^h ap.k ^h or/	‘obstacle’		/nuŋ.ki/	‘too cold’
/-pt-/	/sup.tilem/	‘plug’	/-ŋk ^h -/	/k ^h Λŋ.k ^h el/	‘guest’
/-pt ^h -/	/sΛp.t ^h e/	‘be full’	/-ŋg-/	/soŋ.ger/	‘star’
/-pr-/	/t ^s up.ru/	‘supporter’	/-pn-/	/t ^h ap.na/	‘to measure’
/-pl-/	/k ^h ip.lem/	‘clay frying pot’	/-kd-/	/mik.dem/	‘wasp’
/-mp-/	/sam.pel/	‘thin’	/-rt-/	/kΛr.tuppa/	‘jackle’
/-mp-/	/k ^h im.po/	‘cooked’	/-rs-/	/k ^h ir.sina/	‘to roam’
/-mp ^h -/	/sam.p ^h e/	‘flat’	/-rn-/	/sur.na/	‘to wash’
/-mn-/	/t ^h am.na/	‘to become mad’	/-rm-/	/kur.miswam/	‘eye brow’
/-ms-/	/im.sina/	‘to sleep’	/-sm-/	/mis.ma/	‘woman’
/-mr-/	/d ^h am.ro/	‘cliff’	/-tm-/	/t ^{sh} at.mu/	‘mother-in-law’
	/t ^{sh} um.ru/	‘backbone’	/-tp-/	/t ^{sh} at.pu/	‘father-in-law’

(d) Word-final consonant cluster

Supporting the claim posed by Benedict (1972:37), there is no consonant cluster in the word final position.

(e) Distinctive feature matrix

In this sub-section, we present the patterns of consonant clusters in the Dumi language. Dumi exhibits the cluster of two or three consonants in the word initial position.

Table 2.27 presents the patterns of consonant clusters in the language.

(f) Consonant cluster with three consonants

There are a limited number of possible consonant clusters with three consonants in Dumi. They are the approximants (/j/ or /w/). Table 2.32 presents the consonant cluster with three consonants.

Table 2.32: Consonant cluster with three consonants

	stop + liquid + approximant (/l/)	
/k ^h lj/	/k ^h ljapna/	‘to slash’
/prj/	/prjakna/	‘to break out (forcefully)’
/plj/	/pljamna/	‘to bend down’
/p ^h lj/	/p ^h ljamna/	‘to pounce on’
/k ^h lj/	/k ^h ljaŋna/	‘to act with teasing’
/krw/	/krwakna/	‘to push into (forcefully)’
/klw/	/klwʌkna/	‘to smear’

Table 2.32 shows the examples of the consonant cluster with three consonants.

Consonant clusters consist of C₁ and C₂. C₁ consists exclusively of stops, nasals, affricates, trills and fricatives, whereas as C₂ exclusively consists of approximants (/j/ or /w/). Table 2.33 presents the overall patterns of consonant clusters:

Table 2.33: Patterns of consonant clusters

C₁	C₂	
	j	w
p	+	+
p ^h	+	+
b	+	+
b ^h	-	-
t	+	+
t ^h	+	+
d	+	-
d ^h	-	-
t ^s	+	+
t ^{sh}	-	+
d ^z	-	-
d ^{zh}	-	+
r	+	+
l	+	+
m	-	-
n	+	+
ŋ	+	-
s	+	+
h	+	-
k	+	+
k ^h	+	-
g	+	-
g ^h	-	-

Table 2.34 presents the examples of consonant clusters with glide.

Table 2.34: Examples of consonant clusters with glide

	C ₂			
	w		j	
	/pwana/	‘to tie up’	/pjakna/	‘to plait’
_h	/p ^h wakna/	‘to separate’	/p ^h jakna/	‘to slap’
	/bwakna/	‘to include’	/p ^h jakna/	‘to slap’
	/twana/	‘to feed’	/tjalna/	‘to plait’
_h	/t ^h wakna/	‘to strike’	/t ^h jalna/	‘to peel out’
	-	-	/d ^h jakna/	‘to wipe out’
_s	/t ^s wakna/	‘to imprison’	/t ^s jarna/	‘to urinate’
_{zh}	/d ^{zh} wakna/	‘to strike’	-	-
	/rwaa/	‘round worm’	/rjamna/	‘to get cold’
	/lwakna/	‘to put over’	/ljakna/	‘to lick’
	-	-	/njarna/	‘to finish’
	/swakna/	‘to sift’	/sjar/	‘louse’
	-	-	/hjakna/	‘to harvest’
	/kwakna/	‘to dig’	/kjakna/	‘to shell’
_h	/k ^h waisina/	‘to feel shy’	/k ^h jakna/	‘to hang’
	-	-	/gjakna/	‘to burst’

Table 2.34 presents the consonant clusters that are found only in the word-initial and medial position (i.e., only in onset position, but not in coda position), which is a common feature of Tibeto-Burman languages (Regmi; 2007:65)⁴⁸. The consonant clusters are discussed as follows:

⁴⁸ Both Benedict (1972:37) and Matisoff (2003) claim that in Tibeto-Burman languages the consonant clusters are found only in root-initial position.

(g) Stop + palatal approximant

The stops (/p/, /p^h/, /b/, /t/, /t^h/, /d/, /k/ and /k^h/) as C₁ can combine with the palatal approximant /j/ as C₂ as in Table 2.35.

Table 2.35: The stops combine with the palatal approximant /j/

a.	pj	/pjakna/	‘to plait’
b.	p ^h j	/p ^h jakna/	‘to slap’
c.	bj	/bjakna/	‘to put’
d.	tj	/tjalna/	‘to pull up’
e.	t ^h j	/t ^h jalna/	‘to peel out’
f.	dj	/djakna/	‘to wipe out’
g.	kj	/kjakna/	‘to shell’
h.	k ^h j	/k ^h jakna/	‘to hang’

Table 2.35 shows the stops combine with the palatal approximant /j/.

(h) Affricates + palatal approximant

The affricate segments (/t^s/, /d^z/, /d^{zh}/) in C₁ position can combine with palatal approximant /j/ as C₂ as in Table 2.36.

Table 2.36: The stops combine with the palatal approximant /j/

a.	t ^s j	/t ^s jarna/	‘to urinate’
b.	t ^s j	/(kwam) t ^{sh} jalna/	‘to be clear voice’
c.	d ^z j	/d ^z ja/	‘right’
d.	d ^{zh} j	/d ^{zh} jarna/	‘to hate’
		/d ^{zh} jaltɔuri/	‘lengthy’

Table 2.36 shows the stops combine with the palatal approximant /j/.

(i) Nasals + palatal approximant

The nasals (/ŋ/, /n/, /m/) as C₁ position can combine with palatal approximant, /j/ as C₂ as in Table 2.37.

Table 2.37: The nasals combine with the palatal approximant /j/

a.	mj	/mjaŋkololo/	‘quietly’
		/mjalna/	‘to lay down’
b.	nj	/njarna/	‘to finish’
		/njapna/	‘to scatter’
c.	ŋj	/ŋjaldun/	‘infant’
		/ŋjarma/	‘wild ginger’

Table 2.37 shows the nasals combine with the palatal approximant /j/.

(j) Liquid + palatal approximant

The liquid (lateral /l/ and trill /r/) as C₁ position can join with the palatal approximant /j/ as C₂⁴⁹ as in Table 2.38.

Table 2.38: The lateral /l/ and trill /r/ combine with the palatal approximant /j/

a.	/lj/	/ljakna/	‘to lick’
		/ljamna/	‘to persuade’
b.	/rj/	/rjamna/	‘to become cold’
		/rjapna/	‘to stand’

Table 2.38 shows the liquid (i.e., lateral /l/ and trill /r/) combine with the palatal approximant /j/.

(k) Fricative + palatal approximant

The fricatives (/s/ and /h/) as c₁ position can combine with palatal approximant /j/ as c₂ as in Table 2.39.

Table 2.39: The fricatives combine with the palatal approximant /j/

a.	sj	/sjar/	‘louse’	sw	/swa/	‘weed’
		/sjakjakja/	‘everywhere’	sw	/swamswam/	‘spoil’
b.	hj	/hjakna/	‘to harvest’	hw	-	
		/hjaulo/	‘aside’		-	

Table 2.39 shows the fricatives combine with the palatal approximant /j/.

⁴⁹ However, the alveolar fricative /s/ can combine with the bilabial approximant /w/ too, but the glottal fricative /h/ can not.

(l) Stops + palatal approximant

The stops /k/ and /g/ as c_1 position can combine with palatal approximant /j/ as C_2 as in Table 2.40.

Table 2.40: The stops combine with the palatal approximant /j/

a.	kj	/kjakna/	'to shell'	kw	/kwa/	'bark'
		/kjakpa/	'wild cat'		/kwam/	'mouth'
		/kjaŋmi/	'poor'		/kwak/	'to dig'
b.	gj	/gjakna/	'to burst'	gw	/gwakpa/	'crow'
		/gjaksi/	'soybeans'		/gwa:la/	'serve'

Table 2.40 shows the stops combine with the palatal approximant /j/.

2.3 Distinctive features

Both in acoustic and articulatory parameters, the consonant and vowel segments present different distinctive features on the basis of the phonetics of the language. The value of the distinctive features of consonants and vowels are presented in terms of presence (+) vs. absence (-).

2.3.1 Distinctive features of consonants

Depending upon the Chomsky and Hale (1968), the different distinctive features of consonants are presented in Table 2.41.

Table 2.41: Distinctive features of the consonants

	p	p ^h	b	b ^h	t	t ^h	d	d ^h	t ^s	t ^{sh}	d ^z	d ^{zh}	j	w	r	l	M	n	ŋ	
syllable	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
cons	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
son	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
cor	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
ant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
cont	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
nas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
stri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
lat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
del rel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
high	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
low	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
back	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
round	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
voice	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Breathy	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Aspirate	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

Table 2.41 shows the distinctive features of consonants.

2.3.2 Distinctive features of vowels

Dumi presents different distinctive features of oral vowels (Chomsky and Hale, 1968).

Table 2.42 presents a summary of the different distinctive features of vowels.

Table 2.42: Distinctive features of vowels

	i	ɨ	u	e	ʌ	a	o
high	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
mid	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
mid-low	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
low	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
back	-		+	-	+	-	+
central	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
front	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
round	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
ATR	+		+	+	-	+	+

Table 2.42 shows the distinctive features of vowels.

2.4 Syllable

The main focus of this section is to look at syllable patterns, syllabification rules, syllable weight and complex onset.

2.4.1 Syllable patterns

The maximum syllable structure is (C₁) (C₂) (G) V (X), where G is a glide and ‘X’ is a consonant or a vowel. In the syllable, only the nucleus ‘V’ is obligatory. The other constituents (C, a consonant), (G, a glide) and (X, a consonant/vowel) are optional. There are eight acceptable syllable patterns as in Table 2.43.

Table 2.43: Acceptable syllable patterns

a.	V	/i/	‘this’
b.	CV	/mo/	‘what’
c.	CCV	/brʌ/	‘language’
d.	CVX	/kʌr/	‘wound’
e.	VX	/up/	‘throw’
f.	CGV	/pjʌ/	‘left’
g.	CGVX	/kjap/	‘sting’
h.	CCGVX	/prjak/	‘burst’

Table 2.43 illustrates the acceptable syllable patterns, consisting of the maximum syllable structure (C₁) (C₂) (G) V (X). Figure 2.10 presents formally the canonical structure of the syllable.

Figure 2.10: The canonical structure of the syllable

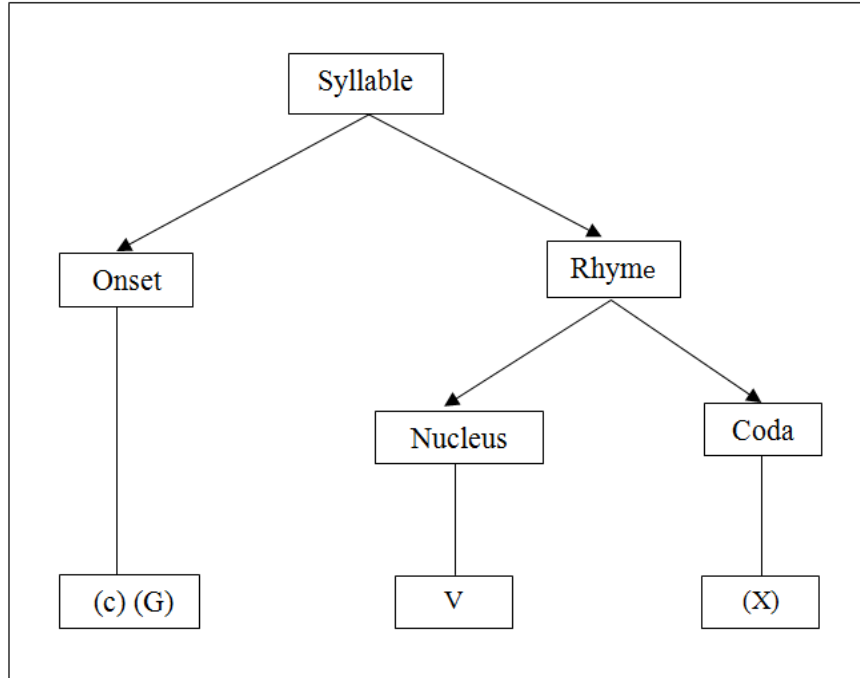
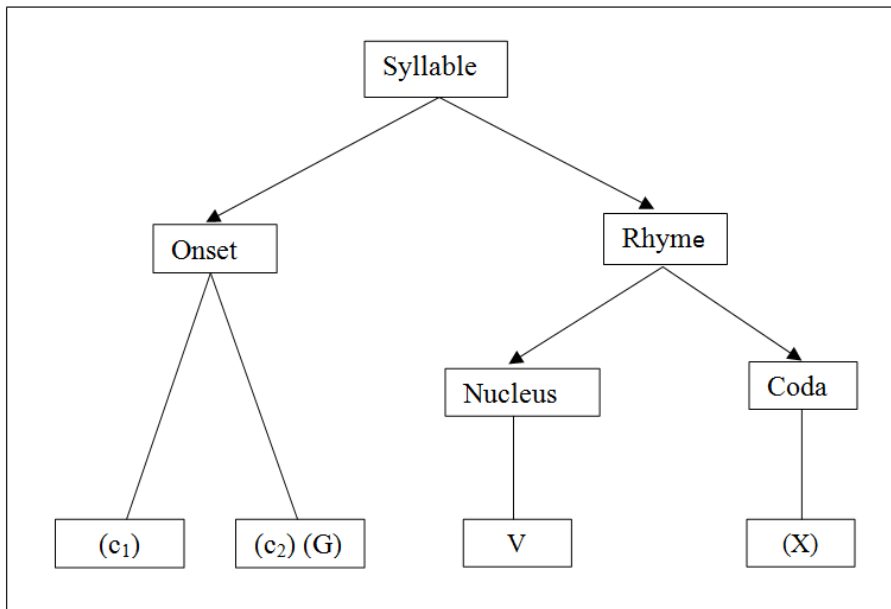


Figure 2.11 shows that the maximum syllable structure consists of (C₁) (C₂) (G) V (X).

Figure 2.11: The maximum canonical structure of the syllable



2.4.2 Syllabification rules

Dumi follows a language specific system to syllabify the segment sequences. As mentioned above, the vocalic segment is obligatory in a syllable. The consonant alignment with the preceding or following vocalic segment is the problem of syllabification in a polysyllabic word. In this regard, there are two general rules that all languages confirm

(Kenstowicz, 1994:253). Considering the first rule, the nucleus is always a vocalic segment and ‘the second rule assigns a prevocalic consonant to onset position’. Consequently, a word with a ‘VCV’ string is syllabified as {v.CV}.

Dumi attests this rule in the words like *ani* ‘you’. However, in case of a medial consonant cluster, this rule is not attested in this language, rather a string of ‘VC.V’ is required. Syllabic consonant assignment rules are discussed below:

- (a) If a polysyllabic word consists of intervocalic consonants, then the syllabic boundary occurs just after the nucleus, the consonants setting each syllable. Thus, a word containing a ‘CVCVCV string’ like *tʰadumi* ‘rich (person)’ is syllabified as *tʰa.du.mi* {i.e., CV.CV.CV}.
- (b) In case of a medial consonant cluster, Dumi violates the general rule discussed by Kenstowicz (1994: 253). In this case, the first segment of the cluster goes with the preceding nucleus closing the preceding syllable, whereas the second segment of the cluster goes with the following nucleus onsetting the next syllable. As a result, the words with a CVCCV string like *dak^hla* ‘head’, *misma* ‘female’, *p^hurku* ‘dust’ are syllabified as *dak^h.la*, *mis.ma*, *p^hur.ku* (i.e., CVC.CV).

2.4.3 Syllable weight

The weight of the syllable is solely determined by the rhyme of the syllable (Regmi, 2013:77). There are two types of syllables in terms of weight: heavy and light. A heavy syllable has the rhyme consisting of VX, as mentioned in Table 2.44; X is either a vowel or a consonant. Most of the monosyllabic words are heavy syllabic as in Table 2.44.

Table 2.44: Heavy monosyllabic words

a.	CVX	/kim/	‘house’
		/del/	‘village’
		/tim/	‘feel too cold’
		/k ^h ur/	‘hand’
		/k ^h om/	‘place’
		/lAp/	‘catch’
		/lam/	‘way’

b.	CGVX	/kwam/	‘mouth’
		/ljam/	‘tongue’
		/tjar/	‘bamboo strip’
		/kjap/	‘stick’

c.	CCGVX	/pljam/	‘lie down’
		/k ^h ljap/	‘sharpen’
		/krwak/	‘thrust’

Table 2.44 shows the heavy monosyllabic words.

A syllable in which the rhyme consists of only the nucleus is called a light syllable as in Table 2.45.

Table 2.45: The light syllable nucleus

a.	v	/i-na/	‘excrete-INF’
		/u-na/	‘burn-INF’
		/ʌ-na/	‘return-INF’
		/a-na/	‘say-INF’

b.	CV	/hi/	‘blood’
		/te/	‘like this’
		/nu/	‘nose’
		/k ^h o/	‘utensil’
		/kʌ/	‘curry’
		/d ^z a/	‘rice’

c.	CGV	/kwa/	‘bark’
		/t ^s wa/	‘somebody’
		/swa/	‘weed’
		/pjʌ/	‘left’

2.4.4 Complex onset

Dumi registers mainly two types of complex onset which consist of (C)(G) and (C₁)(C₂)(G) structures. In both types of complex onset, in the majority of cases, consonants generally cluster with the palatal approximant /j/ and marginally with the labial approximant /w/ as Table 2.46 illustrates the (C)(G) type complex onset.

Table 2.46: The (C) (G) type complex onset

a.	/sjar/	‘louse’
b.	/njar-na/	‘finish-INF’
c.	/t ^s jamdo/	‘toy’
d.	/kwa/	‘bark’
e.	/swala/	‘young (male)’

Table 2.46 shows the (C) (G) type complex onset.

Similarly, Table 2.47 presents the (C₁) (C₂) (G) type complex onset.

Table 2.47: The complex (C₁) (C₂) (G) type onset

a.	/prjak-na/	‘burst-INF’
b.	/p ^h ljam-na/	‘pounce on-INF’
c.	/k ^h ljap-na/	‘sharpen-INF’
d.	/klwak-na/	‘smear-INF’
e.	/krwak-na/	‘thresh-INF’
f.	/d ^{zh} wak-na/	‘strike-INF’

Table 2.47 shows the complex (C₁) (C₂) (G) type onset.

2.5 Suprasegmental phonemes

In this section, we discuss about the suprasegmental phoneme.⁵⁰ The primary suprasegmental features in this language are length, stress and intonation.

2.5.1 Length

There are seven pairs of short vowels with individual length contrast. Table 2.48 presents the minimal pairs with the length of these vowels.

⁵⁰ Suprasegmental features are those aspects of speech that involve more than single consonants or vowels. (Ladefoged, 1982:219).

Table 2.48: Contrast in length of the oral vowels

/i/ vs. /i:/	/kina/	‘to quarrel’	/ki:na/	‘to buy’
/e/ vs. /e:/	/dʒeta/	‘call (him/her)’	/dʒe:ta/	‘(s/he) talks’
/a/ vs. /a:/	/kana/	‘to bite’	/ka:na/	‘to feel hungry’
/ʌ/ vs. /ʌ:/	/hʌna/	‘to snatch’	/hʌ:na/	‘to bring’
/o/ vs. /o:/	/k ^h o/	‘if’	/kho:/	‘utensil’
/u/ vs. /u:/	/huna/	‘to come’	/hu:na/	‘to burn’
/ɨ/ vs. /ɨ:/	/sɨ/	‘meat’	/sɨ:/	‘mannar’

The minimal pairs in the Table 2.48 show that there is contrast in vowel length. However, the consonants do not contrast in length.

2.5.2 Stress

According to Noonan (as cited in Regmi (2007:81), in T-B languages under the Bodic group, stress is largely predictable and is generally fixed on the root. Like in Bhujel (Regmi, 2012:27), most of the lexical words in the Dumi language are monosyllabic and the stress is not distinctive as well. All the monosyllabic lexical words like nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs are always stressed as listed in (12).

- (12) a. /'tam/ ‘this’
 b. /'hem/ ‘which’
 c. /'mo/ ‘what’
 d. /'ljam/ ‘tongue’
 e. /'rum/ ‘salt’

A great majority of the disyllabic nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs and infinitives receive stress on the second to the last syllable (i.e., penultimate syllable) as in (13).

- (13) a. /'taja/ ‘this side’
 b. /'hinʌm/ ‘when’
 c. /'duspi/ ‘elder’
 d. /'dʌk^hʌ/ ‘head’
 e. /'pisu/ ‘beans’

Trisyllabic nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs and infinitives receive stress on the second to the last syllable (i.e., penultimate syllable) as in (14).

- (14) a. /as'nʌmka/ 'yesterday'
 b. /hi'tokli/ 'how many'
 c. /sam'baki/ 'potato'
 d. /bar'boti/ 'sweet yam'
 e. /bi'rʌsi/ 'chilli'

2.5.3 Intonation

There are two types of intonation: rising and falling. Rising intonation is marked in a 'Yes-No' utterance and falling intonation is unmarked in declarative utterance as in (15).

- (15) pʌbi k^hut̚ɪ↓

pʌbi k^hut̚s-i

Pabi go-3SG.PST

'Pabi went.'

The utterance in (15) is a declarative sentence since it has a falling intonation (shown with ↓ mark). In this statement, there is the rising intonation (or tone pattern), which is unmarked as in (16).

- (16) pʌbi khut̚ɪ↑

pabi k^hut̚s-i

Pabi go-3SG.PST

'Did Pabi go?'

In this question type statement (16), there is a rising intonation (or tone pattern) which is marked. The same utterance in (17) is a 'Yes-No question' as it contains a rising intonation (shown with ↑ mark).

- (17) pʌbi k^hut̚ɪ, mono↑

pabi k^hut̚s-i mono

Pabi go-3SG.PST isn't

'Pabi went, isn't he?'

In this 'Yes-No question' type statement as in (17), it contains a rising intonation (shown with ↑ mark).

2.6 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the phonological system in Dumi. There are seven oral monophthongs together with the distinctive length contrast for each of them. There are three nasal vowels: high-front /ĩ/, high-back /ũ/ and low-central /ã/. There are 26 distinct consonant phonemes in Dumi. They show four way contrasts: place of articulation, manner of articulation, voicing and aspiration. So far as the place of articulation is concerned, it exhibits bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal consonants. According to manner of articulation, there are seven types of consonant phonemes: stops, nasals, affricates, fricatives, trills, laterals and approximants. Dumi shows the consonant clusters which are exclusively realized within the syllables. Consonant cluster in the word final position is strictly restricted. In each cluster, the second member is always a glide /w, j/ or a trill /r/ or lateral /l/. Even in the word medial position, the cluster crosses the syllable boundary. Dumi exhibits all the four primitive syllable structures {CV, VC, V, CVC} and, additionally {CCV}. However, the CV and CVC structures are more common than the CCV, V or VC structures. The maximum syllable structure is (C₁) (C₂) (G) V (X); X being a consonant or a vowel. Though the stress is not distinctive, the intonation is distinctive.

CHAPTER 3

MORPHOPHONOLOGY

3.0 Outline

This chapter is organized into six sections. In section 3.1, we look at various types of segmental morphophonological processes in Dumi. Section 3.2 deals with the processes of coalescence in the language. In section 3.3, we discuss deletion whereas section 3.4 presents the epenthesis in the language. In section 3.5 we deal with some other rules in the language. Finally, section 3.6 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

3.1 Segmental Morphological Processes

In this section, we discuss the various types of segmental morphophonological processes⁵¹, viz., assimilation, coalescence, deletion and epenthesis in the Dumi language. Assimilation is conditioned by surrounding segments whereas deletion and epenthesis are conditioned by the syllable structure. Vowel harmony is conditioned by a larger unit than the syllable. They are discussed as follows:

3.1.1 Assimilation

Assimilation is conditioned by surrounding segments. In other words, assimilation is the change of one sound into another sound because of the influence of neighbouring sounds or environment and it occurs where a segment becomes phonetically more similar to an influencing one. Dumi exhibits three types of assimilations, which are referred to as point of articulation assimilation, manner (i.e., process) of articulation assimilation and complex assimilation.⁵² They are discussed as follows:

(a) Point of articulation assimilation

There are four types of point of articulation assimilation: the assimilation of the velar stop /k/, the dental stop /t/, the alveolar nasal /n/ and the bilabial nasal /m/. They are discussed as follows:

i. Assimilation of voiceless unaspirated velar stop /k/

The root final voiceless unaspirated velar stop /k/ assimilates to the same point of articulation as the following consonant. It can be formulized as in (1).

$$(1) \quad /k/ \rightarrow /p/ \text{ / ____ /t/}$$

Following are the examples:

$$(2) \quad \text{a. /suk-tu-lu/} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{[sup-tu-lu]}$$

three-support-stone

‘supported by three equivalent stones’ (i.e., hearth)’

⁵¹ Crystal (2003:302) mentions that the term ‘morphophonology’ is used in the European tradition whereas in the American tradition, it is morphophonemics.

⁵² Symons (1993) notes that epenthesis and deletion are conditioned by the syllable structure, but vowel harmony is conditioned by larger unit than the syllable.

b. /suk-ti-lem/ [sup-ti-lem]

to thrust-adjust-soft material

‘a soft material used for blocking a hole’

c. /suk-tur/ [sup-tur]

to insert-round materials

‘ring (i.e., ornament)’

In examples (2a-c), the root final voiceless unaspirated velar stop /k/ changes into the unaspirated bilabial stop /p/, under the influence of the following voiceless unaspirated dental stop /t/.

ii. The voiceless unaspirated dental stop /t/

In the intervocalic position, the voiceless unaspirated dental stop /t/ becomes the voiced dental unaspirated stop /d/ under the influence of the following high front /i/, high back /u/ and low central vowels /a/, respectively. It can be formulized as in (3).

(3) /t/ → /d/ / v _____ v

Following are some examples:

- (4) a. /ka:t-i/ [ka:d-i] bit-3SG.PST
 /ka:t-u/ [ka:d-u] bit-1SG.PST
 /ka:t-a/ [ka:d-a] bit-2SG.IMP
- b. /hut-i/ [hu:d-i] bring-3SG.PST
 /mut-i/ [mu:d-i] finish-3SG.PST
 /hu:t-u/ [hu:d-u] bring-1SG.PST
 /prit-u/ [pri:d-u] pluck out-1SG.PST
 /lu:t-a/ [hu:d-a] bring-2SG.IMP
 /sit-a/ [si:d-a] bring-2SG.IMP

In examples (4a, b), voiceless unaspirated dental stop /t/ becomes the voiced dental unaspirated stop /d/ under the influence of the following high front /i/, high back /u/ and low central vowels /a/.

iii. Assimilation of alveolar nasal /n/

The alveolar nasal /n/ is subject to regressive assimilation. The root final alveolar nasal /n/ changes into velar nasal /ŋ/ under the influence of the following dental stop /t/. It is formulized as in (5).

(5) /n/ → /ŋ/ / _____ /t/

Following are the examples:

(6) a. /bin-t-o/ [biŋ-to]

give-NPST-1SG

‘give (1 → 3)’

b. /tʌn-t-o/ [tʌŋ-to]

keep-NPST-1SG

‘(I) keep.’

c. /t^sen-t-a/ [t^seŋ-ta]

teach-NPST-1PL.EXCL

‘We (PL.EXCL) teach.’

In examples (6a-c), root final alveolar nasal /n/ in *bin* ‘give’, *tʌn* ‘keep’ and *t^sen* ‘teach’ changes into velar nasal /ŋ/ in *biŋ-t-o* ‘(I) give’, *tʌŋ-t-o* ‘(I) keep’ and *t^seŋ-t-o* ‘We (PL.EXCL) teach’ under the influence of the following dental stop /t/.

iv. Assimilation of bilabial nasal /m/

The bilabial nasal /m/ is subjected to the regressive assimilation for point of articulation. The root final bilabial nasal /m/ changes into velar nasal /ŋ/ under the influence of the following velar nasal /ŋ/ and voiceless unaspirated velar stop /k/.

It is formulized as in (7).

(7) /m/ → /ŋ/ / _____ /ŋ/

Following are the examples:

(8) a. /um-ŋa/ [uŋ-ŋa]

s/he-EMPH

‘s/he only’

- b. /tam-ŋa/ [taŋ-ŋa]
 this-EMPH
 ‘this only’
- c. /mΛhem-ŋa/ [mΛheŋ-ŋa]
 similar-EMPH
 ‘similarly’

In examples (8a-c), root final bilabial nasal /m/ in *um* ‘s/he’, *tam* ‘this’ and *mΛhem* ‘similar’ changes into velar nasal /ŋ/ in *uŋ-ŋa* ‘he only’ and *taŋ-ŋa* ‘this only’, *mΛheŋ-ŋa* ‘similarly’, respectively, under the influence of the following velar nasal /ŋ/.

(b) Manner of articulation assimilation

The voiced bilabial stop changes into a voiceless bilabial stop under the influence of preceding voiceless bilabial stop. This is a progressive assimilation. It is discussed as follows:

i. Voiceless plosive weakening

The voiceless labial aspirated consonant /p^h/ changes into the voiceless unaspirated one /p/ under the influence of the following dental stop /t/.

This is formulized as in (9).

$$(9) \quad /p^h/ \rightarrow /p/ \quad / \text{ ___ } /t/$$

Following are the examples:

- (10) a. /rip^h-t-a/ [rip-t-a]
 stand-NPST-3SG
 ‘stands up’
- b. /lup^h-t-a/ [lup-t-a]
 catch-NPST-3SG
 ‘catches’
- c. /t^sΛp^h-t-a/ [t^sΛp-t-a]
 write-NPST-3SG
 ‘writes’

In examples (10a-c), the voiceless labial aspirated consonant /p^h/ in *rip^h* ‘stand’, *lup^h* ‘catch’ and *t^sAp^h* ‘write’ changes into the voiceless unaspirated /p/ in *ripta* ‘stands’, *lupta* ‘catches’ and *t^sApta* ‘writes’, respectively, under the influence of the following dental stop /t/.

(c) Complex assimilation

Complex assimilation refers to the assimilation which is motivated by both point of articulation and manner of articulation at the same time.

The voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop /p/ exhibits regressive assimilation to the following consonant for place of articulation and manner of articulation. It can be represented as in (11).

(11) /p/ → /m/ / ____ /t/

Following are the examples:

(12) a. /t^hΛp-t-a/ [t^hΛm-t-a]

bang-NPST-1SG

‘(I) bang you.’

b. /lΛp-t-a/ [lΛm-t-a]

write-NPST-1SG

‘(I) shall catch you.’

c. /t^sip-t-a/ [t^sim-t-a]

press-NPST-3SG

‘(I) shall press you.’

In examples (12a-c), the voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop /p/ in *t^hAp* ‘bang’, *lAp* ‘catch’, *t^sip* ‘press’, exhibits regressive assimilation to the following consonant for place of articulation and manner of articulation and forms /m/ in *t^hAmta* ‘bang’, *lAmta* ‘catch’, *t^simta* ‘press’ (1 → 2), respectively. In Dumi, progressive assimilation may also occur. It can be formulized as in (13).

(13) /g/ → /g^h/ / ____ /v/

Following are the examples:

(14) a. mam-gob^hal [mam-g^hΛl]

that-around

‘towards that side (i.e., over there)’

- b. *del-gob^hal* [del-g^hʌl]
village-around
'towards the village'
- c. *ad^{zh}oŋka-gob^hal* [ad^{zh}oŋka-g^hʌl]
last the year-around
'around the last year'

In examples (14a-c), progressive assimilation occurs in *gob^hal* 'around' and forms *g^hʌl* in *mam-g^hʌl* 'over there' *del-g^hʌl* 'towards the village', *ad^{zh}oŋka-g^hʌl* 'around the last year'.

The voiceless velar unaspirated /k/ exhibits regressive assimilation to the following consonant for place of articulation and manner of articulation. It means that the voiceless velar unaspirated /k/ changes into alveolar nasal /n/ before following voiceless dental unaspirated stop. This can be formulized as in (15):

$$(15) \quad /k/ \rightarrow /n/ \text{ / } ____ /t/$$

Following are the examples:

- (16) a. */kok-t-a/* [kon-t-a]
cut-NPST-(1→2).SG
'(I) cut you.'
- b. */p^huk-t-a/* [p^hun-t-a]
wake-NPST-(1→2).SG
'(I) shall wake you up.'
- c. */t^sjak-t-a/* [t^sjan-t-a]
pinch-NPST-(1→2).SG
'(I) shall pinch you.'

In examples (16a-c), the voiceless velar unaspirated /k/ in *kok* 'cut', *p^huk* 'wake up' and *t^sjak* 'wake' changes into alveolar nasal /n/ in *konta* (**kon-t-a*) 'I cut you', *p^hunta* (**p^hun-t-a*) 'I shall wake you up' and *t^sjanta* (**t^sjan-t-a*) 'I shall pinch you' before following voiceless dental unaspirated stop /t/.

(d) Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is an assimilative process in which all the vowels in a given phonological word share some crucial features and belong to the same vowel class. In Dumi, we can observe similar type of the phenomenon referred to as vowel harmony. The vowels [ʌ] assimilates with [a], [i] assimilates with [a] and [a] assimilates with [o] in the succeeding morpheme as illustrated in (17).

- (17) a. /sili-mʌpa/ [sili-manpa]
 dance skill-expert
 ‘the leader in a sakela dance’
- b. /adʒi-ka/ [adʒaka]
 later-and
 ‘later on’
- c. /do-swam/ [dosom]
 heat-fur
 ‘hair’

In examples (17a-c), *mʌpa* ‘expert’ and *adʒi-ka* ‘later,’ *do-swam* ‘hair’ the phenomenon of vowel harmony [ʌ] assimilates with [a], [i] assimilates with [a] and [a] assimilates with [o] forming *sili-manpa* ‘The leader in a sakela dance’, *adʒaka* ‘later on’ and *dosom* ‘hair’, respectively. In (17c), *do-swam* ‘head-fur,’ the phenomenon of vowel harmony [a] assimilates with the [o] in the preceding morpheme and forms *dosom* ‘hair’.

3.2 Coalescence

The root final nasals /ŋ, n, m / coalesce with the following velar nasal /ŋ/. As a result, the vowel in the root is nasalized as illustrated in (18).

- (18) a. /aŋu ŋa/ [aũŋa]
 1 SG-EMPH
 ‘I only’
- b. /tam-ŋa/ [taŋŋa]
 this-only
 ‘this only’

- c. /mam-ŋa/ [maŋŋa]
 that-only
 ‘that only’

In examples (18a-c), the root final nasals coalesce with the following velar nasal /ŋ/ and root final vowel is nasalized or the bilabial nasal /m/ is coalesced with the velar nasal /ŋ/. In 18(a) the root final nasal /ŋ/ in *aŋu* ‘I’ coalesce with the following velar nasal /ŋ/ and the vowel in the root is nasalized as in *aũŋa* ‘I only’. Likewise, the root final bilabial nasal /m/ in 18 (b, c) coalesce with the following velar nasal /ŋ/ and form *taŋŋa* ‘this only’ and *maŋŋa* ‘this only’ respectfully.

3.3 Deletion

Deletion is another kind of morphophonological process, attested in most of the natural languages. It is also conditioned by syllable structure. A segment or a morpheme consisting of more than one segment may be deleted to preserve a syllable or word pattern that is acceptable. Dumi exhibits two types of deletion processes: consonant deletion and vowel deletion. We discuss both type of deletion in this section.

3.3.1 Consonant Deletion

In Dumi, a morpheme consisting of more than one segment may be deleted to preserve or restore a syllable or word pattern. Since syllable final ‘-s’ or ‘-t’ is not tolerated, there is compensatory lengthening in place of the deletion of ‘s’ or ‘t’ as illustrated in (19).

- (19) a. $k^h\text{us-na}$ $[k^h\Lambda:-na]$ go-INF ‘to go’
 b. mus-na $[\text{mo}:-na]$ finish-INF ‘to finish’
 c. brus-na $[\text{br}\Lambda:-na]$ scream-INF ‘to scream’
 d. $k^h\Lambda\text{t-na}$ $[k^h\Lambda:-na]$ take-INF ‘to take’
 e. $d^z\Lambda\text{t-na}$ $[d^z\Lambda:-na]$ graze-INF ‘to graze’
 f. $h\Lambda\text{t-na}$ $[h\Lambda:-na]$ snatch-INF ‘to snatch’

In examples (19a-f), there is syllable final ‘-s’ in $k^h\text{us}$ ‘go’, mus ‘finish’, brus ‘scream’, ‘-t’ in $k^h\Lambda\text{t}$ ‘take’, $d^z\Lambda\text{t}$ ‘graze’ and $h\Lambda\text{t}$ ‘snatch’. But the syllable final ‘-s’ or ‘-t’ is not tolerated and there is compensatory lengthening in place of the deletion of ‘s’ or ‘t’ in $k^h\Lambda:-na$ ‘to go’, $\text{mo}:-na$ ‘to finish’, $\text{br}\Lambda:-na$ ‘to scream’, $k^h\Lambda:-na$ ‘to take’, $d^z\Lambda:-na$ ‘to graze’ and $h\Lambda:-na$ ‘to snatch’.

(a) Deletion of /-po/

The genitive marker *-po* is deleted before the noun. It is sometimes realized as *-ji* when it is affixed to an adverb marker *-go* ‘in’. This is formulized as in (20).

- (20) $X \rightarrow \emptyset \text{ ______ } Y$

In (20), ‘X’ refers to genitive marker *-po* and ‘Y’ refers to the noun phrase.

Following are the examples:

- (21) a. /o-po-k^hur/ [o-k^hur]
 1SG-GEN-hand
 ‘my hand’
- b. /a-po-pepe/ [a-pepe]
 2SG-GEN-elder brother
 ‘your elder brother’
- c. /um-po-del/ [u-del]
 3SG-GEN-village
 ‘his/her village’

In examples (21a-c), the genitive marker *-po* in *o-po* ‘my’, *a-po* ‘your’ and *um-po* ‘his/her’ is deleted before the noun and form *o-k^hur* ‘my hand’, *a-pepe* ‘your elder brother’ and *u-del* ‘his/her village’.

(b) Deletion of /-na/

The syllable *-na* is deleted before the noun or noun phrase. It is formulized as in (22).

- (22) /na/ → / ∅ / / ____ Y

In (22), *na* is infinitive marker and ‘Y’ refers to the noun phrase. Following are the examples:

- (23) a. /amna-sinΛm/ [am-sinΛm]
 today-night
 ‘tonight’
- b. /amna-somna/ [am-somna]
 today-evening
 ‘today-evening’
- c. /amna-nulu/ [am-nulu]
 today-mid-day
 ‘today-mid-day’

In examples (23a-c), the syllable *-na* in *amna* ‘today’ is deleted before the noun phrases *sinΛm* ‘night’ in (23a), *somna* ‘evening’ in (23b) and *somna* ‘evening’ in (23c) forming *amsinΛm* (**am-sinΛm*) ‘tonight’, *amna-somna* (**am-somna*) ‘today evening’ and *amna-nulu* (**am-nulu*) ‘today mid-day’, respectively.

(c) Deletion of /w/

Dumi, the labial approximant /w/ is deleted before the mid-low back vowel /Λ/. It is formulized as in (24).

$$(24) \quad w \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ____ } \#$$

Following are the examples:

$$(25) \quad \text{a.} \quad /tuk-kwam/ \quad [tuk-k\Lambda m]$$

one-mouth
‘a mouthful’

$$\text{b.} \quad /o-rwam/ \quad [o-r\Lambda m]$$

my-body
‘my body’

$$\text{c.} \quad /mur-swam/ \quad [mur-s\Lambda m]$$

poisonous-fur
‘poisonous fur’

In examples (25a-c), the labial approximant /w/ in *kwam* ‘mouth’, *rwam* ‘body’ and *mur swam* ‘poisonous fur’ is deleted before the mid-low back vowel /Λ/ and form *tuk-kΛm* ‘a mouthful’, *mur sΛm* ‘poisonous fur’ and *o-rΛm* ‘my body’.

(d) Deletion of /h/

The fricative /h/ is deleted before the high back vowel /u/. It is formulized as in (26).

$$(26) \quad h \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ____ } u$$

Following are the examples:

$$(27) \quad \text{a.} \quad /sahu/ \quad [sau]$$

blacksmith
‘blacksmith’

- b. /tohu/ [tou]
 ‘bamboo basket’
 ‘bamboo basket’

In examples (27a, b), the fricative /h/ in *sahu* ‘blacksmith’ in (27a) and *tohu* ‘bamboo basket’ in (27a) is deleted before the high-back vowel /u/ and forms *sau* ‘blacksmith’ and *tou* ‘bamboo basket’, respectively.

(e) Deletion of /k^h/

The voiceless velar aspirated stop /k^h/ is deleted before the voiceless velar unaspirated stop /k/ and is realized as -*ji*. It is formulized as in (28).

$$(28) \quad k^h \rightarrow j / _k$$

Following are the examples:

- (29) a. /ma-dʒina-k^hika/ [ma-dʒina-jika]
 NEG-talk-MNR
 ‘quietly’
- b. /ma-dokna-k^hika/ [ma-dokna-jika]
 NEG-see-MNR
 ‘unseen’
- c. /ma-senna-k^hika/ [ma-senna-jika]
 NEG-look-MNR
 ‘carelessly’

In examples (29a-c), the voiceless velar aspirated stop /k^h/ in *ma-dʒina-k^hika* ‘quietly’ in (29a), *ma-dokna-k^hika* ‘unseen’ in (29b), and *ma-senna-k^hika* ‘carelessly’ in (29c) is deleted before the voiceless velar unaspirated stop /k/ and is realized as -*ji* in *ma-dʒina-ji-ka* ‘quietly’, *ma-dokna-ji-ka* ‘unseen’ and *ma-senna-jika* ‘carelessly’, respectively.

3.3.2 Vowel deletion

In Dumi, perfective marker -*i/-u* is deleted before the negative suffix -*na*. This is formulized as: $X \rightarrow \emptyset / Y _$, where ‘X’ is the vowel -*i/-u* and ‘Y-’ represents the environment as in (30).

- (30)
- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| a. | ma-sul-i-nΛ | [ma-sul-nΛ] | NEG-hide-NEG |
| b. | ma-hut ^s -i-nΛ | [ma-hu:-nΛ] | NEG-burn-NEG |
| c. | ma-t ^s ur-i-nΛ | [ma-t ^s ur-nΛ] | NEG-pay-NEG |
| d. | ma-ind-i-nΛ | [ma-in-nΛ] | NEG-sell-NEG |
| e. | ma-kid-i-nΛ | [ma-kit-nΛ] | NEG-buy-NEG |
| f. | ma-dokt-i-nΛ | [ma-dok-nΛ] | NEG-see-NEG |
| g. | ma-kΛpt-i-nΛ | [ma-kΛp-nΛ] | NEG-thatch-NEG |
| h. | ma-puk-u-nΛ | [ma-puk-nΛ] | NEG-get up-NEG |
| j. | ma-lu:m-u-nΛ | [ma-lum-nΛ] | NEG-search-NEG |

In example (30b), the syllable *-tʃ* is deleted and there is compensatory lengthening in place of this syllable. Likewise, in (30f-g), there is deletion of the syllable *-ti* whereas there is no compensatory lengthening.

It is to be noted that not only is the perfective marker *-i/-u* deleted, there is a morphophonemic change in proto form *-ja* to the present form *-i:* together with the compensatory lengthening as in (31).

- (31)
- | | | | |
|----|----------------------|------------------------|------------|
| a. | bjar-i | [bi:r-i] | fly-PST |
| b. | njar-i | [ni:r-i] | finish-PST |
| c. | p ^h jar-i | [p ^h i:r-i] | sew-PST |
| d. | t ^s jal | [t ^s i:l-i] | tear-PST |
| e. | ljak-u | [li:k ^h -u] | lick-PST |
| f. | rjap-u | [ri:p ^h -u] | stand-PST |

In examples (31a-f), the last segment ‘*a*’ is deleted and then syllabification ‘*j*’ [-syll] to ‘*i*’ [+syll] due to the influence of the following vowels *-i/-u*.

3.4 Epenthesis

Epenthesis is a morphophonological process in which a vowel is inserted at the syllable boundary for the purpose of syllabication. So an epenthetic insertion is controlled by the syllable structure of a language. Epenthesis, also known as prothesis, is the insertion of a vowel between two consonants (Bussmann, 1996:23). By inserting a segment at the syllable boundary, it controls the unacceptable consonant clusters in languages. The epenthetic insertions are discussed in this section.

(a) Insertion of a palatal glide

Epenthesis is conditioned by the syllable structure in Dumi. The palatal approximant /j/ is inserted in between the root of the verb and the perfective marker. It may be formulized as in (32).

(32) /j / ___X

In example (32) ‘X’ refers to the perfective marker /j/. Following are the examples:

- (33) a. /dʒu-i:/ [dʒu-ji] eat-IMP (2DU)
 /dʒu-u:/ [dʒu-ju] eat-1DU (EXCL.).PST
- b. /tu-i:/ [tu-ji] keep-IMP (2DU)
 /tu-u:/ [tu-ju] keep-1DU (EXCL.).PST
- c. /hu-i:/ [hu-ji] do-IMP (2DU)
 /hu-u:/ [hu-ju] come-IMP (2DU).PST

In examples (33a-c), the palatal approximant /j/ in *dʒu-i:* ‘eat -IMP (2DU)’ and *dʒu-u:* ‘eat-1DU (EXCL.).PST’ is inserted in between the root of the verb and the perfective marker /i/ or /u/ and form *dʒu-ji* and *dʒu-ju*, respectively.

3.5 Some other rules

In Dumi, *-bi* is a locative marker. It is sometimes realized as *-ja* when it is affixed to the adverb marker *-go*. In the morphophonological process, the allomorph <*-ja*> is used following the low-mid back vowel /ʌ/. It can be formally presented as in (34).

(34) /-bi/ → /-ja/ / X ___#

In (34), ‘X’ refers to any vowel segment other than the high-front vowel. Following are the examples:

- (35) a. mam-go-bi [mam-g^hʌja]
 that-inside-LOC
 ‘there inside’
- b. tam-go-bi [tam-g^hʌja]
 this-inside-LOC
 ‘here inside’

In examples (35a, b), the locative marker *-bi* in *-go-bi* ‘inside’ is realized as *-ja* when it is affixed to the adverb marker *-go* in *mam-g^hAja* ‘there inside’ in (35a) and *tam-g^hAja* ‘here inside’ in (35b) with the morphophonological process, the allomorph <*-ja*> is used following the low-mid back vowel /ʌ/.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed some morphophonological processes like assimilation, epenthetic insertion, deletion, coalescence, etc., which are conditioned by two factors: surrounding segments and syllable structure. Assimilation is conditioned by surrounding segments. Dumi exhibits three types of assimilation: point of articulation assimilation, manner of articulation assimilation and complex assimilation. Dumi also shows complex assimilation, in which the voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop /p/ exhibits regressive assimilation as the complex assimilation for place of articulation and manner of articulation. There is also the process of coalescence of root final velar nasal with the following velar nasal. The deletion is conditioned by syllable structure. A segment or a morpheme consisting of more than one segment may be deleted to preserve a syllable or word pattern that is acceptable. Marginally, Dumi presents the process of epenthesis which is conditioned by the syllable structure as deletion of genitive marker, deletion of labial approximant, voiceless velar aspirated stop as the consonant deletion. Similarly, deletion of vowel, epenthesis and vowel harmony are also conditioned phonologically.

CHAPTER 4

NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

4.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the nominal morphology⁵³. It is organized into four sections. Section 4.1 discusses the morphological properties of the nouns. In section 4.2, we look at the syntactic properties of the nouns. Section 4.3 deals with the pronominal morphology in the language. Finally, in section 4.4, we sum up the findings of the chapter.

4.1 Morphological properties of nouns

There are four major classes of lexical words: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. They are characterized by three different criteria: semantic, morphological and syntactic (Givón, 2001:49). Semantically, the prototypical nouns are differentiated by a cluster of five semantic criteria: temporal stability, complexity, concreteness, compactness and countability. The nouns are defined in terms of these five diagnostic semantic features: the most time stable, the most concrete, spatially the most compact, most complex and countable lexical category (Givón, 2001:51). The prototypical nouns are lexical words that express such features too.

The structural (i.e., morphological) properties refer to the internal structure of the noun itself which include the marking for gender, person, number, noun class, etc. There are two types of nouns: proper nouns and common nouns. The proper names, which are used to address and identify particular persons are *ganpa*, *juma*, *dikpa*, *najem*, etc. or culturally significant personages or places, viz. *norodel* ‘Norung village’, *jelak^hom* ‘the capital (i.e., Kathmandu)’ *mak^hipa* ‘Makpa’, *k^har^hadel* ‘Kharbari’⁵⁴, *lamdid^za* ‘Baksila’, *kadel* ‘the village of a riverside (in Jalapa VDC)’, etc. The nominal case markers mark different grammatical relations.

Typically, the nouns refer to the notion of the things, places, persons and animals, and the abstract entities like love, honesty, willingness, etc. Distributionally, the nouns can function as the head of the noun phrase and perform the syntactic roles (Givón 1984:63).

This condition is applicable to Dumi too as illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. *saulobi dumpo minua anilai abrust^hijum ga*
- | | | |
|------------|----------|---------|
| saulo-bi | dum-po | minu-a |
| jungle-LOC | meet-GEN | man-ERG |

⁵³ In Dumi, nominal inflectional categories are: number, case and possession. Those numbers and cases are generally encoded by clitics (i.e., phrasal suffixes). They do not trigger agreement across the noun phrase.

⁵⁴ A Dumi village situated in Jalapa VDC ward no. 9 in the southern part of Rawakhola valley, in northern Khotang district.

ani-lai a-brus-t^hiŋ-um gΛ
 2SG-DAT 3SG-call-PROG-PRF be.PST

‘The man (whom we) met in the jungle was calling you.’

b. *opo t^{sh}aru mismat^su ipd^zΛ*

o-po t^{sh}aru mismat^su ipd^zΛ
 1SG-GEN younger daughter sleep.PST

‘My younger daughter slept.’

c. *nΛnΛhaŋa rΛbΛ udumpo koksidi*

nΛnΛhaŋ-a rΛbΛ u-dumpo jΛm-sid-i
 Nanahang-ERG nearly 3SG.POSS-paramour hit-kill-3SG.PST

‘Nanahang nearly hit his paramour to death.’

d. *t^sjamso t^sjamso ŋa buplo siddeti*

t^sjam-so t^sjam-so ŋa buplo sid(*t)-det-i
 play-SIM REDUP EMPH chick kill-give-3SG.PST

‘(S/he) killed the chick at the spot by playing.’

Examples (1a-d) show the different roles of the nouns. In (1a), the noun *minu* ‘man’ functions as the head of the noun phrase *saulobi dumpo minu* ‘the man whom we met in the jungle’, and the noun phrase *opo t^{sh}aru mismat^su* ‘my younger daughter’ in (1b) functions as the subject role in the clause. Similarly, the proper noun *Nanahang* in (1c) plays the semantic role of agent, and the noun *udumpo* ‘paramour’ plays that of object. Likewise, the noun *buplo* ‘chick’ functions as the object role in (1d).

The nouns can also have the grammatical relations like subject (S) and object (O) as illustrated in (2).

- (2) a.
- jumpia upelai sik^hAndi*

jumpi-a u-pe-lai sik^hAnd-i
 youngest female sibling-ERG 3SG.POSS-e.brother-DAT greet-3SG.PST
 ‘Youngest sibling greeted her elder brother.’

- b.
- ad^za somna anilai lunta*

ad^za somna ani-lai lun-t-a
 later on evening 2SG-DAT tell-NPST-2SG
 ‘I shall tell you today in the evening.’

Example (2a) consists of two noun phrases *jumpi* ‘youngest sibling’ and *pepe* ‘elder brother’. In the matrix clause, *jumpi* ‘youngest sibling’ preceding the object *upe* ‘her elder brother’ functions as the subject, whereas *upe* ‘her elder brother’ preceding the finite verb *sik^hAndi* ‘greeted’, functions as the object. Similarly, in (2b), the noun phrases *anilai* ‘to you’ preceding the finite verb *nimunta* ‘(I) shall tell you’, functions as the patient.

Morphologically, the nouns inflect for person, number and case, which are discussed in the following sub-sections.

4.1.1 Gender

Besides the biological gender, there is not grammatical gender.⁵⁵ However; there is a distinction between male and female morphologically in a few pairs of generic nouns. The male or masculine nouns (i.e., the nouns referring to male persons, animals, plants, etc.) are marked by the suffixes *-pa/-pu*, *-ba/-bu* and *-po/-pe* whereas the female or feminine nouns (i.e., the nouns referring to female persons, animals, plants, etc.) are indicated by the suffixes *-ma/-mu* or *-me/-m* and *-na/-no*⁵⁶.

(a) Relational words

In relational words, the pronouns for the masculine gender are marked by the suffix *-pa/-pu/-po/-pe/-ba/-bu/-u*, whereas the feminine genders are marked by the suffix *-me/-ma/-m/-na/-no*⁵⁷ as listed in (3).

⁵⁵ It is a well known feature in the Kirati languages that there seems only the biological gender, but it lacks the grammatical gender and so as in Dumi.

⁵⁶ In some relational words, inanimate words and imperfective deverbilized words, the suffixes <*-pa/-ba*, or, *-pu/-bu*> and <*-ma/-mu*> are used for the male and female, respectively in Dumi.

⁵⁷ Exceptionally, some relational Nepali loan words in masculine gender are marked with the suffix *-na* e.g., *b^hena* ‘brother-in-law’, and some typical Dumi words in feminine gender are marked with the suffix *-pi*, e.g., *pipi* ‘grandmother’.

(3)	a.	<i>papa</i>	‘father’	<i>mama</i>	‘mother’
	b.	<i>epa</i>	‘father’ (with address)	<i>ema</i>	‘mother’ (with address)
	c.	<i>t^{sh}atpu</i>	‘father-in-law’	<i>t^{sh}atmu</i>	‘mother-in-law’
	d.	<i>remni-pu</i>	‘step-father’	<i>remni-mu</i>	‘step-mother’
	e.	<i>pepe</i>	‘brother’	<i>nana</i>	‘sister’
	f.	<i>babu</i>	‘eldest brother’	<i>toma</i>	‘eldest sister’
	g.	<i>enabu</i>	‘brother-in-law’	<i>delme</i>	‘sister-in-law’
	h.	<i>p^hopo</i>	‘uncle’	<i>t^{sh}iṭim</i>	‘aunty’
	i.	<i>ep^ho</i>	‘uncle’ (with address)	<i>e t^{sh}ima</i>	‘aunt’ (with address)
	j.	<i>teteu</i>	‘father's e. brother’	<i>tetem</i>	‘mother's e. sister’
	k.	<i>etepa</i>	‘father's e. brother’ (with address)	<i>etema</i>	‘mother's e. sister’ (with address)

In examples (3a-k), the pronouns for masculine gender in *papa* ‘father’, *t^{sh}atpu* ‘father-in-law’, *pepe* ‘brother’, *enabu* ‘brother-in-law’, *p^hopo* ‘uncle’, *teteu* ‘father's elder-brother (with address)’ are marked by the suffices *-pa/-pu/-po/-bu/-u*, etc., whereas feminine genders in *mama* ‘mother’, *t^{sh}atmu* ‘mother-in-law’, *nana* ‘sister’, *delme* ‘sister-in-law’, *t^{sh}iṭim* ‘aunty’, *etema* ‘mother's elder-sister’ are marked by the suffices *-me/-ma/-me/-mu/-m*, etc.

(b) Non-human words

In non-human words, the nouns for masculine gender are used as a default whereas the nouns for feminine gender are marked by the suffix *-me/-ma/-mu/-m* as illustrated in (4).

(4)	a.	<i>k^hliba</i>	‘male dog’	<i>k^hliba-me</i>	‘female dog’
	b.	<i>kuti</i>	‘male puppy’	<i>kuti-ma</i>	‘female puppy’
	c.	<i>t^{sh}ani</i>	‘male pig’	<i>t^{sh}ani-ma</i>	‘female pig’
	d.	<i>swala</i>	‘youth (male)’	<i>swala-me</i>	‘youth (female)’

In examples (4a-d), *k^hliba* ‘male dog’, *kuti* ‘male puppy’, *t^{sh}ani* ‘male pig’, *swala* ‘youth (male)’ are the masculine gender which are used as a default whereas the pronouns for feminine in *k^hliba-me* ‘female dog’, *kuti-ma* ‘female puppy’, *t^{sh}ani-ma* ‘female pig’, *swala-me* ‘youth (female)’ are marked by the suffix *-me* and *-ma*, respectively.

(c) Imperfective deverbalized words

In the imperfective deverbalized words, the pronouns for masculine and feminine gender are marked by the suffix *-pa* and *-ma*, respectively as illustrated in (5).

- (5) a. *ŋindʒurukpa* *ŋindʒurukma*
 ŋin-dʒuruk-pa ŋin-dʒuruk-ma
 scared-person-male scared-person-female
 ‘male timid’ ‘female timid’
- b. *silimaŋpa* *silimaŋma*
 sili-maŋ-pa sili-maŋ-ma
 dance skill-guide-male dance skill-guide-female
 ‘male-dance-leader ‘female-dance-leader
 in sakela dance’ in sakela dance’
- c. *t^{sh}etuppa* *t^{sh}etupma*
 t^{sh}etup-pa t^{sh}etup-ma
 clever-male clever-female
 ‘clever-male’ ‘clever-female’

In examples (5a-c), the pronouns for masculine and feminine gender are marked by the suffix *-pa* and *-ma*, respectively. Thus, the gender marker is less productive. It occurs in some relational words. However, some words that refer to human races, adjectives, living beings, etc. are not marked by the suffixes *-pa/-ba* or *-pu/-bu* and *-ma/-mu* as illustrated in (6).

- (6) a. *sahu-∅* *sahu-me*
 blacksmith-MASC blacksmith-FEM
 ‘male blacksmith’ ‘female blacksmith’
- b. *dʌmʌ-∅* *dʌmʌ-me*
 tailor-MASC tailor-FEM
 ‘male tailor’ ‘female tailor’

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|------------------|
| c. | <i>swala-∅</i> | <i>swala-me</i> |
| | youth-MASC | youth-FEM |
| | ‘male youth’ | ‘female youth’ |
| d. | <i>kʰliba-∅</i> | <i>kʰliba-me</i> |
| | dog-MASC | dog-FEM |
| | ‘dog’ | ‘bitch’ |

Examples (6a-d) present some pair words, which consistently use the suffix *-me* as the female marker in the default root form⁵⁸. There are some words which are considered as the common gender as listed in (7).

- (7)
- | | | |
|----|---------------|----------------------------|
| a. | <i>tʰwara</i> | ‘goat’ (male/female) |
| b. | <i>deltʰu</i> | ‘villagers’ (male/female) |
| c. | <i>wa</i> | ‘younger’ (brother/sister) |
| d. | <i>pulam</i> | ‘guest’ (male/female) |
| e. | <i>kʰt:tʰ</i> | ‘thief’ (male/female) |

Examples (7a-e) provide some words, which are considered as the common gender (i.e., both the masculine and feminine). Dumi also makes a distinction between male and female lexically in few pairs of nouns as listed in (8).

- (8)
- | | | | | |
|----|---------------|--------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| a. | <i>papa</i> | ‘father’ | <i>mama</i> | ‘mother’ |
| b. | <i>etepa</i> | ‘father's elder brother’ | <i>etema</i> | ‘mother's elder sister’ |
| c. | <i>lasba</i> | ‘male’ | <i>misma</i> | ‘female’ |
| d. | <i>tʰatpu</i> | ‘father-in-law’ | <i>tʰatmu</i> | ‘mother-in-law’ |
| e. | <i>pʰopo</i> | ‘paternal uncle’ | <i>tʰtʰim</i> | ‘maternal aunt’ |
| f. | <i>dumbu</i> | ‘husband’ | <i>me</i> | ‘wife’ |

Examples (8a-f) show the words in Dumi, which are frequently used as the pairs of two distinct of the opposite sex (or gender). There are also some proper nouns which are used as the default feminine gender as listed in (9).

⁵⁸ The default root form is considered as the male words.

- (9) a. *mu-suru* ‘seed in rice’
 b. *saulo-homu* ‘wild witchcraft’
 c. *pisup-ma* ‘step female sibling’
 d. *bΛΛΛ^hΛηma* ‘careless woman’
 e. *momome* ‘female phantom’
 f. *upi* ‘female useless seed’

Examples (9a-f) provide the feminine gender and are frequently used in practice. However, the words for the opposite form (or sex) are not used.

4.1.2 Number

The simple form (i.e., stem) of the noun is taken to be the singular form, and a dual or plural form is then added (Givón, 1984:60). In the same vein, like Wambule (Opgenort, 2002:143), Yakkha (Schackow, 2014:120); Dumi distinguishes three morphological categories of nouns in terms of number: singular, dual and plural in the nouns, pronouns and in verbs. The singular noun is unmarked or zero marked, but the dual and plural nouns are marked by the phrasal suffix *-nu* and *-mu*⁵⁹, respectively, denoting that there are multiple instances of the item, or that the item or person is accompanied by similar items or person (associative plurality).

It attaches to the rightmost element of the noun phrase (usually the nominal head), and thus, has scope over the whole noun phrase as listed in (10).

- (10) a. *dusu* ‘friend’ *dusu-nu* ‘friend-DU’ *dusu-mu* ‘friend-PL’
 b. *nana* ‘sister’ *nana-nu* ‘sister-DU’ *nana-mu* ‘sister-PL’
 c. *lut^ʰu* ‘basket’ *lut^ʰu-nu* ‘basket-DU’ *lut^ʰu-mu* ‘basket-PL’
 d. *lAsba* ‘male’ *lAsba-nu* ‘male-DU’ *lAsba-mu* ‘male-PL’
 e. *k^hit^si* ‘thief’ *k^hit^si-nu* ‘thief-DU’ *k^hit^si-mu* ‘thief-PL’

In examples (10a-e), the nouns are marked by the suffixes *-nu* and *-mu* for duality and plurality, respectively. Likewise, the plural suffix *-mu* often conveys the sense ‘and the like’ (i.e., manifoldness) as listed in (11).

- (11) a. *d^za* ‘rice’ *d^za-mu* ‘rice and like that’
 b. *k^ho* ‘utensil’ *k^ho-mu* ‘utensil and like that’
 c. *rΛ:ru* ‘seed’ *rΛ:ru-mu* ‘seed and like that’
 d. *bostu* ‘cattle’ *bostu-mu* ‘cattle and like that’
 e. *sod^za* ‘money’ *sod^za-mu* ‘money and like that’

⁵⁹ In Baksila Dumi, plural number in nouns is indicated by the suffix *-mɿ*, e.g. *dusu-mɿ* ‘friends’ (van Driem, 1993:61).

In examples (11a-e), the plural suffix *-mu* conveys the sense ‘and the like’. Similarly, The interrogative pronoun *asi* ‘who’ is grammatically singular and takes the plural suffix *-mu* (non-honorific) or *-ham* (honorific), e.g., *asi-mu* ‘who (PL)’ when a plural referent is intended as illustrated in (12).

- (12) a. *amna tambi asi hot^hiŋta*
 amna tambi asi ho-t^hiŋ-t-a
 today here who come-PROG-NPST-3SG
 ‘Who is coming here today?’
- b. *amna tambi asimu hamhot^hiŋta*
 amna tambi asi-mu ham-ho-t^hiŋ-t-a
 today here who-PL (non-hon) PL-come-PROG-NPST-3PL
 ‘Who (non-honorific) are coming here today?’
- c. *amna tambi asiham hamhot^hiŋta*
 amna tambi asi-ham ham-ho-t^hiŋ-t-a
 today here who-PL (hon) PL-come-PROG-NPST-3PL
 ‘Who (honorific) are coming here today?’

In examples (12a-c), the interrogative pronoun *asi* ‘who’ in (12a) is grammatically singular. Similarly, *asimu* ‘who (PL)’ (non-honorific) in (12b) and *asiham* ‘who (PL)’ (honorific) in (12c), are the plural referent.

4.1.3 Noun classifiers

Aimée (1993:14) notes that numeral classifiers are a common feature of Sino-Tibetan, and accordingly, that of T-B languages. In some languages like Newari, there are a large number of classifiers. However, very few classifiers are left even at the time of van Driem’s research in 1987. The residual classifiers are: the generic classifier *-li* is used for both animate and inanimate nouns; *-p^he* (most often replaced by the general classifier) is used for counting generally round objects like coins, bread; *-halam* is used for counting the period system. The order of numeral and classifier is generally is ‘NCN’ [Number + Classifier + Noun] as listed in (13).

- (13) a. *suk-li k^harawa* ‘three vessels’
 b. *tuk-pu minu* ‘one man’
 c. *sak-halam dapsi* ‘two times chant’
 d. *nek-bo su* ‘five piles flesh’
 e. *sak-p^he sod^za* ‘two rupees coin’

Examples (13a-e) show that the classifiers⁶⁰ *-li*, *-pu*, *-halam*, *-bo*, *-p^he*, represent, respectively, the count noun, human, chant a pile of solid things and round things.

4.1.4 Case marking

Case is considered as a syntactic as well as morphological category of the noun phrase and case markers establish the functional or semantic relation of the arguments with the predicate in a clause or sentence. Dumi exhibits a consistently ergative-absolutive case marking system. Such a system is governed by the principle of transitivity which primarily codes the syntactic distinction between the transitive and intransitive clauses (Givón, 200:208).

The subject of the transitive clause displays ergative case marking. However, the direct object of the transitive clause shares the absolutive case marking as illustrated in (14).

(14) Transitive clause

- a. *uma sAp^hu t^sApti*
- | | | |
|---------|----------------------|----------------------|
| um-a | sAp ^h u-ø | t ^s Apt-i |
| 3SG-ERG | letter-ABS | write-3SG.PST |
- ‘He wrote a letter.’
- b. *uma d^za k^hipti*
- | | | |
|---------|--------------------|----------------------|
| um-a | d ^z a-ø | k ^h ipt-i |
| 3SG-ERG | rice-ABS | cook-3SG.PST |
- ‘She cooked rice.’
- c. *swalembia boro lup^hu*
- | | | |
|------------|----------|---------------------|
| swalembi-a | boro-ø | lup ^h -u |
| snake-ERG | toad-ABS | catch-3SG.PST |
- ‘The snake caught a toad.’

In examples (14a-c), the subjects of the transitive clause *um* ‘s/he’, *swalembi* ‘snake’ are marked by the ergative marker *-a*, whereas the direct objects of the transitive clause *sAp^hu* ‘letter’, *d^za* ‘rice’ and *boro* ‘toad’ are not marked yet.

The direct object of the transitive and the subject of the intransitive clause share the absolutive case marking as illustrated in (15).

⁶⁰ van Driem (1993) lacks the discussion about the classifiers in his description of the Dumi language.

(15) **Intransitive clause**

- a. $t^{\text{ʃ}}u:t^{\text{ʃ}}u$ $\eta uk^h u$
 $t^{\text{ʃ}}u:t^{\text{ʃ}}u-\emptyset$ ηuk^h-u
 baby-ABS cry-3SG.PST
 ‘The baby cried.’
- b. um re
 $um-\emptyset$ re
 3SG-ABS laugh.3SG.PST
 ‘She laughed.’
- c. k^hliba $huk^h u$
 $dog-\emptyset$ huk^h-u
 dog bark-3SG.PST
 ‘The dog barked.’

In examples (15a-c), the subjects of intransitive clause $t^{\text{ʃ}}u:t^{\text{ʃ}}u$ ‘baby’, um ‘she’ and k^hliba ‘dog’ are zero-marked ‘ \emptyset ’. Dumi also exhibits other relational functions, viz., instrumental, dative, comitative, ablative, genitive, locative, allative, inessive and path. These are illustrated in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Case inflections and their relational functions

Case inflections	Relational functions	Label (gloss)
<i>-a</i>	Ergative/Instrumental	ERG/INST
<i>-lai</i>	Dative/Benefactive	DAT/BEN
<i>-po</i>	Genitive	GEN
<i>-kajo</i>	Comitative	COM
<i>-la</i>	Ablative	ABL
<i>o-/a-/u-</i>	Possessive	POSS
<i>-bi</i>	Locative	LOC
<i>-hu</i>	Allative	ALL
<i>-gobi</i>	Inessive	INES
<i>-la/-lam</i>	Path	PATH

(a) Case inflections and their relational functions

The case inflections and their relational functions are discussed as follows:

i. Ergative <-a>

MORPH: <-a>

LABEL: -ERG

Dumi does not exhibit split-ergativity. Irrespective of tense-aspect or person, the case inflection, *-a* exclusively marks the subject of the transitive clause as illustrated in (16).

(16) (i) Past tense

a. *uma dʒa k^hipti*

um-a	dʒa	k ^h ipt-i
3SG-ERG	rice	cook-3SG.PST

‘She cooked rice.’

b. *uma dudu hɔpti*

um-a	dudu	hɔpt-i
3SG-ERG	milk	drink-3SG.PST

‘He drank milk.’

(ii) Non-past tense

a. *uma dʒa k^hipta*

um-a	dʒa	k ^h ipt-a
3SG-ERG	rice	cook-3SG.NPST

‘She cooks/will cook rice.’

b. *uma dudu hɔpta*

um-a	dudu	hɔpt-a
3SG-ERG	milk	drink-3SG.NPST

‘He drinks/will drink milk.’

In examples (16-i), the subjects *um* ‘s/he’ of the transitive clauses, irrespective of tense-aspect or person, are marked by the ergative marker *-a*. Likewise, in examples (16-ii) the subjects *um* ‘s/he’ of the transitive clauses, irrespective of tense-aspect or person, are marked by the ergative marker *-a*.

ii. Instrumental: <-a>

MORPH: <-a>

LABEL: -INST

The case inflection *-a* is also affixed to the nouns to code implement (i.e., a tool, inanimate), by which an agent accomplishes an action as illustrated in (17).

- (17) a. *najem-a t^{sh}ekurima kim p^hikti*
 najem-a t^{sh}ekurim-a kim p^hikt-i
 Nayem-ERG broom-INST house clean-3SG.PST
 ‘Najem cleaned the house with a broom.’

- b. *p^habi-a p^handi-a su: t^su:m-u*
 p^habi-a p^handi-a su: t^su:m-u
 Pabi-ERG axe-INST wood chop-3SG.PST
 ‘Pabi chopped the firewood with an axe.’

- c. *ninam-a bit^{sh}ua ŋ^hal^h kripti*
 ninam-a bit^{sh}u-a ŋ^hal^h kript-i
 Ninam-ERG knife-INST vegetables cut-3SG.PST
 ‘Ninam cut vegetables with a knife.’

In examples (17a-c), *t^{sh}ekurima* ‘with a broom’ in (17a), *p^handia* ‘with an axe’ in (17b), *bit^{sh}ua* ‘with a knife’ in (17c), the case inflection *-a* marks the instrumental case.

iii. Locative <-bi>

MORPH: <-bi>

LABEL: -LABEL

The case inflection *-bi* is secondarily used to mark the location of a thing or a person. It indicates a place or a destination as illustrated in (18).

- (18) a. *silpu kimt^so-bi mo-t-a*
 silpu kimt^so-bi mo-t-a
 bird roof-LOC be-NPST-3SG
 ‘The bird is on the roof.’

b. *k^hlibaa saulobi kArtuppa si:di*

k^hliba-a saulo-bi kArtuppa si:d-i
 dog-ERG jungle-LOC wild cat kill-3SG.PST

‘The dog killed a wild cat in the jungle.’

c. *kimbi pulammu hammota*

kim-bi pulam-mu ham-mo-t-a
 house-LOC guest-PL PL-be-NPST-3SG

‘In the house, there are guests.’

d. *lamdubi meisi mota*

lamdu-bi meisi mo-t-a
 way-LOC buffalo be-NPST-3SG

‘On the way, there is a buffalo.’

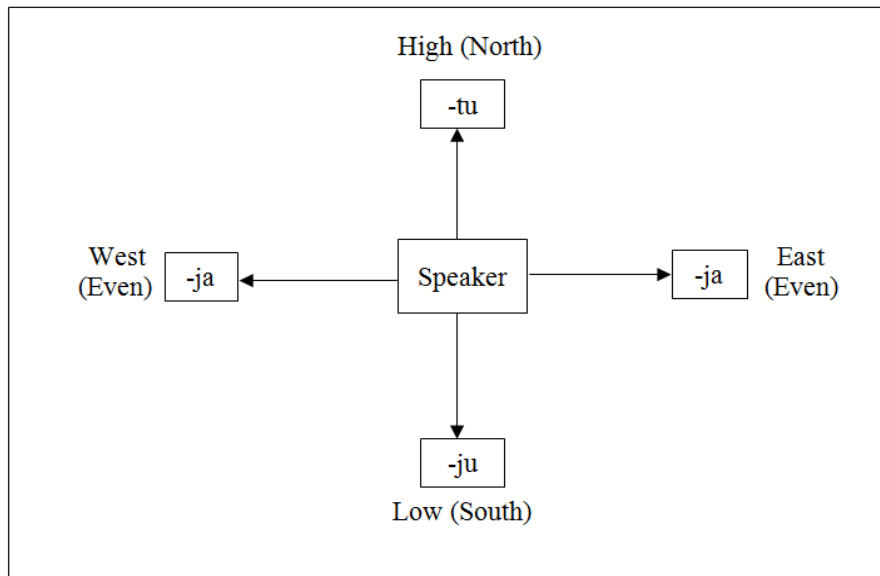
In examples (18a-d), case inflection *-bi* in *kimt^hobi* ‘on the roof’ in (18a), *saulobi* ‘in the jungle’ in (18b), *kimbi* ‘in the house’ in (18c), *lamdubi* ‘on the way’ in (18d), marks exclusively the locative case.

Like Bantawa (Rai, 1985:69), Dumi has locative markers in accordance with the direction as in the Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: The directional locative markers

Directions	High	Even	Low	suffixes	Remarks
North	+	-	-	<i>-tu</i>	higher level
South	-	-	+	<i>-ju</i>	lower level
East/West	-	+	-	<i>-ja</i>	even (same) level
Neutral	-	-	-	<i>-bi</i>	directionless

The information given in Table 4.2 can be explained with the help of the following Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: The directional locative markers**Locative at higher level <-tu>**

MORPH: <-tu>

LABEL: LOC (higher)

The case inflection *-tu*, is primarily used to mark the location of the things or persons at a higher level as listed in (19).

- (19) suffix /-tu/ 'in', 'on', 'at' (higher level)
- kim-tu* 'at home (above)'
 - toja-tu* 'on the Himalayas (above)'
 - t^so-tu* 'at the top (above)'

In example (19), the locative case inflection in higher level in *kim-tu* 'at home (above)', *toja-tu* 'on the Himalaya (above)', *t^so-tu* 'at the top' is marked by the locative marker *-tu* at the higher level.

Locative at lower level <-ju>

MORPH: <-ju>

LABEL: LOC (lower)

The case inflection *-ju*, is primarily used to mark the location of the things or persons at the lower level as in (20).

- (20) suffix /-ju/ 'in', 'on', 'at' (lower level)
- kim-ju* 'at home (below)'
 - waje-ju* 'in the Terai (below)'

p^har-ju ‘at the bottom (below)’

In example (20), the locative case inflection in lower level in *kim-ju* ‘at home (below)’, *waje-ju* ‘in the Terai (below)’, *p^har-ju* ‘at the bottom (below)’ is marked by the locative marker *-ju* at the lower level.

Locative at the same (or even) level <-ja>

MORPH: <-ja>

LABEL: LOC (even/same level)

The case inflection *-ja*, is primarily used to mark the location of the things or persons at the same or even level as in (21).

(21) suffix /-ja/ ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘at’ (even/same level)

kim-ja ‘at home’ (even level)

ta-ja ‘this side’ (even level)

lamdu-ja ‘on the road’ (even level)

In example (21), the locative case inflection at the same level in *kim-ja* ‘at home (same level)’, *ta-ja* ‘this side (even level)’, *lamdu-ja* ‘on the road (even level)’ is marked by the locative marker *-ja* at the same level.

Locative <-bi > (directionless)

MORPH: <-bi>

LABEL: LOC (directionless)

The case inflection *-bi*, is primarily used to mark the location of the things or persons in any direction. The examples are shown as in (22).

(22) suffix /-bi/ ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘at’ (directionless)

kim-bi ‘at home’

del-bi ‘in the village’

lamdu-bi ‘on the road’

In example (22), the locative case inflection at any direction in *kim-bi* ‘at home’, *del-bi* ‘in the village’, *lamdu-bi* ‘on the road’ is marked by the locative marker *-bi* in directionless situation.

iv. Benefactive <-lai>

MORPH: <-lai>

LABEL: -BEN

Apart from the primary function of coding the locative case, the case inflection *-lai* is also used to mark the nominals which are affected by the action of the agent as illustrated in (23).

- (23) a. *uma ot^ʃulai sod^ʒa bi*
 um-a o-t^ʃu-lai sod^ʒa bi
 3SG-ERG 1.SG.POSS-child-BEN money give.3SG.PST
 ‘He gave money to my child.’

- b. *haŋa urulai birupo su bi*
 haŋ-a u-ru-lai biru-po su bi
 the king-ERG 3SG.POSS-helper-BEN deer-GEN meat give.3SG.PST
 ‘The king gave deer meat to his helper.’

In example (23a), the benefactive nominal *ot^ʃu* ‘my child’ and in (23b), *uru* ‘his helper’ are marked by the benefactive case inflection *-lai*.

v. Dative <-*lai*>

MORPH/S: <-*lai*>

LABEL: -DAT

The dative case is marked by the inflection *-lai*⁶¹. In an ergative-absolutive language like Thulung (Allen, 1975:92), Athpare (Ebert, 1997:116), Chamling (Ebert, 1997:46) and Bhujel (Regmi, 2007:158), the patients or direct objects are not theoretically overtly marked. However, the human patient nouns or direct object nouns in a transitive clause are marked by the case inflection *-lai* as illustrated in (24).

- (24) a. *pabia urulai jΛmdi*
 pabi-a u-ru-lai jΛmd-i
 pabi-ERG 3SG.POSS-helper-DAT beat-3SG.PST
 ‘Pabi beat his helper.’

- b. *k^hlibaa kΛrtuppalai saulobi sidi*
 k^hliba-a kΛrtuppa-lai saulo-bi sid-i
 dog-ERG jackle-DAT jungle-LOC kill-3SG.PST
 ‘The dog killed a jackle in the jungle.’

⁶¹ The gloss *-lai* as dative is used as the direct influence of the tradition in studies of Nepali. However, the suffix of dative marker in Dumi is not productive.

c. *ninama aŋulai aduk^ho*

ninam-a aŋu-lai a-duk^h-o

Ninam-ERG 1SG-DAT 3SG-see-1SG.PST

‘Ninam saw me.’

In examples (24a-c), *uru* ‘his helper’ in (24a), *kartuppa* ‘jackle’ in (24b), *aŋu* ‘I’ in (24c), all the patients are marked by the case inflection *-lai*. Such marking is referred to as an anti-dative marking (Dryer, 1986). It is, however, glossed as the dative case.

vi. Genitive <-po>

MORPH: <-po>

LABEL:-GEN

The case inflection *-po* is used to mark the genitive case as illustrated in (25).

(25) a. *d^hamrobi sisilapo jΛ ga t^hiŋu*

d^hamro-bi sisila-po jΛ ga t^hiŋ-u

cliff-LOC swallow-GEN nest exist-HAB-PST

‘There was a swallow’s nest on the cliff.’

b. *mΛjo ŋa sisilapo t^su mit^si*

mΛjo ŋa sisila-po t^su mit^s-i

at that time FOC swallow-GEN baby die-3SG.PST

‘At that time, the swallow’s baby died.’

c. *mΛnΛ mampo mupu ŋuk^hi*

mΛnΛ mam-po mupu ŋuk^h-i

then that-GEN parents cry-3DU.PST

‘Then its parents cried.’

In examples (25a-c), the case inflection *-po* ‘of’ in *sisila -po* ‘of swallow’ in (25a, b), *mam -po* ‘that’s’ in (25c), marks the genitive case.

vii. Possessive <o->, <a-> and <u->

MORPH/S: <o->, <a-> and <u->

LABEL:-POSS

The singular personal pronouns: *aŋu*, *ani* and *um* show corresponding possessive prefixes <*o-*>, <*a-*> and <*u-*>, e.g. *o-kim* ‘my house’, *a-kim* ‘your house’, *u-kim* ‘his house’, etc. The possessive personal prefixes are well illustrated by the verb *dok* ‘to see’ as in (26).

(26) a. *aŋua odel doktu*

aŋu-a o-del dokt-u
1SG-ERG 1SG.POSS-village see-1SG.PST

‘I saw my village.’

b. *ania adel adokti*

ani-a a-del a-dokt-i
2SG-ERG 2SG.POSS-village 2SG-see-2SG.PST

‘You (SG) saw your village.’

c. *uma udel dokti*

um-a u-del dokt-i
3SG-ERG 3SG.POSS-village see-3SG.PST

‘S/he saw her/his village.’

In examples (26a-c), the respective case inflection <*o-*>, <*a-*> and <*u-*> (i.e., my, your, his/her) in *o-del* ‘my village’ in (26a), *a-del* ‘your village’ in (26b), *u-del* ‘his/her village’ in (26c) mark the possessive case.

viii. Ablative <-*lamka/-laka*>

MORPH: <-*lamka/laka*>

LABEL: -ABL

The case inflection *-lamka/laka*⁶² marks the ablative case as illustrated in (27).

(27) a. *d^hamrolaka dapɔlu t^hiju*

d^hamro-laka dapɔlu t^hi-(j)u
cliff-ABL ox fall down-3SG.PST

‘The ox fell down from the cliff.’

⁶² The ablative *lamka* and *laka* are interchangeable and no restriction for using both terms to refer to the source or via (or through).

b. *aŋu noro-lamka tambi pijom*

aŋu noro-lamka tambi pi-jo-m
 1SG Norung-ABL here come-1SG.PST-PRF
 ‘I have come here from Norung.’

c. *uma pipilamka sodʒa lokk^hu hudi*

um-a pipi-lamka sodʒa lokk^hu hud (*t)-i
 3SG-ERG grandma-ABL money borrow bring-3SG.PST
 ‘She borrowed money from her grandmother.’

In examples (27a-c), the case inflection *-lamka/laka* ‘from’ in *d^hamro-laka* ‘from the cliff’ in (27a), *noro-lamka* ‘from Norung’ in (27b), *pipi-lamka* ‘from her/his grandmother’ in (27c), has been used to mark the ablative case.

ix. Comitative <-kajo>

MORPH: <-kajo>

LABEL: -COM

The case inflection *-kajo* is used to express accompaniment (i.e., comitative) as illustrated in (28).

(28) a. *aŋu pulammukajo hoto*

aŋu pulam-mu-kajo hot-o
 1SG guest-PL-COM come-1SG.NPST
 ‘I shall come with guests.’

b. *um anikajo k^husta*

um ani-kajo k^hus-t-a
 3SG 2SG-COM go-NPST-3SG
 ‘He will go with you.’

c. *umkajo tejo sodʒa maŋgu*

um-kajo tejo sodʒa ma-ŋgu
 3SG-COM now money NEG-be
 ‘She does not have money now.’

In examples (28a-c), the case inflection *-kajo* ‘with’ in *pulammu-kajo* ‘with guests’ in (28a), *ani-kajo* ‘with you’ in (28b), *um-kajo* ‘with her’ in (28c), has been used to mark the comitative case.

x. Allative <-hu>

MORPH: <-hu>

LABEL: -ALL

The case inflection *-hu* marks the allative case as illustrated in (29).

(29) a. *tam lamdu odelhu k^husta*

tam lamdu o-del-hu k^hus-t-a
 this way 1SG.POSS-village-ALL go-NPST-3SG.
 ‘This way goes towards my village.’

b. *t^su:t^su saulo^hu k^hut^si*

t^su:t^su saulo-hu k^hut^s-i
 child jungle-ALL go-3SG.PST
 ‘The child went towards the jungle.’

c. *buplo daulo^hu buli*

buplo daulo-hu bul-i
 chick hearth-ALL rush-3SG.PST
 ‘The chick rushed towards the hearth.’

In examples (29a-c), the case inflection *-hu* ‘towards’ in *odel-hu* ‘towards my village’ in (29a), *saulo-hu* ‘towards the jungle’ in (29b), *daulo-hu* ‘towards the hearth’ in (29c), is used to mark the allative case.

xi. Inessive <-gobi>

MORPH: <-gobi>

LABEL: -INES

The case inflection *-gobi* marks the inessive case as illustrated in (30).

(30) a. *t^su:t^su kimgobi sulsi*

t^su:t^su kim-gobi suls-i
 child house-INES hide-3SG.PST
 ‘The child hid inside the house.’

b. *nuru saulogobi brusta*

nuru saulo-gobi brus-t-a
 tiger jungle-INES roar-NPST-3SG
 ‘The tiger roars inside the jungle.’

c. *ŋu kʌŋkugobi t^{sh}jamsti*

ŋu kʌŋku-gobi t^{sh}jams-t-i
 fish water-INES swim-NPST-3SG
 ‘The fish swims inside the water.’

In examples (30a-c), the case inflection *-gobi* ‘inside’ in *kim-gobi* ‘inside the house’ in (30a), *saulo-gobi* ‘inside the jungle’ in (30b), *kʌŋku-gobi* ‘inside the water’ in (30c), is used to mark the inessive case.

xii. Path <-la>

MORPH: <-la>

LABEL: -PATH

The case inflection *-la* marks the path as illustrated in (31).

(31) a. *majala mak^hut^sa tajala k^hut^sa*

taja-la	k ^h ut ^s -a	maja-la	ma-k ^h ut ^s -a
this way-through	go-2SG.IMP	that way-through	NEG-go-2SG.IMP

‘Don’t go through that way, go through this way.’

b. *ani k^hʌmla tambi apiju*

ani	k ^h ʌm-la	tambi	a-pi-(j)u
2SG	where-through	here	2SG-come-2SG.PST

‘Through which way, did you come here?’

In examples (31a, b), the case inflection *-la* ‘through’ in *maja-la* ‘that way-through’, *taja-la* ‘this way-through’ in (31a), *k^hʌm-la* ‘which way-through’ in (31b), is used to mark the path case. Sometimes, the inflection *-la* is alternatively *-lam*.

In the sections (4.1.1-4.1.4), we discussed in detail, the inflectional properties of the nouns. The nouns are derived mainly by employing two processes: nominalization and

compounding. The nominalization process is very recurrent. It is characterized by both morphological and syntactic features in the following sections.

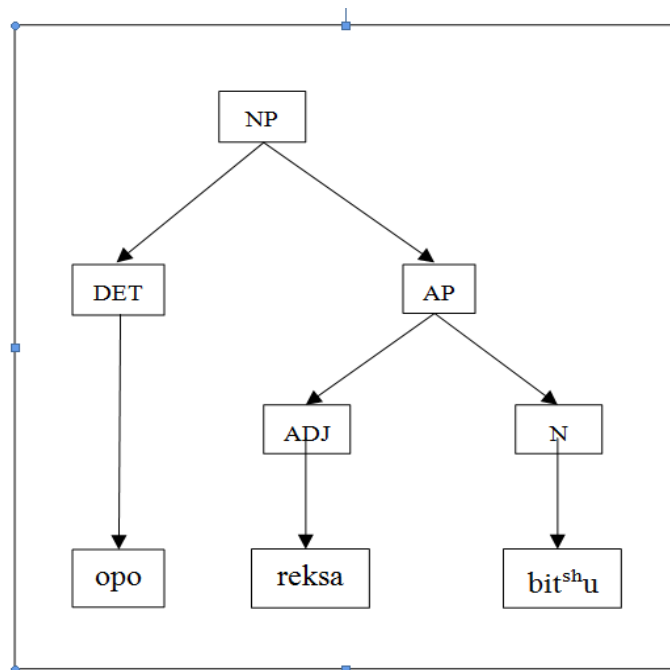
4.2 Syntactic properties of nouns

In a natural language, the nouns can be distributed in phrases, clauses and texts. In this section, we discuss how the nouns are distributed in the phrases and clauses. First, we discuss the distribution of the nouns in phrases and then we discuss how they are distributed in clauses with different grammatical roles. The nouns serve as the head of a noun phrase (henceforth, NP). An NP consists minimally of a head element (i.e., a noun, and optionally one or more modifiers) as illustrated in (32).

- (32) a. *opo rekسا bit^{shu}*
 o-po rek-sa bit^{shu}
 1SG-GEN sharp-NMLZ knife
 ‘my sharp knife’
- b. *umpo hukسا k^hliba*
 um-po huk-sa k^hliba
 3SG-GEN bark-NMLZ dog
 ‘his/her barking dog’

In examples (32a, b), the head of the noun phrase *bit^{shu}* ‘knife’ in (32a), which has been modified by two attributes: *opo* ‘my’ and *rekسا* ‘sharp’. Similarly, the head of the noun phrase *k^hliba* ‘dog’ in (32b), which has been modified by two attributes: *umpo* ‘his/her’ and *hukسا* ‘barking’.

The syntactic structure of the noun phrases in (32a) can be presented as in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: The syntactic structure of a noun phrase.

A noun in the noun phrase can be modified by two types of modifiers: pre-nominal modifiers and post-nominal modifiers. They are discussed as follows:

(a) Pre-Nominal modifiers

The pre-nominal modifiers include determiners, adjectives, adjectival phrases and relative clauses as illustrated in (33).

(33) a. Determiners

opo kim

o-po kim

1 SG-GEN house

‘my house’

b. Adjectives

turim tukdaru

tur-i-m tukdaru

break-PST-NMLZ stick

‘a broken stick’

c. Adjectival phrases

*opo kursa lut^su*o-po kur-sa lut^su

1SG-GEN carry-NMLZ basket

‘my carrying basket’

d. Non-finite relative clause

lam semuksa minu

lam semu-k-sa minu

way show-M.EXTDR-NMLZ person

‘the person who shows the way’

In examples (33a-d), the pre-nominal modifiers *opo* ‘my’ in (33a), *turim* ‘broken’ in (33b), *kursa* ‘carrying’ broken’ in (33c), *semuksa* ‘who shows’ in (33d) are included as the adjective and adjectival phrase as the determiners.

(b) Post-nominal modifiers

In Dumi, indefinite quantifiers and numerals are pre-nominal modifiers as illustrated in (34).

(34) a. Determiners

*opo k^hAtlΛ dusumu*o-po k^hAtlΛ dusu-mu

1SG-GEN all friend-PL

‘my all friends’

b. Indefinite quantifiers

sukli kim

suk-li kim

three-CLF house

‘three houses’

c. Numerals

tuk halam dΛpsi

tuk halam dΛpsi

one round chant

‘one round chanting’

In example (34a), *k^hΛtlΛ dusumu* ‘all friends’ is indefinite quantifiers. Similarly, in *suk li kim* ‘three houses’ in (34b) and *tuk halam dΛpsi* ‘one round chant’ in (34c), the numerals are pre-nominal modifiers.

The nouns can serve as the subjects and objects of the clauses. The nouns as subjects occur clause initial and as objects (both the direct and indirect objects) pre-verbally (or medially) as illustrated in (35).

(35) *pabia najamlai pitʃi sodʒa bi*

pabi-a najam-lai pitʃi sodʒa bi

Pabi-ERG Nayam-DAT some money give.3SG.PST

‘Pabi gave some money to Nayam.’

In example (35), *pabi-a* is marked by the ergative case inflection, *najam-lai*, is marked by the dative case and *sodʒa* ‘money’ is zero-marked; they serve as the subject, indirect object and direct object, respectively.

The nouns can serve as an adverbial complement as illustrated in (36).

(36) *ninama kakalbi rΛ:ru tʃuŋ-u*

ninam-a kakal-bi rΛ:ru tʃuŋ-u

Ninam-ERG basket-LOC seeds prepare-3SG.PST

‘Ninam prepared seeds in a basket.’

In example (36), the noun *kakal-bi*, is marked by the locative case *-bi* and serves as an adverbial complement in the clause.

4.2.1 Noun stem

Structurally, as in Bantawa (Rai, 1985:57), there exist two types of noun stems. They are the simple or short (i.e., root form) and the complex or long (i.e., derived form). Likewise, there are two types of noun stems in Dumi.

(a) Simple nouns

In Dumi, simple nouns may be monosyllabic as well as polysyllabic as listed in (37).

(37)	<i>bu</i>	‘tree’	<i>ɲu</i>	‘fish’
	<i>kim</i>	‘house’	<i>but^{sh}Λ</i>	‘insect’
	<i>minu</i>	‘man’	<i>nam</i>	‘sun’
	<i>kΛŋku</i>	‘water’	<i>mΛ:mi</i>	‘cloud’
	<i>t^{sh}ΛdΛwa</i>	‘fat’	<i>silpu</i>	‘bird’
	<i>lamdu</i>	‘way’	<i>simburdima</i>	‘caterpillar’
	<i>swalembi</i>	‘snake’	<i>jelΛk^hom</i>	‘Kathmandu’
	<i>ba:bΛrim</i>	‘sun shadow’	<i>kΛrtuppa</i>	‘jackle’
	<i>lapter</i>	‘wing’	<i>sauloki</i>	‘wild jam’

Example (37) shows that among two categories of simple nouns, there are monosyllabic nouns like *bu* ‘tree’, *ɲu* ‘fish’ and *nam* ‘sun’ and polysyllabic nouns like *lapter* ‘wing’, *t^{sh}ΛdΛwa* ‘fat’, *simburdima* ‘caterpillar’, etc.

(b) Complex nouns

Complex nouns in Dumi are polymorphemic and they are formed by compounding, derivation, onomatopoeic and reduplication.

i. Compound nouns

Like Bantawa (Rai, 1985:57), compounding is one of the most productive morphological processes which form higher morphological units. The following types of compound nouns are distinguished as in (38).

(38) a. Noun + Noun = Noun

<i>ru:ri</i>	‘soul’	<i>kim</i>	‘house’	<i>ru:ri kim</i>	‘the soul house’
<i>mu</i>	‘mother’	<i>pu</i>	‘father’	<i>mupu</i>	‘parents’
<i>po</i>	‘pig’	<i>t^ʃu</i>	‘child’	<i>po(k)t^ʃu</i>	‘piglet’
<i>p^hu</i>	‘chicken’	<i>ti</i>	‘egg’	<i>p^hati</i>	‘egg (of hen)’
<i>su</i>	‘wood’	<i>p^har</i>	‘bottom’	<i>sup^har</i>	‘root’
<i>nu</i>	‘nose’	<i>k^hil</i>	‘stool’	<i>nuk^hil</i>	‘mucous’

b. Noun + Verb + *sa* (nom. suffix) = Comp. Noun

<i>gu</i>	‘cloth’	<i>p^hjar</i>	‘sew’	+ <i>sa</i>	<i>gu p^hjarsa</i>	‘tailor’
<i>gu</i>	‘cloth’	<i>d^zu</i>	‘eat’	+ <i>sa</i>	<i>gu d^zuksa</i>	‘newar’
<i>sale</i>	‘thread’	<i>d^hum</i>	‘blow’	+ <i>sa</i>	<i>sale d^humsa</i>	‘brahmin’
<i>kΛŋku</i>	‘water’	<i>tuj</i>	‘drink’	+ <i>sa</i>	<i>kΛŋku tuŋsa</i>	‘kshetri’
<i>sako</i>	‘leather’	<i>p^hjar</i>	‘sew’	+ <i>sa</i>	<i>sako p^hjarsa</i>	‘cobbler’

c. Verb + *do* /*dΛm* (nom. suffix) = Comp. Noun

<i>tʃam</i>	‘play’	<i>do</i> (nom. suffix)	<i>tʃamdo</i>	‘playing thing’
<i>t^{sh}Λm</i>	‘dance’	<i>dΛm</i> (nom. suffix)	<i>t^{sh}ΛmdΛm</i>	‘dance’
<i>p^hik</i>	‘clean’	<i>dΛm</i> (nom. suffix)	<i>p^hikdΛm</i>	‘broom’
<i>t^{sh}Λp</i>	‘write’	<i>dΛm</i> (nom. suffix)	<i>t^{sh}ΛpdΛm</i>	‘pen’
<i>k^hrΛp</i>	‘cover’	<i>dΛm</i> (nom. suffix)	<i>k^hrΛpdΛm</i>	‘lid’

d. Verb + *lam* (nom. suffix) = Comp. Noun

<i>d^zu</i>	‘eat’	<i>lam</i> (nom. suffix)	<i>d^zunlam</i>	‘the source of eating’
<i>t^sen</i>	‘teach’	<i>lam</i> (nom. suffix)	<i>t^senlam</i>	‘the way to teach’
<i>hun</i>	‘come’	<i>lam</i> (nom. suffix)	<i>hunlam</i>	‘the way to come’

Examples (38a-d) show that the compound nouns may form by the combination of: (a) noun and noun, (b) noun and verb; and (38c, d) show the nominals suffix in nouns and in verbs, etc.

ii. Noun derivation

The noun can be derived from both the noun and verb as listed in (39).

- (39) a. *bulu* ‘money’ *bulu-mi* ‘a person who has enough money’
 t^sadu ‘wealth’ *t^sadu-mi* ‘a person who has enough wealth’
 hΛΛ ‘happiness’ *hΛΛ-mi* ‘a person who lives happily’

- b. *dʒu* ‘eat’ *dʒu-si* ‘eating’
 ri ‘laugh’ *ri-si* ‘laughing’
 tʰʌm ‘dance’ *tʰʌm-si* ‘dancing’

Example (39a) shows that the noun derivation suffix *-mi* makes a noun from a noun. Similarly, the suffix *-si*, in example (39b), makes a noun from a verb.

iii. Reduplication

The noun stem may be formed by the process of reduplication as listed in (40).

- (40) a. *kim-kim* ‘house-house’
 b. *del-del* ‘village-village’
 c. *lamdu-lamdu* ‘way-way’
 d. *pʰar-pʰar* ‘bottom-bottom’
 e. *kʌŋku-kʌŋku* ‘water-water’

In examples (40a-e), the noun derivation *kim-kim* ‘house-house’, *del-del* ‘village-village’, *lamdu-lamdu* ‘way-way’, *pʰar-pʰar* ‘bottom-bottom’, *kʌŋku-kʌŋku* ‘water-water’ is possible with the reduplication of the corresponding nouns. Noun reduplication involves the complete and partial repetition of a stem (i.e., noun or verb) as illustrated in (41).

- (41) a. *toja* ‘hill’ *to-toja* ‘sitting like hill’
 b. *tʰo* ‘tip’ *tʰo-tʰoja* ‘overfull’
 c. *glɨ* ‘warm’ *glɨ-glɨja* ‘feeling warm’
 d. *kʰre* ‘bite’ *kʰre-kʰreja* ‘thin’
 e. *dʒe* ‘speak’ *dʒe-dʒeja* ‘smiley’

Examples (41a-e) present that the derivation of nouns with the complete and partial repetition of noun stems in (41a-c) and verb stems in (41d, e).

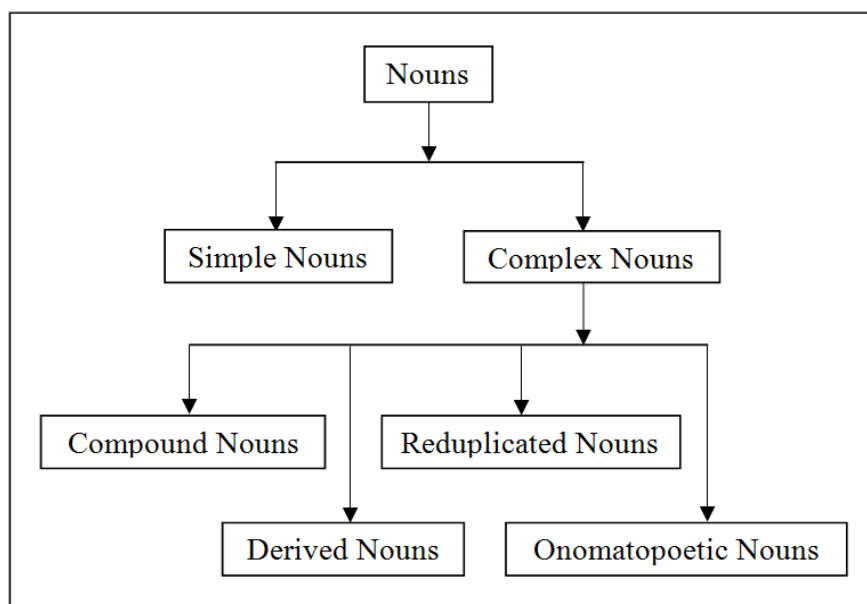
iv. Onomatopoeic

The sound, manner or an action of any object is imitated in these types of nouns as listed in (42).

- (42) a. *dʰriri* ‘shouting loudly’
 b. *suk-suk* ‘weeping with voice controlled’
 c. *tʰlAkto* ‘crying sharply and loudly’
 d. *rinini* ‘insects’ sound’
 e. *sANANA* ‘sound of water flowing’

Examples (42a-e) present the onomatopoeic words. The classification of the nouns can be represented as in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3: The classification of the nouns



4.3 Morphological properties of pronouns

This section deals with pronoun morphology, functionally categorized into personal pronouns and pro-forms. We first discuss the personal pronouns and their grammatical categories, and then we examine the pro-forms (i.e., the pronouns other than personal pronouns). The pro-forms include demonstrative, interrogative, reflexive, possessive, and reciprocal pronouns. We first discuss the personal pronouns and their grammatical categories, and then we examine the pro-forms in the language.

4.3.1 Personal pronouns

In terms of the personal pronouns, person concerns the grammaticalization of conceptual distinctions between participants involved in speech activities. The personal pronouns may be analyzed in terms of four categories: ‘Speech Act Participants’ (SAPs), persons, number, inclusion/exclusion and case-role (Givón, 2001:401). He continues to point out that ‘grammars typically conflate such distinctions and reduce the system to three terms grammaticalizing the roles of speaker (first person), addressee (second person) and other (third person), respectively’, which is the most common system practiced while dealing with the languages of the world.

Dumi follows the most common system of distinguishing between the speaker, the listener and other. There are distinct lexical items referring to each of the participants and the referents of the speech act. Initially, we analyze them in terms of persons, numbers and inclusion/exclusion. Then, we look at the case roles in the personal pronouns. Unlike Bantawa (Rai, 1985:66), Dumi distinguishes three persons (1st vs. 2nd vs. 3rd), three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural) and inclusion vs. exclusion. Table 4.3 presents the personal pronouns in terms of number, person and inclusion vs. exclusion.

Table 4.3: Personal pronouns in Dumi

	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
1st person	<i>aŋu</i>	<i>int̚i</i>	<i>unt̚u</i>	<i>iŋki</i>	<i>uŋku</i>
2nd person	<i>ani</i>	<i>ant̚i</i>		<i>animu</i>	
3rd person	<i>um</i>	<i>unt̚i</i>		<i>unimu</i>	

Table 4.3 shows that there are three numbers of the personal pronouns: singular, dual and plural. The first person presents the distinction between inclusivity and exclusivity in non-singular (i.e., dual and plural) numbers as illustrated in (43).

(43) **Intransitive**

- a. First person singular [1SG]

aŋu del k^hut̚o

aŋu del k^hut̚s-o

1SG village go-1SG.PST

‘I went to the village.’

- b. First person dual (inclusive)

int̚i del k^hut̚i

int̚i del k^hut̚s-i

1DU.INCL village go-1DU.INCL,PST

‘We (DU.INCL) went to the village.’

- c. First person dual (exclusive)

unt^su del k^hut^su

unt^su del k^hut^s-u

1 DU.EXCL village go-1DU.EXCL.PST

‘We (DU.EXCL) went to the village.’

- d. First person plural (inclusive)

iŋki del k^hʌkki

iŋki del k^hʌk-k-i

1PL.INCL village go-M.EXTDR-1PL.INCL.PST

‘We (PL.INCL) went to the village.’

- e. First person plural (exclusive)

uŋku del k^hʌkku

uŋku del k^hʌk-k-u

1PL.EXCL village go-M.EXTDR-1PL.EXCL.PST

‘We (PL.EXCL) went to the village.’

- f. Second person singular

ani del ak^hut^si

ani del a-k^hut^s-i

2 SG village 2SG-go-2SG.PST

‘You (SG) went to the village.’

- g. Second person dual

ant^si del ak^hut^si

ant^si del a-k^hut^s-i

2DU village 2DU-go-2DU.PST

‘You (DU) went to the village.’

h. Second person plural

animu del ak^husni

animu del a-k^hus-ni

2PL village 2PL-go-2PL.PST

‘You (PL) went to the village.’

i. Third person singular

um del k^hut^s ĭ

um del k^hut^s-i

1SG village go-3SG.PST

‘S/he went to the village.’

j. Third person dual

unt^s ĭ del k^hut^s ĭ

unt^si del k^hut^s-i

3DU village go-3DU.PST

‘They (DU) went to the village.’

k. Third person plural

unimu del hamk^hut^s ĭ

unimu del ham-k^hut^s-i

3PL village 3PL-go-3PL.PST

‘They (PL) went to the village.’

(44) **Transitive**

- a. First person singular

*aŋua silpu lup^ho*aŋu-a silpu lup^h-o

1SG-ERG bird catch-1SG.PST

‘I caught a bird.’

- b. First person dual (inclusive)

*int^{si}ia silpu lup^hi*int^{si}i-a silpu lup^h-i

1DU.INCL-ERG bird catch-1DU.INCL.PST

‘We (DU.INCL) caught a bird.’

- c. First person dual (exclusive)

*unt^sua silpu lup^hu*unt^su-a silpu lup^h-u

1DU.EXCL-ERG bird catch-1DU.EXCL.PST

‘We (DU.EXCL) caught a bird.’

- d. First person plural (inclusive)

iŋkia silpu lʌpki

iŋki-a silpu lʌp-k-i

1PL.INCL-ERG bird catch-1PL.INCL-PST

‘We (PL.INCL) caught a bird.’

- e. First person plural (exclusive)

uŋkua silpu lɔpku

uŋku-a silpu lɔp-k-u

1PL.EXCL-ERG bird catch-1PL.EXCL-PST

‘We (PL.EXCL) caught a bird.’

- f. Second person singular

ania silpu alup^hu

ani-a silpu a-lup^h-u

2SG-ERG bird 2SG-catch-2SG.PST

‘You (SG) caught a bird.’

- g. Second person dual

ant^si-a silpu alup^hi

ant^si-a silpu a-lup^h-i

2DU-ERG bird 2DU-catch-2DU.PST

‘You (DU) caught a bird.’

- h. Second person plural

animua silpu alupni

animu-a silpu a-lup-n-i

2PL-ERG bird 2PL-catch-2PL-PST

‘You (PL) caught a bird.’

- i. Third person singular

uma silpu lup^hu

um-a silpu lup^h-u

3SG-ERG bird catch-3SG.PST

‘S/he caught a bird.’

j. Third person dual

unt^sia silpu lupsi

unt^si-a silpu lup-s-i

3DU-ERG bird catch-3DU-PST

‘They (DU) caught a bird.’

k. Third person plural

unimua silpu lupni

unimu-a silpu lup-n-i

3PL-ERG bird catch-3PL-PST

‘They (PL) caught a bird.’

Examples (43a-k) and (44a-k) show that there are three persons (1st vs. 2nd vs. 3rd) and three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural) of the personal pronouns. Besides, the personal pronouns make a distinction between inclusive and exclusive in the dual and plural forms of the first person. In Dumi, like nouns, the personal pronouns inflect for different relational functions.

Table 4.4 presents the pronominal paradigms in terms of case role.

Table 4.4: Pronominal paradigms

Pronoun		ERG/INS	DAT/BEN	GEN	COM	ABL	LOC	ALL	INES	PATH	
1.	INCL.	SG	aŋu-a	aŋu-lai	o-po	aŋu-kajo	aŋu-laka	aŋu-bi	aŋu-hu	aŋu-gobi	aŋu-la
		DU	int ^s i-a	int ^s i-lai	int ^s i-po	int ^s i-kajo	int ^s i-laka	int ^s i-bi	int ^s i-hu	int ^s i-gobi	int ^s i-la
		PL	iŋki-a	iŋki-lai	iŋki-po	iŋki-kajo	iŋki-laka	iŋki-bi	iŋki-hu	iŋki-gobi	iŋki-la
	EXCL.	DU	unt ^s u-a	unt ^s u-lai	unt ^s u-po	unt ^s u-kajo	unt ^s u-laka	unt ^s u-bi	unt ^s u-hu	unt ^s u-gobi	unt ^s u-la
		PL	uŋku-a	uŋku-lai	uŋku-po	uŋku-kajo	uŋku-laka	uŋku-bi	uŋku-hu	uŋku-gobi	uŋku-la
2.	SG	anu-a	anu-lai	a-po	anu-kajo	anu-laka	anu-a	anu-hu	anu-gobi	anu-la	
	DU	ant ^s i-a	ant ^s i-lai	ant ^s i-po	ant ^s i-kajo	ant ^s i-laka	ant ^s i-bi	ant ^s i-hu	ant ^s i-gobi	ant ^s i-la	
	PL	animu-a	animu-lai	ani-po	animu-kajo	animu-laka	animu-bi	animu-hu	animu-gobi	animu-la	
3.	SG	um-a	um-lai	um-po	um-kajo	um-laka	um-bi	um-hu	um-gobi	um-la	
	DU	unt ^s i-a	unt ^s i-lai	unt ^s i-po	unt ^s i-kajo	unt ^s i-laka	unt ^s i-bi	unt ^s i-hu	unt ^s i-gobi	unt ^s i-la	
	PL	unimu-a	unimu-lai	uni-po	unimu-kajo	unimu-laka	unimu-bi	unimu-hu	unimu-gobi	unimu-la	

Table 4.4 shows that the personal pronouns in singular, dual and plural forms may inflect for different case roles. The case roles such as ergative, genitive, comitative, ablative, allative and inessive are formally indicated by the case markers.

4.3.2 Pro-forms

In this section, we discuss the pro-forms such as demonstrative, interrogative, reflexive, possessive and reciprocal pronouns.

(a) Demonstrative pronouns

The main function of the demonstrative pronouns is to identify the participants of an event by locating them with reference to the spatio-temporal location of the speech act participants. Such pronouns can be classified into three categories in terms of spatio-temporal deixis relative to the speech act participants: proximal, distal and remote. Table 4.5 presents a paradigm of the demonstrative pronouns with their different scope.

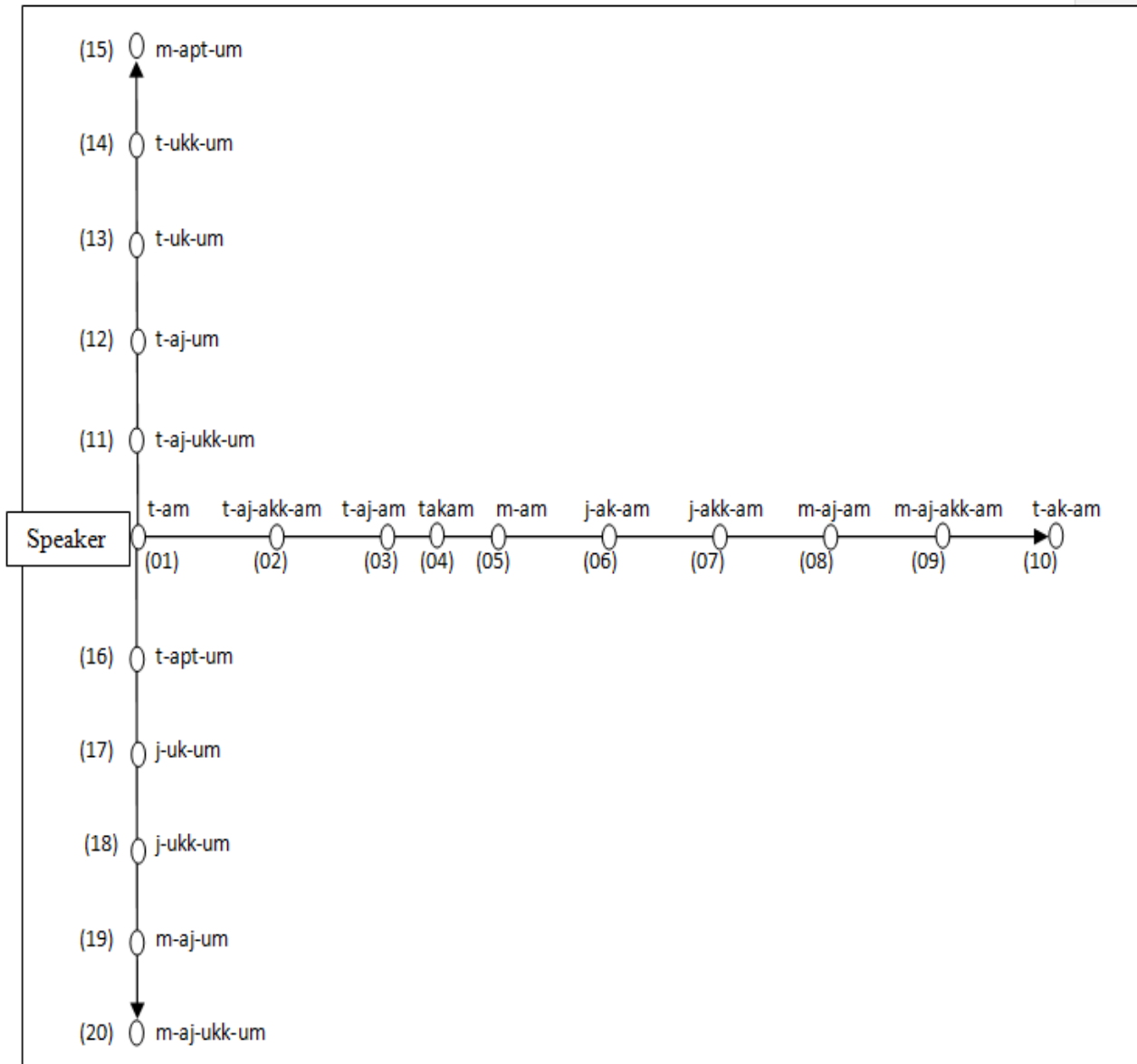
Table 4.5: The paradigms of demonstrative pronouns

SCOPE	PROXIMAL		DISTAL		REMOTE (non-visible)	
NOMINAL	<i>tam</i>	‘this’	<i>mam</i>	‘that’	<i>takam</i>	‘that (unseen)’
PLACE	<i>tam-bi</i>	‘here’	<i>mam-bi</i>	‘there’	<i>takam-bi</i>	‘there (unseen)’
SOURCE	<i>tam-la</i>	‘from this’	<i>mam-la</i>	‘from that’	<i>takam-la</i>	‘from that’
TIME	<i>tejo</i>	‘now’	<i>mAjo</i>	‘previously’	-	
TYPE	<i>tehem</i>	‘this type’	<i>mAhem</i>	‘that type’	-	
QUANTITY	<i>tedu</i>	‘this much’	<i>mAdu</i>	‘that much’	-	
MANNER	<i>taja</i>	‘this way’	<i>maja</i>	‘that way’	-	

Table 4.5 shows the demonstrative pronouns in terms of spatio-temporal deixis relative to the speech act participants: proximal, distal and remote.

Like Athpare (Ebert, 1997:88), Chamling (Ebert, 1997:47) and Bantawa (Rai, 1985:149), the detailed form of the dimensional demonstrative pronouns can be presented in the following Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4: The dimensional demonstrative pronouns⁶³



The information from the Figure 4.4 can be presented as in the Table 4.6.

⁶³ In Dumi, the vertical and horizontal dimensional morphemes are *-um* and *-am*, respectively.

Table 4.6: The paradigms of dimensional demonstrative pronouns

Coding	Horizontal		Coding	Vertical	
(01)	<i>tam</i>	‘this’	(11)	<i>tajukkum</i>	‘closest one’
(02)	<i>tajakkam</i>	‘closer one’	(12)	<i>tajum</i>	‘nearer one’
(03)	<i>tajam</i>	‘nearer one’	(13)	<i>tukum</i>	‘that above one’
(04)	<i>takkam</i>	‘closer to that one’	(14)	<i>tukkum</i>	‘beyond above one’
(05)	<i>mam</i>	‘that’	(15)	<i>maptum</i>	‘further above one’
(06)	<i>jakam</i>	‘beyond than that one’	(16)	<i>taptum</i>	‘the top one’
(07)	<i>jakkam</i>	‘farther than that one’	(17)	<i>jukum</i>	‘below one’
(08)	<i>majam</i>	‘close to the farthest one’	(18)	<i>jukkum</i>	‘further below one’
(09)	<i>majakkam</i>	‘farthest one’	(19)	<i>majum</i>	‘close to the bottom one’
(10)	<i>takam</i>	‘not in sight’	(20)	<i>majukkum</i>	‘the bottom one’

(b) Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns may function as the indefinite pronouns. Table 4.7 presents a paradigm of interrogative pronouns⁶⁴ with their different scope.

⁶⁴ The interrogative pronouns *asi* and *k^hamu* are pronounced as *abo* and *hempa*, respectively, in Baksila Dumi (van Driem 1993:86).

Table 4.7: The paradigms of interrogative

SCOPE	Interrogative pronouns					
NOMINAL	<i>asi</i>	‘who’	<i>mo</i>	‘what’	<i>hem</i>	‘which’
PLACE	<i>k^hAmu</i>	‘where’	<i>k^hAm-bi</i>	‘in which place’		
SOURCE	<i>asi-la</i>	‘from whom’	<i>k^hAm-la</i>	‘from where’	<i>hem-la</i>	‘from which’
TIME	<i>hi-nAm</i>	‘when’(NPST)	<i>hi-jo</i>	‘when’ (PST)		
TYPE	<i>mihim</i>	‘which type’	<i>b^him</i>	‘like what’		
QUANTITY	<i>hito</i>	‘how much’				
MANNER	<i>b^hiso</i>	‘how’	<i>b^hisoka</i>	‘what way’		
REASON	<i>mona</i>	‘why (NPST)’	<i>b^hika</i>	‘why’ (past)		

There are two types of interrogative: animate and inanimate. These interrogative are not marked for number (i.e., singular and non-singular) as illustrated in (45).

(45) (i) **Animate (human)**

mambi asi mota

mam-bi asi mo-t-a

there-LOC who be-NPST-3SG

‘Who is there?’

(ii) **Inanimate (non-human)**

mambi mo gota

mam-bi mo go-t-a

there-LOC what be-NPST-3SG

‘What is there?’

In examples (45i), The interrogative pronouns *asi* ‘who’ is followed by the copula *mota* ‘be’ (i.e., for animate, human) and in (45ii), the interrogative pronouns *mo* ‘what’ is followed by the copula *mota* ‘be’ (i.e., for animate, non-human). Likewise, the interrogative pronouns *mo* ‘what’ is followed by the copula *gota* ‘be’ (i.e., for inanimate).

The difference in pronunciation in the interrogative pronouns in between the Makpa and Baksila area are presented in Table 4.8

Table 4.8: Different interrogative pronouns in Makpa and Baksila

		Makpa Dumi	Baksila Dumi
a.	who	<i>asi/asu</i>	<i>abo</i>
b.	what	<i>mo</i>	<i>mwo:</i>
c.	when	<i>hijo</i> (PST); <i>hinAM</i> (NPST)	<i>hina</i>
d.	why	<i>mihika</i> (PST); <i>mona</i> (NPST)	<i>mAkA</i>
e.	how	<i>b^hiso</i>	<i>mAhinA</i>
f.	which	<i>hem</i>	<i>hempo</i>
g.	what kind	<i>mihim</i>	<i>mAhem</i>
h.	where	<i>k^hAmu</i>	<i>hempa</i>
i.	whose	<i>aspo</i>	<i>abopo</i>

In Makpa Dumi, there is a past and non-past difference in time in the interrogative *hijo* ‘when’ (i.e., past) and in *hinAM* ‘when’ (i.e., non-past) and these interrogatives refer to *mihika* ‘why’ (i.e., past) and *mona* ‘why’ (i.e., non-past), but there is only a single Dumi word *mAkA* ‘why’ for both past and non-past in Baksila Dumi.

(c) Reflexive pronouns

The main function of reflexive pronouns in a clause is to indicate that subject and object are the same entity. The reflexive pronouns are formed by adding the reflexive suffix *-hopu* ‘self’ to the personal pronouns. Thus, the reflexive pronoun is a nominal anaphor. Like personal pronouns, the reflexive pronouns distinguish three persons (1st vs. 2nd vs. 3rd), three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural) and inclusion vs. exclusion.

Table 4.9 presents the reflexive pronouns in terms of number, person and inclusion vs. exclusion.

Table 4.9: Reflexive pronouns in Dumi

	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
1st person	<i>ohopu</i>	<i>int ihopu</i>	<i>unt uhopu</i>	<i>ijkihopu</i>	<i>ujkuhopu</i>
2nd person	<i>ahopu</i>	<i>ant ihopu</i>		<i>annihopu</i>	
3rd person	<i>uhopu</i>	<i>unt ihopu</i>		<i>unnihopu</i>	

Table 4.9 shows the forms of the reflexive pronouns in Dumi. They are formed by adding the reflexive marker *-hopu* ‘self’ to the eleven personal pronouns. Thus, the reflexive pronoun is considered as a nominal anaphor.

(d) Reciprocal pronouns

The reflexive pronoun *hopu* ‘self’ is a nominal anaphor whereas the reciprocal pronoun (i.e., *hopu-hopu* ‘self to each-other’) is a verbal anaphor. It is morphologically verbalized by the suffix *-mu* as illustrated in (46).

- (46) a. *pabi kajo nakima jamutasi*
 pabi kajo nakima ja-mu-t-asi
 Pabi and Nakima like-RECPL-NPST-DU
 ‘Pabi and Nakima like to each other.’
- b. *pe kajo wa p^hl_Λmutasi*
 pe kajo wa p^hl_Λ-mu-t-asi
 e. brother and y. brother help-RECPL-NPST-DU
 ‘Elder brother and younger brother help to each other.’
- c. *t^su:t^sumu j_Λmmutani*
 t^su:t^su-mu j_Λm-mu-t-ani
 child-PL beat-RECPL-NPST-PL
 ‘Children beat each other.’
- d. *k^hlibamu k_Λlmutani*
 k^hliba-mu k_Λl-mu-t-ani
 dog-PL chase-RECPL-NPST-PL
 ‘The dogs chase each other.’

In examples (46a-d), the suffix *-mu* in *jamutasi* ‘like each other’ in (46a), *p^hl_Λmutasi* ‘help each other’ in (46b), *j_Λmmutani* ‘hit each other’ in (46c) and *k_Λlmutani* ‘chase each other’ in (46c) mark the reciprocal suffix.

The reflexive pronouns (x-self) and reciprocal pronouns (each other) are anaphoric in reference. They are referred to as pronominal anaphors. The anaphors, backward reference, cannot precede their antecedents as illustrated in (47).

- (47) a. *aŋua ohopulai tɿisum*
 aŋu-a o-hopu-lai tɿ-is-u-m
 1SG-ERG 1SG-REFL-DAT keep-REFL-PST-NMLZ
 ‘I kept for myself.’

- b. *aŋua ohopulai ŋa dɿisum*
 aŋu-a o-hopu-lai ŋa dɿ-is-u-m
 1SG-ERG 1SG-REFL-DAT EMPH hold open-REFL-PST-NMLZ
 ‘I held open for myself.’

In examples (47a, b), the suffix *-is* in *ohopulai* ‘for myself’ marks the reflexive suffix. The anaphors, which obligatorily require antecedents within the same minimal, reduce the valence of the predicate by one argument as illustrated in (48).

- (48) a. *pabia uhopu ŋa seisi*
 pabi-a u-hopu ŋa se-is-i
 Pabi-ERG 3SG-REFL EMPH kill-REFL-PST
 ‘Pabi saw himself only.’

- b. *najemahopulai dʒa p^heisi*
 najem-a u-hopu-lai dʒa p^he-is-i
 Nayem-ERG 3SG-REFL-DET rice serve-REFL
 ‘Nayem served rice for herself.’

In examples (48a, b), the suffix *-isi* in *seisi* ‘saw himself’ in (48a) and *p^heisi* ‘served herself’ in (48b) refer to the reflexive suffix.

(e) Possessive pronouns

Dumi has a great variety of possessive constructions. Pronominal possessors are coded by prefixes or pronouns in possessive function: possessive prefix (singular possessors): *o-kim* ‘my home’ pronoun in possessive function (plural possessors): *ijki brɿ* ‘our (INC.PL) language.’

The possessive pronouns are formed from the personal pronouns by adding the genitive marker *-po*. Like reflexive pronouns, the possessive pronouns distinguish three persons (1st vs. 2nd vs. 3rd), three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural) and inclusion vs. exclusion as in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Possessive pronouns in Dumi

	singular	dual		plural	
		inclusive	exclusive	inclusive	exclusive
1st person	<i>o-po</i>	<i>int ʃ-po</i>	<i>unt ʃu-po</i>	<i>ijki-po</i>	<i>ujku-po</i>
2nd person	<i>a-po</i>	<i>ant ʃ-po</i>		<i>ani-po</i>	
3rd person	<i>um-po</i>	<i>unt ʃ-po</i>		<i>uni-po</i>	

Table 4.10 shows the possessive pronouns in Dumi. The possessive pronouns are formed from the personal pronouns by adding the genitive marker *-po* in this language.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed three criteria of the noun: semantic, morphological and syntactic. Semantically, the nouns are the most time-stable concepts. There are two types of nouns: proper and common nouns. They are marked for different cases. Dumi exhibits three morphological categories of the nouns in terms of number: singular, dual and plural. Singular nouns are marked as $-\emptyset$ (i.e., zero mark or unmarked) whereas the dual and plural nouns are marked by the suffices *-nu* and *-mu*, respectively. In Dumi, like in other Tibeto-Burman languages, the numeral follows the noun. Dumi is an ergative-absolutive language and exhibits the relational functions: ergative, instrumental, dative, genitive, comitative, ablative, possessive, locative, allative, inessive and path.

Dumi exhibits two categories of pronouns: personal pronouns and pro-forms. The personal pronouns show three persons (1s vs. 2nd vs. 3rd) and three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural). The first person non-singular (i.e., dual and plural) shows the distinction between inclusivity and exclusivity. There are two pronominal anaphors: reflexive (x-self) and reciprocal (each-other). Morphologically, the former is a nominal whereas the latter is a verbal. The possessive pronoun consists of a personal pronoun and possessive markers: *o-*, *a-*, *u-* for the first person, second person and third person, respectively. The locative markers are of four distinct varieties in accordance with direction and non-direction: *-bi* in (directionless), *-tu* 'in' (above), *-ju* 'in' (below), *-ja* 'in' (even or horizontally).

CHAPTER 5

ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

5.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the properties of the adjectives and numerals. It consists of five sections. Section 5.1 deals with the morphological properties of the adjectives. In section 5.2, we look at the semantic properties of the adjectives in the language. Section 5.3 discusses the syntactic properties of the adjectives. In section 5.4, we discuss the properties of the numerals. Finally, section 5.5 summarizes the findings of this chapter.

5.1 Morphological properties

As Dixon (2010b:91) notes that the most common function of an adjective is to modify a noun in an NP, act as copula complement and show morphological categories similar to those of nouns in the languages which have grammatical gender. The adjective class differs from noun and verb classes in varying ways in different languages and so does it in the Dumi language. On the morphological basis, adjectives are primarily of three types: simple (having a single morpheme, the root); derived (having a root plus an adjectivizer); and participial (a participle form of the verb used as adjective). Morphologically, there are two types of adjectives. They are monomorphemic and derived. They are discussed as follows:

5.1.1 Monomorphemic adjectives

As it is suggested by Dixon (2004:9), the size of monomorphemic adjectives in the languages of the world is typically limited. In Dumi, there are very few monomorphemic adjectives as listed in (1).

- (1) a. /mo/ ‘what’ e. /sΛk/ ‘two’
 b. /hem/ ‘which’ f. /suk/ ‘three’
 c. /tam/ ‘this’ g. /buk/ ‘four’
 d. /tuk/ ‘one’ h. /nek/ ‘five’

In examples (1a-h), we notice structurally that the adjective *mo* ‘what’ in (1a) is a pure monomorphemic, whereas the adjectives (1b-h) are not. However, functionally, they can be considered as adjectives.

5.1.2 Derived adjectives

Like Bantawa (Rai, 1985:157), the adjectives are derived from different sources: demonstrative pronouns, verbs, nouns and copulas. They are discussed as follows:

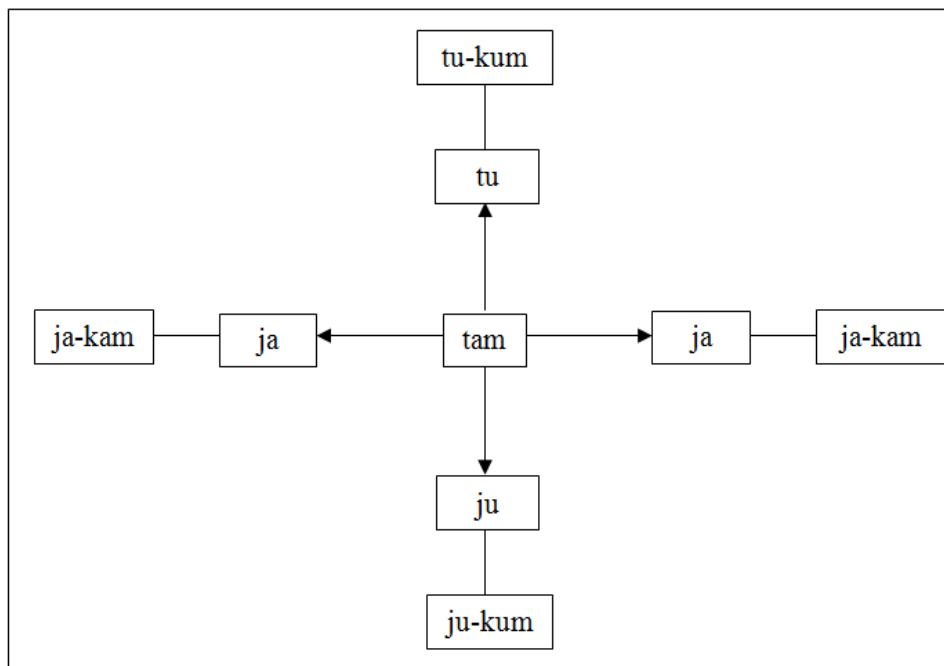
(a) From demonstrative pronouns

Like Athpare (Ebert, 1997:88), there exist three adjectives that are derived from the demonstrative pronouns (i.e., proximate, distal and remote). The root in the singular form is independent, whereas the suffixes *-nu* and *-mu* occur for the dual and plural forms, respectively as illustrated in (2).

(2)	a.	Proximate		Distal		Remote
	SG.	tam	‘this’	jakam	‘that’	takam ‘that’
	DL	tam-nu	‘these (two)’	jakam-nu	‘those (two)’	takam-nu ‘those (two)’
	PL	tam-mu	‘these’	jakam-mu	‘those’	takam-mu ‘those’
	b.	High level		Low level		Same level
	SG.	tu-kum	‘this’	ju-kum	‘that’	ja-kam ‘that’
	DL	tu-kum-nu	‘these (two)’	ju-kum-nu	‘those (two)’	ja-kam-nu ‘those (two)’
	PL	tu-kum-mu	‘these’	ju-kum-mu	‘those’	ja-kam-mu ‘those’

In examples (2a, b), the demonstrative adjectives are nominalized forms of deictic roots or adverbs. The terms indicating relative altitude are derived from *-tu* ‘above/up’ *-ju* ‘below/down’ and *-ja* ‘across/over’ and the dual and plural are indicated by the suffixes *-nu* and *-mu*, respectively. The demonstrative adjectives are presented in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: The demonstrative adjectives in Dumi



(b) From verb roots

Like Bantawa (1985:157), most of the adjectives in Dumi are derived from descriptive verbs. These adjectives consist of a root of the verb followed by the nominalizer *-sa* as illustrated in (3).

(3)	Root	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a.	<i>rek</i>	‘sharpen’	/rek-sa/ [reksa]	‘sharp’
b.	<i>kok</i>	‘cut’	/kok-sa/ [koksa]	‘cutter’
c.	<i>nΛm</i>	‘stink’	/nΛm-sa/ [nΛmsa]	‘stinking’
d.	<i>haŋ</i>	‘be dry’	/haŋ-sa/ [haŋsa]	‘dried’
e.	<i>t^sur</i>	‘be sour’	/t ^s ur-sa/ [t ^s ursa]	‘sour’

In examples (3a-e), the adjectives *reksa* ‘sharp’, *koksa* ‘cutter’, *nΛmsa* ‘stinking’, *haŋsa* ‘dried’ and *t^sursa* ‘sour’ consist of the respective verb roots *rek* ‘to sharpen’, *kok* ‘to cut’, *nΛm* ‘to stink’, *haŋ* ‘to get dry’ and *t^sur* ‘to be sour’ followed by the nominalizer *-sa*.

In Dumii, some of the adjectives are derived from stative verbs as illustrated in (4).

(4)	Root	Meaning	Derived form	Gloss
a.	<i>t^{sh}uk</i>	‘become’	/t ^{sh} uk-sa/ [t ^{sh} uksa]	‘become something’
b.	<i>gu</i>	‘have’	/guk-sa/ [guksa]	‘having something’
c.	<i>t^sap</i>	‘can’	/t ^s ap-sa/ [t ^s apsa]	‘strong’
d.	<i>k^hanu</i>	‘be nice’	/k ^h anu-k-sa/ [k ^h anuksa]	‘nice’
e.	<i>t^sanu</i>	‘taste’	/t ^s anu-k-sa/ [t ^s anuksa]	‘tasty’

In examples (4a-e), the adjectives *t^{sh}uksa* ‘become something’, *guksa* ‘having something’, *t^sapsa* ‘strong’, *k^hanuksa* ‘nice’, *t^sanuksa* ‘tasty’ consist of the respective verb roots *t^{sh}uk* ‘to become’, *guk* ‘to have’, *t^sap* ‘to be able’, *k^hanu* ‘to be attractive’, *t^sanu* ‘to be tasty’ followed by the nominalizer *-sa*. Some adjectives are derived from motion verbs as in (5).

(5)	Root	Meaning	Derived form	Gloss
a.	<i>k^hΛ</i>	‘go’	/k ^h Λk-sa/ [k ^h Λksa]	‘act of going’
b.	<i>bul</i>	‘run’	/bul-sa/ [bulsa]	‘runner’
c.	<i>hoŋ</i>	‘climb’	/hoŋ-sa/ [hoŋsa]	‘climber’
d.	<i>t^{sh}Λm</i>	‘dance’	/t ^{sh} Λm-sa/ [t ^{sh} Λmsa]	‘dancer’
e.	<i>di</i>	‘follow’	/dik-sa/ [diksa]	‘follower’

In examples (5a-e), the adjectives *k^hΛksa* ‘act of going’, *bulsa* ‘runner’, *hoŋsa* ‘climber’, *t^{sh}Λmsa* ‘dancer’, *diksa* ‘follower’ consist of the respective verb roots *k^hΛk* ‘to go’, *bul* ‘to

run', *hoŋ* 'to climb', *t^{sh}Am* 'to dance', *dik* 'to follow' followed by the nominalizer *-sa*. Like Bantawa (1985:70), in Dumi there are four types of directional motion verbs for the verb 'come' as illustrated in (6).

(6)	Root		Derived form		
a.	/k ^h oŋ/	'come up'	/k ^h oŋ-sa/	[k ^h oŋsa]	'act of coming up'
b.	/ji/	'come down'	/jik-sa/	[jiksa]	'act of coming down'
c.	/pi/	'come (even)'	/pik-sa/	[piksa]	'act of coming horizontally'
d.	/hu/	'come'	/huk-sa/	[huksa]	'act of coming (common)'

In examples (6a-d), the adjectives *k^hoŋsa* 'act of coming up', *jiksa* 'act of coming down', *piksa* 'act of coming horizontally', *huksa* 'act of coming (common or any direction)' consist of the respective verb roots *k^hoŋ* 'to come up', *ji* 'to come down', *pi* 'to come horizontally', *hu* 'to come (from any direction)' followed by the nominalizer *-sa*.

Some of the adjectives are derived from action verbs as illustrated in (7).

(7)	Root	Gloss	Derived form		
a.	/tuk/	'keep'	/tuk-sa/	[tuksa]	'kept'
b.	/sur/	'wash'	/sur-sa/	[sursa]	'washed'
c.	/p ^h ik/	'clean'	/pik-sa/	[piksa]	'cleaned'
d.	/t ^s up/	'trap'	/t ^s up-sa/	[t ^s upsa]	'trapped'
e.	/huk/	'bark'	/huk-sa/	[huksa]	'barked'
f.	/d ^ʒ uk/	'eat'	/d ^ʒ uk-sa/	[d ^ʒ uksa]	'eatable'
g.	/k ^h ik/	'steal'	/k ^h ik-sa/	[k ^h iksa]	'stolen'
h.	/lAp/	'catch'	/lAp-sa/	[lApsa]	'caught'
i.	/buk/	'bear'	/buk-sa/	[buksa]	'bearing'

In examples (7a-i), the adjectives like *huksa* 'barked', *d^ʒuksa* 'eatable', *buksa* 'bearing' consist of the respective verb roots *huk* 'to bark', *d^ʒu* 'to eat', *buk* 'to bear' followed by the nominalizer *-sa*. In Dumi, some adjectives are derived from motion and other verbs. Such adjectives are derived by employing [V-NMLZ-GEN]_{ADJECTIVE} from the root of the verbs. In such a derivation, Dumi employs the nominalizer *-pom* as in (8).

(8)	Root	Gloss	[V-NMLZ]		ADJECTIVE
a.	/dok/	‘see’	/don-pom/	[donpom] ⁶⁵	‘seen’
b.	/suŋ/	‘pick up’	/suŋ-pom/	[suŋpom]	‘picked up’
c.	/k ^h iɸ/	‘cook’	/k ^h im-pom/	[k ^h impom]	‘cooked’
d.	/ba/	‘say’	/ban-pom/	[banpom]	‘said’
e.	/hʌ/	‘bring’	/hʌn-pom/	[hʌnpom]	‘brought’
f.	/tu/	‘keep’	/tun-pom/	[tunpom]	‘kept’
g.	/roŋ/	‘use’	/roŋ-pom/	[roŋpom]	‘used’
h.	/t ^{sh} ʌm/	‘dance’	/t ^{sh} ʌm-pom/	[t ^{sh} ʌmpom]	‘danced’
i.	/tjal/	‘up root’	/tjal-pom/	[tjalpom]	‘up rooted’
j.	/p ^h ʃar/	‘sew’	/p ^h ʃar-pom/	[p ^h ʃarpom]	‘sewed’

In examples (8a-j), the adjectives like *donpom* ‘seen’, *roŋpom* ‘used’, *tjalpom* ‘up rooted’, *p^hʃarpom* ‘sewed’ consist of the respective verb roots *dok* ‘to see’, *roŋ* ‘to use’, *tjal* ‘to up root’, *p^hʃar* ‘to sew’ followed by the nominalizer *-pom*. Some adjectives are formed by affixing the nominalizer (i.e., perfective marker) *-im/-um* to the root of the verb as in (9).

(9)	Root	Gloss	Derived form		Gloss
a.	/t ^s ur/	‘pay’	/t ^s ur-im/	[t ^s urim]	‘paid’
b.	/t ^s ʃal/	‘tear’	/t ^s ʃal-im/	[t ^s ʃilim]	‘torn’
c.	/kat/	‘bite’	/kat-im/	[kadim]	‘bitten’
d.	/mut ^s /	‘finish’	/mut ^s -im/	[mut ^s im]	‘finished’
e.	/t ^s am/	‘lose’	/t ^s am-um/	[t ^s amum]	‘lost’
f.	/paŋ/	‘go off’	/paŋ-um/	[paŋum]	‘went off’
g.	/sʌp/	‘be full’	/sʌp-um/	[sup ^h um]	‘became full’
h.	/brok/	‘break’	/brok-um/	[bruk ^h um]	‘broken’
i.	/t ^h i/	‘fall down’	/t ^h i-um/	[t ^h ijum]	‘fell down’

⁶⁵ The morpheme extender *-n* is inserted when the nominalizer *-pom* is suffixed to the open ended verb roots.

In examples (9a-i), the adjectives like *t^ʃurim* ‘paid’, *kadim* ‘bitten’, *mut^ʃim* ‘finished’, consist of the respective verb roots *t^ʃar* ‘to pay’, *kat* ‘to bite’, *mut^ʃ* ‘to finish’ followed by the nominalizer *-im*. Likewise, the adjectives *t^ʃamum* ‘lost’, *t^hijum* ‘fell down’ *sup^hum* ‘became full’ consist of the respective verb roots *t^ʃam* ‘to lose’, *t^hi* ‘to fall down’ *sup* ‘to become full’ followed by the nominalizer *-um*.

(c) From nouns

The following adjectives are derived by employing [N-NMLZ] _{ADJECTIVE}, from the nouns. The nominalizer *-bim* is used for such derivation as illustrated in (10).

(10)	Noun	Gloss	[N-NMLZ]	Adjective	
a.	/dʌk ^h ʌ/	‘head’	/dʌk ^h ʌ-bim/	[dʌk ^h ʌbim]	‘of the head’
b.	/kim/	‘house’	/kim-bim/	[kimbim]	‘of the house’
c.	/del/	‘cook’	/del-bim/	[delbim]	‘of the village’
d.	/saulo/	‘jungle’	/saulo-bim/	[saulobim]	‘of the jungle’
e.	/daulo/	‘hearth’	/daulo-bim/	[daulobim]	‘of the hearth’
f.	/p ^h ar/	‘bottom’	/p ^h ar-bim/	[p ^h arbim]	‘of the bottom’

In examples (10a-e), the adjectives like *dʌk^hʌbim* ‘of the head’, *kimbim* ‘of the house’, *delbim* ‘of the village’, *saulobim* ‘of the jungle’, *p^harbim* ‘of the bottom’ consist of the respective root nouns *dʌk^hʌ* ‘head’, *kim* ‘house’, *del* ‘village’, *saulo* ‘jungle’, *p^har* ‘bottom’ followed by the nominalizer *-bim*.

5.2 Semantic properties

Givón (2001a:82-3), on the basis of semantic properties, classifies adjectives into two classes: prototypical adjectives and less prototypical adjectives. Prototypical adjectives are sub-classified into six classes, viz., size, colour, auditory qualities, shape, taste and tactile. Less prototypical adjectives have three sub-classes: evaluative, transitory states and states of living.

In this section, based on Givón (2001a:82-4), we discuss different adjective classes and sub-classes used in detail in the following sections.

5.2.1 Spatial dimensional

Under the prototypical adjectives, Givón (2001a:82) discusses the adjectives of spatial dimension, viz., general size, length, height, width, horizontal extension, thickness, vertical extension, vertical elevation and length, etc. The suffix *-sa* is an adjectivizer and attached to the root as illustrated in (11).

(11)	Root		Derived form		
a.	/soŋ/	‘length’	/soŋ-sa/	[soŋsa]	‘long’
b.	/d ^h ap/	‘width’	/d ^h ap-sa/	[d ^h apsa]	‘wide’
c.	/g ^h ʌl/	‘big’	/g ^h ʌl-sa/	[g ^h ʌlsa]	‘large’
d.	/tɛŋ/	‘thickness’	/tɛŋ-sa/	[tɛŋsa]	‘thick’
e.	/diŋ/	‘depth’	/diŋ-sa/	[diŋsa]	‘deep’

In examples (11a-e), the adjectives *soŋsa* ‘long’, *d^hapsa* ‘wide’, *g^hʌlsa* ‘large’, *tɛŋsa* ‘thick’, *diŋsa* ‘deep’ consist of the respective spatial dimensional roots *soŋ* ‘length’, *d^hap* ‘width’, *g^hʌl* ‘big’, *tɛŋ* ‘thickness’, *diŋ* ‘depth’ followed by the adjectivizer *-sa*.

5.2.2 Age

Givón (2001a:83) groups the adjectives of age as in less prototypical adjective class and placed it under the states of living sub-class. The adjectives of this class describe various states of animate (or living beings). The semantic concept of age (i.e., adjectives) is expressed as illustrated in (12).

(12)	Root	Gloss	Derived form		
a.	/tejo/	‘now’	/tejo-m/	[tejom]	‘recent’
b.	/malo/	‘just now’	/malo-m/	[malom]	‘recent’
c.	/ape/	‘before’	/ape-m/	[apem]	‘before one’
d.	/ad ^z aka/	‘later on’	/ad ^z aka-m/	[ad ^z akam]	‘later one’
e.	/ad ^z o/	‘long ago’	/ad ^z o-m/	[ad ^z om]	‘previous one’

In examples (12a-e), the adjectives *tejom* ‘now one’, *malom* ‘just now one’, *apem* ‘before one’, *ad^zakam* ‘later one’, *ad^zom* ‘previous one’ consist of the respective time adverbs *tejo* ‘now’, *malo* ‘just now’, *ape* ‘before’, *ad^zaka* ‘later on’, *ad^zo* ‘long ago’ followed by the adjectivizer *-m*.

5.2.3 Value (or evaluative)

Givón (2001a:83) notes that evaluative adjectives, often in antonymic pairs, signal subjective judgments of desirability along with physical or social dimensions, pertaining to either inherent traits or temporary states. He has grouped them as less prototypical adjectives. The semantic concept of value (i.e., adjectives) is expressed as in (13).

- (13) a. /k^hanuksa/ 'good'
 b. /k^hajiksa/ 'bad'
 c. /goa kaksɑ/ 'lovely'
 d. /t^sʌk^hʌmɑ tjarsɑ/ 'irritating'
 e. /t^sʌk^hʌm pʌksɑ/ 'hopeless'

In examples (13a-e), *k^hanuksa* 'good', *k^hajiksa* 'bad', *goa kaksɑ* 'lovely', *t^sʌk^hʌmɑ tjarsɑ* 'irritating', *t^sʌk^hʌm pʌksɑ* 'hopeless' are the prominent examples of less prototypical adjectives.

5.2.4 Colour

Givón (2001a:82) includes the antonym pairs of brightness in colour adjectives. The adjectives denoting different colours are exclusively derived adjectives. The semantic concept of colour (i.e., adjectives) is expressed as in (14).

- (14) a. /bubum/ 'white'
 b. /halalam/ 'red'
 c. /omlom/ 'yellow'
 d. /walum/ 'green'
 e. /nigum/ 'blue'

In examples (14a-e), all the colour words *bubum* 'white', *halalam* 'red', *omlom* 'yellow', *walum* 'green', *nigum* 'blue', etc., end with the adjectivizer *-m*.

5.2.5 Physical property

Givón (2001a:82) discusses many of the adjectives under the classes of shape, taste and tactile.⁶⁶ Physical property, includes the adjectives denoting the semantic concepts, viz., 'heavy', 'wet', 'hard', 'soft', 'rough', 'clean', 'strong', etc., as illustrated in (15).

- (15) a. /t^sapsɑ/ 'hard'
 b. /loŋsɑ/ 'heavy'
 c. /reksɑ/ 'sharp'
 d. /soŋsɑ/ 'tall'
 e. /d^hapsɑ/ 'wide'

In examples (15a-e), the adjectives *t^sapsɑ* 'hard', *loŋsɑ* 'heavy', *reksɑ* 'sharp', *soŋsɑ* 'tall', *d^hapsɑ* 'wide' represent physical property.

⁶⁶ Givón (2001a:82) has categorized many of the adjectives of this class under the sub-class Tactile, coding various tactile dimensions: Texture (rough/smooth); Resistance (hard/soft) and pointedness (sharp/dull).

5.2.6 Human propensity

Givón (2001a:83) classifies all the adjectives of human propensity as referring to external, internal, social or mental temporary states as adjectives of transitory states. The semantic concepts, viz., ‘kind’, ‘clever’, ‘jealous’, ‘happy’, ‘generous’, ‘ashamed’, ‘eager’ ‘cruel’ and ‘proud’ are included in human propensity adjectives as illustrated in (16).

- (16) a. /patumri/ ‘talkative’
 b. /t^{sh}etuppa/ ‘clever’
 c. /d^zalikuppu/ ‘optimistic’
 d. /t^suktumri/ ‘clever’
 e. /hΛsΛmi/ ‘generous’

In examples (16a-e), the adjectives *patumri* ‘talkative (lady)’, *t^{sh}etuppa* ‘clever (male)’, *d^zalikuppu* ‘optimistic (male)’, *t^suktumri* ‘clever (lady)’, *hΛsΛmi* ‘generous’ represent human propensity.

5.2.7 Speed

Those adjectives denoting the semantic concepts such as ‘fast’, ‘slow’, ‘quick’ are considered as speed adjectives. Dumi demonstrates quite a limited number of speed adjectives as listed in (17).

- (17) a. /d^hawa/ ‘fast’
 b. /bolo/ ‘quick’
 c. /d^zak^ha/ ‘slow’
 d. /dΛdΛ/ ‘smooth’
 e. /rΛkΛkΛ/ ‘rust’

In examples (17a-e), the adjectives *d^hawa* ‘fast’, *bolo* ‘quick’, *d^zak^ha* ‘slow’, *dΛdΛ* ‘steady’, *rΛkΛkΛ* ‘rust’ represent speed adjectives.

5.2.8 Other semantic types

The adjectives of the other semantic types include difficulty, similarity, qualification, quantification; position and cardinal number are illustrated as in (18).

- (18) (i) **Difficulty**
 a. /t^sapsa/ ‘difficult’
 b. /Λduksa/ ‘taugh’
 c. /nuduksa/ ‘steep’

(ii) Similarity

- a. /heŋam/ 'like'
- b. /k^hek^he/ 'unlike'
- c. /mΛhem/ 'like'

(iii) Qualification

- a. /t^{sh}uŋa/ 'true'
- b. /t^{sh}uksa/ 'probable'
- c. /dΛŋsa/ 'appropriate'

(iv) Quantification

- a. /k^hAtlΛ/ 'whole'
- b. /dumo/ 'many'
- c. /pit^{si}/ 'some'
- d. /k^hama/ 'few'
- e. /tuŋa/ 'only'

(v) Position

- a. /maptu/ 'high up'
- b. /maju/ 'below down'
- c. /maja/ 'over there'
- d. /taja/ 'this side'
- e. /p^har/ 'near'
- f. /pjΛ/ 'left'
- g. /d^zΛ/ 'right'

(vi) Cardinal

- a. /lamlum/ 'first'
- b. /jΛbim/ 'last'
- c. /tuktu / 'eleven'
- d. /tuksΛ/ 'twelve'
- e. /tuksu / 'thirteen'

In examples (18i-vi), adjectives of the other semantic types: difficulty, similarity, qualification, quantification; position and cardinal number are presented.

(a) Loan words

A number of adjectives have been used as loan words from Nepali as listed in (19).

- (19) a. /naja/ 'new'
 b. /pʌkka/ 'matured'
 c. /k^hali/ 'empty'
 d. /b^hʌ:ri/ 'full'
 e. /basi/ 'stale'

In examples (19a-e), *naja* 'new', *k^hali* 'empty', *pʌkka* 'matured', *basi* 'stale' are examples of adjectives as loan words from Nepali.

(b) Antonymic pairs

Dumi presents a number of antonymic adjectives. Table 5.1 presents the polarity of the antonymic pairs of those adjectives.

Table 5.1: Polarity of the antonymic pairs of adjectives

	QUALITY	AFFIRMATIVE		NEGATIVE	
a.	heat	<i>haksa</i>	'hot'	t ^{sh} uksa	'cold'
b.	length	<i>soᅇsa</i>	'long'	<i>moᅇsa</i>	'short'
c.	weight	<i>loᅇsa</i>	'heavy'	samsa	'light'
d.	taste	t ^s anuksa	'tasty'	t ^s ajiksa	'tasteless'
e.	outlook	k ^h anuksa	'nice'	k ^h ajiksa	'ugly'

(c) Gender-based pairs

Dumi presents a number of gender-based adjectives. Table 5.2 presents the polarity of the gender-based pairs of adjectives.

Table 5.2: Polarity of the gender-based pairs of adjectives

	QUALITY	MALE		FEMALE	
a.	attraction	k ^h anuksa	'handsome'	k ^h anuwama	'beautiful'
b.	appearance	<i>ᅇajupa</i>	'smiley (male)'	<i>ᅇajuma</i>	'smiley (female)'
c.	cleverness	t ^{sh} etuppa	'clever (male)'	t ^{sh} etupma	'clever (female)'

5.3 Syntactic properties

Adjectives are basically modifiers. They modify nouns (or pronouns) in an NP and serve as the predicates in copular clauses and as the modifiers in the noun phrase. Syntactically, they have two functions: attributive and predicative. The syntactic role of the adjectives is discussed in this section.

5.3.1 Predicates in copular clauses

As illustrated in most of the languages, the adjectives are used syntactically as copula complements (i.e., the predicates). In such constructions, the adjectives are used to state that something has a certain property. Like Bhujel (Regmi, 2007:202), the adjectives which may fill the copula complements are referred as ‘non-verb-like adjectives’ as illustrated in (20).

- (20) a. *t^{sh}arum misma k^hanuwama mota*
 t^{sh}arum t^{su}:t^{su} k^hanu-wama mota
 younger child beautiful COP.NPST
 ‘The small female child is beautiful.’
- b. *mam minu soᅅsa mota*
 mam minu soᅅsa mota
 that person tall COP
 ‘That person is tall.’
- c. *amna duwa ŋa hAlhulim gota*
 amna duwa ŋa hAlhulim gota
 today too much EMPH hot COP
 ‘Today, it is too hot.’

Examples (20a-c) are copular constructions. In these constructions, the adjectives are syntactically used as the predicates or copula complements and are functionally used as denoting a certain property. Traditionally, such a distribution is referred to as the predicative use of the adjectives.

5.3.2 Modifiers in the noun phrase

Adjectives are syntactically used as the modifier within an NP in the clause. In such cases, they function as a specifier, which help to focus on the referent of the head noun in an NP as illustrated in (21).

- (21) a. *t^hamum minu k^hut̃i*
 t^hamum minu k^hut̃-i
 mat person go-3SG.PST
 ‘The mat person went.’

- b. *t^su:t^sua rimum dudu tuŋu*
 t^su:t^su-a rimum dudu tuŋ-u
 baby-ERG cold milk drink-3SG.PST
 ‘The baby drank cold milk.’

In examples (21a, b), the modifying adjective is underlined. In each example, the adjectives are placed before the head nouns. In a comparative construction, Dumi employs the adjectives as a parameter of comparison as illustrated in (22).

- (22) a. *ganpa bika r_Λtepa soŋsa mota*
 ganpa bika r_Λtepa soŋsa mota
 Ganpa than Ratepa tall COP.NPST
 ‘Ratepa is taller than Ganpa.’

- b. *najem bika ninam k^hanuwama mota*
 najem bika ninam k^hanuwama mota
 Nayem than Ninam beautiful COP.NPST
 ‘Ninam is more beautiful than Nayem.’

In examples (22a, b), Dumi employs the adjectives *soŋsa* ‘taller’ and *k^hanuwama* ‘more beautiful’ as the parameter of comparison for comparative construction,

5.3.3 Functions

There are basically two functions of the adjectives: to modify the noun and to fill the complement slot in the copular clauses. The adjectives can occur attributively as the modifiers or predicatively as the complement of the copulas. Thus, the two functions are correlated with the distribution of the adjectives. In Dumi, both types of adjectives: simple (or derived), can precede the noun and have the attributive function. The adjectives occur attributively as the modifiers of the head nouns as illustrated in (23).

- (23) a. *g^halsa bursi bula t^haŋu*
 g^halsa bursi bu-la t^haŋ-u
 large cucumber tree-ABL fall-3SG.PST
 ‘The large cucumber fell down from the tree.’

- b. *tʰanuksa nʌmsa puma putʰi*
tʰanuksa nʌmsa puma putʰi
 nice smelling flower bloom-3SG.PST
 ‘The nice smelling flower bloomed.’

In examples (23a, b), the adjectives *gʰʌlsa* ‘large’ in (23a) and *tʰanuksa nʌmsa* ‘nice smelling’ in (23b) occur attributively as the modifiers of the respective head nouns *bursi* ‘cucumber’ and *puma* ‘flower.’ In both examples, the adjectives precede the nouns and have the attributive function.

5.4 Numerals

Like Bantawa (Rai, 1985:165), Dumi makes use of native numerals as the modifiers of a noun within an NP. Numerals are considered as the small classes of noun modifiers that code the notion of number. They present very interesting linguistic expressions in the derivation of higher numerals from the lower ones. They also employ the mixtures of the arithmetic bases and other features like addition and multiplication in the construction of higher numeral expressions. In this section, we discuss not only their semantic organization but also their morphological and syntactic integration into the grammar of Dumi.

5.4.1 Morphological properties

The numerals may be morphologically categorized into basic and derived forms. They are discussed as follows:

(a) Basic numerals

The basic numerals include the linguistic expression of the numbers from 1 to 10, 20, 40, 60, 80 and 100. The basic numerals⁶⁷ do not undergo any morphological processes as listed in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: The basic numerals

a.	<i>tuk</i>	‘one’	b.	<i>sʌk</i>	‘two’
c.	<i>suk</i>	‘three’	d.	<i>buk</i>	‘four’
e.	<i>nek</i>	‘five’	f.	<i>rek</i>	‘six’
g.	<i>sek</i>	‘seven’	h.	<i>uk</i>	‘eight’
i.	<i>nuk</i>	‘nine’	k.	<i>tuksi</i>	‘ten’
l.	<i>sʌksi</i>	‘twenty’	m.	<i>suksi</i>	‘thirty’
n.	<i>buksi</i>	‘forty’	o.	<i>neksi</i>	‘fifty’
p.	<i>reksi</i>	‘sixty’	q.	<i>seksi</i>	‘seventy’
r.	<i>uksi</i>	‘eighty’	s.	<i>nuksi</i>	‘ninety’
t.	<i>nuktu</i>	‘ninety-one’	u.	<i>tusiksi</i>	‘hundred’

⁶⁷ Like Bantawa (Rai, 1985:165), some cardinal numbers like five, ten, fifteen, etc., are expressed symbolically as *tuk kʰur* ‘one hand’, *sʌk kʰur* ‘two hands’ and *suk kʰur* ‘three hands’, respectively.

(b) Derived numerals

Apart from the numerals exemplified in Table 5.3, the rest are derived from different arithmetic bases by compounding and other morphological processes. The numerals 11-19 are derived from the base of a two digit independent numeral system⁶⁸. The numeral *tuksΛ* ‘twelve’, for instance, is formed by the combination of the two digit *tuk* ‘one’ in tens digit and another digit *sΛk* ‘two’ in ones digit. This is a simple compounding process which is listed as in (24).

- (24)
- | | | | |
|----|-----------|---------|-------------|
| a. | /tuk-tuk/ | [tuktu] | ‘eleven’ |
| b. | /tuk-sΛk/ | [tuksΛ] | ‘twelve’ |
| c. | /tuk-suk/ | [tuksu] | ‘thirteen’ |
| d. | /tuk-buk/ | [tukbu] | ‘fourteen’ |
| e. | /tuk-nek/ | [tukne] | ‘fiveteen’ |
| f. | /tuk-rek/ | [tukre] | ‘sixteen’ |
| g. | /tuk-sek/ | [tukse] | ‘seventeen’ |
| h. | /tuk-uk/ | [tuku] | ‘eightteen’ |
| i. | /tuk-nuk/ | [tuknu] | ‘nineteen’ |

Example (24) presents a simple compounding process. However, a number of morphophonological processes occur in the derivation of higher numerals, assuming the lower numeral as the base. In example (24a-i), there is consistency in the deletion of voiceless velar unaspirated stop /k/ in the final position. The numerals like *sΛk-si* ‘twenty’ and *suk-si* ‘thirty’ are formed by the similar process of combining two individual digits (i.e., the place for units and tens) in the specific order of an arithmetical rule⁶⁹ as illustrated in (25).

- (25)
- | | | | |
|----|----------|---------|----------|
| a. | /sΛk-si/ | [sΛksi] | ‘twenty’ |
| b. | /suk-si/ | [suksi] | ‘thirty’ |
| c. | /buk-si/ | [buksi] | ‘forty’ |
| d. | /nek-si/ | [neksi] | ‘fifty’ |
| e. | /rek-si/ | [reksi] | ‘sixty’ |

In examples (25a-e), Dumi does not have any independent value for this ‘base’. There is already an independent compound expression for ‘ten’. If we may simply posit the value of this base as ‘ten’, we can derive twenty, thirty, forty, fifty and so on by replacing the base (i.e., tens digit) by two, three, four and five, respectively.

⁶⁸ In Dumi, only the cardinal number system is used and not the ordinal system.

⁶⁹ The lexical item ‘*si*’ in Dumi is used for the *numeral* zero.

5.4.2 Syntactic properties

Classifiers follow the numerals in a noun phrase. The order of numerals in such construction may be presented as in (26).

(26) Numerals-Classifiers + Noun

Following are the examples:

(27) a. *tukpu minu*

tuk-pu minu
one-CLF person
'One person'

b. *tukpu t^senpu*

tuk-pu t^senpu
one-CLF teacher
'One teacher'

c. *tukpu nokt^{sh}o*

tuk-pu nokt^{sh}o
one-CLF shaman
'One shaman'

In examples (27a-c), the classifier follows the numeral which precedes the head noun in a noun phrase, where the classifier *-pu* is used for a human being.⁷⁰

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, we first discussed the morphological, semantic and syntactic properties of adjectives. Morphologically, there are two types of adjectives: monomorphemic and derived. The adjectives are mainly derived from verbs, nouns and copulas. Most of the adjectives are derived from descriptive verbs with nominalizing affixes *-sa*. Semantically, the adjectives can be categorized as dimensional, age, value (or evaluative), colour, physical property, human propensity, speed and so on. The adjectives can be used as the modifiers of the head nouns in the noun phrases. The use of the adjectives as predicates is referred to as the predicative use of the adjectives. Likewise, the use as the modifiers in the noun phrases is called the attributive use of the adjectives. We further discussed morphological and syntactic properties of the numerals. Morphologically, numerals are categorized as basic and derived. The higher numerals are derived from the lower ones by a simple compounding process.

⁷⁰ In the young generation, the numeral classifier *-pu* for human is replaced by *-li* as the common classifier, though it is previously used as the non-human numeral classifier.

CHAPTER 6

VERB MORPHOLOGY

6.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the verb morphology in Dumi. It comprises eight sections. In section 6.1, we briefly discuss the stems and inflections of the verbs in this language. Section 6.2 presents the verb derivations in Dumi. In section 6.3, we discuss the types of tense in this language. Section 6.4 analyzes the aspect system in the language. Section 6.5 deals with the moods in Dumi. In section 6.6, we look at the modality in this language. Section 6.7 discusses the participant reference in Dumi. Finally, in section 6.8, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

6.1 Verb stems and inflections

In this section, we will talk about Dumi verb stems and inflections. The analysis of verb stems is based on their inflectional behaviour. They have been divided into two categories: vowel-final and consonant-final stems. Dumi verb paradigm and their inflections can be found in Appendix 4(b).

6.1.1 Verb stems

There are several verb stems in Dumi. Based on their morphological behavior during the inflectional processes, they can be classified into two types: vowel final stems (i.e. open stem) and consonant final stems (i.e. closed stem). Some of the verb stems are listed as in (1).

(1) **(a) Vowel final stems (i.e. open stem)**

a	‘say’	ka	‘bite’	p ^h a	‘untie’
bi	‘give’	ki	‘quarrel’	t ^h i	‘fall’
d ^z e	‘speak’	p ^h e	‘serve’	bre	‘tear’
tu	‘keep’	su	‘itch’	d ^h u	‘dig’
ŋo	‘cry’	ko	‘know’	mo	‘finish’
p ^Λ	‘tie’	d ^z ^Λ	‘graze’	h ^Λ	‘bring’
li	‘tell’	pi	‘initiate’	si	‘stitch’

(b) Consonant final stems (i.e. closed stem)

p ^h ik	‘clean’	k ^h ok	‘shave’	hak	‘open’
k ^h Λr	‘fry’	p ^h jar	‘sew’	t ^s Λr	‘pay’
kΛl	‘chase’	mul	‘mold’	p ^h Λl	‘stir’
d ^h um	‘blow’	t ^s jam	‘play’	lim	‘sprout’
lΛp	‘catch’	t ^s Λp	‘write’	rjap	‘stand’
t ^s en	‘teach’	in	‘sell’	bΛn	‘touch’
siŋ	‘ask’	kaŋ	‘dry’	tuŋ	‘drink’

A verb stem may be directly affixed to by tense, aspect, mood, inclusivity, purposive, converb, or subordinate markers in combination with various agreement markers: persons, numbers and role markers. Table 6.1 shows the stems *d^zu* ‘eat’, *t^sΛp* ‘write’, *dok* ‘see’ and *jΛm* ‘beat’ with various tense, aspect, mood and inclusivity/exclusivity.

Table 6.1: The stems with various tense, aspect, mood and inclusivity

Stem→ TAM	<i>d^zu</i> ‘eat’	<i>t^sΛp</i> ‘write’	<i>dok</i> ‘see’	<i>jΛm</i> ‘hit’
NPST	d ^z u-na	t ^s Λp-na	dok-na	jΛm-na
PST	d ^z u-∅	t ^s Λp-ti	dok-ti	jΛm-di
RPST /PRF	d ^z u-∅-m	t ^s Λp-ti-m	dok-ti-m	jΛm-di-m
INCL	d ^z u-(k)-ti	t ^s Λp-ti	dok-ti	jΛm-ti
DUR	d ^z u-t ^h Λt	t ^s Λp-t ^h Λt	dok-t ^h Λt	jΛm-t ^h Λt
PURP	d ^z u-kubi	t ^s Λp-kubi	dok-kubi	jΛm-kubi
SEQ	d ^z u-soka	t ^s Λp-soka	dok-soka	jΛm-soka
SIM	d ^z u-so	t ^s Λp-so	dok-so	jΛm-so
TSM	d ^z u-npo	t ^s Λ-mpo	do-npo	jΛm-po
TSM ₂	d ^z u-nden	t ^s Λp-den	dok-den	jΛm-den
IMP	d ^z u-∅	t ^s Λp-ta	dok-ta	jΛm-da

Stem→ TAM	<i>dʒu</i> ‘eat’	<i>tʰʌp</i> ‘write’	<i>dok</i> ‘see’	<i>jʌm</i> ‘hit’
CERT	<i>dʒu-kʰʌtta</i>	<i>tʰʌp-detta</i>	<i>dok-detta</i>	<i>jʌm-detta</i>
OPT	<i>dʒu-wam</i>	<i>tʰʌp-ti-wam</i>	<i>dok-ti-wam</i>	<i>jʌm-di-wam</i>
SBJV	<i>dʒu-na</i>	<i>tʰʌp-na</i>	<i>dok-na</i>	<i>jʌm-na</i>
IRR	<i>dʒu-∅</i>	<i>tʰʌp-ti</i>	<i>dok-ti</i>	<i>jʌm-di</i>

From Table 6.1, it is evident that the verb stems remain phonologically unaffected when tense, aspect, mood, inclusivity/exclusivity, purposive, converb, or time subordinate markers are affixed to them. However, the affixation of infinitive marker *-na* triggers some phonological changes in the root of the verb with a closed syllable as listed in (2).

- (2) a. /*kir-na*/ [kir-na] ‘save-INF’ cf. [kid-i] ‘save-PST’
 b. /*tʰwak-na*/ [tʰwak-na] ‘strike-INF’ cf. [tʰwakt-i] ‘strike-PST’
 c. /*bul-na*/ [bul-na] ‘run-INF’ cf. [mut^s-i] ‘run-PST’
 d. /*kur-na*/ [kur-na] ‘carry-INF’ cf. [kur-i] ‘carry-PST’
 e. /*tʰjamt-na*/ [tʰjam-na] ‘play-INF’ cf. [tʰjamd-i] ‘play-PST’

In examples (2a-e), the root of each verb is a closed syllable. When the infinitive marker *-na* is affixed to the verb root⁷¹, a cluster of consonants occur. However, since a cluster of consonants is not permissible, an obligatory deletion, preferably of the final consonant of the root takes place.

6.1.2 Verb inflections

The verb registers three persons with an exclusive vs. inclusive distinction in the first person non-singular (i.e., dual and plural number). Dumi is a three number system (i.e., singular vs. dual vs. plural) of actors in di-transitive, transitive and intransitive constructions. These forms combine with a complex system of mood/tense and aspect. Table 6.2 presents a brief overview of the affixes that occur in Dumi verbs.

Table 6.2: Verb affixes in Dumi

PFX ₁	Σ	SFX ₁	SFX ₂	SFX ₃₋₅	SFX ₆	SFX ₇
PROH	stem	Aspect	Tense/Mood	PNR	NEG	NMLZ

Source: adapted from Bhujel (Regmi, 2012:73)

⁷¹ The infinitive marker in Baksila Dumi is ‘*-nu*’, for example: *munɪ* ‘do’, *binɪ* ‘give’, *lamt^hinɪ* ‘walk’, etc. (van Driem, 1993:150).

Table 6.2 shows that verb stem, denoted by ‘ Σ ’ can be preceded by only one prefix and followed by up to seven suffixes expressing aspect, mood/tense, agreement, negation and nominalization. These verbal affixes are presented on the basis of linear sequence and co-occurrence. The single prefix (PFX) slot is occupied by a prohibitive glossed as ‘PROH’. This category is realized by the prefix *ma-*. The suffix (SFX) slot positions SFX₃ through SFX₅ comprise the markers for person, number and role (i.e., ‘PNR’) as well as for the optative mood, negation and nominalization.

The category of optative is realized by *-k^han*. Negation in slot SFX₆ is marked by the suffix *-na*⁷². The slot position SFX₇ consists of nominalization. This slot is filled up by two nominalizing suffixes. They are: *-sa* and *-m*, both can be used for relative clauses.⁷³ As in Bhujel (Regmi, 2007:206), the slot positions SFX₁-SFX₂ consist of the markers for aspect, tense and mood. They are summarized as in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Aspect and tense/mood morphology

SFX ₁		SFX ₂	
(I)	PERFECTIVE (PFVT) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ perfect (PRF), ▪ completive (COMPL), ▪ inceptive (INCT) 	(I)	PAST TENSE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ past tense (PST)/past-indicative, ▪ remote past (RPST)/remote, ▪ past indicative
(II)	IMPERFECTIVE (IMPRF) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ durative (DUR), ▪ posterior (POST), ▪ anterior (ANT) 	(II)	IMPERATIVE (IMP) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ non-past (NPST) /non-past indicative, ▪ optative (OPT), negative (NEG), ▪ subjunctive (SBJV), irrealis (IRR)

Source: adapted from Bhujel (Regmi, 2012:74)

The aspect markers in SFX₁ slot exhibit a two way distinction in the aspectual system: imperfective vs. perfective. The markers in this slot may combine with the tense markers in slot SFX₂ apart from PNR markers in slot SFX₃₋₉. The tense markers in slot SFX₂ present a two-way distinction in the tense system: non-past and past. The past tense distinguishes two degrees of distance: recent past vs. remote past.

6.1.3 Structural classification of verb stems

Verb stems can also be classified on the basis of their internal structure. Dumi exhibits three types of verb stems: simple, derivative and compound. They are discussed as follows:

⁷² In place of the negation *-na*, the allomorph *-no* is used in the first person singular form in both the non-past and past tenses.

⁷³ The two suffices *-sa* and *-m* indicate the two way distinction: imperfective and perfective aspectual system, respectively.

(a) Simple stems

Simple stems consist of only a single root. Most of the simple stems are monosyllabic. The infinitival form ends with *-na*.⁷⁴ Whatever remains after removing these suffixes, is the root and, if it is monomorphic, it is a simple stem. The simple verb stems are listed as in (3).

(3)	Verb Stem	Infinitival form	Gloss
a.	ki:	ki:-na	'to buy'
b.	t ^{sh} Λm	t ^{sh} Λm-na	'to dance'
c.	p ^h e:	p ^h e:-na	'to serve'
d.	tul	tul-na	'to tame'
e.	t ^h ap	t ^h ap-na	'to weigh'

(b) Derived stems

In Dumi, among the four major classes of lexical words, a derivative stem is derived from nouns and adjectives as listed in (4).

(4)	(i) Noun	Gloss	Derived stem
a.	nat ^s ur	'jealousy'	nat ^s ur muna 'to be jealous'
b.	t ^s ili	'anger'	t ^s ili b ^h rΛna 'to get angry'
c.	lad ^z i	'shyness'	lad ^z i luna 'to feel shy'

	(ii) Adjectives	Gloss	Derived stem
a.	t ^s ur	'sour'	t ^s urna 'to sour'
b.	min	'rotten'	minna 'to get rot'
c.	dum	'ripe'	dumna 'to ripen'

(c) Compound stems

Compound verb stems are formed by compounding nouns, verbs or adjectives with verbs. Some of the compound verb stems (Noun + Verb form) are illustrated as in (5).

⁷⁴ In the Baksila variety of Dumi, the infinitival (or citation) form is pronounced as *-ni* (van Driem, 1993:267) e.g., *banɪ* 'say', *pinɪ* 'come', *bulni* 'run', etc.

(5)	Noun	Gloss	Verb	Gloss	Compound stem
a.	dʒa:li	‘hope’	muna	‘do’	dʒa:li muna ‘to be hopeful’
b.	munt ^{sh} u	‘signal’	hupna	‘fix’	munt ^{sh} u hupna ‘to fix a signal’
c.	ladʒi	‘shyness’	luna	‘feel’	ladʒi luna ‘to feel shy’
d.	lam	‘way’	t ^h ina	‘fall’	lam t ^h ina ‘to walk’
e.	t ^s ili	‘anger’	brʌna	‘call’	t ^s ili brʌna ‘to get angry’

6.2 Verb derivations

In Dumli, causative stems are formed by adding a causative morpheme *-mut/-mu* to the root of the verb to derive a causative form of the verb.⁷⁵ There are very few such instances of lexical causative as listed in (6).

- (6) a. t^{sh}ʌmna ‘to dance’ t^{sh}ʌmmuna ‘to cause to dance’
 b. imsina ‘to sleep’ immuna ‘to cause to sleep’
 c. kʌlna ‘to chase’ kʌlmuna ‘to cause to chase’
 d. kʌmsina ‘to wear’ kʌmmuna ‘to cause to wear’
 e. t^sʌrna ‘to pay’ t^sʌrmuna ‘to cause to pay’

Some examples of the causative forms are illustrated as in (7).

- (7) a. d^{zh}ara t^su:t^sumulai t^sʌpmutni
 d^{zh}ara t^su:t^su-mu-lai t^sʌp-mut-ni
 everyone child-PL-DAT write-CAUS-3PL.PST
 ‘They got all the children to write.’

⁷⁵ Causatives are constructed morphologically, by attaching the suffix *met -mu* to the stem of the lexical verb. The marker has developed from a lexical verb *mu* ‘make, do, apply’, in the same way as in other Kirati languages (Limbu, Puma, Bantawa, Chhintang, van Driem (1987), Bickel et al. (2006), Doornenbal (2009)). As in Yakkha (Diana, 2015:363), causatives are constructed morphologically, by attaching the suffix *-mu* to the stem of the lexical verb. The marker has developed from a lexical verb *mu* ‘make/do/ apply’, in the same way as in other Kirati languages (Limbu, Puma, Bantawa, Chhintang, van Driem (1987), Bickel et al. (2006), Doornenbal (2009)).

b. *k^hi:t^si-lai k^hAtlΛ tummu bamutu*

k^hi:t^si-lai k^hAtlΛ tummu ba-mut-u

thief-DAT all stories tell-CAUS-1SG.PST

‘I made the thief tell all the stories.’

c. *lab^houa minumulai rimutni*

lab^hou-a minumu-lai ri-mut-ni

dumb-ERG people-DAT laugh-CAUS-3PL.PST

‘The dumb person made the people laugh.’

In examples (7a-c), the verb roots *t^sAp* ‘write’, *ba* ‘tell’, *ri* ‘laugh’ are encoded by the causative affix *-mut-* and form the causative verbs *t^sApmutni* ‘got to write’, *bamutu* ‘made tell’, *rimutni* ‘made laugh’, respectively.

6.2.1 Non-finite verbs

In this section, we discuss the non-finite verbs, which do not code any tense-aspect in Dumi. There are five main types of non-finite forms of the verbs. They are discussed as follows:

(a) Infinitive

The verbal suffix *-na* is attached to the verb root for the ‘infinitival’ form. This form is the citation form of the verb as listed in (8).

(8) a. *pu-na* weave-INF ‘to weave’

b. *lamt^hi-na* walk-INF ‘to walk’

c. *p^hlΛ-na* help-INF ‘to help’

The same suffix *-na* is used to nominalize the verb root as illustrated in (9).

(9) a. *amna t^sApna mojo mangu*

amna t^sAp-na mojo ma-ŋ-gu

today write-NMLZ nothing NEG-m.EXTDR-be

‘There is nothing to write today.’

b. *aŋua sodʒa dokna gota*

aŋu-a sodʒa dok-na gota
 1SG-ERG money get-INF COP.NPST
 ‘I have to get money.’

c. *uma sodʒa tʰʌrna gota*

um-a sodʒa tʰʌr-na gota
 3SG-ERG money pay-INF COP.NPST
 ‘He has to pay money.’

In examples (9a-c), the main function of the suffix *-na* is to nominalize the verb root. Thus, this suffix can be referred to as nominalizer, which is glossed as NMLZ. It can be taken as an extended function of this suffix. The verb form affixed by this suffix can have a non-finite relative clause interpretation.

(b) Participial

The verbal suffix *-sa*, which has been glossed as PTCP (participial) in this study, has mainly two functions. They are discussed separately as follows:

- (i) The suffix *-sa* nominalizes the verb root to which it is attached as in (10).

(10) a. *aŋu tʰʌmsa*

aŋu tʰʌm-sa
 1SG dance-PTCP
 ‘I (am) a dancer.’

b. *um pʰʌksa*

um pʰʌk-sa
 3SG help-PTCP
 ‘He (is) a helper.’

c. *ani* *ʌpsa*

ani ʌp-sa

2SG sharp shoot-PTCP

‘You (are) a sharpshooter.’

In examples (10a-c), the suffix *-sa* nominalizes the verb roots *t^{sh}ʌm* ‘dance’, *p^hʌk* ‘help’ and *ʌp* ‘shot’ and form the respective nouns *t^{sh}ʌmsa* ‘dancer’, *p^hʌksa* ‘helper’ and *ʌpsa* ‘sharpshooter’.

(ii) The suffix *-sa* nominalizes the verb root, which yields a non-finite relative clause interpretation as illustrated in (11).

(11) a. *sod^za k^hiksa minu t^sʌnt^s i*sod^za k^hik-sa minu t^sʌnt^s-i

money steal-PTCP person run away-3SG.PST

‘The person who stole money (thief) ran away.’

b. *huksa k^hlibaa akaktin^ʌ*huk-sa k^hliba-a a-kakt-i-n^ʌ

bark-PTCP dog-ERG 1PL.INCL-bite-3SG.NPST-NEG

‘A barking dog seldom bites.’

In examples (11a, b), the suffix *-sa* nominalizes the verb roots *k^hik* ‘steal’ and *huk* ‘bark’ and forms the respective nouns *k^hiksa* ‘thief’ and *huksa* ‘barking’, respectively.

(c) Purpose

Non-finite form of the verb suffixed by *-kubi* codes the purpose as illustrated in (12).

(12) a. *pʌbi sɪ: ʌmkubi saulo k^hut^s i*pʌbi sɪ: ʌm-kubi saulo k^hut^s-i

Pabi fire-wood search-PURP jungle go-3SG.PST

‘Pabi went to the jungle in search of fire-wood.’

- b. *najem mama brΛkubi pak^ha buli*
- najem mama brΛ-kubi pak^ha bul-i
- Najem mother call-PURP outside run-3SG.PST
- ‘Najem ran outside in order to call her mother.’

In examples (12a, b), the suffix *-kubi* nominalizes the verb roots *Λm* ‘search’ and *brΛ* ‘call’ and form the respective purposive *Λmkubi* ‘in search of’ and *brΛkubi* ‘in order to call’, respectively.

(d) Time adverbial

There is a verbal suffix like *-ka* in Dumi. It is attached to the root of the verb to denote the time of the events in the subordinate clauses *-ka* ‘after’ is glossed as illustrated in (13).

- (13) a. *pΛbi saulobi hupat^sika si: lumu*
- pΛbi saulo-bi hupat^s-i-ka si: lum-u
- Pabi jungle-LOC reach-3SG.PST-AFTER fire-wood search for-3SG.PST
- ‘Pabi searched for fire-wood after reaching the jungle.’
- b. *najemama mama brΛtika hudi*
- najem-a mama brΛt-i-ka hud-i
- Najem-ERG mother call-3SG.PST-AFTER bring-3SG.PST
- ‘Najem brought her mother after calling her.’

In examples (13a, b), the suffix *-ka* nominalizes the verb roots *Λm* ‘search for’ and *brΛ* ‘call’ and form the respective time adverbials *hupat^sika* ‘reaching’ and *brΛtika* ‘calling’, respectively.

(e) Simultaneous and sequential

The non-finite forms of the verb suffixed by *-so* and *-soka* code simultaneity and sequentiality, respectively as illustrated in (14).

- (14) a. *ninama le luso to: pu*
- ninam-a le lu-so to: pu
- Ninam-ERG song sing-SIM loom weave.3SG.PST
- ‘Ninam weaved her loom while singing.’

b. *balasunja kim k^hassoka dʒa dʒi*

balasun-a kim k^has-soka dʒa dʒi

Balasing-ERG house go-SEQ rice eat.3SG.PST

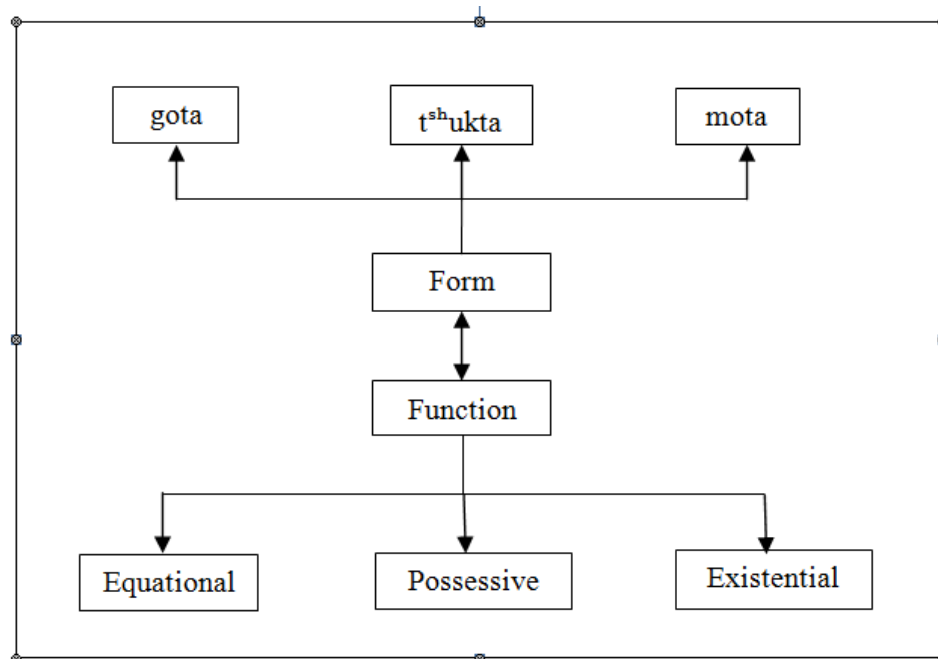
‘Balasing ate rice after reaching the house.’

In example (14a), the suffix *-so* codes the simultaneity in the verb root *lu* ‘sing’ and forms simultaneous *le luso* ‘singing’. Similarly, in (14b), the suffix *-soka* codes the sequentiality in the verb root *k^has* ‘go’ and forms sequential *k^hassoka* ‘going’.

6.2.2 Copulas

The verb *t^{sh}ukna* ‘to be’ is used as a copula in simple predicative sentence, as well as an auxiliary in different types of verbal constructions. The main function of the copula is to relate the subject with complements in copular clauses. Dumi exhibits two types of copulas formally and functionally: equational and existential. There are two verbal forms *mota* and *gota* to relate the subject with complements in copular clauses.⁷⁶ Sometimes this copula seems homophonous with non-past tense. However, it differs from the non-past tense functionally. The relation: Form (i.e., *mota/gota/t^{sh}ukta*) → Function (i.e., Equational/ possessive/ existential) is illustrated as in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: Form and function of the copula



The copula *mota* performs three functions: equational, possessive and existential functions. They are discussed as follows:

⁷⁶ In Dumi, the two forms of copulas *-mota* (for animate) ‘there exists’ and *-gota* ‘there exists’ (for inanimate) are used in practice. In negative form, they are used as *mamu* ‘there does not exist’ and *mangu* ‘there does not exist’ whereas their respective past forms are *-mɔ* ‘there existed’ and *-gɔ* ‘there existed’.

(a) Equational function

There is no equative copula in Dumi. The equative clauses are formed by the simple juxtaposition of two noun phrases. One of the noun phrases is supposed to act as non-verbal predicate of predication as illustrated in (15).

- (15) a. *ganpa nokt^{sho}*
 ganpa *nokt^{sho}*
 Ganpa shaman
 ‘Ganpa (is) a shaman.’

- b. *ninam tajami*
 ninam *tajami*
 Ninam cultural expert
 ‘Ninam (is) a cultural expert.’

In examples (15a, b), there is absence of equative copula and the equative clause in (15a) is formed by the simple juxtaposition of two noun phrases *ganpa* ‘Ganpa’ and *nokt^{sho}* ‘shaman’. Similarly, the equative clause in (15b) is formed by the simple juxtaposition of two noun phrases *ninam* ‘Ninam’ and *tajami* ‘cultural expert’.

In the equational function, the copula is semantically blank and so is the copula *-mΛ*, is used optionally. It does not inflect for number and person. When it is used as an equational copula, it may be glossed in English as ‘was/were’ as illustrated in (16).

- (16) a. *ganpa nokt^{sho} mΛ*
 ganpa *nokt^{sho}* *mΛ*
 Ganpa shaman COP.PST
 ‘Ganpa was a shaman.’

- b. *ninam tajami mΛ*
 ninam *tajami* *mΛ*
 Ninam cultural expert COP.PST
 ‘Ninam was a cultural expert.’

In examples (16a, b), the copula *-mΛ* ‘was’ is used optionally as the equational function. While comparing examples (15) and (16), we can see that (15) is a true equative, where Ganpa ‘equivalent to’ a shaman and Nayem ‘equivalent to’ a cultural expert, but (16) could be attributing ‘shaman-hood’ to Ganpa and ‘expertise in culture’ to Ninam as in a predicative adjective construction.

(b) Existential function

There are two different types of copula: *mota* ‘is’ for animate and *gota* ‘is’ for inanimate.⁷⁷ When *mota* performs an existential function, it is glossed in English as ‘is/are’ as illustrated in (17).

- (17) a. *ninam kimbi mota*
 ninam kim-bi mota
 Ninam house-LOC COP.NPST
 ‘Ninam is at home.’
- b. *sod^za p^hjaksumbi gota*
 sod^za p^hjaksum-bi gota
 money bag-LOC COP.NPST
 ‘Money is in the bag.’

In examples (17a, b), the copula *-mota* and *gota* are glossed in English as ‘is’ and used optionally as the existential function.

(c) Possessive function

When the copula *-gota* performs the possessive function, it requires the inclusion of a comitative marker *-kajo*. Likewise, when *-gota* is in possessive function, it is glossed like in English as ‘has/have’ as illustrated in (18).

- (18) a. *aŋukajo sod^za gota*
 aŋu-kajo sod^za gota
 1SG-COM money COP.NPST
 ‘I have money.’
- b. *umkajo sod^za maŋgu*
 um-kajo sod^za ma-ŋ(g)u
 3SG-COM money NEG-COP.NEG
 ‘S/he has no money.’

In examples (18a, b), the copulas *-gota* ‘have’ and *-maŋgu* ‘do not have’ require inclusion of a comitative marker *-kajo* ‘with’ to perform the possessive function. The copula

⁷⁷ van Driem (1993:168) notes the two verbs ‘to be’ as *g#i* is used exclusively with inanimate referents and *m#i* exclusively with animate referents, including humans.

t^{sh}ukt ‘be/become/happen’ takes an inchoative function. This copula in English can be glossed as ‘be’, ‘become’ and ‘happen’. It can be inflected as in (19).

- (19) a. *t^{sh}ukt-a* NPST
 b. *ma-t^{sh}uk-nA* NEG.PST
 c. *t^{sh}ukt-a* PTCP
 d. *t^{sh}ukt-mut* CAUS
 e. *t^{sh}ukt-a* PROB

Following are examples of inchoative function of the copula *t^{sh}uk*.

- (20) a. *nakima swalame t^{sh}uku*
nakima swalame t^{sh}uk-u
 Nakima young become-3SG.PST
 ‘Nakima became young.’
- b. *ad^zi ne p^Λbi jo t^sut^su t^{sh}uku*
ad^zi ne p^Λbi jo t^sut^su t^{sh}uk-u
 then PRT Pabi also grandpa become-3SG.PST
 ‘Then Pabi also became a grandfather.’

Example (20a) uses an adjective *swalame* ‘young (female)’ and example (20b) employs a noun *t^sut^su* ‘grandfather’. Both of them are the examples of the inchoative. There is no one-to-one correspondence between the forms and functions of the copulas.

6.3 Participant reference

Dumi marks the person and number of verbal arguments or speech act participants (SAP) on the verb. In this section, we present an overview of the morphemes which index person and number on the verb. We first discuss person marking inflections and then we deal with morphemes which occur on the complex of the verb to index the number of the participant. Finally, we explore the development and pattern of ‘direct’ marking on the verb.

6.3.1 Person marking

Dumi exhibits a complex pattern of person marking on the verb. It is commonly indexed by the suffix -o/-u/-i in combination with other agreement inflections. Like in Bhujel (2007:247), person marking is exclusively based on a hierarchical ranking of participants -

1/2→3 (i.e., the first or the second person acting on the third person object/patient/undergoer), not on semantic (or grammatical) roles of the participants⁷⁸.

We discuss the patterns of person marking as follows:

(i) 1→3 or 3→1

As the first person is the highest ranking participant, a transitive configuration of 1→3, or 3→1 yields first person agreement as illustrated in (21).

(21) a. **(1 → 3)**

aŋua umlai jΛmdu

aŋu-a um-lai jΛmd-u

1SG-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-1SG.PST

‘I beat him.’

b. **(3 → 1)**

uma aŋulai ajumo

um-a aŋu-lai a-jum-o

3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT 3SG-beat-1SG.PST

‘He beat me.’

In example (21a), the first person (i.e., the highest ranking participant) is acting on the third person (i.e., the lowest ranking participant). The person indexed on the verb *jΛmdu* ‘beat’ by the suffix *-u* codes the reference of the first person participant, yielding the first person agreement. Likewise, in (21b), the person indexed on the verb *ajumo* ‘beat’ by the prefix *a-* together with the suffix *-o* does not code the reference of the third person agent participant; rather it codes the first person patient participant. The simple reason is that in (21b) unlike in (21a) the third person (i.e., the lowest ranking participant) is acting on the first person (i.e., the highest ranking participant). Thus, the agreement is with the first person (the highest ranking participant).

Moreover, Dumi shows the distinction between inclusivity and exclusivity in free pronouns and the inclusivity reference of the agent participant is indexed on the verb by the suffix *-u/-i* along with the common person marking as illustrated in (22).

⁷⁸ Speech-act participants (SAPs, ‘persons’) is the most common pronominal classificatory feature, classifying referents as either the speaker (1st person), hearer (2nd person), or non-SAP (3rd person) (Givón, 2001:401).

(22) a. (1DU.INCL → 3)

*int^sʔa umlai jumi*int^si-a um-lai jum-i

1DU.INCL-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-1DU.INCL.PST

‘We (DU.INCL) beat him.’

b. (1PL.INCL → 3)

iŋkia umlai jʌmki

iŋki-a um-lai jʌm-k-i

1PL.INCL-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-M.EXTDR-1PL.INCL.PST

‘We (PL.INCL) beat him.’

In examples (22a, b), the verb is indexed by the inclusive suffix *-i* along with the common person marker in order to encode the person reference of the inclusive agent participant acting on the third person patient. On the other hand, the prefix *a-* occurs or precedes the main verb while the third person is acting on the first person inclusive as illustrated in (23).

(23) a. (3 → 1DU.INCL)

*uma int^sʔlai ajumi*um-a int^si-lai a-jum-i

3SG-ERG 1DU.INCL-DAT 3SG-beat-1DU.INCL.PST

‘He beat us (DU).’

b. (3 → 1PL.INCL)

uma iŋkilai aʌmki

um-a iŋki-lai a-jʌm-k-i

3SG-ERG 1PL.INCL-DAT 3SG-beat-M.EXTDR-1PL.INCL.PST

‘He beat us (PL.INCL).’

In examples (23a, b), the prefix *a-* occurs or precedes the verb root *jʌm /jum* ‘beat’ while the third person is acting on the first person inclusive.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ The morpheme extender (M.EXTDR) ‘-k’ is inserted in the first person non-singular (inclusive/exclusive) forms.

(ii) 2→3 or 3→2

A transitive configuration of 2→3 or 3→2 yields second person agreement (also the highest ranking participant) as illustrated in (24).

(24) a. (2 → 3)

ania umlai ajΛmdi

ani-a um-lai a-jΛmd-i

2SG-ERG 3SG-DAT 3SG-beat-2SG.PST

‘You (SG) beat him/her.’

b. (3 → 2)

uma anilai ajumu

um-a ani-lai a-jum-u

3SG-ERG 2SG-DAT 3SG-beat-2SG.PST

‘S/he beat you (SG).’

In example (24a), the second person (i.e., relatively the higher ranking participant) is acting on the third person (i.e., the lowest ranking participant). The person indexed on the verb root *jΛmd* (**jum*) ‘beat’ by the suffix *-i* codes the reference of the second person participant yielding the second person agreement.

Similarly, in example (24b), the third person (i.e., the lowest ranking participant) is acting on the second person (i.e., the higher ranking participant). Thus, person indexed by the suffix *-u* on the verb root *jum* ‘beat’ does not code the reference of the third person agent participant, rather it codes the second person patient participant with the prefix *a-*. Moreover, in (24a), the verb is also inflected for the second person by the suffix *-i* along with the direct marker *-i* and common person marker as the prefix *a-*. But in (24b), the lowest ranking participant is acting on the higher ranking participant.

6.3.2 Number marking

Dumi marks three categories of number⁸⁰ of the verbal arguments on the verb: singular, dual and plural. The first person singular is marked by the suffix *-u/-o* whereas the second person is marked by the circumfix *a-Σ-i* and third person singular by the suffix *-i*. The first person plural inclusive and exclusive are respectively marked by the suffixes *-(k)-i* and *-(k)-u*. Likewise, the circumfix *a-Σ-ni* and the suffix *-si* and *-ni* are used, respectively for the second and third person plural forms. The suffixes *-i* and *-u* are used for the first person inclusive and exclusive dual forms whereas the circumfix *a-Σ-i* marks the second person. However, the third person dual is marked by the suffix *-si*. Table 6.4 presents a synopsis of number marking of the participant.

⁸⁰ Number is one of the common pronominal classificatory features, classifying referents as to their individuation and number (singular, dual, plural) (Givón, 2001:402).

Table 6.4: Number marking of the participant (s)

Number → Persons ↓	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		inclusive	exclusive	inclusive	exclusive
1st	Σ-u	Σ-i	Σ-u	Σ-ki	Σ-ku
2nd	a-Σ-i	a-Σ-i		a-Σ-ni	
3rd	Σ-i	Σ-si		Σ-ni	

Following are the examples:

(a) First person verbal arguments

(25) a. *aŋu kim k^husto*

aŋu kim k^hus-t-o
 1SG home go-NPST-1SG
 ‘I go home.’

b. *int̃i kim k^husti*

int̃i kim k^hus-t-i
 1DU.INCL home go-NPST-1DU.INCL
 ‘We (DU.INCL) go home.’

c. *unt̃u kim k^hustu*

unt̃u kim k^hus-t-u
 1DU.EXCL home go-NPST-1DU.EXCL
 ‘We (TWO.EXCL) go home.’

d. *iŋki kim k^hakti*

iŋki kim k^hΛ-k-t-i
 1PL.INCL home go-M.EXTDR-NPST-1PL.INCL
 ‘We (PL.INCL) go home.’

e. *uŋku kim k^hʌkta*

uŋku kim k^hʌ-k-t-a

1PL.EXCL home go-M.EXTDR-NPST-1PL.EXCL

‘We (PL.EXCL) go home.’

In examples (25a-e), the first person singular in (25a) is marked by the suffix *-o* in *k^husto* ‘I go’, the first person dual inclusive in (25b) is marked by the suffix *-i* in *k^husti* ‘we (DU.INCL) go’, the first person dual exclusive in (25c) is marked by the suffix *-u* in *k^hustu* ‘we (TWO.EXCL) go’, the first person plural inclusive in (25d) is marked by the suffix *-(kt)-i* in *k^hakt* and the first person plural exclusive in (25e) is marked by the suffix *-(kt)-a* in *k^hakta* ‘we (PL.EXCL) go’.

(b) Second person verbal arguments

(26) a. *ani kim ak^husta*

ani kim a-k^hus-t-a

2SG home 2SG-go-NPST-2SG

‘You (SG) go home.’

b. *ant^si kim ak^husti*

ant^si kim a-k^hus-t-i

2DU home 2SG-go-NPST-2DU

‘You (DU) go home.’

c. *animu kim ak^hustani*

animu kim a-k^hus-t-ani

2PL home 2SG-go-NPST-2PL

‘You (PL) go home.’

In examples (26a-c), the second person singular in (26a) is marked by the circumfix *a-Σ-a* in *ak^husta*, the second person dual in (26b) is marked by the circumfix *a-Σ-i* in *ak^husti*. Likewise, the second person plural in (26c) is marked by the circumfix *a-Σ-ani* in *ak^hustani*.

(c) Third person verbal arguments

- (27) a. *um kim k^husta*
 um kim k^hus-t-a
 3SG home go-NPST-3SG
 ‘S/he goes home.’
- b. *unt^si kim k^husti*
 unt^si kim k^hus-t-i
 3DU home go-NPST-3DU
 ‘They (DU) go home.’
- c. *unimu kim hamk^husta*
 unimu kim ham-k^hus-t-a
 3PL home 3PL-go-NPST-3PL
 ‘They (PL) go home.’

In examples (27a-c), the third person singular and dual are respectively marked by the suffixes *-a* and *-i* in *k^husta* in (27a) and in *k^husti* in (27b). Likewise, the third person plural is marked by the circumfix *ham-Σ-a* in *hamk^husta* in (27c).

6.4 Tenses

Analogous to other Kirati languages of the Rai group like Thulung (Lahaussis, 2002:183), Bantawa (Doornenbal, 2009:174); Dumi verbs inflect for two distinct tenses: non-past and past. This section comprises three sub-sections. In sub-section 6.3.1, we deal with the non-past tense. Sub-section 6.3.2 discusses the past tense and its two sub-categories. In the last subsection 6.3.3, we discuss the interaction of tense with aspect and mood. Non-past tense may be realized as non-past indicative and imperfective in aspect, but with perfect and completive aspects, the non-past tense may be realized as being perfective in aspect. Similarly, the past tense marker codes the past indicative category of mood and is perfective in aspect. It also co-occurs with two different imperfective aspects: past-durative and past perfect durative. There it loses its perfective aspect.

6.4.1 Non-past tense

The non-past tense marker in Dumi is *-t*. It is also realized as *-d*, when it is followed by the vowel sounds *-i/-o/-u*. It is normally affixed to the stem of the verb along with PNR affixes. There are two main functions of the non-past tense:

- (a) The non-past tense codes events (or states) that occur right at the time of speech (i.e. reference time) as illustrated in (28).

- (28) a. *aŋua sΛp^hu t^sΛpt^hΛtto*
 aŋu-a sΛp^hu t^sΛp-t^hΛt-t-o
 1SG-ERG letter write-DUR-NPST-1SG
 ‘I am writing a letter.’
- b. *ania sΛp^hu at^sΛpt^hΛtta*
 ani-a sΛp^hu a-t^sΛp-t^hΛt-t-a
 2SG-ERG letter 2SG-write-DUR-NPST-2SG
 ‘You are writing a letter.’
- c. *uma sΛp^hu t^sΛpt^hΛtta*
 um-a sΛp^hu t^sΛp-t^hΛt-t-a
 3SG-ERG letter write-DUR-NPST-3SG
 ‘S/he is writing a letter.’

In examples (28a-c), the non-past ‘-t’ indicates that the events occur right at the time of speech (i.e., reference time).

(b) The non-past tense codes events (or states) that occurs following the time of speech (i.e. reference time) as illustrated in (29).

- (29) a. *aŋua asala sΛp^hu p^hiŋto*
 aŋu-a asala sΛp^hu p^hiŋ-t-o
 1SG-ERG tomorrow letter send-NPST-1SG
 ‘I shall send a letter tomorrow.’
- b. *ania asala sΛp^hu ap^hiŋta*
 ani-a asala sΛp^hu a-p^hiŋ-t-a
 2SG-ERG tomorrow letter 2SG-send-NPST-2SG
 ‘You will send a letter tomorrow.’

- c. *uma asala sAp^hu p^hiŋta*
- um-a asala sAp^hu p^hiŋ-t-a
- 3SG-ERG tomorrow letter send-NPST-3SG
- ‘S/he will send the letter tomorrow.’

In examples (29a-c), the non-past marker *-t* indicates the events that occur following the reference time (i.e. the time of speech). The non-past tense has aspectual and modal functions apart from coding the relation between reference time and event time. The non-past tense suffix is imperfective in aspect and indicates that the situation referred to is incomplete with respect to some point in time.

6.4.2 Past tense

The main function of the past tense is to code events (or states) that occurred before the time of speech (i.e., reference time). The past tense distinguishes two degrees of distance⁸¹. Thus, there are two sub-categories of past tense: recent past and remote past. The categories of tense including two sub-categories of past tense are shown in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2: The categories of tense including two sub-categories of past tense

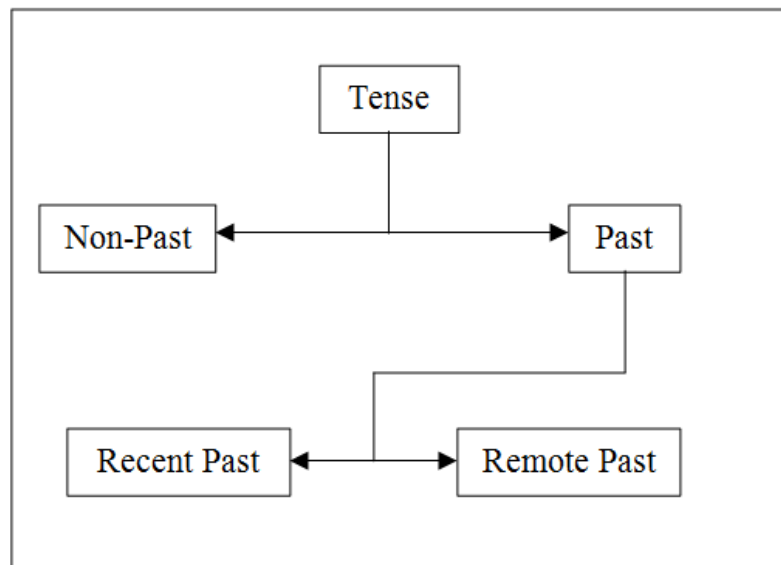


Figure 6.2: Tense categories including two degrees of distance in the past tense. As mentioned in Figure 6.2, there are two past tenses in terms of the two degrees of distance: recent past and remote past, which are discussed as follows:

(a) Recent past tense

The recent past tense is marked by *-u/-i/-o*. This suffix is attached to the root of the verb along with PNR affixes. The main function of this tense is to code the events (or states) that occurred preceding the time of speech (i.e. reference time) as illustrated in (30).

⁸¹ Rai (2015:97) quotes Bybee et al. (1994:82) that past expresses the meaning of occurring before the moment of speech

- (30) a. *pʌbi del kʰut̪̃*
 pʌbi del kʰut̪̃-i
 Pabi village go-3SG.PST
 ‘Pabi went to the village.’
- b. *aŋua dudu hʌptu*
 aŋu-a dudu hʌpt-u
 1SG-ERG milk drink-1SG.PST
 ‘I drank milk.’
- c. *ania dudu ahʌpti*
 ani-a dudu a-hʌpt-i
 2SG-ERG milk 2SG-drink-2SG.PST
 ‘You drank milk.’
- d. *uma dudu hʌpti*
 um-a dudu hʌpt-i
 3SG-ERG milk drink-3SG.PST
 ‘S/he drank milk.’

In examples (30a-d), the events coded by this tense did not only occur but were also finished or terminated before the time of speech. Thus, this tense interacts with perfective aspect and realis modality. Moreover, this tense codes such events (or states) which were directly witnessed by the speaker. Thus, this tense also has evidential function.

The aspectual and modal functions will be further discussed in sections 6.4 and 6.5, respectively. The evidential function will be discussed in detail in section 6.6. Like non-past tense, this tense also interacts with the verbal sub-category of negation (See § 6.6 for details).

(b) Remote past tense

Like in Bhujel (Regmi, 2012:76), the remote past tense is marked by *-im/-um/-om*. The recent past tense marker is normally affixed to the root of the verb in combination with PNR affixes. The basic function of this tense does not differ from the recent past tense. However, unlike in recent past tense, the events or states coded by this tense have the following features:

1. They are supposed to have occurred a long time ago.
2. The speaker has not directly witnessed them. They have come to be known to the speaker through either hearsay or inference.
3. They are basically found in narrative discourse.

The following are the examples:

- (31) a. *ad^{zh}o pipia punim tam t^hʌkpuri*
- | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------|------------|----------------------------|
| <i>ad^{zh}o</i> | <i>pipi-a</i> | <i>pun-im</i> | <i>tam</i> | <i>t^hʌkpuri</i> |
| long ago | grandma-ERG | weave-3SG.RPST | this | waist-cloth |
- ‘Grandmother weaved this waist-cloth a long ago.’
- b. *ad^{zh}o t^sut^sua t^hoknim tam grolu*
- | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|------------|--------------|
| <i>ad^{zh}o</i> | <i>t^sut^su-a</i> | <i>t^hok-im</i> | <i>tam</i> | <i>grolu</i> |
| long ago | grandpa-ERG | construct-3SG.RPST | this | wall |
- ‘Grandfather constructed this wall a long ago.’

In examples (31a, b), the events coded by this tense are supposed to have occurred, finished or terminated a long time ago (i.e., long before the time of speech). Like recent past tense, it also interacts with perfective aspect and realis modality. However, events (or states) coded by this tense are not supposed to have been directly witnessed by the speaker.

6.5 Aspects

Aspect is partly a property of the lexical semantics of the verb. In Dumi, aspect⁸² encompasses a group of heterogeneous semantic and pragmatic categories. There are two types of aspects of a verb: lexical aspect and grammatical aspect. The lexical aspect refers to an inherent aspect that speakers assume the verb to convey unless otherwise indicated (i.e., Aktionsart). However, a particular Aktionsart may suggest distinct morphosyntactic treatment which is considered as the grammatical aspect. It is the Aktionsart of the verb which triggers varying shades of the meaning that is typically associated with the grammatical aspectual categories: perfective and imperfective. The present discussion of Dumi aspects is based on Givón (2001a:287-8). In accordance with the two types of aspects, this section consists of two parts: lexical and grammatical aspects of the verb which are discussed as follows:

6.5.1 Lexical aspects

In this sub-section, we attempt to determine the lexical aspect of some of the most frequent verbs and examine how the lexical aspect of the verb triggers varying shades of the meaning that is typically associated with grammatical aspectual categories, viz., perfective and imperfective. Firstly, we discuss the states-of-affairs and types of lexical aspect. Secondly, we propose the tests for determining the lexical aspect of the verbs. Lastly, we examine how semantically defined verb classes suggest distinct morphosyntactic treatment.

⁸² Givón (2001:287) notes that there are three aspectual contrasts: perfectivity (perfective vs. imperfective); sequentiality or relevance (perfective vs. perfect) and immediacy (remote vs. vivid).

(a) The states-of-affairs and lexical aspect

There are four basic types of states-of-affairs: situations, events, processes and actions. Situations are considered as static and non-dynamic states-of-affairs. Events are states-of-affairs which seem to happen instantly. Likewise, processes are states-of-affairs which involve change and take place over time. Actions are dynamic states-of-affairs in which a participant does something. Each language has linguistic means for describing states-of-affairs. It typically consists of verbs and other predicating elements, which express the situation, events, process or action and noun phrases and other referring expressions, which denote the participants.

Every language has lexicalized different aspects of a state of affairs. The speaker may enjoy a considerable freedom for coding the states-of-affairs. However, the choices are even so constrained by the properties of the states-of-affairs. These states-of-affairs in a language are coded by the lexical aspect of verbs. There are four basic classes of the lexical aspect of verbs: states, achievements, accomplishments and activities. Givón (2001:289) classifies the verbs in terms of their inherent temporal properties as stative verbs, compact verbs, accomplishment verbs and activity verbs. These lexical aspects of the verbs correspond to the state-of-affairs as in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: The lexical aspect of the verbs correspond to the state-of-affairs

	Lexical aspect of verbs	State-of-affairs
1.	States	Situations
2.	Achievements	Events
3.	Accomplishment	Process
4.	Activities	Actions

(b) Lexical aspect tests

This sub-section discusses how to determine the Aktionsart type of each verb. For this purpose we mainly use the tests for determining the Aktionsart type proposed in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997). Here, we have slightly modified the tests to work in the Dumi language. As in Bhujel (Regmi, 2012:78), the tests in Table 6.5 will allow us to decide in which class a Dumi verb belongs. The tests comprise a set of criterion along with the lexical aspect types which are evaluated in terms of whether a particular criterion is met by a lexical verb type.

Table 6.6: Tests for determining the Aktionsart type

	Criterion	States	Achievements (Compact verbs)	Accomplish- ments	Activities
1.	occurs with durative <i>-t^hAt</i>	No	No	Yes	Yes
2.	has terminal boundary	No	No	Yes	No
3.	occurs with period of time <i>-tumbu</i> ‘up to’	Yes	no	Irrelevant	yes
4.	occurs with adverbs like <i>d^zak^ha</i> ‘slowly’ and other adverbs borrowed from Nepali	No	No	Yes	Yes
5.	occurs with adverbs <i>dumo</i> ‘much’, <i>k^hurumaksi</i> ‘actively’, etc.	No	No	No	Yes

On the basis of the tests in Table 6.6, some examples of the verbs are given in following lexical aspects:

(32) **I. States**

- a. *k^hak^hajuju* ‘be upset’
- b. *d^zed^zeja* ‘be happy’
- c. *bombomja* ‘be angry’
- d. *t^hukna* ‘to know’
- e. *k^hri:na* ‘to respect’

II. Achievements

- a. *k^hi t^hukna* ‘to spit’
- b. *h^hna* ‘to cough’
- c. *kenna* ‘to jump’
- d. *j^hamna* ‘to beat/hit’
- e. *napt^ho hikna* ‘to slap’

III. Accomplishments

- a. *hunlunna* 'to arrive'
- b. *huna* 'to come'
- c. *lonk^hAnna* 'to leave'
- d. *k^hAna* 'to go'
- e. *njarna* 'to finish'
- f. *do:na* 'to obtain'
- g. *t^haŋna* 'to fall'
- h. *mi:na* 'to die'
- i. *bukna* 'to be born'
- j. *ŋaisina* 'to sit down'
- k. *rjapna* 'to stand'

IV. Activities

- a. *turna* 'to break'
- b. *krupna* 'to bend'
- c. *gApna* 'to cross over'
- d. *lamt^hina* 'to walk'
- e. *t^{sh}Amna* 'to dance'
- f. *d^zuna* 'to eat'

(c) Lexical aspect and morphosyntactic treatment

In Dumì, we have already set tests for determining Aktionsart type of the verbs. Then, some of the representative verbs have been classified in terms of their inherent aspectuality⁸³. In this sub-section, we observe the inherent aspectuality of the verbs by combining them with various grammatical aspects, viz., past-perfective, past-durative, past-habitual, non-past-durative and habitual. The stative verbs lack terminal boundary and they tend to reject the perfective interpretation and they take on an imperfective interpretation.

The stative verbs can be combined with grammatical imperfective aspect yielding a durative interpretation as illustrated in (33).

⁸³ Givón (2001:288) claims that 'the best way to observe the inherent aspectuality of verb is to combine them with various grammatical aspects'.

(33) a. *aŋu jat^hAtto*

aŋu jat-t^hAt-to

1SG like-DUR-IPFV

‘I like’ (Literally, ‘I am liking’)

b. *aŋu kukt^hAtto*

aŋu kuk-t^hAt-to

1SG know-DUR-IPFV

‘I know’ (Literally, ‘I am knowing’)

In examples (33a, b), the stative verbs *jat* ‘like’ and *kuk* ‘know’ can be combined with grammatical imperfective aspect *t^hAtto* and it yields a durative interpretation *jatt^hAtto* ‘I am liking’ and *kukt^hAtto* ‘I am knowing’, respectively. When we combine a stative verb with grammatical perfective aspect, the inherent state is converted into an event. It may yield a perfective interpretation as illustrated in (34).

(34) a. *onu hursi*

o-nu hurs-i

1SG.POSS-mind blow-3SG.PFV

‘I became happy.’

b. *ogo t^saiju*

o-go t^sai-(j)u

1SG.POSS-soul shock-3SG.PFV

‘I felt upset.’

In examples (34a, b), the inherent lexical aspect of the verb *hurs-* and *t^sai-* are state verbs. They are temporally unbounded. When they combine with perfective aspect, they provide a shade of the meaning that is typically associated with the grammatical aspectual category of perfective. The achievement verbs appear much more commonly in discourse in the perfective aspect. When they are combined with imperfective aspect, they tend to yield a repetitive sense as illustrated in (35).

- (35) a. *aŋua upt^hAtto*
 aŋu-a up-t^hAt-t-o
 1SG-ERG shoot-DUR-NPST-1SG
 ‘I am shooting.’ (repeated shots)

- b. *aŋua k^hit^hukt^hAtto*
 aŋu-a k^hit^huk-t^hAt-t-o
 1SG-ERG spit-DUR-NPST-1SG
 ‘I am spitting.’ (repeated spits)

In examples (35a, b), the achievement verbs *up* ‘shoot’ in (35a) and *k^hit^huk* ‘spit’ in (35b) combine with imperfective aspect *t^hAtto* and they tend to yield the repetitive senses *upt^hAtto* ‘I am shooting’ and *k^hit^hukt^hAtto* ‘I am spitting’, respectively. When an accomplishment verb is combined with the imperfective aspect, the event lacks sharp terminal boundary and shows that the preceding process leads to that terminal boundary as illustrated in (36).

- (36) a. *uma kim luk^hud-i*
 um-a kim luk^hud-i
 3SG-ERG house leave-3SG.PFV
 ‘S/he left the house.’ (She was there, then gone.)

- b. *kim luk^hutt^hAdim gΛ*
 kim luk^hAt-t^hAd-i-m gΛ
 house leave-DUR-3SG.PST-PFV COP.PST
 ‘S/he was leaving the house.’ (ongoing process before leaving)

In examples (36a, b), the accomplishment verbs *luk^hud* (*t**) ‘leave’ combines with the imperfective aspects *t^hAd*, the event lacks sharp terminal boundary and shows the preceding process leads to that terminal boundary as *luk^hutt^hAdim* ‘was leaving’. When an activity verb is marked by the grammatical imperfective aspect, it yields a state, ongoing or habitual-repetitive as illustrated in (37).

(37) a. *aŋu lamt^hijo*

aŋu lamt^hi-(j)o

1SG walk-1SG.PFV

‘I walked (and finished).’

b. *aŋu lamt^hit^hiŋom gΛ*

aŋu lamt^hi-t^hiŋ-o-m gΛ

1SG walk-DUR-1SG.PST-PFV COP.PST

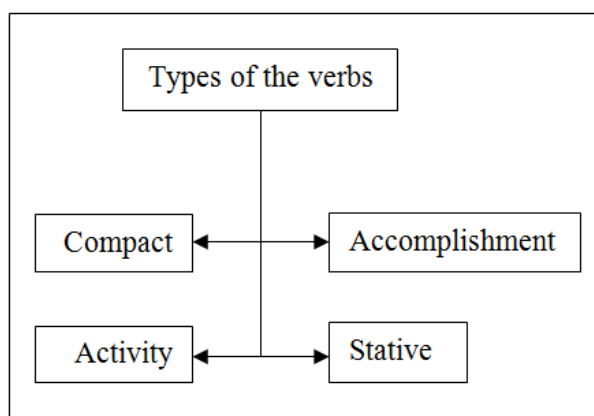
‘I was walking (on going).’

In examples (37a, b), the activity verb *lamt^hijo* ‘walked’ in (37a) is marked by the Givón (2001:288) notes that grammatical aspect is the adding of communicative perspective to states or events above and beyond their inherent aspectuality. He states that the verbs in all the natural languages can be classified into four types: grammatical perfective aspect and *lamt^hit^hiŋom* ‘as walking’ in (37b) is marked by the grammatical imperfective aspect that yields an ongoing state.

6.5.2 Grammatical aspects

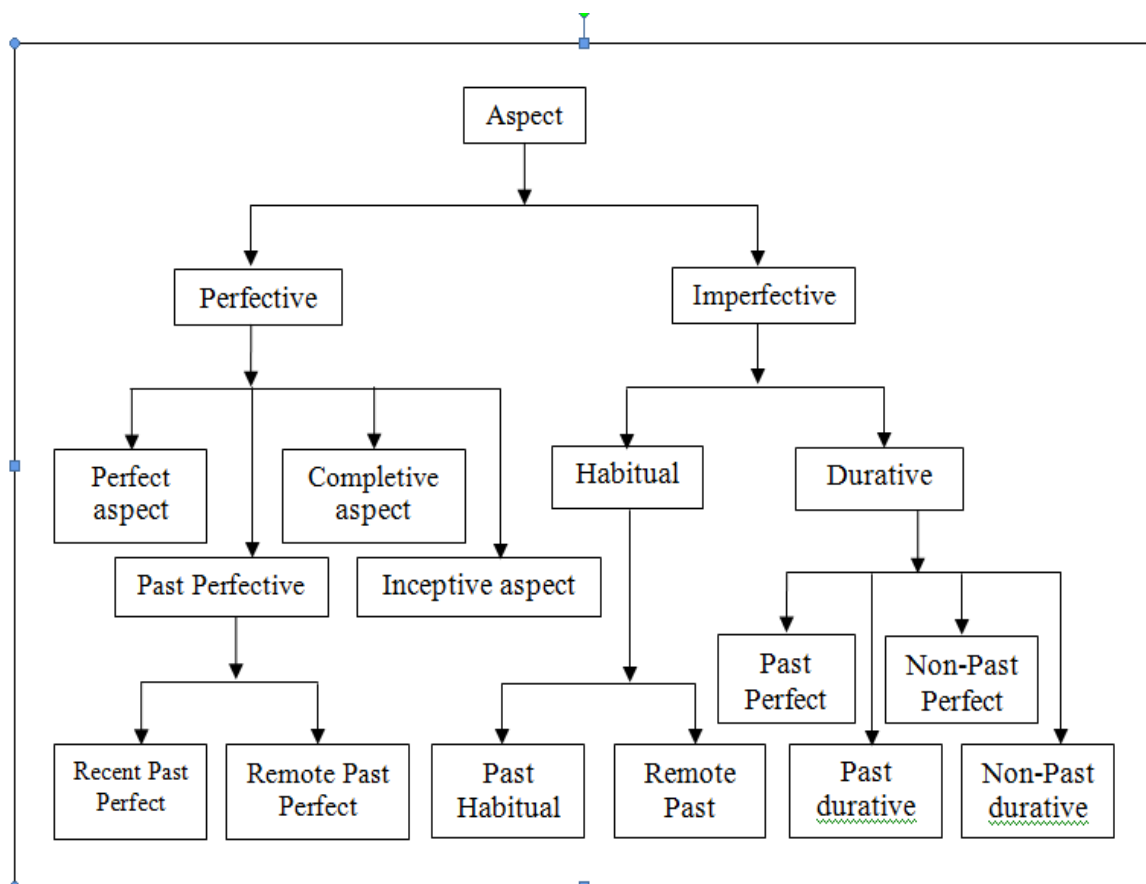
- a. Compact verbs: that depicts temporally compact events of extremely short duration, such as spit, blink, kick, snap, jump, etc.
- b. Accomplishment verbs that code the completion of an event, such as, arrive, come, leave, go, finish, obtain, get, fall, die, etc.
- c. Activity verbs that depict activity or process events. Such verbs may be of two types: with shorter duration like break, twist, bend, step, etc. and with longer duration, such as walk, read, work, dance, sing, etc., and
- d. Stative verbs depicting the states of relatively long duration whose initial and terminal boundaries are not focused like temporary ones: be sad, be happy, be angry, be hot, be cold, know, want, believe, have, be there, be sitting, be lying down, be standing; and long-lasting: be tall, be big, be red, be female, etc.

The four types of verbs are presented in Figure 6.3.

Figure 6.3: Types of verbs according to the grammatical aspects

Dumi exhibits a complex aspectual system. In order to distinguish different temporal contours of a situation, a verb may inflect, along with tense and PNR inflections, for five subcategories of aspects: past-perfective, perfect, completive, durative and habitual.

In this sub-section we analyze these sub-categories of aspect as further elaboration of two main aspectual distinctions between perfective and imperfective (Givón, 2001:345). Apart from the major categories and sub-categories of aspects, Figure 6.4 shows the combinations of aspects and tenses.

Figure 6.4: Aspect and aspectual distinctions

In this subsection we first deal with perfective aspect and then we will discuss the imperfective aspect.

(a) Perfective

As shown in Figure 6.4, perfective aspect is further elaborated into three morphologically distinct subcategories: past-perfective, perfect and completive. They are discussed as follows:

i. Past-perfective

Givón (2001:345) expands on perfective aspect into past, perfect, past-durative and imperfective into present-durative, future, habitual. The main function of past-perfective aspect is to code a situation (i.e. events, processes and changes of state) which was terminated and bounded before one absolute reference point, the time of speech. The past-perfective aspect is strongly associated with past tense and realis modality. It contrasts with perfect aspects in many respects. As shown in Figure 6.4, the past-perfective aspect is further categorized into recent past-perfective and remote past-perfective. They are discussed as follows:

Recent past-perfective

As we discussed earlier that the primary function of *-u/-i* is to indicate the temporal reference. This affix has aspectual function as well. The events coded by this affix exhibit a cluster of four properties as in (38).

- (38) a. To happen preceding only one (absolute) reference time, the time of speech
 b. To be completed and bounded before the reference time
 c. To happen in-sequence in discourse proposition
 d. To be relevant only at the time of event

In Dumii, events characterized by the properties summarized in (38a-d) may have a perfective interpretation as illustrated in (39).

- (39) a. *aŋu atinΛmka della pi(j)o*
 aŋu atinΛmka del-la pi-(j)o
 1SG day before yesterday village-SORC go-1SG.PST
 ‘The day before yesterday, I came from the village.’
- b. *tʰu:tʰua asnΛmka kʰur koki*
 tʰu:tʰu-a asnΛmka kʰur koki-i
 child-ERG yesterday hand cut-3SG.PST
 ‘The child cut his hand yesterday.’

- c. *mambika aɲua mam t^su:t^su brʌtu*
 mam-bika aɲu-a mam t^su:t^su brʌt-u
 that-after 1SG-ERG that child call-1SG.PST
 ‘After that I called that child.’
- d. *t^su:t^su op^harbi piɟu*
 t^su:t^su o-p^har-bi piɟ-u
 child 1POSS-near-LOC come-3SG.PST
 ‘The child came nearby me.’
- e. *mʌnʌ t^su:t^su po kʌr putk^hʌndu*
 mʌnʌ t^su:t^su-po kʌr put-k^hʌnd-u
 then child-GEN wound tie up-BEN-1SG.PST
 ‘Then, I tied up the child’s wound.’

The events coded by the recent past tense marker in (39a-e) happened in-sequence and get complete preceding only one (absolute) reference time. They are relevant only at the time of the event. Such an aspect which is strongly associated with the past tense is referred to as a recent past-perfective aspect.

Remote past-perfective

The past tense, which is marked by -o/-u/-i, has also aspectual function. The main function of remote past-perfective is:

- a. To code events which happened a long time ago preceding the reference time (i.e., the time of speech).
- b. To code events that happened not only preceding the reference time, but were completed and bounded a long time ago before the reference time.
- c. To code events that happened not only preceding the reference time, but happened a long time ago in-sequence in discourse proposition.
- d. To code such events which were relevant only a long time ago at the time of the event as in illustrated in (40).

(40) a. *pipi ad^{zh}o aŋu t^ʰu:t^ʰu ŋa moŋujo ham t^ʰamum*

pipi ad^{zh}o aŋu t^ʰu:t^ʰu

grandma long time before 1SG child

ŋa moŋ-u-jo ham-t^ʰam-um

FOC be-1SG.PST-CONV HON-die-3SG.RPST

‘Grandmother died, when I was a child long time before.’

b. *t^ʰut^ʰu jo pit^ʰi jʌpakaŋa ŋa ham t^ʰamum*

t^ʰut^ʰu jo pit^ʰi jʌpaka-ŋa ŋa ham-t^ʰam-um

grandpa also little later-FOC FOC HON-die-3SG.RPST

‘The grandfather died a bit later on.’

c. *mam t^ho ŋa t^ʰut^ʰu-pipipo nubi puma t^ʰjamnim*

mam t^ho ŋa pipi-t^ʰut^ʰu-po

that year FOC grandma-grandpa-GEN

nu-bi puma t^ʰjam-nim

name-LOC flower play-3PL.RPST

‘In the name of the grandparents, they performed the ritual ‘flower playing’ ceremony in the same year.’

The events coded by *-um/-im/-nim* in examples (40a-c) may be interpreted as having happened in-sequence and got complete a long time before. They were also relevant only to the event time.

ii. Perfect aspect

The perfect aspect has a strong but not absolute similarity with past-perfective aspect. Both aspects may code events which either occurred. Such events are supposed to have been completed and bounded prior to the reference time. However, perfect aspect differs from the past-perfective both functionally and formally.

The main function of the perfect aspect is to code ‘out-of-sequence’ events which are relevant not to the event time but to some subsequent time reference. As mentioned in Table

6.6, the perfective aspect is marked by a separate morpheme which may co-occur with any tense categories: non-past or past tense.

Thus, there are two perfect aspects: non-past perfect and past-perfect. They are discussed as follows:

Non-past perfect

The non-past perfect is a combination of perfect aspectual marker *-om/-am/-im* with the non-past tense marker *-t*. The form of a verb in non-past perfect aspect is shown in (41).

(41) Base + (-t) + (-om/-um/-im) + ‘be’ verb

The form in (41) requires the following two clarifications:

- a. Except for the actor in the second person, the perfect aspectual marker is directly affixed to the base of the verb and followed by tense and PNR affixes.
- b. Except for the actor in the third person singular, the non-past perfect form of the verb contains PNR affixes.

The non-past perfect is basically used to code events that may have occurred earlier (i.e., prior to the temporal reference time) but are viewed as relevant right now. The functions of the non-past perfect aspect are discussed as follows:

The non-past perfect may be used to code a result state. This can be referred to as a resultative aspect or perfect of result as illustrated in (42).

(42) a. *nokt^{sho} kimbi hɔɔm mota*

nokt ^{sho}	kim-bi	hɔɔ-ɔ-m	mo-t-a
shaman	home-LOC	arrive-NPST-PRF	be-NPST-3SG

‘The shaman has arrived at home.’

b. *aŋua aũli koktum gota*

aŋu-a	aũli	kokt-u-m	go-t-a
1sg-ERG	finger	cut-1SG-PRF	be-NPST-3SG

‘I have cut the finger.’

c. *aŋua sɿ tʰumom gota*

aŋu-a sɿ: tʰum-o-m go-t-a
 1SG-ERG firewood chop-1SG-PRF be-NPST-3SG

‘I have chopped the firewood.’

In examples (42a-c), the events are supposed to have happened prior to the reference time but the results being perceived in the present time.

The non-past perfect may be used to code a situation that began in the past and continues up to the present moment as illustrated in (43).

(43) *aŋua anilai mimnɔm gota*

aŋu-a ani-lai mim-nɔ-m go-t-a
 1SG-ERG 2SG-DAT remember-1SG-PRF be-NPST-3SG

‘I have remembered you.’

In example (43), the event coded by non-past perfect may be described as ‘the perfect of the persistent situation.’ In this case, non-past perfect lacks the terminal boundary. The non-past perfect may be used to code a past event which is relevant to the present situation as in (44).

(44) *aŋua umlai jardum gota*

aŋu-a um-lai jard-um go-t-a
 1SG-ERG 3SG-DAT scold-1SG-PRF be-NPST-3SG

‘I have scolded him.’

The event coded in (44) can be described as the ‘perfect of recent past’.

The non-past perfect may be used to code an event that has occurred at least once in the past, without specifying any particular time as in (45).

(45) *aŋua tʰi tuŋom gota*

aŋu-a tʰi tuŋ-om go-t-a
 1SG-ERG local beer drink-1SG-PRF be-NPST-3SG

‘I have drunk local beer.’

In example (45), the event coded *tuŋom* ‘have drunk’ can be described as the ‘experiential perfect’.

Past perfect

The past perfect is a combination of perfect aspectual marker *-m* with the past tense marker *-o/-u/-i*. The form of a verb in non-past perfect aspect is as in (46).

(46) Base + (*-u/-i*) + (*-m*)

The past perfect aspect is used to code an event in the past that occurred before another event in the past. Basically, the past perfect codes out-of-sequence events that happened prior to the temporal reference time as in (47).

(47) *um hʌlʌjo aŋua d^za d^zʌŋk^hʌtum gʌ*

um hʌlʌ-jo aŋu-a d^za d^zʌŋ-k^hʌt-um gʌ

3SG arrive-CONV 1SG-ERG rice eat-DUR-PRF COP.PST

‘When he arrived I had eaten rice.’

The two events in (47) did not occur simultaneously in the past. The event which occurred first has to occur first in the narrative discourse. However, in (47) it occurs out-of-sequence and it has been coded by the past perfect form of the verb. Such events are relevant only to some subsequent reference time.

iii. Completive aspect

The completive aspect is a combination of completive aspectual marker *-njar* with any past and non-past categories of tense. Thus, there are two types of completive aspect: non-past completive and past completive. They are discussed as follows:

Non-past completive

The non-past completive is a combination of completive aspectual marker *-njar* with the non-past tense marker. A verb in non-past completive form is exemplified in (48).

(48) Base + (*-na*) + (*-njar*)

The non-past completive aspect is basically used to code events which may have been initiated prior to the temporal reference time but are viewed as completed right now as illustrated in (49).

(49) a. *uma d^za d^zuna nirim gota*

um-a d^za d^zu-na

3SG-ERG rice eat-NMLZ

nir-i-m go-t-a
 finish-3SG.PST-PFV be-NPST-3SG
 ‘S/he has finished eating rice.’

b. *aŋu rina nirom gota*

aŋu ri-na nir-o-m go-t-a
 1SG laugh-NMLZ finish-1SG.PST-PRF be-NPST-3SG
 ‘I have finished laughing.’

In examples (49a, b), the non-past completive aspect is coded with *dʒuna nirim gota* ‘S/he has finished eating’ in (49a) and *rina nirom gota* ‘I have finished laughing’ in (49b), which are viewed as completed right now.

Past completive

The past completive is a combination of the completive aspectual marker *-njar* with the past tense marker. A verb in non-past completive aspect consists of the form shown in (50).

(50) Base + (-na) + (-njar)

The past completive aspect is basically used to code events which may have been initiated prior to the temporal reference time but are viewed as completed before the reference time as illustrated in (51).

(51) a. *uma dʒa dʒuna nirim gΛ*

um-a dʒa dʒu-na nir-i-m gΛ
 3SG-ERG rice eat-NMLZ finish-3SG.PST-PFV be.PST
 ‘S/he had finished eating rice.’

b. *aŋu rina nirom gΛ*

aŋu ri-na nir-o-m gΛ
 1SG laugh-NMLZ finish-1SG.PST-PRF COP.PST
 ‘I had finished laughing.’

In examples (51a, b), the past completive aspect is coded with *dʒuna nirim gΛ* ‘s/he had finished eating’ in (51a) and *rina nirom gΛ* ‘I had finished laughing’ in (51b), which are viewed as completed before the reference time.

iv. Past inceptive aspect

The past inceptive aspect contrasts with the completive aspect. The completive aspect highlights the end of the event whereas the inceptive aspect highlights the beginning of the event. In addition to this, the completive aspect can combine with any tense category like past and non-past. However, the inceptive aspect can co-occur with only past tense.

The inceptive aspect consists of a combination of the inceptive aspectual marker *-na* with the past tense marker *-u/-i*. A verb in inceptive aspect has the structure as in (52).

(52) Base + (*-na*) + (*-njar*)

The inceptive aspect is basically used to code events in which the main focus is that the events began prior to the temporal reference time as illustrated in (53).

(53) a. *aŋu dʒa dʒuna tʰoisu*

aŋu	dʒa	dʒu-na	tʰois-u
3SG	rice	eat-NMLZ	begin-1SG.PST
‘I began eating rice.’			

b. *najem rina tʰoisi*

najem	ri-na	tʰois-i
Najem	laugh-NMLZ	begin-3SG.PST
‘Najem began laughing.’		

In examples (53a, b), the inceptive aspect is coded with the events *dʒuna tʰoisu* ‘(I) began eating’ in (53a) and *rina tʰoisi* ‘began laughing’ in (53b), in which the main focus is that the events began prior to the temporal reference time.

(b) Imperfective aspect

The main function of the imperfective aspect is to code events which are viewed as non-terminated and temporally unbounded. As shown in Figure 6.3, the imperfective aspect is broadly categorized into two subcategories, viz., durative and habitual. They are discussed as follows:

i. Durative aspect

The general durative marker is *-tʰat*. It can be combined with any past and non-past tense categories. There are four types of durative aspect: non-past durative, past-durative, non-past perfect durative and past perfect durative. They are discussed as follows:

Non-past durative

The non-past durative is the combination of the durative marker *-t^hAt* with the person marker *-o/-a* along with the non-past tense marker *-t*. The form of the verb in the non-past durative aspect is schematized in (54).

(54) Base + (*-t^hAt*) + (*-t*) + (*-o/-a*)

The main function of non-past durative is to code the events which are not terminated and bounded prior to the temporal reference time. The general functions of this aspect are illustrated as follows:

To indicate present time reference as illustrated in (55).

(55) a. *aŋu d^za d^zΛŋt^hAtto*

aŋu d^za d^zΛŋ-t^hAt-to

1SG rice eat-DUR-1SG.NPST

‘I am eating rice.’

b. *najem re-t^hiŋ-ta*

najem re-t^hiŋ-ta

Najem laugh-DUR-3SG.NPST

‘Najem is laughing.’

Expressing temporary event as illustrated in (56),

(56) a. *mam t^su:t^su re-t^hiŋta*

mam t^su:t^su re-t^hiŋ-ta

that child laugh-DUR-1SG.NPST

‘That child is laughing.’

b. *jona ŋukt^hiŋ-t-a*

jona ŋuk-t^hiŋ-ta

Yona cry-DUR-3SG.NPST

‘Yona is crying.’

To express planned event as illustrated in (57).

- (57) a. *aŋu asala del k^hust^hiŋto*
 aŋu asala del k^hus-t^hiŋ-to
 1SG tomorrow village go-DUR-1SG.NPST
 ‘I am going to the village tomorrow.’

- b. *nΛmme ad^zaka kim hot^hiŋ-ta*
 nΛmme ad^zaka kim ho-t^hiŋ-ta
 daughter-in-law later on home come-DUR-3SG.NPST
 ‘The daughter-in-law is coming home later on.’

Past-durative

The past-durative is the combination of the durative marker *-t^hiŋ/-t^hΛd* with the auxiliary *-im* along with the past tense marker. The form of the verb in the non-past durative aspect is schematized in (58)

- (58) Base+ (*-t^hΛd*) + (*-im*)

The main function of past durative is to code the events which were not terminated and bounded prior to temporal reference time as in (59).

- (59) a. *aŋu d^za d^zΛŋt^hΛdum gΛ*
 aŋu d^za d^zΛŋ-t^hΛd-um gΛ
 1SG rice eat-DUR-1SG.PRF be-PST
 ‘I was eating rice.’

- b. *najem re-t^hiŋ-um gΛ*
 najem re-t^hiŋ-um gΛ
 Nayem laugh-DUR-3SG.NPST be-PST
 ‘Najem was laughing.’

Non-past perfect durative

The non-past perfect durative is the combination of the durative marker $-t^h\Delta t$ with the person marker $-om/-om$ along with non-past tense marker $-t$. The form of the verb in non-past perfect durative aspect is schematized in (60)

(60) Base+ ($-t^h\Delta t$) + ($-t$) + ($-om/-am$)

The non-past perfect durative codes temporally unbounded events which were initiated prior to temporal reference time, but not terminated till the reference time as illustrated in (61).

(61) a. *aŋu d^za d^zusom^hΔt^hAttom t^{sh}ukto*

aŋu	d ^z a	d ^z Δŋ-t ^h Δt-t-om	t ^{sh} uk-t-o
1SG	rice	eat-DUR-NPST-1SG.PRF	be-NPST-1SG

‘I will have been eating rice.’

b. *najem ret^hiŋtam t^{sh}ukta*

najem	re-t ^h iŋ-t-am	t ^{sh} uk-ta
Najem	laugh-DUR-NPST-3SG.PRF	be-NPST

‘Najem will have been laughing.’

Past perfect durative

The past perfect durative is the combination of the durative marker $-t^h\Delta t / t^h\Delta d / t^h i\eta$ plus $-um/-im$ with the past tense marker. The form of the verb in past perfect durative aspect is schematized in (62).

(62) Base+ ($-t^h\Delta t / -t^h\Delta d$) + ($-um/-im$)

The past perfect durative codes a temporally unbounded event which was initiated and not terminated till the reference time before another temporally bounded event occurred in the past as in (63).

(63) a. *aŋua d^za d^zΔŋt^hΔdum g^Δ*

aŋu-a	d ^z a	d ^z Δŋ-t ^h Δd-um	g ^Δ
1SG-ERG	rice	eat-DUR-1SG.PST.PRF	COP.PST

‘I had been eating rice.’

b. *najema ret^hiŋtam t^{sh}ukta*

najem re-t^hiŋ-um gΛ

Nayem laugh-DUR-3SG.PST.PRF COP

‘Nayem had been laughing.’

(c) Habitual

The verbs can inflect for two types of habitual aspect. They are referred to as past habitual and non-past habitual, which are marked by separate morphemes. They are discussed as follows:

i. Past habitual

The past habitual is a combination of nominalizer (or participializer) marker *-u/-i* with remote past tense. The verb in past habitual aspect does not inflect for agreement markers. The form of the verb in past habitual aspect is schematized in (64).

(64) Base+ (*-t^hΛd*) + (*-u/-i*)

The past habitual codes a situation which is viewed as usual, repeated on different occasions over a period of time in the past as illustrated in (65).

(65) a. *aŋua somna dudu tuŋt^hΛdu*

aŋu-a somna dudu tuŋ-t^hΛd-u

1SG-ERG evening milk drink-HAB-1SG.PST

‘I had the habit of drinking milk in the evening.’

b. *najema disse hijojo kaŋku jett^hΛdi*

najem-a disse hijojo kaŋku jet-t^hΛd-i

Nayem-ERG morning always water fill-HAB-3SG.PST

‘Nayem always had the habit of filling water in the morning.’

In examples (65a, b), the verb root *tuŋ* ‘drink’ in (65a) and *jet* ‘fill’ in (65b) are followed by the past habitual marker *-t^hΛd* followed by the past tense marker *-u/-i*.

(ii) Non-past habitual

The non-past habitual is a combination of nominalizer (or participializer) marker *-o/-a* with non-past tense. The verb in non-past habitual aspect does not inflect for agreement markers. The form of the verb in non-past habitual aspect is schematized in (66).

(66) Base + (-t) + (-o/-a)

The non-past habitual codes a situation which is viewed as usual, repeated on different occasions over a period of time as in (67).

(67) a. *aḡua somna dudu tuḡto*

aḡu-a somna dudu tuḡ-t-o
1SG-ERG evening milk drink-NPST-1SG

‘I have the habit of drinking milk in the evening.’

b. *najema disse hijojo kaḡku jetta*

najem-a disse hijojo kaḡku jet-t-a
Nayem morning always water fill-NPST-3SG

‘Nayem always has the habit of filling water in the morning.’

In examples (67a, b), the verb root *tuḡ* ‘drink’ in (67a) and *jet* ‘fill’ in (67b) are followed by the habitual (or non-past) marker *-t* followed by the non-past tense marker *-o/-a*.

6.6 Mood

Mood expresses the degree of reality of a proposition, as perceived by the speaker. In Dumi, morphologically, there are four types of moods indicated in the complexity of the verbs: indicative, imperative, optative and subjunctive, which are discussed as follows:

6.6.1 Indicative mood

The indicative mood asserts the truth value of propositions. In Dumi, a verb inflected for tense-aspect in a normal SOV clause may indicate the truth value of the proposition. There are two types of indicative mood: non-past indicative and past indicative. The non-past indicative mood is exemplified as in (68).

(68) a. *aḡua anamma kim kitto*

aḡu-a anamma kim kit-t-o
1SG-ERG next year house purchase-NPST-1SG.IMPRF

‘I shall purchase a house next year.’

b. *ania anamma kim akitta*

ani-a anamma kim a-kit-t-a
2SG-ERG next year house 2SG-purchase-NPST-2SG.IMPRF

‘You will purchase a house next year.’

c. *uma anammΛ kim kitta*

um-a anammΛ kim kit-t-a

3SG-ERG next year house purchase-NPST-2/3SG.IMPRF

‘S/he will purchase a house next year.’

In examples (68a-c), the verbs inflected for the non-past tense *kitto* ‘I shall purchase’, *akitta* ‘You will purchase’, *kitta* ‘s/he will purchase’ assert the truth of the proposition in the future. Likewise, the past indicative moods are exemplified as in (69).

(69) a. *aṅua ad^{zh}oŋka kim kidu*

aṅu-a ad^{zh}oŋka kim kid-u

1SG-ERG last year house purchase-1SG.PST

‘I purchased a house last year.’

b. *ania ad^{zh}oŋka kim akidi*

ani-a ad^{zh}oŋka kim a-kid-i

2SG-ERG last year house 2SG-purchase-2SG.PST

‘You purchased a house last year.’

c. *uma ad^{zh}oŋka kim kidi*

um-a ad^{zh}oŋka kim kid-i

3SG-ERG last year house purchase-3SG.PST

‘S/he purchased a house last year.’

In examples (69a-c), the verbs with a past tense inflection *kidu* ‘I purchased’, *akidi* ‘You purchased’, *kidi* ‘S/he purchased’ assert the truth value of the proposition in the past.

6.6.2 Imperative mood

The imperative mood is used to express the direct command in the second person. There are two types of imperative mood: positive imperative mood and negative imperative mood. The positive imperative mood is marked morphologically by the suffix *-a*, *-i* and *-ni* as the singular, dual and plural markers, respectively as illustrated in (70).

(70) a. *pwatel p^hikta*
 pwatel p^hikt-a
 yard sweep-2SG.IMP
 ‘You (SG) sweep the yard.’

b. *pwatel p^hiki*
 pwatel p^hik-i
 yard sweep-2DU.IMP
 ‘You (DU) sweep the yard.’

c. *pwatel p^hikni*
 pwatel p^hik-ni
 yard sweep-2PL.IMP
 ‘You (PL) sweep the yard.’

In examples (70a-c), the positive imperative mood *p^hikta* ‘You (SG) sweep’, *p^hiki* ‘You (DU) sweep’, *p^hikni* ‘You (PL) sweep’ are marked morphologically by the respective suffixes *-a*, *-i* and *-ni* as the singular, dual and plural markers. The negative (or prohibitive) marker *ma-* is prefixed to the root of the verb and morphologically marked by the suffixes *-a*, *-i* and *-ni* as the singular, dual and plural markers, respectively to express the negative imperative mood (or prohibitive) as illustrated in (71).

(71) a. *kʌŋku matʃamda*
 kʌŋku ma-t^sjamd-a
 water NEG-spoil-2SG.IMP
 ‘You (SG) don’t spoil the water.’

b. *kʌŋku matʃimi*
 kʌŋku ma-t^sim-i
 water NEG-spoil-2DU.IMP
 ‘You (DU) don’t spoil the water.’

c. *kʌŋku mat ʃimni*

kʌŋku ma-tʃim-ni

water NEG-spoil-2PL.IMP

‘You (PL) don’t spoil the water.’

In examples (71a-c), the verbs *mat ʃamda* ‘you (SG) don’t spoil’, *mat ʃimi* ‘you (DU) don’t spoil’, *mat ʃimni* ‘you (PL) don’t spoil,’ which are marked by the respective imperative suffix markers *-a*, *-i*, *-ni*, are prefixed by the negative/prohibitive marker *ma-* in order to express negative imperative (or prohibitive) mood.

6.6.3 Optative mood

The main function of the optative mood is to code a proposition which represents something the speaker hopes for (or wishes) would be true. The Optative mood is marked morphologically by a suffix *-kʰut ʃ-kʰʌn*. This marker is directly attached to the root verb as illustrated in (72).

(72) a. *bolo ŋa nʌkʰut ʃa*

bolo ŋa nʌ-kʰutʃ-a

soon EMPH recover-OPT-2SG

‘May you recover soon!’

b. *umiksi bronkʰʌnnu*

u-miksi bron-kʰʌn-nu

3SG.POSS-eye break-OPT-3SG

‘May his eyes break!’

c. *ani hʌʌmaksɪ burkʰut ʃa*

ani hʌʌ-maksi bur-kʰutʃ-a

you rapid-ADV grow-OPT-2SG

‘May you grow rapidly!’

In examples (72a-c), the optative mood in *nak^hut^sa* ‘may you recover’ in (72a) and *burk^hut^sa* ‘may you grow rapidly’ in (72c) is marked morphologically by a suffix *-k^hut^s*. Likewise, the optative mood in *bronk^hannu* ‘may his eyes break’ in (72b) is marked morphologically by a suffix *k^han*.

6.6.4 Subjunctive mood

The function of the subjunctive mood is to code the propositions which the speaker does not assert to be true. There are two types of subjunctive mood: (a) conditional and (b) counterfactual. They are discussed as follows:

(a) The conditional

The conditional subjunctive mood is morphologically marked in the verb by the suffix *-k^ho* as illustrated in (73).

(73) a. *um holotak^ho aŋu k^husto*

um	holo-t-a-k ^h o	aŋu	k ^h us-t-o
3SG	arrive-NPST-3SG-SUBJ	1SG	go-NPST-IMPRF

‘If s/he arrives, I will go.’

b. *nam mutak^ho kΛŋku sipta*

nam	mu-t-a-k ^h o	kΛŋku	sipt-a
sun	do-NPST-3SG-SUBJ	water	get dry-IMPRF

‘If it is sunny, water will dry up.’

c. *ani mapiksak^ho um k^hustanΛ*

ani	ma-pi-k-sa-k ^h o	um	k ^h us-ta-nΛ
2SG	NEG-come-M.EXTDR-NMLZ-SUBJ	3SG	go-IMPRF-NEG

‘If you do not come, she will not go.’

In examples (73a-c), subjunctive mood *holotak^ho* ‘If s/he arrives’ in (73a), *nam mutak^ho* ‘If it is sunny’ in (73b), *mapiksak^ho* ‘If you do not come’ in (73c), the verbs *holota* ‘he arrives’, *nam muta* ‘it is sunny’, *mapiksa* ‘you do not come’ are suffixed by the subjunctive marker *-k^ho*.

(b) The counterfactual

In the counterfactual subjunctive mood, the root of the verb inflected for tense-aspect is suffixed by the subjunctive marker *-k^ho* as in (74).

(74) *mΛhem tumk^ho, anulai sod^za bindenta*

mΛhem tum-k^ho anu-lai
such saying-SUBJ 1SG-DAT

sod^za bi-n-den-t-a
money give-M.EXTDR-CERT-NPST-(1SG→2SG)

‘If it were so, I would certainly give you money.’

In example (74), *mΛhem tumk^ho* ‘If it were so,’ the subjunctive mood in (74) is suffixed by the subjunctive marker *-k^ho*.

6.7 Modality

Modality is partially concerned with the epistemic categories of realis/irrealis, necessity, possibility, obligation, permission, certainty, etc., and it also includes the kinds of notions translated by words like ‘can’, ‘must’ (or ‘should’), etc. Furthermore, the modality codes the speaker’s judgment concerning the propositional information indicated by the special grammatical markings in the verb. According to Givón (2001:300) as quoted in Regmi (2012:90) there are two types of modality: epistemic and evaluative (deontic) and so are in Dumi. The main categories of modality can be further presented in different sub-categories as follows:

6.7.1 Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality indicates the degree of commitment of the speaker to the truth or future truth of the proposition. The epistemic modalities, which are marked by special verb inflections, include probability, mirativity, certainty, evidentiality and negation. They are discussed as follows:

(a) Probability

The main function of this modality (or mood) is to indicate that the situation described in the proposition is probably true. The probability marked by the verb inflection *-je*, (which may occur with any of the tenses) as illustrated in (75).

(75) a. *aŋu anΛmmΛ odel k^hustoje*

aŋu anΛmmΛ o-del k^hust-o-je
1SG next year 1SG.POSS-village go-1SG-PRB

‘I might go to my village next year.’

b. *ad^zaka hu jetaje*

ad^zaka hu jet-a-je
later on rain fall-3SG-PRB

‘It might rain later on.’

In examples (75a, b), the probability in *k^hustoje* ‘I might go’, *jetaje* ‘it might rain’ is marked by the verb inflection *-je*.

Probability expresses ‘probably true’ in the actual sense. Thus, the situation lacks certainty not because it belongs to an alternative situation, but because the speaker has less than perfect knowledge of his/her own situation. The modal, then, marks utterances about which the speaker has no source of knowledge other than his/her own (incomplete) knowledge of the context (or situation) as illustrated in (76).

(76) a. *unimu dusukajo hamhot^hɪŋtaje*

unimu dusu-kajo ham-ho-t^hɪŋt-a-je

3PL friend-COM PL-come-PROG-NPST-PROB

‘They are probably coming with their friends.’

b. *ku:lua rAbA del k^hAtim*

ku:lu-a rAbA del k^hAt-im

flood-ERG about to village sweep-PRF.PROB

‘The flood has probably swept the village.’

In examples (76a, b), the probability in *hamhot^hɪŋtaje* ‘They are probably coming’ in (76a) is marked by the verb inflection *-je*. Similarly in *rAbA del k^hAtim* ‘probably swept the village’ in (76b) marks utterances about which the speaker has no source of knowledge other than his/her own (incomplete) knowledge of the context (or situation).

The probability conjoined to a subjunctive clause results in irrealis. The eventuality ‘might have been true’ had the alternative world expressed by the conditional ‘If clause’ also had been true. The probabilities in irrealis mode are as illustrated in (77).

(77) a. **Future-probability (Irrealis)**

mok^ho bolo tambi pijuwak^ho nAwam

mok^ho bolo tambi pi-ju-wak^ho nA-wam

if it is soon here come-3SG-PST-IF be-PROB

‘It will be better if s/he comes here soon.’

b. **Past-probability (Irrealis)**

mam ɲiɲuwamk^ho mɔjoɲa binnɔwam

mam ɲiɲ-u-wak^ho mɔjo-ɲa bi-nnɔ-wam
 that hear-1SG.PST-IF immediately-EMPH provide-3SG-PROB
 ‘If I knew that, I would provide you immediately.’

In examples (77a, b), the probability *bolo tambɪ pijuwak^ho nɔwam* ‘it will be better if s/he comes here soon’ in (77a), and, *mɔjo ɲa binnɔwam* ‘I would provide you immediately’ in (77b), show the probabilities in irrealis mode. Thus, in the past setting, the two modes, counter-factive and probability arrive at roughly the same semantic ground by different routes as illustrated in (78).

(78) a. *hu majenɔwamk^ho k^hut^sowam*

hu ma-je-nɔ-wamk^ho k^hut^s-o-wam
 rain NEG-fall-NEG-if go-1SG.PST-PROB
 ‘If it had not rained, I would have gone.’

b. *hu jem magɔnɔwamk^ho k^hut^sowam*

hu je-m ma-gɔ-nɔ-wamk^ho k^hut^s-o-wam
 rain fall-PFVT NEG-be-NEG-if go-1SG.PST-PROB
 ‘If it had not rained, I might have gone.’

In examples (78a, b), the probability *k^hut^sowam* ‘I might have gone’ shows a past setting, the two modes, counter-factive and probability. In the case of the counter-factive, however, it is asserted that the second event would have occurred if the first had (recall that the relationship between the two is a ‘will’ relationship, here cast in past time. In the case of probability the second event is only a strong likelihood given the speaker’s knowledge of the world. The probability is marked by *-a* as illustrated in (79).

(79) a. *um namna tuɲa holota*

um namna tuɲa holot-a
 3SG day after tomorrow only arrive-IRR
 ‘S/he might arrive the day after tomorrow only.’

b. *pabi asala kir Δ del k^husta*

pabi asala kir Δ del k^hust-a

Pabi tomorrow maternal village go-IRR

‘Pabi might go to his maternal village tomorrow.’

In examples (79a, b), the probability *holota* ‘might arrive’ in (79a) and *k^husta* ‘might go’ in (79b) the probability is marked by the suffix *-a*.

(b) Mirativity

The mirative category⁸⁴ is the grammatical marking of unexpected information. Regmi (2013:82) quotes Watters (2002:288) that the main function of this modality is to code the information that the speaker thinks is new or surprising to her/him, or is not yet integrated into his or her overall knowledge structure. In Dumi, mirativity is grammatically marked in the verb by the suffix *-t^s Δ* as illustrated in (80).

(80) a. *m Δ jo η a tukli ut^su pu:k^hubi t^ha η ut^{sh} Δ*

m Δ jo- η a tuk-li ut^su puk^hu-bi t^ha η -u-t^{sh} Δ

that time-EMPH one-NCLF baby ground-LOC fall-PST.3SG-MIR

‘In the meantime, one of the babies fell on the ground.’

[GPC.HSR-36:04]

b. *moso k^hirt^h Δ isi he: η a daulobim su: b^hapk^h Δ itit^{sh} Δ*

moso k^hir-t^h Δ is-i he: η a

like that go round-PROG-3SG DUR

daulo-bi-m su: b^hap-k^h Δ t-i-t^{sh} Δ

hearth-LOC-PRF fire wood strike-AMBL-3SG.PST-MIR

‘While he was moving around the hearth, he stumbled on firewood.’

[NRR-72:15]

⁸⁴ Dhakal (2012:78) quotes DeLancey (2001:12) that the mirative marker indicates ‘unexpected information’.

In examples (80a, b), the verb roots *t^haj* ‘fall’ and *b^hap* ‘strike’ are affixed by the mirativity marker *-t^{sh}A*. It is to be noted that the clauses coding mirativity in a narrative end with the reportative particle *-t^{sh}A*.

(c) Certainty

The main function of this modality is to denote a speaker’s emphasis by showing that the proposition is true. It may be combined with any of the tenses (i.e., either in the same morphemes or in combinations of morphemes). The adverb indicating certainty is formed (or the modality is marked morphologically) by affixing the suffix *-lo/-det/-den*, etc., to the verb root as illustrated in (81).

(81) a. *um ad^zaka hok^husta*

um ad^zaka ho-k^hus-t-a

3SG today evening arrive-CERT-NPST-3SG

‘S/he will certainly arrive today evening.’

b. *najama asala to: pudetta*

najam-a asala to: pu-det-t-a

Nayem-ERG tomorrow loom weave-CERT-NPST-3SG

‘Nayem will certainly weave loom tomorrow.’

c. *asala ŋa sod^za bindenta*

asala ŋa sod^za bin-den-t-a

tomorrow only money give-CERT-NPST-3SG

‘I will certainly give you money tomorrow only.’

In examples (81a-c), the probability *hok^husta* ‘will certainly arrive’, *pudetta* ‘will certainly weave’, *bindenta* ‘will certainly give you,’ certainty is morphologically formed by suffixing *-k^hus*, *-det*, *-den* in the respective verb roots *ho* ‘arrive’, *pu* ‘weave’, *bi* ‘give’.

(d) Evidentiality

Like in Bhujel (Regmi, 2007:243), there occurs a binary contrast in grammaticalized evidentiality, viz., direct evidentiality (i.e., directly experienced) and indirect evidentiality (i.e., indirect evidence). Dumi lacks separate morphemes for indicating evidentiality. It is realized by the contrast between two past tense suffixes. The recent past tense marker *-o/-i/-u* and remote past tense *-om/-im/-um* code the direct and indirect evidentiality, respectively as illustrated in (82).

- (82) a. *pʌbi del kʰut ʔi*
 pʌbi del kʰut^s-i
 Pabi village go-PST/DIRT.EVD
 ‘Pabi went to village (as I directly witnessed).’
- b. *najem kim kʰut ʔim*
 najem kim kʰut^s-im
 Nayem home go-RPST/INDIRT.EVD
 ‘Nayem went home (as I hear, as they say).’

In examples (82a, b), the evidential distinction is realized as a part of the TAM inflectional complex on the verb. The direct evidentiality *kʰut ʔi* ‘went’ in (82a) combines with recent past tense and perfective aspect. In (82b) the indirect evidentiality combines with the remote past tense and perfective aspect *kʰut ʔim* ‘went’.

(e) Negation

The main function of this category ‘negation’ is to deny the reality of an event. Like Kaike (Regmi, 2013:168), negation is a verbal inflection in Dumi. The suffix *-no/-nʌ* attached in the verb indicates negation in non-past tense as illustrated in (83).

- (83) a. *juma kim kʰustanʌ*
 juma kim kʰus-t-a-nʌ
 Yuma home go-NPST-3SG-NEG
 ‘Yuma does not go home.’
- b. *pʌbia tʔi tuŋtanʌ*
 pʌbi-a tʔi tuŋ-t-a-nʌ
 Pabi-ERG alcohol drink-NPST-3SG-NEG
 ‘Pabi does not drink alcohol.’

In examples (83a, b), the negation in *kʰustanʌ* ‘does not go’ in (83a) and *tuŋtanʌ* ‘does not drink’ in (83b), the negation suffix *-nʌ* is attached to the verbs *kʰusta* ‘goes’ and *tuŋta* ‘drinks’. In past tense, the circumflex of *ma-* and *-nʌ* in any verb indicates negation as illustrated in (84) (See Appendix 4 (b) for details).

- (84) a. *juma kim mak^hut^sin Λ*
 juma kim ma-k^hut^s-i-n Λ
 Yuma home NEG-go-3SG.PST-NEG
 ‘Yuma did not go home.’

- b. *p Λ bia t^ʃ matu η un Λ*
 p Λ bi-a t^ʃi ma-tu η -u-n Λ
 Pabi-ERG alcohol NEG-drink-3SG.PST-NEG
 ‘Pabi did not drink alcohol.’

In examples (84a, b), the circumflex of *ma-* and *-n Λ* in the verb *mak^hut^sin Λ* ‘did not go’ in (84a) and *matu η un Λ* ‘did not drink’ in (84b) indicate the negation.

6.7.2 Evaluative modality

The evaluative modality codes the internal/external ability of the willful agent with respect to the completion of the predicate situation. They may be combined with any of the tenses, either in the same morpheme or in combinations of morphemes. There are two evaluative (or deontic) modalities encoded by the verbal affixes: ability and obligation. They are discussed as follows:

(a) Ability

Ability indicates that the agent of the verb has the mental or physical ability to complete the action of the main verb. In Dumi, it is indicated in the complex of the verb by suffix *-t^ʃap-* as illustrated in (85).

- (85) a. *a η ua noksu se:na t^ʃapto*
 a η u-a noksu se:-na t^ʃap-t-o
 1SG-ERG monkey kill-INF ABLT-NPST-1SG
 ‘I can kill the monkey.’
- b. *ania kawa g Λ pna at^ʃapta*
 ani-a kawa g Λ p-na a-t^ʃap-t-a
 2SG-ERG river cross-INF 2SG-ABLT-NPST-2SG
 ‘You (SG) can cross the river.’

c. *uma dapdou dʒanna tʰapta*

um-a dapdou dʒan-na tʰap-t-a

3SG-ERG ox plough-INF ABLT-NPST-3SG

‘S/he can plough the oxen.’

In examples (85a-c), the suffix *-tʰap* in *tʰapto* ‘I can’ in (85a), *atʰapta* ‘you can’ in (85b) and *tʰapta* ‘s/he can’ in (85c) indicate the mental/physical ability.

(b) Obligation

Obligation indicates that the agent is obliged to perform the action of the verb. In Dumii, obligation is indicated by the verbal suffix *-tʰuk* as illustrated in (86).

(86) a. *ania do kripna tʰukta*

ani-a do krip-na tʰuk-t-a

2SG-ERG hair cut-INF OBLG-NPST-3SG

‘You (SG) have to cut hair.’

b. *duspia hamastam repna tʰukta*

duspi-a ham-as-t-am repna tʰuk-t-a

elder-ERG PL-say-NPST-PFV respect OBLG-NPST-3SG

‘We ought to obey the elders’ saying.’

c. *dʒharaa sodʒa pʰukna tʰukta*

dʒhara-a sodʒa pʰuk-na tʰuk-t-a

everyone-ERG money collect-INF OBLG-NPST-3SG

‘Everyone has to collect money.’

In examples (86a-c), the suffix *tʰukta* ‘have to’ in *kripna tʰukta* ‘have to cut’ in (86a), *repna tʰukta* ‘have to obey’ in (86b), *pʰukna tʰukta* ‘have to collect’ in (86c) indicate obligation.

6.8 Summary

In this chapter, we analyzed verb morphology. The categories of tense, aspect, mood and modality frequently co-occur in combination with agreement inflections in the clause structure of the language. They are marked by separate morphemes. However, the inflections of the verb have been analyzed separately in this chapter. In Dumi, causative is marked morphologically. Dumi exhibits two types of copulas formally and functionally, viz., existential and equational. The verbs inflect for two tense categories: past and non-past. The category of past tense is further subcategorized in terms of the remoteness of time into recent past and remote past.

There are two aspects in Dumi: perfective and imperfective. The perfective aspect can be further sub-categorized into past-perfective (i.e., simple past perfective vs. remote past-perfective), perfect, inceptive, completive. Similarly, the imperfective aspect can be further sub-categorized into durative and habitual. Dumi has epistemic and evaluative (deontic) modalities. The epistemic modalities, which are marked by special verb inflections, include probability, certainty, mirativity and negation. There are two evaluative modalities: ability and obligation. They are encoded by verbal affixes. It also presents both derivational and non-finite verb morphology. There are five types of non-finite forms of the verbs.

CHAPTER 7

ADVERBS AND POSTPOSITIONS

7.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the adverbs and the postpositions. It consists of five sections. In section 7.1, we discuss the formation of the adverbs. Section 7.2 classifies the Dumi adverbs semantically. In section 7.3, we deal with the distribution of adverbs in the language. Section 7.4 presents the postpositions in Dumi. Finally, in section 7.5, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

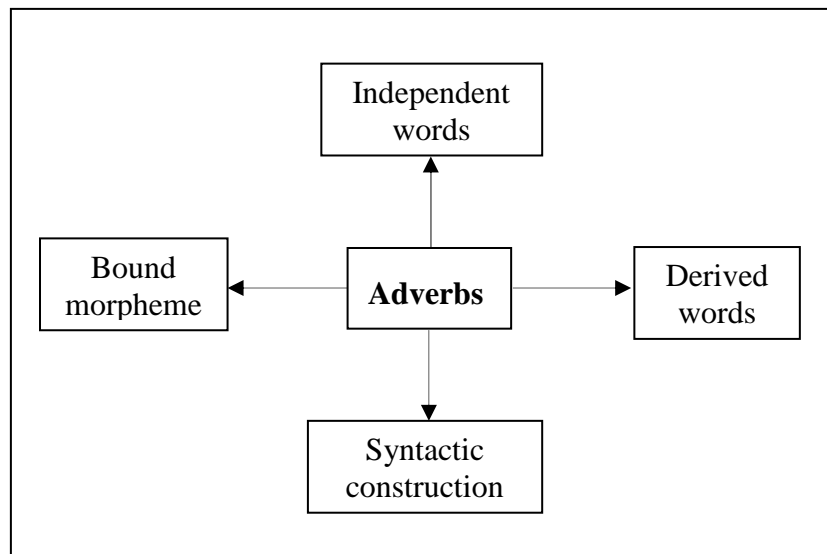
7.1 Formation of adverbs

In this section, we present a brief overview on formation of the adverbs. The adverb may be coded as a bound grammatical morpheme, an independent word, derived words as syntactic constructions. Givón (2001:87) notes that ‘of the four major lexical word-classes, the adverb is the least homogenous, semantically, morphologically and syntactically and the least universal cross-linguistically’.

Since adverbs span the continuum between morphology, lexicon and syntax as a grammatical category, Dumi exhibits four types of adverbs in terms of formation.

The four types of adverbs are presented in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1: Formation of the adverbs in Dumi



They are discussed as follows:

7.1.1 Bound morpheme

There are two adverbs which are encoded in the verb complex. They are the epistemic adverb of certainty and evidentiality as well as the certain time adverbial that have been grammaticalized and are discussed as follows:

(a) Epistemic adverb of certainty

The epistemic adverb of certainty is encoded by the suffix *-det* in the verb along with TAM and agreement inflections as illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. *aŋua lokk^hu lʌmsoka hutdetto*
 aŋu-a lokk^hu lʌm-soka hut-det-t-o
 1SG-ERG borrow search-SEQ bring-CERT-NPST-1SG
 ‘I shall certainly bring by borrowing.’

- b. *uma si k^hipdetta*
 um-a si k^hip-det-t-a
 3SG-ERG tea prepare-CERT-NPST-3SG
 ‘She will certainly prepare tea.’

In examples (1a, b), the epistemic adverb of certainty is encoded by the suffix *-det* in the verb roots *hut* ‘bring’ in (1a) and *k^hip* ‘prepare’ in (1b), respectively, along with TAM and agreement inflections.

(b) Evidentiality

As mentioned earlier in (9.6.1), the direct evidentiality is marked by the past tense marker *-o/-u/-i* and indirect evidentiality is encoded by the remote past tense marker *-om/-um/-im* as illustrated in (2).

(2) (i) Past, directly-witnessed

- um uhopu ŋa k^hut^s i*
 um u-hopu ŋa k^hut^s-i
 3SG 3SG-alone EMPH go-PST.DIRT.EV
 ‘S/he went alone (as I directly witnessed).’

(ii) Remote past, hearsay or inferential

- unt^s i asnʌm kijim*
 unt^si asnʌm ki-(j)im
 3DU yesterday quarrel-RPST/INDIRT.EV
 ‘They (two) quarreled (as I hear, as they say).’

In example (2a), direct evidentiality is marked by the past tense marker *-i* in the main verb root *k^hut^s* ‘go’ and in (2b), indirect evidentiality is encoded by the remote past tense marker *-im* in the verb root *ki* ‘quarrel’.

7.1.2 Independent words

There are a number of adverbs having the status of independent words (i.e., lexical) as listed in (3).

- (3) a. *atombi* 'this year'
 b. *ad^{zh}oŋka* 'last year'
 c. *dumo* 'much'
 d. *asnAm* 'yesterday'
 e. *amna* 'today'
 f. *somna* 'evening'

In examples (3a-f), all the adverbs have the status of independent words or lexical items.

7.1.3 Derived adverbs

Other adverbs are mainly derived from third person pronouns, nouns and verbs, etc. as listed in (4).

- (4) a. *tambi* tam-bi this-LOC 'here'
 b. *mambi* mam-bi that-LOC 'there (distal)'
 c. *takambi* takam-bi this (unseen)-LOC 'there (remote)'
 d. *kimbi* kim-bi house-LOC 'at home'
 e. *k^hurbi* k^hur-bi hand-LOC 'on the hand'
 f. *saulobi* saulo-bi jungle-LOC 'in the jungle'
 g. *tAlso* tAl-so push-SIM 'push-MAN'
 h. *t^husso* t^hus-so pull-SIM 'pull-MAN'
 i. *kAlso* kAl-so chase-SIM 'chase-MAN'

In examples (4a-f), the adverbs are derived from the pronouns with the locative suffix *-bi*. Similarly, the adverbs in (4g-i) are derived from verb roots with the manner suffix *-so*.

7.1.4 Syntactic constructions

The sequential and simultaneous converbal constructions are syntactic constructions functioning as manner adverbs. These constructions are non-finite constructions and are formed from the verb roots. The sequential construction is formed with the suffix *-soka* while the simultaneous construction is formed with the suffix *-so* as illustrated in (5).

- (5) a. *kArtuppa sessoka kim lisu*
 kArtuppa se-s-soka kim lis-u
 jackle kill-M.EXTDR-SEQ home return-1SG.PST
 ‘After killing the jackle, I returned at home.’

- b. *kArtuppa kAlso saulo hu hu*
 kArtuppa kAl-so saulo-hu hu-u
 jackle chase-SIM jungle-ALL enter-3SG.PST
 ‘Chasing the jackle, s/he entered into the jungle.’

In example (5a), the sequential construction is formed from the verb root *ses* ‘kill’ with the suffix *-soka* and in (5b), the simultaneous construction is formed from the verb root *kAl* ‘chase’ with the suffix *-so*. Both of these examples are non-finite constructions.

7.2 Semantic classification

Adverbs form a distinct grammatical category. The main function of adverb is to modify events or states as illustrated in (6).

- (6) a. *jumpia d^hawa d^za k^hipti*
 jumpi-a d^hawa d^za k^hipt-i
 youngest sister-ERG hurriedly food cook-3SG.PST
 ‘The youngest sister cooked the food hurriedly.’

- b. *ninam d^zak^ha remgA*
 ninam d^zak^ha re-m-gA
 Ninam softly laugh-PRF-PST
 ‘Ninam had laughed softly.’

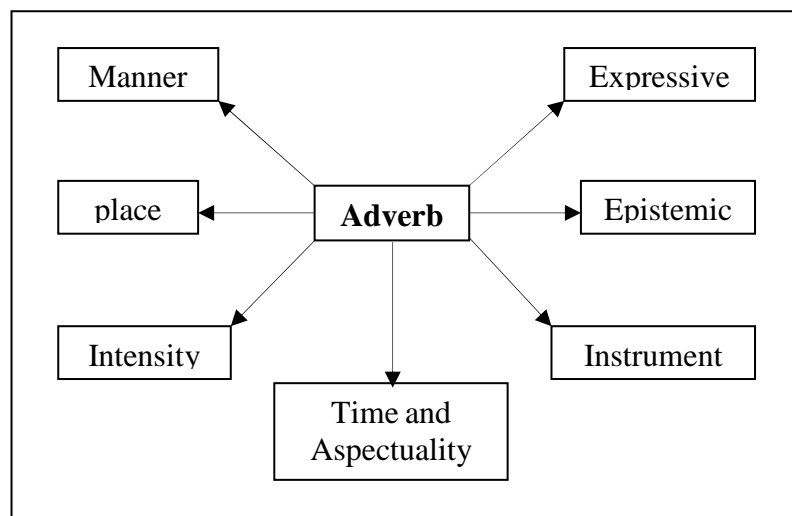
- c. *uma duwaŋa k^hanuksa t^sapta*
 um-a duwa ŋa k^hanuksa t^sap-t-a
 s/he-ERG very EMPH nice write-NPST-3SG
 ‘S/he writes very nicely.’

The adverbs *d^hawa* ‘hurriedly’ in (6a) and *d^zak^ha* ‘softy’ in (6b) modify events coded by the verbs. Likewise, in (6c), *duwa* ‘very’ is also an adverb which modifies the state coded by adjective *k^hanuksa* ‘nice’. These forms which have been analyzed as a category of adverb are distinct semantically, formally and syntactically from other major lexical word classes: nouns, verbs and adjectives.

The adverbs may be semantically sub-categorized into manner, place, intensity, time and aspectuality, instrumental, epistemic and expressive adverbs.

They are presented in Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2: Sub-categories of adverbs



The sub-categorized adverbs are discussed in the following subsections:

7.2.1 Manner adverbs

The main function of adverbs of manner is to modify the events coded by the verbs in the clause or discourse level. In Dumi, manner adverbs are limited. The following manner adverbs are derived from the demonstratives representing three degrees of distance: proximate, distal and remote by adding the manner suffix *-so* as listed in (7).

- (7) a. *te-so* *teso* ‘in this manner (proximate)’
 b. *mo-so* *moso* ‘in that manner (distal)’
 c. *b^hi-so* *b^hiso* ‘in what manner (how)’

In examples (7a-c), the manner adverbs from the demonstratives *teso* ‘in this manner’, *moso* ‘in that manner’, *b^hiso* ‘in what manner’ are derived by adding the manner suffix *-so*. Manner adverbs may also be derived from verbs by adding the suffix *-so* as in (8).

- (8) a. *kAl-so* chase-MAN
 b. *t^hus-so* pull-MAN
 c. *jAm-so* beat-MAN
 d. *pu-so* weave-MAN
 e. *tup-so* play-MAN

In examples (8a-e), the various manner adverbs are derived from the verb roots by adding the suffix *-so*. Manner adverbs may also be derived from the verb roots by adding the sequential suffix *-soka* and the simultaneous suffix *-so* as illustrated in (9).

- (9) a. *k^hit^simu k^hisoka d^hawa hambuli*
k^hit^si-mu k^hi-soka d^hawa ham-bul-i
 thief-PL steal-SEQ instantly 3PL-run away-3PL.PST
 ‘After having stolen, the thieves ran away.’
- b. *t^su:t^su ŋokso kimhu k^hut^s i*
t^su:t^su ŋok-so kim-hu k^hut^s-i
 child cry-SIM home-ALL go-3SG.PST
 ‘Crying the child went to home.’

In example (9a), the manner adverb *k^hisoka* is derived from the verb root *k^hi* ‘steal’ by adding the sequential suffix *-soka*. Likewise, in example (9b), the manner adverb *ŋokso* is derived from the verb root *ŋok* ‘cry’ by adding the simultaneous suffix *-so*.

7.2.2 Place adverbs

Place adverbs code a point in space of the events. Such adverbs are derived from demonstrative pronouns with the locative suffix *-bi* as illustrated in (10).

- (10) a. *tam-bi* /tambi/ [*tambi*] ‘here’
 b. *mam-bi* /mambi/ [*mambi*] ‘there (distal)’
 c. *jakam-bi* /jakambi/ [*jakambi*] ‘there (remote)’
 d. *takam-bi* /takambi/ [*takambi*] ‘there (unseen)’
 e. *tam-biŋa* /tambiŋa/ [*tambiŋa*] ‘here (emphatic)’
 f. *mam-biŋa* /mambiŋa/ [*mambiŋa*] ‘there (distal emphatic)’
 g. *jakam-biŋa* /jakambiŋa/ [*jakambiŋa*] ‘there (remote emphatic)’
 h. *takam-biŋa* /takambiŋa/ [*takambiŋa*] ‘there (unseen emphatic)’

In examples (10a-d), the different place adverbs *tambi* ‘here’, *mambi* ‘there (distal)’, *jakambi* ‘there (remote)’, *takambi* ‘there (unseen)’, respectively, code a point in space of the events. Such adverbs are derived from the demonstratives *tam* ‘this’, *mam* ‘that’, *takam* ‘that (unseen)’ with the locative suffix *-bi*. Similarly, in (10e, f), the different place adverbs *tambiŋa* ‘here (emphatic)’, *mambiŋa* ‘there (distal emphatic)’, *jakambiŋa* ‘there (remote emphatic)’, *takambiŋa* ‘there (unseen emphatic)’ code a point in space of the events. Such adverbs are derived from demonstratives *tam* ‘this’, *mam* ‘that’, *jakam* ‘that (remote)’, *takam*

‘that (unseen)’ with the locative suffix *-bi* together with the emphatic marker *ŋa*. Place adverbs are also derived from lexical nouns with the suffix *-bi* as illustrated in (11).

- (11) a. kim-bi /kimbi/ ‘at home’
 b. daulo-bi /daulobi/ ‘in the hearth’
 c. k^hur-bi /k^hurbi/ ‘on hand’
 d. kawa-bi /kawabi/ ‘in the river’
 e. lamdu-bi /lamdubi/ ‘on the road’

In examples (11a-e), the place adverbs are derived from lexical nouns with the locative suffix *-bi*

7.2.3 Quantity adverbs

The following adverbs indicate the level of intensity for events or for attributes in clauses as illustrated in (12).

- (12) a. du:mo ‘many/much’
 b. tit^su ‘little’
 c. k^hama ‘a little’
 d. tedu ‘this much’
 e. modu ‘that much’
 f. hito ‘how much’
 h. heddu ‘like that much’

In examples (12a-h), the adverbs indicate the level of intensity for events/attributes in clauses.

7.2.4 Time and aspectuality adverbs

Adverbs may code a point in time or various temporal aspects of the events coded by the verbs in the proposition (i.e., the entire event-clause). All aspectuality adverbs are borrowed from Nepali as illustrated in (13).

- (13) a. *kawabi p^heri hΛŋkΛbu jem gota*
 kawa-bi p^heri hΛŋkΛbu je-m gota
 river-LOC again flood come down-PRF COP.NPST
 ‘The river flooded again.’

- b. *p^hitikoua sAd^hai ŋa sud^zita*
 p^hitikou-a sAd^hai ŋa sud^zit-a
 beggar-ERG always emph give trouble-3SG.NPST
 ‘The beggar always gives trouble.’

In example (13a), the adverb *p^heri* ‘again’ codes a temporal aspect of the event coded by the verb root *je* ‘come down’ in the proposition. Similarly, in example (13b), the adverb *sAd^hai* ‘always’ codes a temporal aspect of the event coded by the verb root *sud^zu* ‘give trouble’ in the proposition. The aspectuality adverbs *p^heri* ‘again’ and *sAd^hai* ‘always’ are borrowed from Nepali.

The simultaneous suffix *-so* may be attached to the root of some verbs of movement to code the aspect of regularity as illustrated in (14).

- (14) a. *sinAm daulobi mi grasso*
 sinAm daulo-bi mi gra-so
 night time hearth-LOC fire burn-SIM

sale polauni munt^hanpo
 sale polauni mun-t^han-po
 thread roll do-HAB-PERT
 ‘We used to roll thread at night time by burning fire on the hearth.’
 [DPT.NMR-45 :043]

- b. *bAlAsuŋ gurd^zum k^hAsso t^ɕ tuŋt^hAdi*
 bAlAsuŋ gurd^zum k^hAsso t^ɕ tuŋt^hAd-i
 Balasung market go-M.EXTDR-SIM alcohol drink-hab-3SG.PST
 ‘Anytime, going to the market, Balasung used to drink alcohol.’

In example (14a), the simultaneous suffix *-so* is attached to the root of the verb *gras* ‘burn’. Likewise, the same suffix *-so* is attached to the root of the verb *k^hAs* ‘go’ as in (14b). In both examples (14a, b), the simultaneous suffix *-so* is attached to the root of the verbs of movement to code the aspect of regularity. Most of the time adverbials denoting a point in time are independent words as listed in (15).

(15) (i) Days and parts of the days

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. | attinΛmka | ‘two days before yesterday’ |
| b. | atinΛmka | ‘the day before yesterday’ |
| c. | asnΛmka | ‘yesterday’ |
| d. | amna | ‘today’ |
| e. | asala | ‘tomorrow’ |
| f. | namna | ‘day after tomorrow’ |
| g. | sumna | ‘two days after tomorrow’ |
| h. | g ^h lumna | ‘three days after tomorrow’ |
| i. | disse | ‘morning’ |
| j. | nulu | ‘day’ |
| k. | t ^{sh} akkal | ‘noon’ |
| l. | somna | ‘evening’ |
| m. | sinΛm | ‘night’ |

(ii) Years

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. | ad ^{zh} o | ‘long time (years) before’ |
| b. | ad ^{zh} oŋka | ‘last year’ |
| c. | ad ^z d ^{zh} oŋka | ‘the last few years’ |
| d. | atembī | ‘this year’ |
| e. | tam t ^h o | ‘this year’ |
| f. | anΛmma | ‘next year’ |
| g. | at ^{sh} emma | ‘the following year’ |

(iii) Other time adverbials

- a. apeka 'before now'
- b. tejo 'now'
- c. ad^zika 'later on (short period of time)'
- d. ad^zaka 'later on (long period of time)'
- e. lamlu 'early'
- f. j^hpaka 'next time'
- g. ljaptjarni 'instantly/immediately'

In example (15), the time adverbials denoting a point in time are independent words. Time adverbs may also be an adverbial subordinate clauses depicting more fully the event that serves as a temporal reference point as in (16).

- (16) *aju kim hupat^sojo d^{zh}ara hamipd^zAm g^h*
 aju kim hupa-t^sojo d^{zh}ara ham-ipd^z-Am g^h
 1SG home reach-COND everyone PL-sleep-PRF COP.PST
 'When I reached home, everyone had slept.'

In example (16), the time adverb clause *aju hupat^sojo* 'when I reached,' is an adverbial subordinate clause depicting more fully the event that serves as a temporal reference point.

7.2.5 Instrumental adverbs

Givón (2001:90) notes that it is not always easy to set a firm boundary between manner and instrumental adverbs. The instrumental adverbs may be constructed as a noun phrase with instrumental/ergative case inflection *-a* as illustrated in (17).

- (17) a. *patisua ŋimu-lip^hua ropo sid-i*
 patisu-a ŋimu-lip^hu-a ropo sid-i
 Patisu-ERG bow-arrow-INS boar kill-3SG.PST
 'Patisu killed a boar with a bow and arrow.'
- b. *nakimaa pi-a uk^hur suri*
 nakima-a pi-a u-k^hur sur-i
 Nakima-ERG ash-INS 3SG.POSS-hand wash-3SG.PST
 'Nakima washed her hands with ash.'

The instrumental adverb *ɲimu-lip^hua* ‘with bow-arrow’ in (17a) and *pɪa* ‘with ash’ in (17b) are constructed as noun phrases with instrumental/ergative case inflection *-a*.

7.2.6 Epistemic adverbs

Most of the epistemic adverbs are borrowed from Nepali. The epistemic adverb of certainty is encoded in the complex of the verb with the suffix *-det/-den/-des* as illustrated in (18).

- (18) a. *aɲua anilai adʒika bindenta*
 aɲu-a ani-lai adʒika bi-n-den-t-a
 1SG-ERG 2SG-DAT later on give-M.EXTDR-CERT-NPST-2SG
 ‘I shall certainly give you later on.’
- b. *adʒaka somna hu jedesta*
 adʒaka somna hu je-des-t-a
 later on evening rain fall-CERT-NPST-3SG
 ‘It will certainly rain later on this evening.’

In examples (18a, b), the epistemic adverbs *bindenta* ‘I shall certainly give you’ and *jedesta* ‘it will certainly rain’ are of certainty which are encoded in the complex of the verb roots *bi* ‘give’ and *je* ‘rain’ with the suffixes *-den* and *-des*, respectively.

7.2.7 Expressive adverbs

Like in Bhujel (Regmi, 2012:111), the expressive adverbs modify the verbs. Some of them are derived either from verbs or nominals. Some of them have onomatopoeic sources as listed in (19).

- (19) a. *d^hawa* ‘hurriedly’
 b. *dʒak^ha* ‘slowly’
 c. *sumu-sumu* ‘quietly’
 d. *pispit ʃ* ‘little by little’
 e. *wajewaje* ‘patiently’
 f. *hʌʌmaksɪ* ‘growing rapidly’
 g. *dʒedʒeja* ‘smiley’
 h. *gragraja* ‘shiningly’
 i. *dʒodʒo-bobo* ‘in a great hurry’
 j. *sjakjakja* ‘walking fast in group’
 k. *ljaptjarni* ‘suddenly’
 l. *hinini* ‘growing nicely’
 m. *d^hiriri* ‘way of shouting’
 n. *hunumaksi* ‘way of shooting with arrows’
 o. *rʌʌmaksɪ* ‘moving actively’

In examples (19g, h), the adverbs like *dʒedʒeja* ‘smiley’ and *gragraja* ‘shiningly’ are derived from the verb roots *dʒe* ‘talk’ and *gra* ‘burn’, respectively. Likewise, in examples (19m, n), adverbs like *dʒiriri* ‘way of shouting’ and *hunumaksi* ‘way of shooting with arrows’ have the onomatopoeic sources. In the same vein, there are some other adverbs that are derived from different sources.

7.3 Distribution of adverbs

Adverbs are the most clear grammatical category in terms of their position in the clause and so as in Dumi. However, the meaning of the adverb encoded by the bound morpheme in the verb is almost fixed. The adverb in word forms (i.e., both independent words and derived words) occur immediately before a verb, another adverb or adjective as illustrated in (20).

- (20) a. *mamaa dʰawa dʒa kʰipni*
 mama-a dʰawa dʒa kʰip-ni
 mother-ERG quickly rice cook-HON.3SG.PST
 ‘Mother cooked rice quickly.’
- b. *papa disse dumo lamlu hampʰuku*
 papa disse dumo lamlu ham-pʰuk-u
 father morning too early HON-get up-3SG.PST
 ‘Father woke up too early in the morning.’
- c. *pepe tʰote soŋsa hammota*
 pepe tʰote soŋsa ham-mota
 brother very tall HON-COP.NPST
 ‘Brother is very tall.’

The adverb *dʰawa* ‘quickly’ in example (20a), *dumo* ‘too’ in (20b), *tʰote* ‘very’ in (20c) precede the verb *kʰipni* ‘cooked’, the adverb *lamlu* ‘early’ and the adjective *soŋsa* ‘tall’, respectively. Functionally, the adverbs modify the adverb and the adjective in reference to the degree ‘to what extent’ as *dumo* ‘too’ in (20b) modifies *lamlu* ‘early’ an adverb. Similarly in (20c) the adverb *tʰote* ‘very’ modifies the adjective *soŋsa* ‘tall’.

7.4 Postpositions

There are a few postpositions in Dumi. They may mark different cases in the language. However, such postpositions have adverbial function as well. They are briefly discussed as follows:

(a) *t̃ino* ‘down’

The postposition *-t̃ino* ‘down’ points to the location below something as illustrated in (21).

(21) *mam kim lam t̃inobi gota*

mam	kim	lam-t̃ino-bi	gota
that	house	footpath-below-LOC	COP.NPST

‘That house is below the footpath.’

In example (21), the postposition *-t̃ino* ‘down’ points to the location below the road.

(b) *guju* ‘under’

The postposition *-guju* ‘under’ points to the location under something as illustrated in (22).

(22) *buguju muksa minu*

bu-guju	muk-sa	minu
tree-under	stay-NMLZ	person

‘the person who stays under the tree’

In example (22), the postposition *-guju* ‘under’ points to the location under the tree.

(c) *maptu/-tu* ‘above’

The postposition *-tu* ‘above’ points to the position of the thing or any entity above something as illustrated in (23).

(23) *lamtu muksa minu*

lam-tu	muk-sa	minu
footpath-above	stay-NMLZ	person

‘the person who stayed above the footpath’

In example (23), the postposition *-tu* ‘above’ points to the location above the foot path.

(d) *mambi* ‘over there’

The postposition *mambi* ‘over there’ points to the position of the thing or any entity as illustrated in (24).

(24) *mambi muksa minu*

mambi muk-sa minu
 over there stay-NMLZ person
 ‘the person who stays over there’

In example (24), the postposition *mambi* ‘over there’ points to the position of the thing/entity.

(e) *taja* ‘this side’

The postposition *taya* ‘this side’ points to the position of the thing or any entity as illustrated in (25).

(25) *taja piksa minu*

taja pik-sa minu
 this side come-NMLZ person
 ‘the person who comes this side’

In example (25), the postposition *taja* ‘this side’ points to the position of the thing/entity.

(f) *maja* ‘that side’

The postposition *maya* ‘that side’ points to the position of the thing or any entity as illustrated in (26).

(26) *maja k^haksa minu*

maja k^hak-sa minu
 that side go-NMLZ person
 ‘the person who goes that side’

In example (26), the postposition *maja* ‘that side’ points to the position of the thing or entity.

(g) *p^harbi* ‘edge/nearby’

The postposition *p^harbi* ‘edge/nearby’ points to the position of the thing or any entity as illustrated in (27).

(27) a. *op^harbi muksa minu*

o-p^har-bi muk-sa minu
 1SG.POSS-nearby-LOC stay-NMLZ person
 ‘the person who stays nearby me’

a. *k^hΛmp^harbi dumsa maka*

k^hΛm-p^har-bi dum-sa maka
 which-point-LOC meet-NMLZ PRT
 ‘Where (at which place) do we meet?’

In examples (27a, b), the postposition *p^harbi* ‘nearby’ and *k^hΛmp^harbi* ‘at which place’ point to the position of the thing or entity.

(h) *gobi* ‘across’

The postposition *gobi* ‘across’ points to the location as illustrated in (28).

(28) a. *kawagobi muksa minu*

kawa-gobi muk-sa minu
 river-inside stay-NMLZ person
 ‘the person who stays inside the river’

b. *saulogobi muksa minu*

saulo-gobi muk-sa minu
 jungle-inside stay-NMLZ person
 ‘the person who stays inside the jungle’

In examples (28a, b), the postposition *gobi* ‘inside’⁸⁵ in *kawagobi* ‘inside the river’ and *saulogobi* ‘inside the jungle’ point to the location of the thing or entity.

⁸⁵ van Driem (1993:78) presents the postposition *gobi* ‘inside’ as ‘*hoy*’ ‘inside’ in accordance with the pronunciation from Baksila Dumi.

7.5 Summary

In this chapter, we dealt with the adverbs and the postpositions. The adverbs are realized as a bound grammatical morpheme, an independent word, derived words and syntactic constructions. The epistemic modality of certainty and certain time adverbials have been grammaticalized. Likewise, the adverb indicating certainty is formed by affixing the suffix *-det/-den/-des* to the root of the verb. Some adverbs are derived from the demonstratives representing two degrees of distance: proximal, distal and remote by adding the suffix *-so*.

The adverb derived from the demonstrative functions as an adverb of manner. Most of adverbs may also be derived from the verbs by adding sequential and simultaneous suffixes *-soka* and *-so*, respectively. The main function of adverbs is to modify events or states. The forms which have been analyzed as a category of adverb are distinct semantically, formally and syntactically from other major lexical word classes: nouns, verbs and adjectives. Semantically, the adverbs can be sub-categorized into manner, time and aspectuality, place, instrumental, epistemic, intensity and expressive adverbs.

CHAPTER 8

SIMPLE CLAUSES

8.0 Outline

There are two main goals of this chapter. The first goal is to discuss the different types of simple clauses in terms of their internal structure, different types of verbal and non-verbal predicates. The second goal is to analyze the types of clauses in terms of speech act distinctions in syntax.

This chapter about simple clause is organized into four sections. In section 8.1, we describe the types of clause with non-verbal predicates. Section 8.2 discusses the various types of simple clauses with verbal predicates. In section 8.3, we deal with the types of clauses in terms of speech act distinctions in the language. Finally, section 8.4 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

8.1 Non-verbal predicates

There are three types of simple clauses with non-verbal predicates: adjectival predicates, nominal predicates and locative predicates. All three of the predicates occur with the copula verbs (see 6.2.2 for more examples). The basic constituent order in such copular clauses is: subject (SUB)+predicate (PRD)+copula (COP). The clauses with non-verbal predicates are discussed as follows:

8.1.1 Copular clauses with adjectival predicate

Adjectives are treated as a distinct word class from verbs. The predicates which express the adjectival meaning do not exhibit the grammatical properties as other verbs. Thus, the adjectival predicates are non-verbal. The adjectival predicates occur only with the existential copula *-mota/-gota* as illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. *najem k^hanuwama mota*
- | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <i>najem</i> | <i>k^hanuwama</i> | <i>mota</i> |
| Najem | beautiful | COP.NPST |
- ‘Najem is beautiful.’
- b. *mam kim soᅅsa gota*
- | | | | |
|------------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>mam</i> | <i>kim</i> | <i>soᅅsa</i> | <i>gota</i> |
| that | house | tall | COP.NPST |
- ‘That house is tall.’

In example (1a) *k^hanuwama* ‘beautiful’ and in example (1b) *soᅅsa* ‘tall’ are adjectives which are used as adjectival predicates with the existential copula, *mota* or *gota* ‘be’ or, ‘exist’. The two different copulas are used to describe something either animate, ‘*mota*’ or inanimate, *gota*. In both examples (1a, b), the subjects occur clause-initially and the copula occurs clause-finally. The adjectival predicates precede the copula.

8.1.2 Copular clauses with adverbial predicate

The predicates which express the adverbial meaning do not exhibit grammatical properties as other verbs. Thus, the adverbial predicates are non-verbal.

The adverbial predicates occur only with the existential copula, *-mota* (for animate) and *-gota* (for inanimate) as illustrated in (2).

(2) a. *pʌbi jukusi mota*

pʌbi jukusi mota

Pabi below COP.NPST

‘Pabi is below there.’

b. *odel jaka maja gota*

o-del jaka maja gota

1SG.POSS-village there far COP.NPST

‘My village is far from here.’

In example (2a), *jukusi* ‘below there’ and in (2b) *jaka maja* ‘far there’ are adverbs which are used as the adverbial predicates with the existential copula, *mota* ‘be’ or, ‘exist’ (for animate) or *gota* ‘be’ or, ‘exist’ (for inanimate). In both examples (2a, b), the subject occurs clause-initially whereas the copula occurs clause-finally. The adverbial predicates precede the copula.

8.1.3 Copular clauses with nominal predicate

Unlike the copular clauses with the adjectival or adverbial predicates, in the copular clauses with the nominal predicates, Dumi employs the existential (i.e., *mota or gota*), but the equational copula is absent and is overtly marked as in (3).

(3) a. *tejo akimbi asi mota*

tejo a-kim-bi asi mota

now 2SG.POSS-house-LOC who COP.NPST.EXIST

‘Who is there in your house now?’

b. *apo kim k^hʌmbi gota*

a-po kim k^hʌmbi gota

2SG-GEN house where COP.NPST.EXIST

‘Where is your house?’

c. *tam opo nupsa kim*

tam o-po nupsa kim ø
 this 1SG-GEN new house COP.EXIST
 ‘This is my new house.’

In examples (3a-c), the predicate *asi* ‘who’, *k^hAmbi* ‘where’ and *nupsa kim* ‘new house’, respectively, are the nominal predicates fill the complement slots in the clauses. As in these examples (3a-c), such predicates follow the subjects and precede the copulas. As in Kaike (Regmi, 2013:194), we present the syntactic characterization of the copular clause in (3a) by the phrase structure (PS) tree diagram as in Figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1: The phrase structure of the copular clause

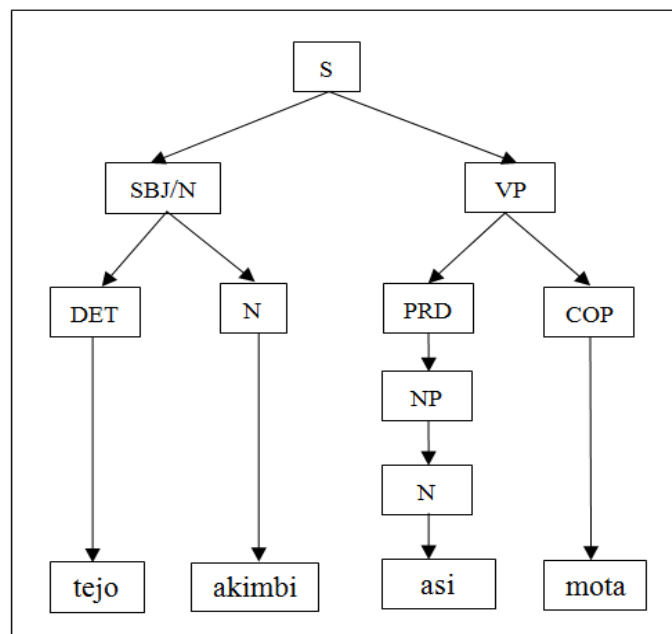


Figure 8.1 presents the constituents and their hierarchical relations of the copular clause in (3a). In the tree diagram, the nominal predicate is a constituent of the verb phrase (VP), the other being the copula (COP). Such a predicate occurs following the subject directly dominated by S and precedes the copula.

8.1.4 Copular clauses with locative predicate

Dumi also exhibits clauses with locative predicates. Syntactically, such predicates are coded by postpositions. Thus, they can be referred to as postpositional phrases (PP) since such clauses employ the existential copula, *mota/gota* ‘be’ or ‘exist’ as illustrated in (4).

(4) a. *umpo kim kawa p^harbi gota*

um-po kim kawa p^har-bi gota
 3SG-GEN house river near-LOC COP. NPST.EXIST
 ‘His house is near the river.’

- b. *t^su:t^su k^humgobi mota*
- t^su:t^su k^hum-go-bi mota*
- child room-inside-LOC COP.NPST.EXIST
- ‘The child is inside the room.’

- c. *saulobi sumu m Δ*
- saulo-bi sumu m Δ*
- jungle-LOC pheasant COP.PST.EXIST
- ‘There was a pheasant in the jungle.’

In example (4a), the proper noun *kim* ‘house’, in (4b) *k^hum* ‘room’ and in (4c) *saulo* ‘jungle’; all of these proper nouns are suffixed by the same locative marker *-bi*.

Figure 8.2 presents the phrase structure (PS) tree diagram for the syntactic characterization of the copular clause in (4a).

Figure 8.2: The phrase structure (PS) tree diagram

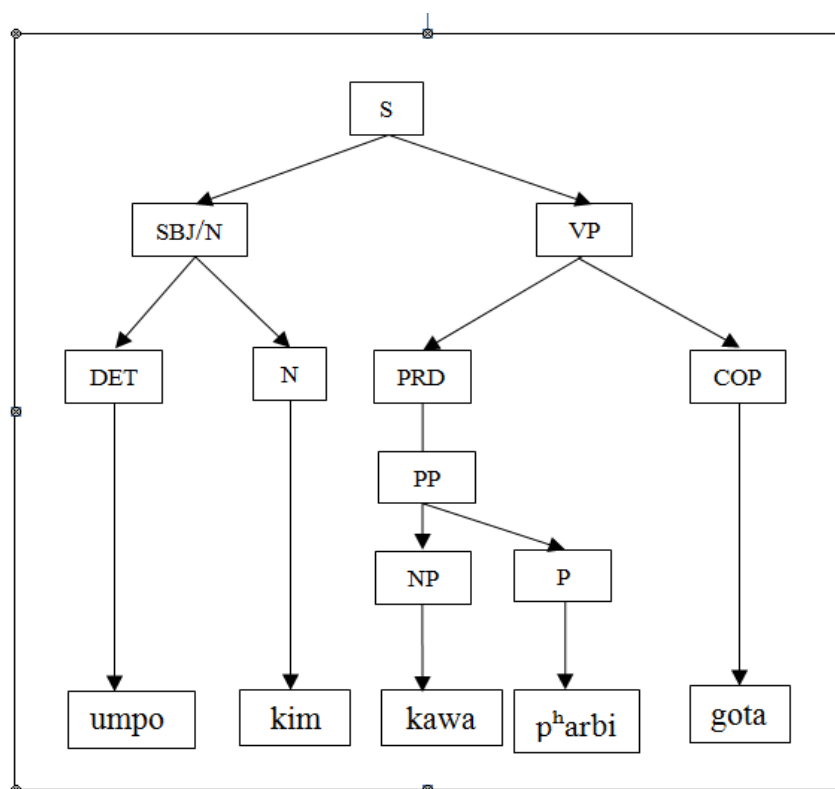


Figure 8.2 presents the constituents and their hierarchical relations of the copular clause in (4a). In this tree diagram, the locative predicate, structurally the postpositional phrase (PP) in which the head is the postposition, occurs preverbally (i.e., copula verb).

8.2 Verbal predicates

In this section, we discuss the types of the simple verbal predicate clauses in terms of the argument structure of the verbs. In a broader sense, there are two types of verbal predicate clauses in this language. They are transitive and intransitive clauses. The intransitive predicates normally take a single argument whereas the transitive predicates naturally take two (or more) arguments. Apart from this extensive classification, there is further distinction between simple intransitive or transitive verbs and intransitive/transitive verbs with an indirect object as in Kaike (Regmi, 2013:101). There is a clear distinction between simple intransitive and transitive clauses. The simple intransitive verbs/predicates take a single argument whereas a simple transitive predicate takes two arguments (i.e., one as subject ‘S’ and another as direct object ‘DO’).

Following Givón (2001:138), the intransitive predicates can also take an indirect object ‘IO’. However, such indirect object syntactically differs from the indirect object taken usually by the transitive predicates. The indirect objects taken by the intransitive predicates are simply marked by postpositions. In Dumì, this type of indirect object can also be taken by the transitive predicates as well. In terms of the number of arguments assigned by different categories of the verb, Dumì presents four types of verbal predicate clauses.

Table 8.1 presents the types of verbal predicate clauses in terms of the argument structure of the verbs.

Table 8.1: Verbal predicate clauses

[In terms of the argument structure of the verbs]

Clause types	Transitive	Intransitive
Simple	NP _{SUB} + NP _{DO} + V	NP _{SUB} + V
With IO	NP _{SUB} + NP _{DO} + PP/NP _{IO} + V	NP _{SUB} + PP/NP _{IO} + V

Source: Adapted from Kaike (Regmi, 2013:299)

Table 8.1 presents four types of verbal predicate clauses. They are: (i) simple intransitive clauses, (ii) simple transitive clauses, (iii) intransitive clauses with indirect object (IO) and (iv) transitive clauses with indirect objects (IO). They are discussed in turn as follows:

8.2.1 Simple intransitive clauses

In a simple intransitive clause, the predicate takes a single argument in the form of the subject (S), consisting of a noun phrase coded in the absolutive/non-ergative: NP_{SUB} + V as illustrated in (5).

(5) a. *mam jo jank^hΛisiso kawabi biri*

mam jo jank^hΛisi-so kawa-bi bir-i

that also be happy-CONV air-LOC fly-3SG.PST

‘That chick also flew away happily.’ [GPC.HSR-36:36]

- b. *tʰu:tʰu uhopu ŋa tʃamsi*
- tʰu:tʰu uhopu ŋa tʃams-i
- child alone EMPH play-3SG.PST
- ‘The child played alone.’

- c. *ŋjalduŋ tʰu:tʰu umu doksoka re*
- ŋjalduŋ tʰu:tʰu u-mu dok-soka re
- baby child 3SG.POSS-mother see-SEQ laugh-3SG.PST
- ‘The infant baby laughed seeing her/his mother.’

In examples (5a-c), the predicates *biri* ‘flew’, *tʃamsi* ‘played’, *re* ‘laughed’, respectively, are intransitive. These predicates take, respectively, the single argument *mam* in 5(a), *tʰu:tʰu* in 5(b) and *ŋjalduŋ tʰu:tʰu* in 5(c) as the subjects in the absolutive case (i.e., zero-marked).

8.2.2 Simple transitive clauses

In a simple transitive clause, the verbal predicate takes two arguments: the first noun phrase which occurs normally clause initially in the form of subject (S) and obligatorily coded in the ergative case, whereas the second noun phrase occurs pre-verbally and coded in the absolutive case (i.e., zero-marked). The simple transitive clause consists of the subject (S) followed by the direct object (DO) and the verb clause finally as illustrated in (6).

- (6) a. *mambika mam minua g^hiru lissi*
- mambika man [minu-a]_{SUB} [g^hiru]_{DO} liss-i
- then that man-ERG parrot release-3SG.PST
- ‘Then, that man released the parrot.’ [GPC.HSR-36:35]
- b. *ma:maa buplo hutni*
- [ma:ma-a]_{SUB} [buplo]_{DO} hut-ni
- mother-ERG chick bring-HON.3SG.PST
- ‘Mother brought a chick.’

c. *papaa lut ũ puni*

[papa-a]_{SUB} [lut^su]_{DO} pun-i
 father-ERG bamboo basket weave-3SG.PST
 ‘Father weaved a bamboo basket.’

In examples (6a-c), the arguments as the subjects *minu* ‘the person’, *ma:ma* ‘mother’, *papa* ‘father’ are marked by the ergative suffix *-a* and the respective arguments as the direct objects *g^hiru* ‘parrot’ in 6(a), *buplo* ‘chick’ in 6(b), *lut ũ* ‘bamboo basket’ in 6(c) are zero-marked.

8.2.3 Simple intransitive clauses with an indirect object

In a simple intransitive clause, the verbal predicate also takes two arguments, one as the subject (S) occurring clause initially in the form of subject coded in the absolutive case and another occurring pre-verbally and coded by a postposition as illustrated in (7).

(7) a. *papa talat ũobi hammota*

[papa]_{SUB} [tala-t^so-bi]_{IO/PP} [ham-mo-t-a]_{PRD}
 father stairs-UP-LOC HON-be-NPST-3SG
 ‘Father is at the upstairs.’

b. *ijki lamdup^harbi rjaptinΛ*

[ijki]_{SUB} [lamdu-p^harbi]_{IO/PP} [rjap-t-i-nΛ]_{PRD}
 1PL.INCL footpath-nearby stand-NPST-1PL.INCL-NEG
 ‘We should not stand nearby the footpath.’

c. *ad^zaka d^{zh}ara tosubi k^haksa*

ad^zaka [d^{zh}ara]_{SUB} [tosu-bi]_{IO/PP} [k^hak-sa]_{PRD}
 today evening everybody sakela-LOC go-NMLZ
 ‘Everybody will go in sakela dance today evening.’

In examples (7a-c), the arguments *tala* ‘stairs’, *lamdu* ‘footpath’, *tosubi* ‘sakela dance’ as the indirect objects are coded by the post-positions *t ũobi* ‘up’ in 7(a), *p^harbi* ‘nearby’ in 7(b), *bi* ‘in’ in 7(c), respectively. All of these arguments as direct objects occur pre-verbally.

8.2.4 Transitive clauses with an indirect object

A verbal predicate may take three arguments: subject (S), indirect object (IO) and direct object (DO). The argument which assumes the subject role occurs normally clause initially. Such arguments are obligatorily coded in the ergative case as illustrated in (8).

- (8) a. *tʰut ʰua aŋulai dudu abenu*
 [tʰutʰu-a]_{SUB} [aŋu-lai]_{IO} [dudu]_{DO} a-ben-u
 grandpa-ERG 1SG-DAT milk 1SG-give-3SG.PST
 ‘Grandfather gave me milk.’
- b. *kʰit ʰia puk ʰubi sodʰa suli*
 [kʰitʰi-a]_{SUB} [pukʰu-bi]_{IO} [sodʰa]_{DO} sul-i
 thief-ERG soil-LOC money hide-3SG.PST
 ‘The thief hid the money in the soil.’

In examples (8a, b), the basic order of the constituents in the clause is SUB IO/PP DO V. In (8a), the role of indirect object *aŋu* ‘I’ is coded by the dative case *-lai*. In (8b), the indirect object *puk ʰu* ‘ground’ or ‘soil’ in the intransitive clause is marked by a postposition *bi* ‘in’. The arguments in (8a, b) assume the role of direct object that occur pre-verbally as they are coded in the absolutive case (i.e., zero-marked).

8.3 Other sentence types

Dumi makes the distinction between the different sentences, viz., declarative, interrogative. They differ from one another functionally and structurally. They are discussed as follows:

8.3.1 Declarative sentences

The declarative sentences are typically used to make statements. Such sentences contain a finite verb. SOV is the basic order in such sentences as illustrated in (9).

- (9) a. *nanaa to:putani*
 nana-a to: pu-t-a-ni
 elder sister-ERG loom weave-NPST-3SG-HON
 ‘Elder sister weaves/will weave a loom.’
- b. *pepe duwabi hamk ʰut ʰi*
 pepe duwa-bi ham-kʰutʰi
 elder brother job-LOC HON-go-3SG.PST
 ‘The elder brother went to do the field-work.’

In example (9a), the declarative sentence contains a finite verb *putani* ‘weave’. Likewise, in example (9b), it contains a finite verb *hamk^hut i* ‘went’. In both the declarative sentences (9a, b), the SOV is the basic order of the constituents in the clause SUB + IO/PP + DO + V.

8.3.2 Interrogative sentences

There are four types of interrogative sentences: polar or ‘yes/no,’ alternative questions, neutral questions and constituent interrogatives. Such sentences are typically used for asking questions. They are discussed as follows:

(a) Polar interrogatives

In Dumi, polar interrogative sentences (i.e., ‘yes/no questions’) are formed by adding a question particle *-ŋa* to the final constituent of a declarative sentence without any subsequent change in the constituent order. As Dumi is an SOV language, the sentence normally ends either in a verbal predicate or in a particle. Thus, the question particle is normally attached to the verb or copula. The sentence-final particle is accompanied by a slight rising intonation as illustrated in (10).

- (10) a. *ani ahopu ŋa*↑
 ani a-hopu -ŋa
 2SG 2SG-alone PRT
 ‘Are you alone?’
- b. *um uhopu ŋa ham*↑
 um u-hopu ŋa hΛ-m
 3SG 3SG-alone PRT arrive-PST.PTCP
 ‘Did he arrive alone?’
- c. *ani jo k^haksa je* ↑
 ani jo k^hΛk-sa je
 2SG also go-NMLZ PRT
 ‘Do you also want to go?’

In examples (10a, b), the question particle *-ŋa* is normally attached to the adverb. Likewise, another question particle *-je* in (10c) is normally attached to the verb as the sentence-final particle.

(b) Alternative questions

Alternative questions are used to offer a choice of usually two alternatives. The question particle *-je* is attached to the verb which occurs in the first clause. The verbal constituent marked by the question particle is accompanied by the rising intonation whereas the verb in the second clause, prefixed by the negative morpheme *ma-* is accompanied by the falling intonation as illustrated in (11).

- (11) a. *ani k^hΛksa je ma-k^hΛk-sa*
 ani k^hΛk-sa je ma-k^hΛk-sa
 2SG go-IMPV or NEG-go-IMPV
 ‘Do you go or not?’

- b. *uma si dʒuta je dʒutanΛ*
 um-a si dʒu-t-a je dʒu-t-a-nΛ
 3SG-ERG meat eat-NPST-3SG or eat-NPST-3SG-NEG
 ‘Does he eat meat or not?’

In the second clause, the verb *k^hΛksa* ‘go’ in (11a) is prefixed by the negative morpheme *ma-* and *dʒuta* ‘eats’ in (11b) is suffixed by the negative morpheme *-nΛ*, which is accompanied by the falling intonation in both sentences in (11a, b).

(c) Neutral questions

The neutral questions refer to those with no presupposition on the part of the addresser. In a neutral question, the verb is succeeded by the negative particle *-nΛ* followed by the nominalizer *-m*. Such question also carries the rising intonation as illustrated in (12).

- (12) a. *ania dʒa adʒitanΛm ↑*
 ani-a dʒa a-dʒi-t-a-nΛ-m
 2SG-ERG rice 2SG-eat-NPST-2SG-NEG-NMLZ
 ‘Do you not eat rice?’

- b. *um kim k^hustanΛm ↑*
 um kim k^hus-t-a-nΛ-m
 3SG house go-NPST-3SG-NEG-NMLZ
 ‘Does he not go home?’

- c. *ant^si-a si: a-t^sum-t-i-nΛ-m ↑*
 ant^si-a si: a-t^sum-t-i-nΛ-m
 2DU-ERG wood 2DU-chop-NPST-2DU-NEG-NMLZ
 ‘Do you (two) not chop the wood?’

In examples (12a-c), a neutral question, the verbs *adʒita* ‘(you) eat’ in 12(a), *ak^husta* ‘(you) go’ in 12(b) and *atʃumti* ‘(you two) chop’ in 12(c) are succeeded by the negative particle *-nʌ* which is followed by the nominalizer *-m*.

(d) Constituent interrogatives

The constituent interrogatives, or parametric questions, are formed by replacing a questioned constituent with interrogative pronouns. Such pronouns are placed usually immediately before the verbs. Dumi has a large inventory of interrogative pronouns which may replace various constituents. When referring to human beings, such pronouns can replace the core constituents of the clause, viz., subjects (both ergative and non-ergative) and the direct object as illustrated in (13).

- (13) a. *umlai asia brʌtim*
 um-lai asi-a brʌt-i-m
 3SG-DAT who-ERG call-3SG.PST-NMLZ
 ‘Who called him?’

- b. *ania asilai abrʌtim*
 ani-a asi-lai a-brʌt-i-m
 2SG-ERG who-DAT 2SG-call-2SG.PST-NMLZ
 ‘Whom did you call?’

In example (13a), the ergative *-a* succeeded the interrogative pronoun *asi* ‘who’ and in (13b), the dative *-lai* succeeded the interrogative pronoun *asi* ‘who’. In both examples in (13a, b), the interrogative pronouns are placed immediately before the verbs referring to human beings. When questioning the non-human, animate or inanimate core constituents, Dumi employs *mo* ‘what’ instead as in (14).

- (14) a. *uma mo bʌndi*
 um-a mo bʌnd-i
 3SG-ERG what touch-3SG.PST
 ‘What did she touch?’
- b. *malo ania mo adʒi*
 malo ani-a mo a-dʒi-ø
 just before now 2SG-ERG what 2 SG-eat-2SG.PST
 ‘What did you eat just before now?’

In examples (14a, b), *mo* ‘what’ is employed when questioning the non-human, animate or inanimate core constituents. The anti-dative form *asi-lai* is used while questioning the post-positional human constituents of the clause as in (15).

- (15) a. *ania asilai sod^{za} abi*
- | | | | |
|---------|---------|-------------------|-------------------|
| ani-a | asi-lai | sod ^{za} | a-bi-∅ |
| 2SG-ERG | who-DAT | money | 2SG-give-PRST.PFV |
- ‘Who did you give the money to?’

- b. *uma asilai d^{zetim}*
- | | | |
|---------|---------|--------------------|
| um-a | asi-lai | d ^{zetim} |
| 3SG-ERG | who-DAT | call-3SG.PST-NMLZ |
- ‘Whom did he call?’

In examples (15a, b), the anti-dative form *asi-lai* is used in questioning the post-positional human constituents of the clause.

Post-positional non-core constituents can also be questioned as in (16) again using *asi* ‘who’ supplied with any case inflection required by the postposition in question as illustrated in (16).

- (16) a. *ania asilamka sod^{za} ahudim*
- | | | | |
|---------|-----------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| ani-a | asi-lamka | sod ^{za} | a-hud-i-m |
| 2SG-ERG | who-ABL | money | 2SG-take-2SG.PST-NMLZ |
- ‘Who did you take the money from?’

- b. *uma asilamka tum ŋi*
- | | | | |
|---------|-----------|------|----------|
| um-a | asi-lamka | tum | ŋi-∅ |
| 3SG-ERG | who-ABL | news | hear-PFV |
- ‘Who told her the news?’

In examples (16a, b), the post-positional non-core constituent *asi* ‘who’ is supplied with the case inflection required by the post-position in question. Various types of the modifiers of the noun phrases can be in a question such as with a possessor: *aspo* ‘whose’, a cardinal number or quantifier and *hito* ‘how much/many’, an ordinal numeral as illustrated in (17).

(17) a. *aspo nu pabi*

aspo nu pabi ø
 whose name Pabi COP
 ‘Whose name is Pabi?’

b. *hito pulammu hamhΛ*

hito pulam-mu ham-hΛ-ø
 how many guest-PL 3PL-arrive-3PL.PST
 ‘How many guests arrived?’

c. *ani hito t^hopo at^{sh}uku*

ani hito t^ho-po a-t^{sh}uk-u
 2SG how many year-GEN 2SG-become-2SG.PST
 ‘How old are you?’

In example (17a), the modifier of the noun phrase *aspo* ‘whose’ is in a question as a possessor. Likewise, the quantifier: *hito* ‘how many’ in both (17b) and (17c) is in question as a possessor.

Various types of adverbials can be used in a question by using interrogative pronouns. For questioning temporal or locative adverbials, *hijo* ‘when’, *hinΛm* ‘when’⁸⁶ or *k^hΛmu* ‘where’ are used, respectively as illustrated in (18).

(18) a. *dusu hijo hΛΛ*

dusu hijo hΛΛ-ø
 friend when arrive-3SG.PST
 ‘When did your friend arrive?’

⁸⁶ In Makpa Dumi, the time adverb *hijo* ‘when’ is used to signify the past tense whereas *hinΛm* ‘when’ is used to signify the non-past (present and future) tense.

- b. *ani hinΛm ak^husta*
 ani hinΛm a-k^hus-t-a
 2SG when 2SG-go-NPST-2SG.NPST
 ‘When do/will you go?’
- c. *k^hliba k^hΛmu k^hut̪i*
 k^hliba k^hΛmu k^hut̪-i
 dog where go-3SG.PST
 ‘Where did the dog go?’
- d. *tejo k^hliba k^hΛmbi mota*
 tejo k^hliba k^hΛmbi mota
 now dog where COP.NPST
 ‘Where is the dog now?’

In examples (18a, b), the interrogative pronouns *hijo* ‘when’ and *hinΛm* ‘when’ are used as the adverbials for questioning. Likewise, in (18c, d), the adverbial *k^hΛmu* ‘where’ and *k^hΛmbi* ‘where’ are used as the adverbials for questioning.

8.4 Summary

In this chapter, first of all, we dealt with types of simple clauses in terms of the types of predicates used in the clauses. There are two types of predicates: non-verbal predicates and verbal predicates. In terms of non-verbal predicates, there are three types of clauses. They include copular clauses with the adjectival predicates, adverbial predicates, copular clauses with the nominal predicates and copular clauses with locative predicates. In terms of verbal predicates, there are four types of clauses: simple intransitive clauses, simple transitive clauses, intransitive clauses with indirect object and transitive clauses with indirect objects. The intransitive predicates can take an object, coded by the post-position. In the second part we dealt with interrogative clauses. The polar interrogatives are formed by attaching the question particle to the clause final constituents and constituent interrogatives are formed by using different types of interrogative pronouns in the constituent positions.

CHAPTER 9 NOMINALIZATION

9.0 Outline

This chapter deals with nominalization. It consists of five sections. In section 9.1, we deal with the forms and distributional properties of nominalizers. Section 9.2 presents the semantic characterization of nominalizers *-na* and *-m*. In section 9.3, we briefly deal with derivational (or lexical) nominalization at the morphological level. Section 9.4 highlights clausal nominalization realized in attributive phrases, nominal-complement clauses, relative clauses, verbal-complement clauses, adverbial clauses and free-standing independent clauses. In section 9.5, we present the verb-phrase nominalized clauses in this language. Finally, section 9.6 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

9.1 Forms and distributional properties of nominalizers

Since nominalization is a prominent feature of T-B languages, different nominalization processes attested are analyzed in this section. Watters (2006:199) points out that ‘Nominalization is one of the productive tools in the morphological process and is also a multi-functional instrument’. Dumi makes use of seven forms of nominalizing suffixes: *-m*, *-si*, *-sa*, *-na*, *-dΛm*, *-do* and *-k^hom*. Each nominalizer is characterized by specific forms and distributional properties in the language.

9.1.1 Forms of nominalizers

(a) The nominalizer *-m*

There are four markers that may be first suffixed to the verb root followed by the nominalizer *-m*: the perfective marker *-po*, the past tense person markers *-i/-u/-o*, the non-past marker *-t* followed by the person marker *-a/-o*, or the locative marker *-bi*.

i. Perfective marker *-po* followed by the nominalizer *-m*

The perfective marker *-po* is suffixed to the root of the verb followed by the nominalizer *-m* as illustrated in (1).

(1) a. *brΛnpom minu hΛΛ*

<i>brΛ-(n)</i> ⁸⁷ <i>-po-m</i>	<i>minu</i>	<i>hΛΛ</i>
invite-M.EXTDR-PRFT-NMLZ	person	arrive.PST

‘The invited person arrived.’

⁸⁷ In Dumi, a morpheme extender (M.EXTDR) ‘*n*’ inserted before the perfective maker *-po* followed by the nominalizer *-m* as in *brΛ-(n)-po-m* ‘invited’, *k^hΛ-(n)-po-m* ‘taken’, *tu-(n)-po-m* ‘kept’, etc.

b. *t^ʰunpom tummu bantunna t^ʰukta*

t^ʰun-po-m tum-mu ban-tun-na t^ʰukta

know idea-PRFV-NMLZ thing-PL tell-BEN-NMLZ must

‘There must be transferred the ideas to others.’

c. *lamdubi lampom sumu birk^hut^ʰɿ*

lamdu-bi lam-po-m sumu bir-k^hut^ʰ-i

way-LOC catch-PRFV-NMLZ pheasant fly-go-3SG.PST

‘The pheasant that has been caught on the way flew away.’

In examples (1a-c), the nominals *brɔnpom* ‘the invited’ in (1a), *t^ʰunpom* ‘known’ in (1b) and *lampom* ‘caught’ are formed by suffixing the perfective marker *-po* to the respective verb roots *brɔ* ‘invite’, *t^ʰu* ‘know’ and *lam* (*lɔp) ‘catch’ followed by the nominalizer *-m*.

ii. Past tense person markers *-i/-u/-o* followed by the nominalizer *-m*

Nouns can be derived by suffixing the past tense person markers *-i/-u/-o* to the verb root followed by the nominalizer *-m* as illustrated in (2).

(2) a. *uma t^ʰaptim sɔp^hu*

um-a t^ʰapt-i-m sɔp^hu

3SG-ERG write-3SG.PST-NMLZ letter

‘the letter that he wrote’

b. *aŋua k^hiptum d^ʒa*

aŋu-a k^hipt-u-m d^ʒa

1SG-ERG cook-1SG.PST-NMLZ rice

‘the rice that I cooked’

c. *aṅua tulom g^hiru*

aṅu-a	tul-o-m	g ^h iru
1SG-ERG	tame-1SG.PST-NMLZ	parrot
‘the parrot that I tamed’		

In examples (2a-c), the nominals *t^sḶptim* ‘that he wrote’ in (2a), *k^hḶptum* ‘that I cooked’ in (2b) and *tulom* ‘that I tamed’ in (2c) are formed by suffixing the third person singular marker *-i* to the verb root *t^sḶp* ‘write’, the first person singular marker *-u* to the verb root *k^hḶp* ‘cook’ and the first person singular marker *-o* to the verb root *tul* ‘tame’ followed by the nominalizer *-m*.

iii. Non-past tense marker *-t* followed by the person marker *-a/-o* and the nominalizer *-m*

Nouns can be derived by suffixing the non-past tense marker *-t* and the person marker *-a/-o* to the verb root followed by the nominalizer *-m* as illustrated in (3).

(3) a. *uma putam tḶki*

um-a	pu-t-a-m	tḶki
3SG-ERG	weave-NPST-3SG-NMLZ	cap
‘the cap that she weaves’		

b. *ania at^sḶptam sḶp^hu*

ani-a	a-t ^s Ḷp-t-a-m	sḶp ^h u
2SG-ERG	2SG-write-NPST-2SG-NMLZ	letter
‘the letter that you write’		

c. *aṅua tultom silpu*

aṅu-a	tul-t-o-m	silpu
1SG-ERG	tame-NPST-1SG-NMLZ	bird
‘the bird that I tame’		

In examples (3a-c), the nominals *putam* ‘that she weaves’ in (3a), *at^sḶptam* ‘that you write’ in (3b) and *tultom* ‘that I tame’ in (3c) are formed by suffixing the non-past tense marker *-t* followed by the person marker *-a/-o* to the respective verb roots *put* ‘weave’, *t^sḶp* ‘write’ and *tul* ‘tame’ followed by the nominalizer *-m*.

iv. Locative marker *-bi* followed by the nominalizer *-m*

The locative marker *-bi* is suffixed to the noun followed by the nominalizer *-m* as illustrated in (4).

(4) a. *kimbim su:ru t^sanota*

kim-bi-m su:ru t^sano-t-a
 house-LOC-NMLZ rice be tasty-NPST-3SG
 ‘The rice from the house is tasty.’

b. *delbim t^su:t^su t^samu*

del-bi-m t^su:t^su t^sam-u
 village-LOC-NMLZ child lose-3SG.PST
 ‘The child from the village was lost.’

In examples (4a, b), the nominals *kimbim* ‘from the house’ in (4a) and *delbim* ‘from the village’ in (4b) are formed by suffixing the locative marker *-bi* to the respective nouns *kim* ‘house’ and *del* ‘village’ followed by the nominalizer *-m*.

(b) The nominalizer *-si*

The nominalizer *-si* is suffixed to the verb root as illustrated in (5).

(5) a. *hito at^sapsi kura*

hito a-t^sap-si kur-a
 as much as 2SG-can-NMLZ carry-IMP
 ‘Carry as much as you can.’

b. *delbi to: pusi*

del-bi to: pu-si
 village-LOC loom weave-NMLZ

‘loom weaving in the village’ [DPT. NMR-45 (001)]

In examples (5a, b), the derived nouns *at^sapsi* ‘as much as you can’ in (5a) and *pusi* ‘weaving’ in (5b) express the meaning ‘the way one does something’. For the speaker of these sentences express the meaning like the way the referent carries in (5a) is *at^sapsi* ‘as much as you can’ and what he recalls as the way he weaves (i.e., *pusi* ‘weaving’) in (5b).

(c) The nominalizer -sa followed by the dative marker -lai

The nominalizer *-sa* is suffixed to the root of the verb as illustrated in (6).

- (6) a. *hopua dʒuksa tuŋa pʰeksa je*
 hopu-a dʒuk-sa tuŋa pʰek-sa je
 self-ERG eat-NMLZ only serve-NMLZ PRT
 ‘Better you serve only as much as you eat.’

- b. *huksa kʰlibaa akaktinΛ*
 huk-sa kʰliba-a a-kak-t-i-nΛ
 bark-NMLZ dog-ERG 3SG-bite-NPST-1PL.INCL-NEG
 ‘A barking dog seldom bites.’

In examples (6a, b), the nominals *dʒuksa* ‘eating’ and *pʰeksa* ‘serving’ in (6a) and *huksa* ‘barking’ in (6b) are formed by suffixing the nominalizer *-sa* to the respective verb roots *dʒuk* ‘eat’, *pʰek* ‘serve’ and *huk* ‘bark’.

Furthermore, the nominalizer *-sa* may be affixed to the root of the verb either followed by or without being followed by the dative marker *-lai* as illustrated in (7).

- (7) a. *pʰiksalai asia wo kʰritta ka*
 pʰi-k-sa-lai asi-a
 beg-M.EXTDR-NMLZ-DAT who-ERG

 wo kʰrit-t-a ka
 PRT respect-NPST-IMPRF EMPH
 ‘Nobody respects the beggar.’

- b. *tʃi tuŋsa wari kʰanuksa mono*
 tʃi tuŋ-sa wari kʰanuksa mono
 local beer drink-NMLZ habit nice not
 ‘Habit of drinking local beer is not so good.’

In example (7a), the root of the verb *pʰik* ‘beg’ is suffixed by the nominalizer *-sa* followed by the dative marker *-lai*, whereas in (7b), the root of the verb *tuŋ* ‘drink’ is suffixed only by the nominalizer *-sa*.

(d) The nominalizer -na

The nominalizer *-na* is suffixed to the root of the verb as illustrated in (8).

- (8) a. *lekbaktik^ho k^hirsina dokti*

lek-bakti-k^ho k^hirsi-na dok-t-i
 be alive-DUR-COND visit-NMLZ get-NPST-1PL.INCL

‘We get a chance for a visit if we are alive.’

- b. *kimbi t^supti, ka d^zuna biso tuli*

kim-bi t^supt-i ka d^zu-na bi-so tul-i
 house-LOC trap-3SG.PST CONJ eat-INF give-SIM tame-3SG.PST

‘He trapped and tamed it providing food.’ [GPC.HSR-36:13]

In examples (8a, b), the root of the verbs *k^hirsi* ‘visit’ in (8a) and *d^zu* ‘eat’ in (8b) are suffixed by the nominalizer *-na* to form the respective nouns *k^hirsina* ‘to visit’ and *d^zuna* ‘to eat’, respectively.

(e) The nominalizer -dΛm

The nominalizer *-dΛm* is suffixed to the root of the verb as illustrated in (9).

- (9) a. *aŋua k^hrΛpdΛm tidu*

aŋu-a k^hrΛp-dΛm tid-u
 1SG-ERG cover-NMLZ find-PST

‘I found the lid.’

- b. *ad^{zh}o ganpa kajo rΛtepa tuhe t^{sh}ΛmdΛm mut^hAssi e*

ad^{zh}o ganpa kajo rΛtepa-a
 long ago Ganpa COM Ratepa-ERG

tuhe t^{sh}Λm-dΛm

together dance with chant-NMLZ

mu-t^hΛs-s-i e

do-HAB-DUL.PST REP

‘Long ago, Ganpa and Ratepa used performing dance with chanting together, it is said.’

In examples (9a, b), the root of the verbs *k^{hr}Λp* ‘cover’ and *t^{sh}Λm* ‘dance with chant’ are nominalized by the suffix *-dΛm* to form the respective nouns *k^{hr}ΛpdΛm* ‘the lid’ and *t^{sh}ΛmdΛm* ‘performing dance with chanting’.

(f) The nominalizer *-do*

The nominalizer *-do* with the allomorph *-du* is suffixed to the root of the verb as illustrated in (10).

(10) a. *t^su:t^sua t^sjamdo jadi*

t^su:t^su-a t^sjam-do jad-i

child-ERG play-NMLZ like-3SG.PST

‘The child liked playing.’

b. *nokt^{sh}opo sΛmdu ηisa koktinΛ*

nokt^{sh}o-po sΛm-du

shaman-GEN chant-NMLZ

ηi-sa kok-t-i-nΛ

understand-NMLZ know-NPST-1PL.INCL-NEG

‘We cannot understand the chanting of the shaman.’

In example (10a), the nominalizer *-do* is suffixed to the root of the verb *t^sjam* ‘play’ to form the deverbalized word (i.e., noun) *t^sjamdo* ‘playing’. Similarly, in (10b), the nominalizer *-du* as the allomorph of *-do* is suffixed to the root of the verb *sΛm* ‘chant’ to form the deverbalized word (i.e., noun) *sΛmdu* ‘chanting’.

(g) The nominalizer $-k^h\text{om}$

The nominalizer $-k^h\text{om}$ ⁸⁸ may be affixed to the noun as illustrated in (11).

- (11) a. *mΛjo pwatelbi haldenpom to:k^hom omiksibi lΛisbakta*
 mΛjo pwatel-bi hal-den-po-m
 that time yard-LOC **spread-DUR-PRFT-NMLZ**
- to:-k^hom o-miksi-bi **lΛis-bak-t-a**
 loom-place 1SG.POSS-eyes-LOC appear-keep-NPST-3SG
 ‘Even now, I feel like seeing weaving of looms in the yard.’
 [DTP.NMR-45:18]

- b. *ad^zo jelΛk^hombi t^su:pi hamΛ e*
 ad^zo jelΛ-k^hom-bi t^su:pi ham-mΛ e
 long ago King-place-LOC ancestral HON-be.PST REP
 ‘There were our ancestral in the king place (i.e., Kingdom), it is said.’
 (Lit. There were our ancestral in the capital *Kathmandu*.)

In examples (11a, b), the nominals $-k^h\text{om}$ ‘certain place’ in *to:k^hom* ‘loom-place’ in (11a) and *jelΛk^hom* ‘the King-place (i.e., capital)’ in (11b) are formed by suffixing the nominalizer $-k^h\text{om}$ to the nouns *to:* ‘loom’ and *jelΛ* ‘the King’, respectively.

9.1.2 Distribution of nominalizers

Table 9.1 presents the distributional properties of the following nominalizers: $-m$, $-si$, $-sa$, $-na$, $-d\Lambda m$, $-do$, $-k^h\text{om}$.

⁸⁸ The locative nominal that follows a noun has the allomorph ‘ $-k^h\text{op}$ ’ like *d^heηuk^hop* ‘the place where the monkey stays’, *sΛηk^hop* ‘the place where the cuckoo stays’, etc.

Table 9.1: Distributional properties of nominalizers

	Distributional properties	Nominalizers						
		<i>-m</i>	<i>-si</i>	<i>-sa</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-dΛm</i>	<i>-do</i>	<i>-k^hbm</i>
1.	Suffixing to the root of the verb	x	√	√	√	√	√	x
2.	Suffixing to the perfective marker <i>-po</i> following the root of the verb	√	x	x	x	x	x	x
3.	Suffixing to the locative marker <i>-bi</i> following the noun	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
4.	Followed by the dative marker <i>-lai</i>	√	x	√	√	√	√	√
5.	Following the noun	x	x	x	x	x	x	√

9.2 The semantic characterization of *-na* and *-m*

The nominalizers *-na* and *-m* (following the perfective marker *-po*) are also characterized by semantic properties. Thus, the nominalizers *-na* and *-m* may be semantically further classified aspectually and modally. Aspectually, they may be classified into imperfective (IMPFV) *-na* and perfective (PFV) *-m* and modally, into irrealis *-na* and realis *-m*.

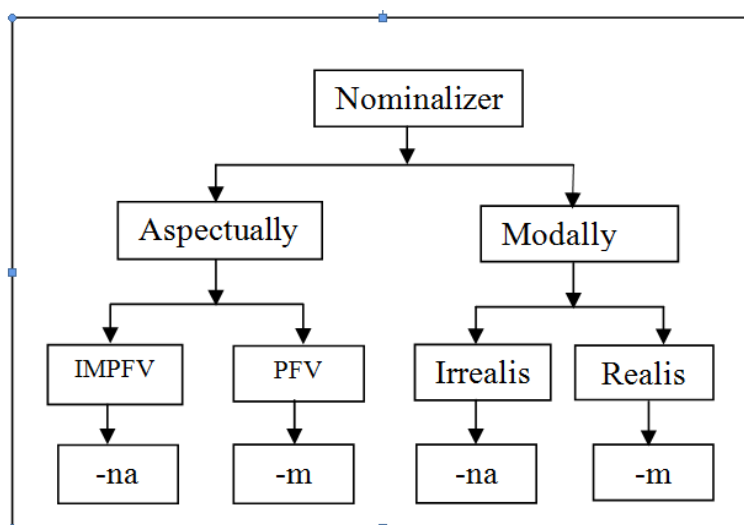
Figure 9.1: Distributional properties of the nominalizers

Figure 9.1 presents the classification of these nominalizing suffixes in terms of the semantic concepts of tense-aspect and modality. There are other nominalizers that derive a noun as illustrated in (12).

(12) a. *mambika uma bolo ŋa tʰumsina atʰi*

mambika um-a bolo ŋa
then 3SG-ERG soon EMPH

tʰumsi-na atʰ-i
get ready-NMLZ say-3SG.PST

‘Then she said, ‘You get ready soon.’

b. *mʌnʌ mamla kʌlna tʰukta*

mʌnʌ mam-la kʌl-na tʰukta
then there-ABL chase-NMLZ must

‘Then, it must be chased from there.’

In example (12a), the root of the verb *tʰumsi* ‘get ready’ is suffixed by the nominalizer *-na*. The clause with this nominalized form of the verb may be interpreted as being in realis modality and in perfective aspect. In (12b) the root verb *kʌl* ‘chase’, marked by the nominalizer *-na*, may be interpreted as being in irrealis modality and in imperfective aspect.

9.3 Derivational (or lexical) nominalization at the morphological level

At the morphological level of grammar, Dumi makes use of derivational nominalization, which is also known as lexical nominalization. Dumi employs seven forms of nominalizers at this level: *-m*⁸⁹, *-si*, *-sa*, *-na*, *-dʌm*, *-do* and *-kʰom*. Dumi derives both lexical adjectives and lexical nouns. We discuss them as follows:

9.3.1 Derivation of lexical adjectives

As we discussed in § 5.1.2, lexical adjectives are derived from verbs, copulas and nouns. The lexical adjectives are derived from the root of the verb by employing three strategies. The first strategy affixes the perfective marker *-po* to the root of the verb followed by the nominalizer *-m*. Such adjectives are derived by suffixing [V-PRFV-NMLZ] ADJECTIVE to the verb roots as listed in (13).

⁸⁹ We notice that before affixing the nominalizer *-m*, a suffix *-po* or *-bi* is attached to the verb root in Dumi.

(13)	Root	Meaning	[V-PRFV-NMLZ]	Lexical Adjective	Gloss
a.	t ^s ʌp	‘write’	/t ^s ʌm-po-m/	/t ^s ʌmpom/	‘written’
b.	p ^h jar	‘sew’	/p ^h jar-po-m/	/p ^h jarpom/	‘sew’
c.	k ^h ip	‘cook’	/k ^h im-po-m/	/k ^h impom/	‘cooked’
d.	k ^h ʌ	‘take’	/k ^h ʌn-po-m/	/k ^h ʌnpom/	‘taken’
e.	sur	‘wash’	/sur-po-m/	/surpom/	‘washed’
f.	t ^{sh} en	‘know’	/t ^{sh} en-po-m/	/t ^{sh} enpom/	‘known’
g.	tu	‘keep’	/tun-po-m/	/tunpom/	‘kept’
h.	sul	‘hide’	/sul-po-m/	/sulpom/	‘hidden’
i.	jʌm	‘beat’	/jʌm-po-m/	/jʌmpom/	‘beaten’

In example (13), the first strategy affixes the perfective marker *-po* to the root of the verb followed by the nominalizer *-m*.

The second strategy makes use of the nominalizer *-sa* which is affixed to the root of the verb as a suffix. Formally, such adjectives are derived by suffixing [V-NMLZ]_{ADJECTIVE} schematically to the verb roots as listed in (14).

(14)	Root	Meaning	[V-NMLZ]	Lexical Adjective	Gloss
a.	d ^h ap	‘widen’	/d ^h ap-sa/	/d ^h apsa/	‘wide’
b.	t ^s ɿ	‘know’	/t ^s ɿk-sa/	/t ^s ɿksa/	‘wise’
c.	soŋ	‘lengthen’	/soŋ-sa/	/soŋsa/	‘long’
d.	re	‘sharpen’	/rek-sa/	/reksa/	‘sharp’
e.	luk	‘pinch’	/luk-sa/	/luksa/	‘pointed’
f.	loŋ	‘weigh’	/loŋ-sa/	/loŋsa/	‘weighty’
g.	bʌr	‘grow’	/bʌr-sa/	/bʌrsa/	‘growing’
h.	gul	‘look like’	/gul-sa/	/gulsa/	‘this much (size)’
i.	duŋ	‘suit’	/duŋ-sa/	/duŋsa/	‘suitable’

In example (14), the second strategy makes use of the nominalizer *-sa* which is affixed to the root of the verb as a suffix.

The third strategy employs the nominalizer (i.e., infinitizer) *-na* to derive lexical adjectives. Such adjectives are derived by suffixing [V-NMLZ]_{ADJECTIVE} to the root of the verbs as listed in (15).

(15)	Root	Meaning	[V-NMLZ]	Lexical Adjective	Gloss
a.	b _{AR}	'grow'	/b _{AR} -na/	/b _{AR} na/	'(a person) to be grown'
b.	di:	'follow'	/di:-na/	/di:na/	'(a person) to be followed'
c.	p ^h l _Λ	'help'	/p ^h l _Λ -na/	/p ^h l _Λ na/	'(a person) to be helped'
d.	k _Λ l	'chase'	/k _Λ l-na/	/k _Λ lna/	'(a person) to be chased'
e.	buk	'bear'	/buk-na/	/bukna/	'(a woman) to bear kids'
f.	k _Λ msi	'wear'	/k _Λ msi-na/	/k _Λ msina/	'(clothes) to be worn'
g.	tuŋ	'drink'	/tuŋ-na/	/tuŋna/	'(water) to be drunk'

In example (15), the nominalizer (i.e., infinitizer) *-na* is suffixed to the verb root to derive lexical adjectives.

9.3.2 Derivation of lexical nouns

Nouns can be derived by suffixing the past tense markers *-i/-u/-o* to the verb root followed by the nominalizer *-m*. Formally, such nouns are derived by adding [V-PST-NMLZ]_{NOUN} to the root of the verbs as listed in (16).

(16)	Root	Meaning	[V-NMLZ]	NOUN
a.	mit ^s	'die'	/mit ^s -i-m/	die-PST-NMLZ 'death'
b.	k ^h uŋ	'come'	/k ^h uŋ-u-m/	come up-PST-NMLZ 'arrival'
d.	haŋ	'get dry'	/haŋ-u-m/	dry-PST-NMLZ 'drying'
e.	bur	'grow'	/bur-i-m/	grow-PST-NMLZ 'growing'

Nouns can be derived by suffixing the nominalizer *-na* to the root of the verb. Formally, such nouns are derived by adding [V-NMLZ]_{NOUN} to the root of the verbs as listed in (17).

(17)	Root	Meaning	[V-NMLZ]	[V-NMLZ]	NOUN
a.	b _{AR}	'grow'	/b _{AR} -na/	/b _{AR} na/	'growing'
b.	d ^z u	'eat'	/d ^z u-na/	/d ^z una/	'eating'
c.	p ^h l _Λ	'help'	/p ^h l _Λ -na/	/p ^h l _Λ na/	'helping'
d.	t ^s Λp	'write'	/t ^s Λp-na/	/t ^s Λpna/	'writing'
e.	buk	'bear'	/buk-na/	/bukna/	'bearing kid(s)'

In example (17), nouns are derived by suffixing the nominalizer *-na* to each verb root.

There are further illustrations of forming a noun by suffixing the verb roots with the nominalizer *-na* as illustrated in (18).

- (18) a. *dʒuna na tuna(*tuŋna) totoja muna*
- | | | | | |
|----------|------|------------|-------------------|-----------|
| dʒu-na | na | tuŋ-na | totoja | mu-na |
| eat-NMLZ | PART | drink-NMLZ | straight vertical | stay-NMLZ |
- ‘neither eating nor drinking, just sitting like hills’
- b. *djarna na muna ajandanna kajo*
- | | | | | |
|-----------|------|---------|---------------------|------|
| djar-na | na | mu-na | a-jʌn-dʌn-na | kajo |
| suit-NMLZ | PART | do-NMLZ | 2SG-appear-DUR-NMLZ | COM |
- ‘neither it suits nor your appearance is acceptable’

In example (18a), the nouns *dʒuna* ‘eating’, **tuŋna* ‘drinking’, *muna* ‘staying’ are derived by affixing the nominalizer *-na* to the respective verb roots *dʒu* ‘eat’, *tuŋ* ‘drink’, and *mu* ‘stay’. Likewise, in example (18b) the nouns *djarna* ‘suiting’, *muna* ‘staying’, and *ajandanna* ‘appearing’ are derived by affixing the nominalizer *-na* to the respective verb roots *djar* ‘suit’, *mu* ‘stay’, and *ajandʌn* ‘appear’.

9.4 Clausal nominalization

Genetti (2010:414) notes in clausal nominalization, a nominalized grammatical clause functions as a noun phrase (realized as a grammatical functions subject, direct object and indirect object) within a broader syntactic context ([(NP) + ... + V-NMLZ] + NP). Dumi extensively employs nominalized clauses in broader syntactic structures which include attributive phrases, nominal-complement constructions, relative clauses, verbal-complement clauses, adverbial clauses, free-standing independent clauses and verb-phrase nominalized clauses.

We discuss each nominalized clause as follows:

9.4.1 Attributive phrases

Just like the common features of Tibeto-Burman languages, Dumi employs attributive phrases in which the root of the verb is affixed by the nominalizing suffix *-sa* as illustrated in (19).

- (19) a. *kwambi selewa-sak^hruwa guksa minu*
- | | | | |
|-----------|------------------------------|-----------------|--------|
| kwam-bi | selewa-sak ^h ruwa | gu-(k)-sa | minu |
| mouth-LOC | smooth voice | be-M.EXTDR-NMLZ | person |
- ‘the person who speaks smoothly’

b. *uŋkua kinpom kim*

uŋku-a ki-n-po-m kim
 1PL.EXCL-ERG purchase-M.EXTDR-PRFV-NMLZ house
 ‘the house that we (excl) purchased’

In example (19a), the copular verb *gu* ‘have’ followed by the morpheme extender *-k* is suffixed by the marker *-sa*. In (19b) the root of the verb *ki* ‘purchase’ with the morpheme extender *-n* is suffixed by the marker *-m* following the perfective marker *-po*. The phrases with these nominalized forms modify the head noun attributively.

9.4.2 Nominal-complement constructions

In the nominal complement construction, the past tense marker *-u* is suffixed to the root of the verb followed by the nominalizer *-m*. In Dumi, such constructions function as a noun phrase complement of the verb as illustrated in (20).

(20) a. *biʔbuk^hum ŋiŋujo aŋu t^{sh}ote ŋa jank^hʌisu*

biʔ buk^h-u-m ŋi-ŋujo
 cow give birth-3SG.PST-NMLZ hear-CONV

t^{sh}ote ŋa aŋu jank^hʌis-u
 extremely EMPH 1SG be happy-1SG.PST

‘That the cow gave birth to a baby made me extremely happy.’

b. *k^hliba t^samum ŋika um k^hak^hajuju t^{sh}uku*

k^hliba t^sam-u-m ŋi-ka
 dog lose-3SG.PST-NMLZ hear-AFTER

um k^hak^hajuju t^{sh}uk-u
 3SG upset be-3SG.PST

‘That the dog got lost made him upset.’

In examples (20a, b), the past tense marker *-u* is suffixed to the root of the verbs *buk^h* ‘give birth’ in (20a) and *t^sam* ‘get lost’ in (20b) followed by the nominalizer *-m*.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ In the process of nominalizing, the constructions with the nominalized verbs function as the nominal complement (as the subject complement). It is to be noted that *-m* is the underlying form of the nominalizer in Dumi.

9.4.3 Relative clauses

A relative clause is syntactically a nominalized clause functioning as a nominal modifier of the head noun. Dumi employs only the nominalizers *-m* and *-sa* to form relative clauses. The nominalizer *-m* may follow the perfective marker *-po* and the locative marker *-bi*. Similarly, the nominalizer *-sa* may be followed by the dative marker *-lai*. Such constructions may show the aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective as illustrated in (21).

- (21) a. *asnAmka t^{sh}wara d^zΛisim d^hamro*
 asnAmka t^{sh}wara d^zΛis-i-m d^hamro
 yesterday goat graze-3SG.PST-NMLZ cliff
 ‘the cliff where the goat grazed yesterday’
- b. *kim kidim minu k^hut ʔ*
 kim kid (t*)⁹¹-i-m minu k^hut^s-i
 house purchase-3SG.PST-NMLZ person go-PRFT
 ‘The person who purchased a house went.’
- c. *dumo d^ziksalai jarsΛŋu*
 dumo d^zi-k-sa-lai jar-sΛŋ-u
 too much talk-M.EXTDR-NMLZ-DAT scold-AMBL-1SG.PST
 ‘I scolded the person who talked too much.’

In examples (21a, b), the nominalized marker *-m* is suffixed to the verb root *d^zΛis* ‘graze’ in (21a) and *kit* ‘purchase’ in (21b) are coded as the perfective aspect. Likewise, in (21c), the nominalized marker *-sa* is suffixed to the verb root *d^zʔ* ‘talk’ is coded as the imperfective aspect.

9.4.4 Verbal-complement clauses

Nominalized clauses also function as the complement of the verb as illustrated in (22).

- (22) a. *um uhopulai ŋa tuŋna malatnΛ*
 um uhopu-lai ŋa tuŋ-na ma-lat-nΛ
 3SG him only-DAT EMPH drink-NMLZ NEG-be sufficient-NEG
 ‘It was not enough to drink for her/him only.’

⁹¹ In Dumi, the morphophonological change in ‘d’ in place of *t** appears (i.e., voicing) in the environment of high front vowel ‘i’ as in *ki(t)-i-m* → *kidim* ‘purchased’.

b. *mΛjo owa kori baksa mΛ*

<i>mΛjo</i>	<i>o-wa</i>	<i>koriba-k-sa</i>	<i>mΛ-ø</i>
at that time	1SG.poss-y.sister	crawl-M.EXTDR-NMLZ	COP-MIR

‘My younger sister was at the crawling age.’

In example (22a), the verb *tuy* ‘drink’ is marked by the nominalizer *-na* and in (22b) the verb *koriba* ‘crawl’ is marked by the nominalizer *-sa* which form the verbal complement clauses.

9.4.5 Adverbial clauses

Reason adverbial clauses are made up of the root of the verb affixed by the nominalizer *-m*. Such nominalized verbs are followed by the ergative marker *-a*. Syntactically, they function as a noun phrase as illustrated in (23).

(23) a. *at^{hi}joma tam ok^{hur} d^{zh}umsum*

<i>a-t^{hi}i-(j)o-m-a</i>	<i>tam</i>
1SG-fall down-PST-NMLZ-ERG	this

<i>o-k^{hur}</i>	<i>d^{zh}ums-u-m</i>
1SG.POSS-hand	get hurt-1SG.PST-NMLZ

‘This my hand got hurt when I fell down.’

b. *hu jema duwa manirnΛ*

<i>hu</i>	<i>je-m-a</i>	<i>duwa</i>	<i>ma-nir-i*-nΛ</i>
rain	fall-NMLZ-ERG	work	NEG-complete-PST-NEG

‘The work was not completed as it rained.’

In example (23a), a person maker *-o* is affixed to the verb root *t^{hi}* ‘fall down’ which is marked by the nominalizer *-m* followed by the ergative marker *-a*. In example (23b) the verb root *je* ‘fall’ is marked by the nominalizer *-m* followed by the ergative marker *-a*. These nominalized forms are realized syntactically as noun phrases, but functional as reason adverbial clauses.

Dumi also employs the root of the verb affixed by the nominalizer *-na* as a purpose adverbial clause as illustrated in (24).

- (24) a.
- bolo ŋa duwa njarnalai rokot^{sh}otam*

bolo ŋa duwa
soon EMPH work

njar-na-lai rokot^{sh}o-t-a-m
complete-NMLZ-DET be active-NPST-3SG-NMLZ

‘He works hard to complete the job soon.’

- b.
- sumu senapo lagi p^ha:ri dattam*

sumu se-na-po lagi
pheasant kill-NMLZ-PURP in order to

p^ha:ri dAt-t-a-m
trap install-NPST-3SG-NMLZ

‘He installs the trap in order to kill the peasant.’

In example (24a), the verb root *njar* ‘complete’ is marked by the nominalizer *-na* followed by the dative marker *-lai*. Likewise, in example (24b), the nominalizer *-na* is followed by the purposeful marker *-po* and is affixed to the verb root *se* ‘kill’. The noun phrase so formed functions as a purpose adverbial clause.

9.4.6 Free-standing independent clauses

Free-standing independent clauses are a type of nominalized clause that employs a final copula sentence. In such clauses, the person marker *-u* is affixed to the root of the verb followed by the nominalizer *-m* as illustrated in (25).

- (25) a.
- doktum gota*

dokt-u-m gota
see-1SG.PST-NMLZ COP.NPST

‘I have seen.’

b. *aŋua kim kidum gota*

aŋu-a kim kid-u-m gota
 1SG-ERG house purchase-1SG.PST-NMLZ COP.NPST

‘I have purchased a house.’

c. *um t^{sh}umum gota*

um t^{sh}um-u-m gota
 3SG dance-3SG.PST-NMLZ COP.NPST

‘He has danced.’

In examples (25a-c), the roots of the verbs are marked by the nominalizer *-m* <realis, perfective> to form the nouns *doktum* ‘seen’, *kidum* ‘purchased’, and *t^{sh}umom* ‘danced’ with the copula *gota* ‘be’ placed sentence finally.

9.5 Verb-phrase nominalized clauses

Verb-phrase nominalization structurally resembles a nominalized clause (Givón, 1980). In *Dumi*, a nominalizer is marked by the suffix *-na* to form the verb-phrase as illustrated in (26).

(26) a. *molai k^hojo se:na k^hanuksa mono*

mo-lai k^hojo se:-na k^hanuksa mono
 what-DAT ever kill-NMLZ good NOT

‘It is not good to kill living beings.’

b. *mo dokti mam ŋa d^zuna ita*

mo dok-t-i mam ŋa d^zu-na ita
 what see-NPST-1PL.INCL that EMPH eat-INF NOT

‘It is not good to eat whatever we find.’

In examples (26a, b), the roots of the verbs *se:* ‘kill’ and *d^zu* ‘eat’ are marked by the nominalizer *-na* to form the respective verb-phrases *se:na* ‘killing’ in (26a) and *d^zuna* ‘eating’ in (26b), respectively.

9.6 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed nominalization (i.e., a productive morphosyntactic process) and relative constructions. Like other Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayan region, Dumi makes use of derivational (i.e., lexical) and clausal nominalization at the morphological and syntactic levels of grammar as well. We noticed derivational nominalization that appears to be complex and productive. It extensively employs nominalized clauses in broader syntactic structures where they function as a noun phrase. Such structures include attributive phrases, nominal-complement constructions, relative clauses, verbal-complement clauses, adverbial clauses, free-standing independent clauses and verb-phrase nominalized clauses.

CHAPTER 10

CLAUSE COMBINING

10.0 Outline

This chapter about clause combining comprises three sections. In section 10.1, we deal with subordination in complex expressions: complement, adverbial, relative and converbal clauses in Dumli. Section 10.2 discusses coordination in complex expressions: conjunction, disjunction, adversative coordination and exclusion. Finally, in section 10.3, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

10.1 Subordination

Subordination is a morphosyntactic process which embeds one or more dependent clauses within the independent clause. It is also a way to interpret the cognitive relation between two events synthesized into a single matrix clause. In Dumli clauses, the verb is marked for person and number, and unlike the Athpare language (Ebert, 2001:149), Dumli marks TAM as well. In this regard, Kirati languages, in terms of the degree of integration, Dumli also exhibits multi-verb constructions as the traditional subordinate clause. Syntactically, the subordinate clause is not equal to the main clause as it is dependent. The subordinate clauses include complement, adverbial, relative and converbal clauses. We discuss each of these clauses in turn as follows.

10.1.1 Complement clauses

Payne (2006:292) notes that a prototypical complement clause is a clause that functions as an argument (i.e., subject or object) of some other clause. A main (or matrix) clause is a clause that has another clause (i.e., a complement clause) as one of its core arguments. Functionally, complement clauses or verbal complements are clauses that function as subject or object arguments of other clauses (Givón, 2001:39). Syntactically, they are the subordinate clauses embedded in the verb phrase. In Dumli, the complement clauses which are embedded within another clause are of two types: functioning as either the subjects or the objects of the matrix clause.

Both the subject and object complement clauses are non-finite clauses. The subordinate clause can be identified as a complement clause as illustrated in (1).

(1) *aŋu norola tambi pijom*

aŋu noro-la tambi pi-(j)o-m

1SG noro-ABL here come-1SG.PST-NMLZ

‘I came here from Norung.’

In example (1), the case relation of the complement is ablative, marked by the suffix *-la* ‘from’ in Dumli. Non-reduced nominalized clauses can be a complement to a verb of cognition (or sensation) as illustrated in (2).

(2) *aɲua dusumua ki d^hi t^hΛtnim doktu*

aɲu-a dusu-mu-a ki d^hi-t^hΛt-ni-m dokt-u
 1SG-ERG friend-PL-ERG yam dig-PROG-PL.PST-NMLZ see-1SG.PST

‘I saw that my friends were digging yam.’

In example (2), the verb *d^hi t^hΛtnim* ‘digging’ shows the nominalized clause as complements of cognition (or sensation).

There are two types of complement clauses: subject and object complements. In Dumi, both of these complement clauses are non-finite clauses which are discussed as follows.

(a) Subject complement

The complement clause functioning as the subject argument occurs in the initial position of the matrix clause as illustrated in (3).

(3) a. *k^hliba t^samum tuma ugo t^saiju*

k^hliba t^sam-u-m tum-a
 dog lose-3SG.PST-NMLZ matter-ERG
 u-go t^sai-(j)u
 3SG.POSS-soul make upset-3SG.PST

‘That the dog was lost made her upset.’

b. *t^su t^{sh}ukum tuma unu hursi*

t^su t^{sh}uk-u-m tum-a
 baby born-3SG.PST-NMLZ matter-ERG
 u-nu hurs-i
 3SG.POSS-soul be happy-3SG.PST

‘That the matter of child’s birth made him happy.’

In example (3a), the clause with the non-finite verb form *t^samum* ‘lost’ is the complement clause which functions as the subject complement (i.e., nominalized form) of the finite verb *t^saiju* ‘made upset’. Similarly, in example (3b), the clause with non-finite verb form *t^{sh}ukum* ‘born’ is the complement clause which functions as the subject complement (i.e., nominalized form) of the finite verb *nu hursi* ‘made happy’.

(b) Object complement

As in subject complement clauses, the object complement clauses occur in the initial position of the matrix clause as illustrated in (4).

- (4) a. *amna hi: kilta aksa aɲulai lʌm gota*

amna hi: kil-t-a

today wind blow-NPST-3SG

ak-sa aɲu-lai lʌm gota

say-NMLZ 1SG-DAT aware COP.NPST

‘I am sure that it will be windy today.’

- b. *t^hampu k^hirsti aksa d^zharaa t^ʰuknim gota*

t^hampu k^hirs-t-i ak-sa

earth go round-NPST-3SG say-NMLZ

d^zhara-a t^suk-ni-m gota

everyone-ERG know-3PL.PST-NMLZ COP.NPST

‘Everyone knows that the earth goes round.’

In example (4a), the clause with the non-finite form of the verb *hi kilta* ‘it will be windy’ is the complement clause which functions as the object argument of the finite verb *lʌm gota* ‘I have felt (i.e., I am sure)’. Likewise, the clause with the non-finite form of the verb *k^hirsti* ‘goes round’ is the complement clause which functions as the object argument of the finite verb *t^ʰuknim* ‘known’ in (4b).

10.1.2 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses in Dumi are subordinate clauses. Adverbial clauses function as an adverbial element of another clause. They are employed to provide the situational context for the event (or state) that is described in the main clause. The verbs in the adverbial clauses are typically morphologically marked by the subordinating affix *-t^he*, specifying the way in which an action is carried out. They are attributed to the verb and hence are ‘adverbial’ and consequently take the position before the verb as illustrated in (5).

(5) a. *ani hopubrΛ k^hanot^he ad^zeta*

ani hopu-brΛ k^hano-t^he a-d^ze-t-a

2SG own-language well-MAN 2SG-speak-NPST-2SG

‘You speak your own language (i.e., mother tongue) well.’

b. *u-mupu b^hent^he jΛkto*

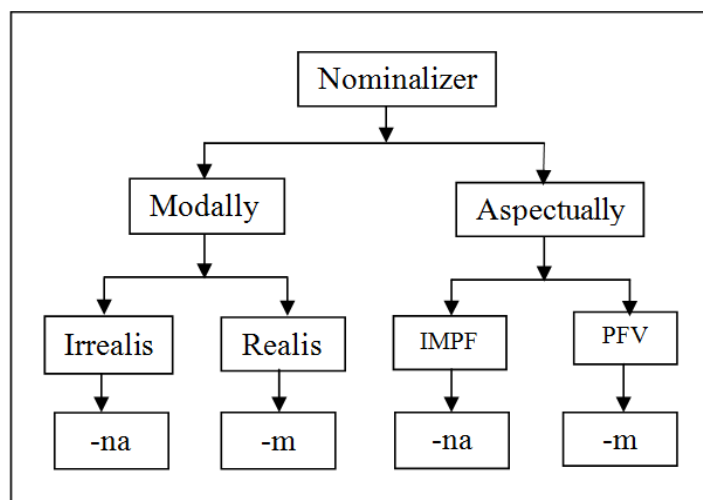
u-mupu b^hen-t^he jΛk-t-o

3SG.POSS-stomach become full-MAN feed-NPST-1SG

‘I feed him to make his stomach full.’

In examples (5a, b), the verbs *k^hanot^he* ‘well’ and *b^hent^he* ‘fully’ refer to the adverbial (or manner) clauses in Dumi. Functionally, there are seven types of complex expressions categorized as adverbial clauses: time, location, manner, purpose, reason, concessive and conditional adverbial. Figure 10.1 presents the seven types of complex expressions categorized as adverbial clauses in Dumi:

Figure 10.1: Types of adverbial clauses



The function, form and distribution of such adverbial clauses are discussed as follows:

(a) Time adverbial clauses

The time adverbial clauses are non-finite clauses, which are used to provide information about the relative temporal ordering of the two or more events.

Dumi employs two suffixes which are marked on the verb of the subordinate clauses. The verbs in the adverbial clauses are morphologically marked by two types of subordinating affixes, *-lamlu* ‘before,’ indicating the preceding event and *-ka* ‘after’ signifying the succeeding event as illustrated in (6).

- (6) a. *jeɬak^hom pinalamlu aŋu luklabi moŋu*

jeɬak^hom pina-lamlu aŋu lukla-bi mo-ŋ-u

Kathmandu come-BEFORE 1SG Lukla-LOC be-1SG-PST

‘I was in Lukla before I came to Kathmandu.’

- b. *aŋua brattoka um tambi pita*

aŋu-a brat-t-o-ka um tambi pi-t-a

1SG-ERG call-NPST-1SG-AFTER 3SG here come-NPST-3SG

‘She will come here after I call her.’

In examples (6a, b), there are non-finite forms of the verbs *pina* ‘come’ in 6(a) and *brattoka* ‘after calling’ in 6(b) in Dumri.

(b) Location adverbial clauses

In Dumri, the location or locative clauses are introduced by the relative subordinator *k^hamu* ‘where’ or *k^hambi* ‘where (or at what location)’ in the subordinate clauses as illustrated in (7).

- (7) a. *ani k^hamu ak^husta mambi ŋa aŋu jo k^husto*

ani k^hamu a-k^hus-t-a mambi

2SG where 2SG-go-NPST-2SG there

ŋa aŋu jo k^hus-t-o

EMPH 1SG PRT go-NPST-1SG

‘I will go there where ever you go.’

b. *um k^hΛmbi mota mambi ŋa aŋu jo huŋto*

um k^hΛmbi mo-t-a mambi

3SG where stay-NPST-3SG there

ŋa aŋu jo huŋ-t-o

EMPH 1SG PRT wait-NPST-1SG

‘I will wait there where he stays.’

In examples (7a, b), the locative adverbial clauses are introduced by the relative subordinators *k^hΛmu* ‘where’ or *k^hΛmbi* ‘where’. Unlike the time adverbial clauses, the locational adverbial clauses are finite subordinate clauses having independent aspect/tense marking in their verbs.

(c) Manner adverbial clauses

The manner adverbial clauses also share the characteristics of relative clauses and are introduced with relative adverbs which are always followed by correlative constructions in principal clauses. Dumi employs the interrogative pronoun *mo* ‘what’ to indicate manner in the subordinate clauses as illustrated in (8).

(8) *aŋua mo lutto mam ŋa muta*

aŋu-a mo lut-t-o mam ŋa mu-t-a

1SG-ERG what tel-NPST-1SG that EMPH do-NPST-3SG

‘(He) does what I tell him.’

In example (8), the clause with the interrogative pronoun *mo* ‘what’ is the manner finite subordinate clause. The manner adverbial clauses are non-finite clauses embedded in the matrix clause as illustrated in (9).

(9) *ani t^ʃa sek^he tum amuta*

ani t^ʃi-a se-k^he tum a-mu-t-a

2SG local beer-ERG get drunk-NMLZ talk 2SG-do-NPST-2SG

‘You talk as if you got drunk.’

In example (9), a non-finite clause embedded in the matrix clause employs *t^ʃa sek^he* ‘as if you got drunk’ in the complex subordinate clause in Dumi.

(d) Purpose adverbial clauses

Purpose relations link two states of affairs, one of which (the main one) is used with the goal of obtaining the realization of another one (i.e., the dependent one) (Cristofaro, 2003:157). Dumi employs the non-finite form of the verb as subordinators to form purpose adverbial clauses. They are affixed to the root of the verb as illustrated in (10).

(10) a. *uma nu tuna sodʒa juktam*

um-a nu tu-na sodʒa juk-t-a-m

3SG-ERG name keep-PURP money distribute-NPST-3SG-NMLZ

‘He distributes money to be famous.’

b. *pipi dumkubi t^sa:t^sa hʌʌ*

pipi dum-kubi t^sa:t^sa hʌʌ

grandma meet-PURP grandchild arrive.3SG.PST

‘The grandchild arrived to meet her grandmother.’

c. *uŋku ani lukubi hukta*

uŋku ani lu-kubi huk-t-a

1PL.EXCL 2SG take-PURP come-NPST-1PL.EXCL

‘We (excl.) will come to take you.’

In examples (10a-c), the purpose clauses in Dumi are realized in two different ways: morphologically by affixing a purpose morpheme *-na* to the base form of the verb as in (10a), and syntactically by using benefactive postpositions *-kubi* after the infinitival form of the verbs as demonstrated in (10b, c).

Furthermore, it is quite obvious from the examples (10a-c) that the purpose adverbial clauses are non-finite clauses. In (10a) the verbal affix *-na* ‘to’ has been employed as a subordinator to form a purpose clause. In examples (10b, c), the verbal affix *-kubi* ‘for’ is used for the adverbial clause. In (10b), the speaker tells a person to arrive for the purpose of meeting her grandmother. Likewise, the speaker tells a person to come for the purpose of taking her/him in (10c).

(e) Reason adverbial clauses

The non-finite form of the reason clause consists of the root of the verb affixed by the nominalizer *-m* followed by the ergative/instrumental case marker *-a* as illustrated in (11).

b. *pabia nat^sur muta k^hojo d^{zh}araa umlai ηa jattani*

pabi-a nat^sur mut-a k^hojo

Pabi-ERG jealous do-3SG.NPST although

d^{zh}ara-a um-lai ηa jat-t-ani

everyone-ERG 3SG-DAT EMPH like-NPST-3PL

‘Although Pabi is jealous, everyone likes him.’

In examples (12a, b), the verbs *doisti* ‘seems’ and *muta* ‘does’ are followed by the concessive adverbial marker *k^hojo* ‘although’. The concessive adverbial clause is a non-finite clause, which is used to reflect a contrast of some sort between the main and the subordinate clause in Dumi.

(g) Conditional adverbial clauses

In Dumi, the verb is affixed by the marker *-k^ho* in a probable type of conditional clause as illustrated in (13).

(13) a. *hu jetak^ho asijo hamhotanΛ*

hu je-t-a-k^ho asijo ham-ho-t-a-nΛ

rain fall-NPST-3SG-COND nobody PL-present-NPST-3PL-NEG

‘If it rains, no one will be present.’

b. *ani k^hΛksak^ho aηu jo k^husto*

ani k^hΛ-k-sa-k^ho aηu jo k^hus-t-o

2SG go-M.EXTDR-NMLZ-COND 1SG PRT go-NPST-1SG

‘If you go, I shall also go.’

c. *nam g^hrimtak^ho unt i pitinA*

nam g^hrim-t-a-k^ho unt^{si} hulu-t-i-nA

sun set-NPST-3SG-COND 3DU arrive-NPST-3DU-NEG

‘They (two) will not arrive if it becomes dark.’

In examples (13a-c), the conditional clauses are expressed with the help of a topic marker followed by a conditional particle *-k^ho* ‘if’, in *hu jetak^ho* ‘if it rains’, *k^haksak^ho* ‘if you go’ and *nam grimtak^ho* ‘if it becomes dark’, respectively show the conditional markers in Dumii.

10.1.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are subordinate clauses that modify an NP in the matrix clause⁹². Relative clauses are clause-size modifiers embedded in the noun phrase. In terms of syntactic structure, a relative clause is a clause that is embedded within a noun phrase (Payne, 2006:302) whereas in terms of function, it is defined as a clause-size modifier embedded in the noun phrase (Givón, 2001:176). They are characterized by a cluster of morphological, semantic and syntactic properties. In Dumii, there are two types of relative clauses: externally headed relative clauses and relative-correlative clauses. The latter type of relative clauses is marginally present in Dumii. Here we analyze them within the three typological parameters⁹³.

We discuss each of these relative clauses as follows:

(a) Externally headed relative clauses

In Dumii, an externally headed relative clause is the non-finite type of relative clause in which a ‘null or covert operator’ or a ‘gap’ occurs in the embedded relative clause. Such a clause is pre-nominal and the non-finite predicate of such a clause, which is nominalized.

In this sub-section, we mainly discuss the morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of externally headed relative clauses as illustrated in (14).

(14) Nominalizer preceded by the perfective marker <-po-m>

a. *[puʔbi dampom] gu haŋu*

[puʔ-bi dam-po-m] gu haŋ-u

ash-LOC wash-PFV-NMLZ cloth dry-3SG.PST

‘The cloth washed with ash dried.’

⁹² Subbarao (2012:263) notes that all South Asian languages have three types of relative clauses: (i) Externally headed relative clauses, (ii) Relative-Correlative clauses and (iii) Internally headed relative clauses.

⁹³ The three typological parameters by which relative clauses can be grouped are: (1) the position of the clause with respect to the head noun, (2) The mode of expression of the relativized NP (sometimes called the ‘case recoverability strategy’) and (3) which grammatical relations can be relativized.

b. **Nominalizer followed by the dative marker <-sa-lai>**

[*hent^ʃa sek-lɔŋsalai*] d^ʒektinΛ

[hent^ʃi-a sek-lɔŋ-sa-lai]

alcohol-ERG get drink-AMBL-NMLZ-DAT

d^ʒe-k-t-i-nΛ

call-M.EXTDR-NPST-1PL.INCL-NEG

‘We must not talk with the one who always drinks alcohol.’ (Literal: ‘Better not to talk with a drunkard.’)

In examples (14a, b), the clauses within the square brackets ‘[-]’ represent the subordinate clauses in which the embedded predicates are non-finite. In (14a), the verb *dam* (**dap*) ‘wash’ suffixed by the perfective case marker *-po* is followed by the nominalizer *-m* whereas in (14b) the verb *sek-lɔŋ* ?‘get drink’ suffixed by the nominalizer *-sa* is followed by the dative case marker *-lai*. These subordinate clauses with a non-finite embedded predicate function as relative clauses. In Dumii, a ‘null (or covert) operator’ in the subject position can be relativized as illustrated in (15).

(15) [*tam t^ʃeŋsa*] *minua bana t^ʃapta*

[tam t^ʃeŋ-sa] minu-a ba-na t^ʃapta

this recognize-NMLZ person-ERG say-INF can

‘The one who recognizes this can tell us.’

In example (15), the missing co-referent noun *minu* ‘person’ is relativized in the subject position. A ‘null (or covert) operator’ in the direct object position can be relativized as illustrated in (16).

(16) [*aŋua t^ʃendum minu*] *madoktunΛ*

[aŋu-a t^ʃend-u-m] minu ma-dokt-u-nΛ

1SG-ERG know-1SG.PST-NMLZ person NEG-see-1SG.PST-NEG

‘The one whom I knew could not see.’

In example (16), the missing co-referent noun *minu* ‘person’ is relativized in the direct object position. A ‘null (covert) operator’ in the oblique position can be relativized as illustrated in (17).

(17) [ani amotam k^hom] k^hanuksa gota

[ani a-mo-t-a-m] k^hom k^hanuksa gota
 2SG 2SG-stay-NPST-2SG-NMLZ place nice COP.NPST

‘The place where you stay is nice.’

In example (17), the missing co-referent noun *k^hom* ‘place’ is relativized in the oblique position.

(b) Relative-correlative clauses

The relative-correlative type of relative clause marginally exists in Dumi. Dumi makes use of interrogative pronouns for this purpose as illustrated in (18).

(18) **Nominalizer preceded by the perfective marker <-po-m>**

[nu t^{sh}eksalai] d^zaraa jattani

[nu t^{sh}ek-sa-lai] d^zara-a jat-t-ani
 mind open-NMLZ-DAT everybody-ERG like-NPST-3PL

‘The person who is openminded is popular.’

In example (18), the relative-correlative clauses have a finite embedded predicate. It means that the relative-correlative clauses are finite embedded clauses.

i. Formation of relative clauses

In Dumi, relative clauses are formed in two ways. The first way is to change the verb of the relative clause into a participial form. Two verbal suffixes are employed: *-sa* and *-m* for this purpose as illustrated in (19).

(19) a. *mam minu kadim k^hliba*

mam minu kad-i-m k^hliba
 that person bite-3SG.PST-NMLZ dog
 ‘the dog which bit that person’

b. *lamdubi huksa k^hliba*

lamdu-bi huk-sa k^hliba
 path-LOC bark-NMLZ dog
 ‘the dog that barks on the path’

In example (19a), the verbal suffix *-m* is affixed to the respective verb root *kat* ‘bite’ of the relative clause in a participial form. Likewise, in (19b), the verbal suffix *-sa* is affixed to the root of the verb *huk* ‘bark’ to form the relative clause. These two verbal morphemes are

in a paradigmatic relationship. Two verbal suffixes are employed: *-m* and *-sa* for this purpose as illustrated in (20).

- (20) a. *aḡua pλḡum kakal*
 aḡu-a pλḡ-u-m kakal
 1SG-ERG weave-1SG.PST-NMLZ basket
 ‘the basket which I plaited’

- b. *ania puksa kakal*
 ani-a puk-sa kakal
 2SG-ERG weave-NMLZ basket
 ‘the basket which you will weave’

In examples (20a, b), the relative clause in which the verb is suffixed by *-m* may also be referred to as a perfect participle (PRF PTCP) and the clause with the verb suffixed by the morpheme *-sa* may be referred to as an illustrated infinitival participle (INF PTCP).

In examples (19) and (20), there is a contrast aspectually in the two distinct forms *-m* and *-sa*. It is clear that the distinction between them is concerned with aspect instead of any grammatical relations or semantic roles. The distribution of *-m* and *-sa* does not distinguish grammatical relations as illustrated in (21).

- (21) a. *aḡua sodʒa biḡum minu*
 aḡu-a sodʒa biḡ-u-m minu
 1SG-ERG money give-1SG.PST-NMLZ person
 ‘The person whom I gave the money’

- b. *aḡulai sodʒa biksa minu*
 aḡu-lai sodʒa bi-k-sa minu
 1SG-DAT money give-M.EXTDR-NMLZ person
 ‘The person who will give me money’

Examples (21a, b) may suggest tense, but the marker *-sa* is clearly imperfective as opposed to non-past. They are exemplified in the following examples.

Dumi has a different verbal morpheme *-m* for relativization. Thus, the relative clause morphology in Dumi codes additional semantic or grammatical categories as illustrated in (22).

- (22) a. *bʌsbi hoŋsa tikʌt*
- bʌs-bi hoŋ-sa tikʌt
- bus-LOC travel-NMLZ ticket
- ‘the ticket that is used to travel by bus’

- b. *aŋu lamt^hijom jʌpaka um hʌʌʌ*
- aŋu lamt^hi-(j)o-m jʌpaka um hʌʌʌ
- 1SG move-1SG.PST-NMLZ after 3SG arrive.3SG.PST
- ‘After I left s/he arrived.’

In example (22a), the verbal morpheme *-sa* is affixed to the root of the verb *hoŋ* ‘travel’ and another verbal morpheme *-m* is affixed to the root of the verbs *lamt^hi* ‘move’ in (22b) for relativization. Thus, the relative clause morphology in Dumi codes additional semantic or grammatical categories. It is, therefore, clear that Dumi employs *-sa*, when the aspect of the relative clause is imperfective and it uses *-m* when aspect is perfective.

10.1.4 Converbial clauses

Converbial clauses are clauses that are linked by conjunctive participles with the principal clauses. According to Peterson (2002:96), Nepali converbs are classified into three classes: perfective converbs, imperfective converbs and sequential converbs. However, Dumi exhibits only two types of converbs and consequently, two types of converb clauses consisting of respective converbs: simultaneous (i.e., expression of progressive senses or simultaneous events) and sequential (i.e., sequencing events in narrative; anterior events).

We analyze the morphology, semantics and syntactic features associated with these two types of converbs as follows:

(a) Morphology

The simultaneous converb clauses in Dumi are realized in the presence of simultaneous converbs marked with *-so*, attached to the base form of the verb. The simultaneous converb clause implies that the state of affairs expressed in the subordinate and principle clauses occur simultaneously as illustrated in (23).

- (23) a. *um le luso t^{sh}umu*
- um le lu-so t^{sh}um-u
- 3SG song sing-SIM dance-3SG.PST
- ‘She danced with singing a song.’

b. *ad^{zh}om tummu t^samusso k^hΛisi*

ad^{zh}o-m tum-mu t^samu-s-so k^hΛ-is-i
 long ago-NMLZ thing-PL forget-M.EXTDR-SIM go-PASS-PST

‘We are forgetting the things that we used to do long ago.’
 [DPT.NMR-45:022]

In examples (23a, b), two actions *le luso* ‘singing a song’ and *t^samusso* ‘forgetting’ are realized as the presence of a simultaneous converb in Dumii marked with *-so*, attached to the base forms of the verbs *lu* ‘sing’ in (23a) and *t^samus* ‘forget’ in (23b), respectively.

On the other hand, if there is a reduplication of the same conjunctive participle, the clause indicates continuity as illustrated in (24).

(24) a. *umua t^su:t^su lemso lemso ipti*

u-mu-a t^su:t^su lem-so
 3SG.POSS-mother-ERG child persuade-SIM

lemso ipt-i
 REDUP get sleep-3SG.PST

‘Her mother made the child sleep by persuading.’

b. *nokt^{sh}o t^{sh}Λmsso t^{sh}Λmsso ukim hupat^si*

nokt^{sh}o t^{sh}Λm-so t^{sh}Λm-so u-kim hupat^s-i
 shaman dance-SIM REDUP 3SG.POSS-home reach-3SG.PST

‘The shaman reached his home by dancing.’

In examples (24a, b), the reduplication of the converbs *lemso* ‘persuading’ and *t^{sh}Λmsso* ‘dancing’ connote continuity in Dumii.

The sequential converb clauses are characterized in the form of a sequential converb which is marked by *-soka* attached to the root of the verb as in (25).

- (25) a. *aŋua saulo k^hAssoka sɛː hudum*
 aŋu-a saulo k^hΛ-s-soka
 1SG-ERG jungle go-M.EXTDR-SEQ
 sɛː hud-u-m
 firewood bring-1SG.PST-NMLZ
 ‘After going to the jungle, I brought firewood.’

- b. *gulai pɪʔkajo lumsoka daptik^ho nuksa*
 gu-lai pɪʔ-kajo lum-soka dap-t^hΛnpo
 cloth-DAT ash-COM boil-SEQ beat-HAB.PST
 ‘We used to wash cloth by boiling with ash.’ [DPT.NMR-45:037]

In examples (25a, b), the sequential converb is formed by adding the suffix *-soka* to the verbal roots *k^hΛ* ‘go’ with the morpheme extenders (M.EXTDR) *-s* in 25(a) and *lum* ‘boil’ in 25(b).

(b) Semantics

Dumi employs the simultaneous converbal constructions to express an activity which is simultaneous with or temporally overlapping with another activity expressed by the matrix predicate as illustrated in (26).

- (26) a. *k^hliba hukso saulo huŋu*
 k^hliba huk-so saulo-hu huŋ-u
 dog bark-SIM jungle-ABL enter-3SG.PST
 ‘The dog entered the jungle barking.’
- b. *senso mo muna maka asso mimdi*
 sen-so mo mu-na maka as-so mimd-i
 look-SIM what do-NMLZ PRT say-SIM think-3SG.PST
 ‘Looking at that, he thought for what to do.’ [GPC.HSR-36:07]

In examples (26a, b), the simultaneous converbal constructions *hukso* ‘barking’ in 26(a), *senso* ‘looking’ and *asso* ‘saying’ in 26(b) express the activities which are simultaneous with another activity expressed by the matrix predicate.

The major function of the sequential converb is to encode the event which is assumed to have occurred prior to the event coded in the matrix predicate as illustrated in (27).

(27) a. *kim k^hAssoka d^za d^zΛŋu*

kim k^hΛ-s-soka d^za d^zΛŋ-u
 home go-M.EXTDR-SEQ rice eat-1SG.PST

‘After having reached home, I ate rice.’

b. *tamlai t^sensoka lissΛŋto at^s*

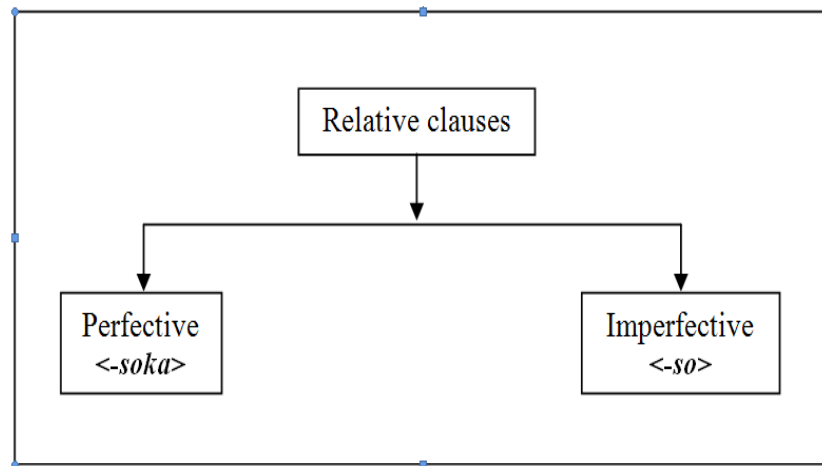
tam-lai t^sen-soka lis-sΛŋ-t-o at^s-i
 this-DAT teach-SEQ release-BEN-NPST-1SG say-3SG.PST

‘After having taught it, he said to release.’ [GPC.HSR-36:28]

In examples (27a, b), the sequential converbal constructions *k^hAssoka* ‘having reached’ in 27(a) and *t^sensoka* ‘having taught’ in 27(b) express the activities which are the major function of the sequential converb that encode the events which are assumed to have occurred prior to the event coded in the matrix predicate. The complex sentences in (27a, b) contain the sequence of events.

In examples (26a, b), the tense of the simultaneous converbal constructions and in (27a, b), the tense of the sequential converbal constructions match with the non-past tense of the verbs in the matrix clauses. The simultaneous converb can be analyzed as an imperfective aspect indicating that the action indicated by the non-finite clause is simultaneous with the main verb. Likewise, the sequential converb is associated with the perfective aspect which indicates an action that happened prior to that of the main verb. Modally, the former (i.e., simultaneous) represents the irrealis whereas the latter (i.e., sequential) represents the realis in Dumi.

Figure 10.2 presents the typology of relative clauses in Dumi from a semantic point of view.

Figure 10.2: Classification of the relative clauses

Apart from the core meaning, viz., temporal priority, Dumi employs non-specialized sequential converbs which confer a variety of other contextual meanings, including cause and manner as illustrated in (28).

(28) a. **Other contextual meaning including cause**

mojo dʒuna madoknaka um kim Aisi

mojo dʒu-na ma-dok-na-ka

anything eat-INF NEG-get-NEG-SEQ

um kim Ais-i

3SG home return-3SG.PST

‘After not having found anything to eat, he returned home.’

b. **Other contextual meaning including manner**

um jassoka ŋa kʰut im

um ja-s-soka ŋa kʰut^s-i-m

3SG prefer-M.EXTDR-SEQ EMPH go-3SG.PST-NMLZ

‘After having preferred, he joined there.’

In examples (28a, b), the sequential converbal constructions *madoknaka* ‘after not having seen’ and *jassoka* ‘after having preferred’ express the activities which are the major function of the sequential converb that encode the events which are assumed to have occurred prior to the event coded in the matrix predicate in Dumi.

(c) Syntax

In Dumi, the converbal clauses exhibit some syntactic properties, which are discussed as follows:

i. Position of the converb clauses

In Dumi, both the converb clauses: simultaneous as illustrated in (26) and sequential as illustrated in (27) occur inside the matrix clause. In marked constructions, they can also be post-posed as a discourse strategy to express afterthought as illustrated in (29).

- (29) a. *t^su:t^su ηokso ukim k^hut^sĩ*
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| t ^s u:t ^s u | ηok-so | u-kim | k ^h ut ^s -i |
| child | cry-SIM | 3SG.POSS-home | go-3SG.PST |
- ‘The child went to her/his home crying.’

- b. *senna madoksoka um bolo ηa lisi*
- | | | | |
|----------|-------------|----------------|--|
| sen-na | ma-dok-soka | um | |
| look-INF | NEG-see-SEQ | 3SG | |
| bolo | ηa | lis-i | |
| soon | EMPH | return-3SG.PST | |
- ‘Not having a chance to look at something, he returned from there soon.’

In examples (29a, b), the sequential converbal constructions *ηokso* ‘crying’ and *madoksoka* ‘not having to look’ express the activities which are the major function of the simultaneous and sequential converbs, respectively.

To sum up, the converbal constructions in Dumi have the same subject as their main clause. They not only show referential coherence, but also temporal coherence.

10.2 Coordination

The term coordination refers to ‘syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements’ (Haspelmath 2007:34). A coordinating construction may be coordinated by one or more coordinators and may be simply juxtaposed without any coordinators. In this section, we discuss the conjunction, disjunction, adversative coordination and exclusion in Dumi in brief as follows:

10.2.1 Conjunction

The independent clauses in Dumi may be conjoined by using the coordinate conjunction *kajo* ‘and’. The basic function of this form is to combine co-ordinatively two or more clauses having the equal grammatical status as illustrated in (30).

- (30) a. *sɛː kajo pabua k^ho nuk^hΛksa*
 sɛː kajo pabu-a
 wood and bamboo-ERG
 k^ho nuk-k^hΛ-k-sa
 COND be-go-M.EXTDR-nominalizer
 ‘Only two things required are bamboo and wood.’ [DPT.NMR-45:034]
- b. *nana kajo pepe malo hulu-(j)i*
 nana kajo pepe malo hulu-(j)i
 elder sister and elder brother just before arrive-2DU.PST
 ‘Elder sister and elder brother arrived just before.’

In example (30a), the two noun phrases, viz., *sɛː* ‘wood’ and *pabu* ‘bamboo’ and in example (30b) *nana* ‘elder sister’ and *pepe* ‘elder brother’ have been coordinated by the coordinator *kajo* ‘and’.

10.2.2 Disjunctive coordination

Dumi does not have any native coordinator for disjunction⁹⁴. Quirk and Greenbaum (1988:258) notes usually the ‘or’ coordination ‘is exclusive, expressing the idea that only one of the possibilities can be realized’. Although Haspelmath (2007:25) distinguishes between standard disjunction and interrogative disjunction⁹⁵, Dumi employs a single disjunctive coordinator *je* ‘or’ in both types of coordination.

In Dumi, the disjunctive particle always precedes the subsequent coordinands in the sentences as illustrated in (31).

- (31) a. *nokt^{sh}o tambi hamhota je papa ŋa mambi hamk^hustam*
 nokt^{sh}o tambi ham-hot-a je
 shaman here HON-come-3SG.NPST or
 papa ŋa mambi ham-k^hus-t-a-m
 father EMPH there HON-go-NPST-3SG-NMLZ
 ‘Either the shaman comes here or father will go there?’

⁹⁴ Disjunctive coordination is also known as alternative coordination or ‘or’ coordination.

⁹⁵ Interrogative disjunction occurs in alternative questions.

- b. *sʌkli je sukli latta*
 sʌk-li je suk-li-a lat-t-a
 two-CLF or three-CLF-ERG enough-NPST-3SG
 ‘Will two or three be enough?’

- c. *tambi t^su:t^su je duspi hʌm gʌ*
 tambɪ t^su:t^su je duspi hʌ-m gʌ
 there child or adult come-PRF COP
 ‘Had the child or adult come here?’

Examples (31a-c) demonstrate a single disjunctive coordinator *je* ‘or’ for disjunction in Dumi.

10.2.3 Adversative coordination

Dumi has its own native lexical adversative coordinator *k^hojo* ‘but’, which means an expression by a concessive subordinate. It is also used for purpose in Dumi as illustrated in (32).

- (32) a. *nana hamhʌʌ k^hojo pepe mahuna ŋa*
 nana ham-hʌʌ k^hojo
 elder sister HON-arrive.PRF but
 pepe ma-hu-na ŋa
 elder brother NEG-arrive-NEG EMPH
 ‘Elder sister arrived, but elder brother did not arrive.’

- b. *hito ŋa at^sent^so k^hojo makuk^hono*
 hito ŋa a-t^sent^s-o
 many times EMPH 3SG-teach-1SG.PST

k^hojo ma-kuk^h-o-no

but NEG-understand-1SG.PST-NEG

‘She taught me many times, but I could not understand it.’

c. *amna muna t^{sh}ukta k^hojo asala muna manggu*

amna mu-na t^{sh}ukta k^hojo

today do-INF has to but

asala mu-na manggu

tomorrow do-INF not

‘It has to be done today, but not to do tomorrow.’

In examples (32a-c), there is a lexical adversative coordinator *k^hojo* ‘but’, which means it is an expression of a concessive subordinate in Dumi. The negative adversative is indicated by *nΛk^ho* ‘otherwise’ as illustrated in (33).

(33) a. *salu k^hant^he kamtinΛk^ho arwakti*

salu k^hant^he kam-t-i-nΛk^ho

bone properly chew-NPST-1PL.INCL-otherwise

a-rwak-t-i

1PL-harm-NPST-1PL.INCL

‘We must chew the bone properly; otherwise, it may harm us.’

b. *bulso k^hut^sa, abultanΛk^ho atittanΛ mei*

bul-so k^hut^s-a a-bul-t-a-nΛk^ho

run-SIM go-IMP 2SG-run-NPST-2SG-otherwise

a-tit-t-a-nΛ mei

2SG-meet-NPST-2SG-NEG PRT

‘Run fast, otherwise, you will not meet.’

In examples (33a, b), the negative adversative coordinator *nΛk^hb* ‘otherwise’, is expressed by concessive subordinate clauses and is also used for purpose in Dumi.

10.2.4 Exclusion

In Dumi, exclusion is indicated by *bika* ‘except’ as illustrated in (34).

(34) a. *tam bika opo moĵo maŋgu*

tam bika o-po moĵo maŋgu

this except 1SG-GEN anything not

‘I have nothing except this.’

b. *kΛŋku tuŋom bika moĵo kwambi bjaktum maŋgu*

kΛŋku tuŋ-o-m bika moĵo

water drink-1SG.PST-PRF except anything

kwam-bi bjakt-u-m maŋgu

mouth-LOC put-1SG.PST-PRF not

‘I have not put anything in my mouth except drinking water.’

c. *ania sod^za p^hi-na bika moĵo akuk^hum maŋgu*

ani-a sod^za p^hi-na bika

you-ERG money ask-NMLZ except

moĵo a-kuk^h-u-m maŋgu

nothing 2SG-know-2SG.PST-PRF not

‘You do not know anything except asking for money.’

In examples (34a-c), the exclusion is indicated by the suffix *-bika* ‘except’ in Dumi.

10.3 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the various types of complex expressions formed by employing different morphosyntactic strategies. Dumi employs only the non-finite complement clause. Such a clause is embedded within the matrix clause and functions as the argument (i.e., subject or object). In this language, both complements occur in the initial position of the matrix clause, and the non-finite complement clause functions as the subject and object complements. Dumi is a clause chaining language, signified by verbal affixes. There are two types of converb clauses: simultaneous and sequential.

Both converbs are expressed morphologically. One of the typological features is the simultaneous converb that consists of the verb root suffixed by *-so*. The main function of the sequential converb *-soka* is to encode the event which is assumed to have occurred prior to the event coded in the matrix predicate: a sequence of events whereas the simultaneous converb expresses an activity which is simultaneous with, or temporally overlapping with, another activity expressed by the matrix predicate. Based on construction, Dumi comprises two or more coordinands (i.e., coordinated phrases) which are coordinated by one or more coordinators.

CHAPTER 11

DISCOURSE

11.0 Outline

This chapter about discourse is organized into three sections. Section 11.1 gives a general description and background information on discourse and how it relates to Dumi. In section 11.2, we investigate multi-propositional discourse found in the language, followed by section 11.3 which summarizes the findings of the chapter.

11.1 Discourse description and background

This section is organized into two sub-sections. The proposition (i.e., grammaticalized as clause) is assumed to be the basic information processing unit in human discourse. The complex process of continuity in discourse is only realized in reality. The multi-propositional level of discourse consists of a chain of clauses combining into larger thematic units called thematic paragraphs (i.e., paragraphs having the same theme). However, such continuity is expressed structurally (i.e., grammatically or syntactically) in the clause. Givón (1983:7) notes that discourse continuity is broadly categorized into three basic forms: thematic continuity, action continuity and topics (or participants) continuity.

Discourse is built of clause-level units which comprise the same theme and tend to repeat the same participant. Dumi exploits a number of morphosyntactic devices in the domains of topic continuity, action continuity and thematic continuity at the multi-propositional discourse level. The term ‘discourse’ covers all those aspects of communication in modern linguistics, which involve not only a text (or message), but also the addresser and addressee and their immediate context or situation. In this sense, discourse refers not only to ordinary conversation and its context, but also to written communication between writer and reader (Wales, 2001:114). A text differs from a sentence in kind. It is not a grammatical unit like a clause or a sentence; and is not defined by its size.

Discourse is not limited to the spoken variety, nor is it only a unit larger than a sentence. This phenomenon may cover the range from silence to a single utterance like ‘oh!’, ‘well’ and ‘I mean’ and long written texts like stories and novels and spoken texts like jokes, conversation and interview. In this section, firstly, we try to classify discourse in Dumi, analyze the general structure on the basis of surface structure and notional structure, temporal and locational expression strategies, and strategies for maintaining the inter-clausal relations like cohesion and coherence of the narrative discourse.

As discourse is considered to be a behavioral unit, it can have several contextual types like ordinary conversation, a joke, an interview, a television talk show, a sermon, a sport commentary and the like. Paudel (2013:392) codes classification of discourse made by Bearth (1978:213), which shows nine different categories: greetings, proverbs, speeches, general narratives, dialogue, procedures, explanation, description and argument. On the other hand, Smith (2003:8) incorporates all these types of discourse into five modes, viz., narrative, description, report, information and argument. However, Longacre and Hwang (2012:36) limit the discourse types into four types: narrative, behavioral, expository and procedural.

All these types of discourse are evident in Dumi. But, due to the space and time limitations, our analysis in this section will focus only on the typical characteristics of

narrative discourse in this language. Before starting an analysis of the morphosyntactic devices, let us first introduce all the types of discourse available in this language.

11.2 Multi-propositional discourse

In this section, we examine all types of discourse available in Dumi, which are used in the domains of topic continuity, action continuity and thematic continuity at the multi-propositional discourse level. The individual state of event clauses may be combined into a coherent discourse. Human discourse is predominantly multi-propositional (i.e., its coherence transcends the bounds of its component clauses). Multi-propositional discourse is also processed and stored in episodic-declarative memory (Givón 1995).

11.2.1 Topic (referential) continuity

While talking about multi-propositional discourse, we analyze the morphosyntactic devices employed to persuade the same referents over and over again in Dumi. Such devices in this language may consist of anaphoric pronouns, demonstratives, relative clauses and clause chaining.

Let us examine how the markers of discourse referentiality in Dumi code the continuity of the topic referential in a narrative discourse as illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. *duŋkulubi ganpa aksa rΛdu mΛ*

duŋkulu-bi	ganpa	a-k-sa	rΛdu	mΛ
Dungkulu-LOC	Ganpa	say-M.EXTDR-NMLZ	Rai	COP.PST

‘In Dungkulu, there was a Rai called Ganpa.’

- b. *umpo tukli maki aksa k^hliba jo mΛ*

um-po	tuk-li	maki	a-k-sa
3SG-GEN	one-CLF	Maki	say-M.EXTDR-NMLZ

k ^h liba	jo	mΛ
dog	also	COP.PST

‘He also had a dog named Maki.’

- c. *mam k^hliba tuk din sebar lamso sumandu saulobi hupat ʔ*

mam	k ^h liba	tuk	din	sebar
that	dog	one	day	animal

lʌm-so sumandu saulo-bi hupat^s-i
 search-SIM humid jungle-LOC reach-3SG.PST

‘Maki reached in the humid forest searching for wild animals.’

- d. *mambi hupat^sika mama tukli t^soktim biru kʌldi ka
 mamlai sessoka t^husso kim hutpadi*

mambi hupat^s-i-ka mam-a
 there reach-3SG.PST-AFTER that-ERG

tuk-li t^sokt-im biru
 one-CLF be mature-PTCP deer

kʌld-i ka mam-lai se-s-soka
 chase-3SG.PST CONJ that-DAT kill-M.EXTDR-SEQ

t^hu-s-so kim hut-pad-i
 pull-M.EXTDR-SIM house carry-AMBL-3SG.PST

‘After having reached there that killing an adult deer by chasing
 and brought it to the house by pulling.’

- e. *asalapaka ganpaa mamlai ʎa disso atasabam makpabi piju ka mʌ*

asalapaka ganpa-a mam-lai
 next day Ganpa-ERG that-DAT

ʎa di-s-so atasaba-m
 EMPH follow-M.EXTDR-SIM nowadays-ASP

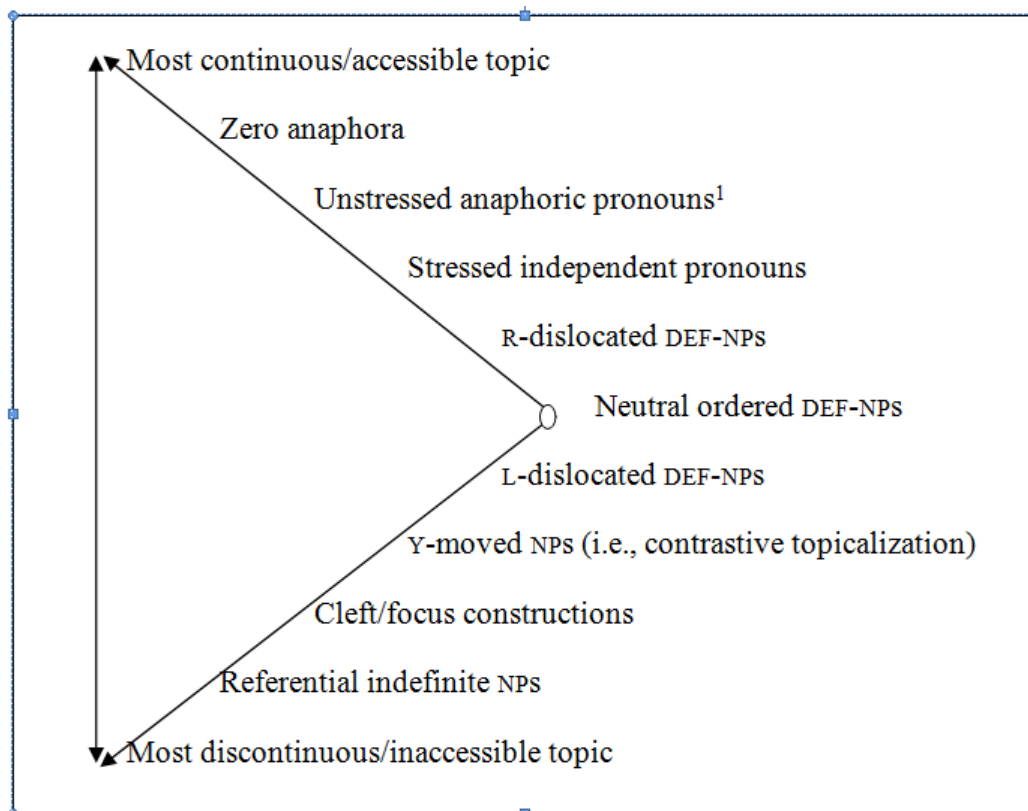
makpa-bi pij-u ka mΛ
 Makpa-LOC come-3SG.PST CONJ stay.PST

‘The next day, Ganpa came to Makpa following the dog and settled there.’

The markers of discourse referentiality in Dumi underlined in (1a-e) can be analyzed as follows:

- a. In (1b) *umpo* and in (1d) *mama* are the respective third person singular anaphoric pronouns in genitive and agentive forms, *umpo* in (1b) refers back to Ganpa in (1a) and in (1d) *mama* refers back to Maki in (1b). Similarly, in (1e) *mamlai* is also the third person singular anaphoric pronoun in the dative form.
- b. In 1(c, d) *mam* is the remote demonstrative which codes both continuity and specificity of the referents.
- c. Apart from anaphoric pronouns and demonstratives in (1) there are two other kinds of structures which function in the domain of topic continuity. They consist of clause chaining and the relative clause. In 1(c, e) there is a clause with a non-finite form of the verb *lamsō* ‘searching’ and *disso* ‘following’ suffixed by the simultaneous suffix *-so* and in (1d), there are also non-finite clauses with the verb *sessoka* ‘killing’ suffixed by sequential marker *-soka*. Both clauses represent ‘middle clauses’, in which the subject is co-referential with the subject of the clause final finite clause in Dumi.
- d. There is a clause with the non-finite verb *tʰoktim* ‘adult’ suffixed by participial marker *-im* in (1d). This represents the participial type of relative clause. This type of relative clause employs a gap strategy to recover the case referent of the relative clause with reference to the head noun.

A natural language may employ one or more devices for marking an argument as topic. Payne (1997:345) notes that different languages may employ a number of different means to mark an argument as the topics/participants continuity. Here, we discuss the specific discourse contexts in which the coding devices are employed to indicate topic continuity in Dumi discourse, ranking from the most continuous to the most discontinuous. Givón (1983:17) claims a scale of cross-linguistic coding devices which may be employed to indicate topic continuity in discourse in the Figure 11.1.

Figure 11.1: Topic continuity in discourse**(a) Zero anaphora**

Zero anaphora (or anaphoric zero) is used in the contexts of maximal referential continuity in Dumi. The antecedents of the anaphoric zero may be a full-NP, an anaphoric zero (i.e., pronoun), found significantly in the immediately preceding clauses (Givón, 2001:418) as illustrated in (2).

(2) a. *lamlu tambi ganpa pijum gΛ e*

lamlu tambi ganpa pi-(j)u-m gΛ e
 at first here Ganpa come-3SG.PST-PRF COP.PST REP
 ‘Initially, Ganpa had come here, it is said.’ [MAK.LD-70:07]

b. *mΛnΛka rΛtepa jo disso pijum gΛ e*

mΛnΛ-ka rΛtepa jo dis-so
 then-after Ratepa also follow-SIM

pi-(j)u-m gΛ e
 come-3sg.PST-PRF COP.PST REP

‘And then, following him, Ratepa had also come here, it is said.’

[MAK.LD-70:08]

In example (2b), the topic/participant is coded by the anaphoric zero, which is used for the most continuous topic. The referent of this zero is a full-NP which has been expressed as *ganpa* ‘Ganpa’ in (2a).

(b) Unstressed anaphoric pronouns

Like anaphoric zero (or zero anaphora), the unstressed anaphoric pronouns are also in the context of maximal referential continuity in Dumi. The antecedents of such pronouns are found in the immediately preceding clauses as illustrated in (3).

(3) a. *k^hΛΛbika lamlu tam k^hombi sΛkli rΛdu t^sunu hujim gΛ e*

k^hΛΛ-bika lamlu tam k^hom-bi sΛk-li rΛdu
 all-ABL at first here place-LOC two-CLF Rai

t^su-nu hu-(j)i-m gΛ e
 progeny-DU come-3DU.PST-PRF COP.PST REP

‘At first, two Kirati Rai progeny had come in this place, it is said.’

[MAK.LD-70:03]

b. *unt^si-po nu ganpa kajo rΛtepa gΛ e*

unt^si-po nu ganpa kajo rΛtepa gΛ e
 3DU-GEN name Ganpa CONJ Ratepa COP.PST REP

‘Their (two) names were Ganpa and Ratepa, it is said.’ [MAK.LD-70:04]

In examples (3a, b), the unstressed anaphoric third person pronoun *unt^si* ‘they (two)’ in (3b) is co-referent to *rΛdu t^sunu* ‘two Kirati Rai progeny,’ which are in (3a), the immediately preceding clause. In (3b), the choice of the anaphoric pronoun rather than an anaphoric zero is prompted by the clause-rank discontinuity, viz., sub-ordinate main clause switch. Givón (2001:418) notes that such a choice may also be prompted by thematic discontinuity (i.e., end of the clause chain) and grammatical-role discontinuity (i.e., subject-object switch) in a language.

(c) Stressed independent pronouns

Zero anaphora and independent pronouns are used in the contexts of maximal referential continuity, whereas the stressed independent pronouns are used in the contexts of referential discontinuity. The stressed independent pronouns are used when there is potential ambiguity because of the occurrence of two or more referents of equal rank as illustrated in (4).

- (4) a. *nokt^{sho} o-po dusu-lai brAt-i*
 nokt^{sh}o-a o-po dusu-lai brAt-i
 shaman-ERG 1SG-GEN friend-DAT call-3SG.PST
 ‘The shaman called my friend.’
- b. *mAnA um siŋkubi k^hut^si*
 mAnA um siŋ-kubi k^hut^s-i
 then 3SG ask-PURP go-3SG.PST
 ‘Then, s/he went for asking.’

In example (4a), there are two potential referents, *nokt^{sho}* ‘shaman’ and *dusu* ‘friend’ for the third person pronoun *um* ‘s/he’ in (4b). Thus, in (4b) the personal pronoun has been stressed so that it refers to ‘my friend,’ but not the ‘shaman.’

(d) R-dislocation, neutral word order and L-dislocation

For topic continuity, word-order (i.e. the order of definite noun phrases) is one of the major coding devices. A natural language may employ two common devices: R-dislocation vs. L-dislocation. These two devices are particularly applicable to the rigid word-order in some languages like English (SVO) or Dumi (SOV). Such languages present the specific scalar prediction for the continuity or discontinuity of the topics as in (5).

- (5) R-dislocation > neutral word-order > L-dislocation

The scale in (5) predicts that the left-most on the scale codes are more continuous and the right-most ones are more discontinuous (Givón, 1983:19). An almost similar type of scale of prediction given in (5) can be made in the languages with pragmatically controlled flexible word-order language as illustrated in (6).

- (6) a. VS > SV
 b. VO > OV

The scale in (6a, b) implies that the left-most element codes are the more continuous topics, whereas the right-most element codes are the less continuous topics.

Before we discuss whether the implicational scale in (6a, b) can apply in Dumi, we need to examine the word order phenomena in the language. The order of the constituents of a simple transitive clause, viz., S (Subject), O (Object) and V (verb) may be permuted from their stipulated places as illustrated in (7).

- (7) a. *pʌbia dʒa dʒi* (SOV)
 pʌbi-a dʒa dʒi
 Pabi-ERG rice eat.3SG.PST
 ‘Pabi ate rice.’
- b. *pʌbia dʒi dʒa* (SVO)
 pʌbi-a dʒi dʒa
 Pabi-ERG eat.3SG.PST rice
- c. *dʒi pʌbia dʒa* (VSO)
 dʒi pʌbi-a dʒa
 eat.3SG.PST Pabi-ERG rice
- d. *dʒi dʒa pʌbia* (VOS)
 dʒi dʒa pʌbi-a
 eat.3SG.PST rice Pabi-ERG
- e. *dʒa pʌbia dʒi* (OSV)
 dʒa pʌbi-a dʒi
 rice Pabi-ERG eat.3SG.PST
- f. *dʒa dʒi pʌbia* (OVS)
 dʒa dʒi pʌbi-a
 rice eat.3SG.PST Pabi-ERG

It is to be noted that all the six logically possible clauses (7a-f) are acceptable in Dumi. However, we can argue that SOV in (7a) is the neutral or basic constituent order in this language. The reasons illustrated in (8) support this argument.

- (8) a. SOV is a common neutral word-order in other Tibeto-Burman languages like Bhujel (Regmi, 2012), Dolakha Newar (Genetti, 2007), Kham (Watters, 2001) including Indo-Aryan languages like Maithili (Yadava, 1998).
- b. The native speakers have a strong feeling that SOV is the basic word-order. Moreover, it is the most frequent, least marked and pragmatically neutral (Whaley, 1997:106).

The reasons illustrated in (8) support the argument that the clauses in (7b-f) show the permutation of the constituents in the simple transitive clause. However, the change in order generally triggers a change in the meaning of the permuted elements from its stipulated place. Table 11.1 shows the permutation of the constituents and its semantic and pragmatic effects:

Table 11.1: Permutation of the constituents of the clauses

(9)	Permutations of the constituents	Functional elements	Pragmatic effects
a.	pʌbia dʒa dʒi	(SOV)	'Pabi ate rice.'
b.	pʌbia dʒi dʒa	(SVO)	As for Pabi, he certainly ate rice.
c.	dʒa dʒi pʌbia	(OVS)	As for rice, Pabi ate it; he did not do anything else.
d.	dʒa pʌbia dʒi	(OSV)	As for rice, it was Pabi, who ate it.
e.	dʒi dʒa pʌbia	(VOS)	It was rice, as for eating, which Pabi ate.
f.	dʒi pʌbia dʒa	(VSO)	It was Pabi, as for eating, he did it.

Table 11.1 exhibits mainly two types of pragmatic effects of the permutation of constituents in (9b-f). They are topicalization and focusing. The topicalized constituent is placed clause initially. In (9b) the subject *pʌbia* 'Pabi' is topicalized. In (9c) and (9d) the object *dʒa* 'rice' has been topicalized. Similarly, in (9e) and (9f) the verb *dʒi* 'eat' is topicalized. The focused constituent is placed clause medially. The subject 'Pabi' is focused in (9a) and (9b) whereas the object *dʒa* 'rice' is focused in (9c) and (9d). Similarly, the verb is focused in (9e) and (9f).

The permutation of the clause constituents in Dumi may trigger phonological effects which may produce different pragmatic effects as illustrated in (10).

(10) a. *pʌbia dʒa dʒi* (SOV)

pʌbi-a dʒa dʒi
 Pabi-ERG rice eat.3SG.PST
 ‘Pabi ate rice.’

b. *pʌbia dʒi dʒa* (SVO)

pʌbi-a dʒi dʒa
 Pabi-ERG eat.3SG.PST rice

c. *dʒi pʌbia dʒa* (VSO)

dʒi pʌbi-a dʒa
 eat.3SG.PST Pabi-ERG rice

d. *dʒi dʒa pʌbia* (VOS)

dʒi dʒa pʌbi-a
 eat.3SG.PST rice Pabi-ERG

e. *dʒa pʌbia dʒi* (OSV)

dʒa pʌbi-a dʒi
 rice Pabi-ERG eat.3SG.PST

f. *dʒa dʒi pʌbia* (OVS)

dʒa dʒi pʌbi-a
 rice eat.3SG.PST Pabi-ERG

In examples (10a-f), the following phonological rules may be applied:

- a. A basic clause as illustrated in (10a) carries a falling tone.
- b. In a pragmatically marked clause, e.g., (10b-f), the deviated constituent bears tonic stress in Dumi. Thus, the verbs in (10c, d) and the objects in (10e, f) bear tonic stress.

- c. The constituents which occur clause finally as in (10b-f) are normally uttered with a slightly rising tone.
- d. Pragmatically marked clauses as in (10b-f) are uttered with a fall-rise tone.

Let us examine the implicational prediction given in (6b) in the clauses as illustrated in (11).

(11) a. *pʌbia dʒi dʒa* (SVO)

pʌbi-a *dʒi* *dʒa*
 Pabi-ERG eat.3SG.PST Rice
 ‘As for Pabi, he certainly ate rice.’

b. *dʒa pʌbia dʒi* (OSV)

dʒa *pʌbi-a* *dʒi*
 rice Pabi-ERG eat.3SG.PST
 ‘As for rice, it was Pabi who ate it.’

In examples (11a, b), it is evident that the clause (11a) codes the more continuous topics than the clause in (11b).

(e) Y-moved NPs (i.e., contrastive topicalization)

Y-moved NPs often involve fronting of the contrastive topic. In Dumi, there are two ways to mark contrastive topicalization. The first one is to move the noun phrases functioning as the subjects or the objects to the clause initial positions as illustrated in (12).

(12) *dʒa pʌbia dʒi*

dʒa *pʌbi-a* *dʒi*
 rice Pabi-ERG eat.3SG.PST
 ‘As for rice, it was Pabi, who ate it.’

In example (12), direct object *dʒa* ‘rice’ is placed to the clause initial position for the contrastive topicalization. Likewise, the second way is to attach the contrastive morpheme -*kajo* to the noun phrases which we want to topicalize as illustrated in (13).

- (13) a. *mΛnΛ k^hΛkt^silipakajo mupu mamΛnΛ e*
 mΛnΛ k^hΛkt^silipa-kajo mupu ma-mΛ-nΛ e
 then Khwakchilikpa-COM parent NEG-be.PST-NEG REP
 ‘Then, as for Khwakchilikpa, he had no parent, it is said.’
- b. *mΛnΛ unananua ani mona tesoka aηuktam lussi*
 mΛnΛ u-nana-nu-a ani mona
 then 3SG.POSS-elder sister-DU-ERG 2SG why
 tesoka a-ηuk-t-am lus-s-i
 like this 2SG-cry-NPST-PTCP tell-M.EXTDR-3DU.PST
 ‘Then, as for the two sisters, they asked (their younger brother),
 ‘Why are you crying like this?’
- c. *mΛnΛ mam t^su:t^su kirΛ delbi mΛjo k^huba-k^huba uduwa muisi*
 mΛnΛ mam t^su:t^su kirΛ del-bi
 then that child maternal village-LOC
 mΛ-jo k^huba-k^huba u-duwa muis-i
 stay.3SG.PST-DUR persistently 3SG.POSS-work do-3SG.PST
 ‘As for the child, s/he worked hard while s/he stayed in the
 maternal village.’
- d. *mΛnΛ mam tuma d^{zh}aralai ηokmutni*
 mΛnΛ mam tum-a d^{zh}ara-lai ηok-mut-ni
 then that matter-ERG all-DAT cry-CAUS-3PL.PST
 ‘Then, as for that matter, made them all cry.’

In examples (13a-c), the subjects are topicalized, whereas in (13d), the object is topicalized.

(f) Cleft/focus constructions

Dumi does not have present cleft (or focus) constructions as we find in a fixed word-order language like English. In Dumi, the functions of the noun phrases are specified by using

case inflections. The noun phrases functioning as the subjects or objects are placed just before the predicates as illustrated in (14).

- (14) a. *kΛ najema p^heti*
 kΛ najem-a p^het-i
 curry Nayem-ERG serve-3SG.PST
 ‘As for curry, it was Nayam who served it.’

- b. *makpa makia lamlu dokti*
 makpa maki-a lamlu dokt-i
 Makpa Maki-ERG at the very beginning see-3SG.PST
 ‘As for the Makpa, it was Maki who found it out in the very beginning.’

In examples (14a, b), the respective subjects ‘Nayem’ and ‘Maki’ are moved from their clause initial position to the pre-verbal position for focus in Dumii.

(g) Referential indefinite NPs

Referential indefinite noun phrases refer to those noun phrases which are not marked, with the assumption that the addressee can identify the referent. In English, for instance, a peacock in the clause, ‘My grandchild saw a peacock.’ is an indefinite but a referential noun phrase. In Dumii, such noun phrases code the most discontinuous topics in the language as illustrated in (15).

- (15) a. *pispit^si t^hupsoka t^hampu kidi*
 pispit^si t^hup-soka t^hampu kid-i
 little by little collect-SEQ land purchase-3SG.PST
 ‘By collecting little by little, (s/he) purchased the land.’
- b. *d^{zh}ara t^sumu saulo hamk^hustam*
 d^{zh}ara t^sumu saulo ham-k^hus-t-a-m
 all people jungle 3PL-go-NPST-3PL-CERT
 ‘They all go to the jungle.’

In examples (15a, b), *t^hampu* ‘land’ in (15a) and *saulo* ‘jungle’ in (15b), are indefinite but referential noun phrases in Dumii.

11.2.2 Action (event) continuity

Among the three major aspects of discourse continuity⁹⁶ that bridge the gap between the macro and micro organizational levels of language, action continuity pertains primarily to temporal sequentiality within a thematic paragraph (Givón, 1983:8). In a natural language, the events or actions are principally organized in the thematic paragraph in the natural sequential order in which they actually occurred in the narrative discourse. Such continuity, in general, is coded by the tense-aspect-modality within the clause. However, in a narrative discourse, nominalization is at the heart of syntax in Dumi that also plays a vital role to code temporal sequentiality.

Healey (1991:64) notes that a natural language employs different parameters to organize the discourses as coherent wholes. Such organizational parameters are summarized in Table 11.2.

Table 11.2: Organizational parameters of discourse

	Accomplished time or time not focal	Projected time
(+) Sequence in time	NARRATIVE DISCOURSE 1/3 person oriented (i.e., person important)	PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE 1/2/3 person oriented (i.e., person unimportant)
(-) Sequence in time	EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE theme oriented	HORTATORY DISCOURSE two person oriented

Table 11.2 gives us an idea about the different kinds of discourses in a language that can be organized in terms of different principles. The main principle that we are concerned with here is the sequence in time. At this point, narrative and procedural discourses are organized according to the principle of the sequentiality of events. On the other hand, there is the lack of sequentiality in the expository and hortatory discourses. Tense/aspect marking and clause connectors are the morphosyntactic devices by which the speech act participants express and recover this kind of continuity.

Here, we examine how the Dumi language handles the sequencing of the events in narrative, behavioural, expository and procedural discourses. An event is referred to as something that actually happened. There is a common distinction between simultaneous and sequential events in Dumi. The non-events generally consist of settings (i.e., descriptive), background, evaluations (i.e., the addition of internal feelings to other kinds of information) and collateral (i.e., propositions, instead of telling what happened, telling what did not happen). Firstly, let us analyze a narrative Dumi discourse into events and non-events. Then, examine how tense/aspect and clause connectors relating to location, time and causation contribute to the discourse being coherent in terms of the sequencing of events.

⁹⁶ There are three major aspects of discourse continuity: (1) Thematic continuity, (2) Action continuity and (3) Topic/participant continuity (Givón, 1983:7). These are nonetheless deeply interconnected within the thematic paragraph. Action continuity may change without necessarily changing thematic continuity.

(a) Narrative discourse

A narrative discourse⁹⁷ is a discourse in which the narrator ‘relates a series of real (or fictive) events in the order they are supposed to have taken place’ in the past (Dahl 1985:112). It may be of several types: folk stories, historical events, mythology and personal experience. It gives us information about ‘who did what to whom when where why and how.’ A narrative discourse is a universal phenomenon based on human nature of getting entertainment by telling and hearing stories. ‘No culture is without some kind of narratives, such as folk tales, legends and first person accounts’ (Longacre and Hwang 2012:45). A narrative discourse meets both the parameters⁹⁸: contingent temporal succession and agent orientation.

The events that advance in a time line (i.e., the narrative backbone) in Dumi are generally indicated by verbs in the perfective aspect as illustrated in (16).

(16) a. *dibumia kimbi hΛka sɨ abikku*

dibumi-a kim-bi hΛ-ka
 hunter-ERG house-LOC come.3SG.PST-after
 sɨ a-bik-ku
 meat 3SG-give-1PL.PST

‘The hunter coming to the house gave us meat.’

b. *tukli pokt^su lamlu k^hust^hijum gΛ*

tuk-li pokt^su lamlu k^hus-t^hij-u-m gΛ
 one-CLF piglet ahead go-PROG-3SG.PST-PRF COP.PST
 ‘One piglet was going ahead.’

c. *mambika nokt^{sh}oa unimulai sijni e*

mam-bika nokt^{sh}o-a unimu-lai sij-ni e
 that-AFTER shaman-ERG 3PL-DAT ask-3PL.PST REP

‘After that, the shaman asked them, it is said.’

⁹⁷ Further classification of the narrative discourse proposed by Longacre and Hwang (2012:4) are of three types: legends (i.e., the stories of old people), historic narratives (i.e., the records of actual happening in the past) and current or contemporary narratives (the records of actual happening in the immediate or recent past).

⁹⁸ Two parameters to analyze discourse are contingent temporal succession and agent orientation. All these types of discourse have plus/minus relations with these parameters (Longacre and Hwang, 2012:35).

- d. *e tosuwa tam b^hika ap^hali*
 e tosuwa tam b^hika a-p^hal-i
 hey stupid this why 2SG-break-2SG.PST
 ‘Hey stupid, why did you break it?’
- e. *apo kimbi opo p_Λndi gota e*
 a-po kim-bi o-po p_Λndi gota e
 2SG-GEN house-LOC 1SG-GEN axe COP.NPST REP
 ‘There is my axe in your house, it is said.’
- f. *m_Λn_Λ delt^sumu hamrem g_Λm*
 m_Λn_Λ delt^su-mu ham-re-m g_Λ-m
 then villager-3PL 3PL-laugh.PST-PRF COP.PST-MIR
 ‘Then the villagers had laughed.’
- g. *t^su:t^sumulai t^hamssurea k_Λni*
 t^su:t^su-mu-lai t^hamsure-a k_Λ-ni
 child-PL-DAT lunatic-ERG chase-3PL.PST
 ‘The lunatic chased the children.’
- h. *m_Λn_Λ delt^sumu hamjiri*
 m_Λn_Λ delt^su-mu ham-jir-i
 then villager-3PL 3PL-get angry-3PL.PST
 ‘Then the villagers got angry.’
- i. *e gurikokpa b^hika te amu*
 e gurikokpa b^hika te a-mu
 hey cruel man why this 2SG-do.PST
 ‘Hey cruel man, why did you do like this?’

Examples (16a-i) may constitute a thematic paragraph of a narrative in Dumi. The event in (16a) is indicated by perfective form in the verbal word *bi* ‘give’ and in (16c), *siŋ* ‘ask’ as well. The event in (16b) is indicated by the progressive form in the verbal word *k^hus* ‘go’. In the example (16d), the event is marked in the verbal word *ap^hali* ‘(you) broke’ in the perfective form. However, the existential copula in (16e) and the verbal word in (16f) marked by a mirativity suffix only function as the setting in the narrative discourse. The state type of ‘event’/context in (16g), in this thematic paragraph, is marked by a time stable nominalized verb form. The verbs in (16h-i) function as the setting in the narrative discourse.

(b) Behavioural discourse

A behavioral discourse⁹⁹ includes all the discourse types that are oriented to make a change in the behavior of the hearer, such as a pep talk, a hortatory sermon, a eulogy, an advertisement, a political speech and the like (Longacre and Hwang, 2012:35). Since the purpose of a good behavioral text is to bring about a behavioral change in the life of the hearer, it is always logical and influential in its presentation. As Longacre and Hwang (2012:169) claim, it is also a cultural universal, ‘it is difficult to imagine a culture or a family in which somebody with experience does not give advice to somebody less experienced. However, it may be covert, mitigated or disguised.’ It is plus agent orientation and minus contingent temporal succession.

The agent orientation parameter in the behavioral texts is oriented towards the hearer and the contingent temporal succession parameter in such a text does not count as much as the logical and argumentative presentation does. In Dumi, the examples extracted from a narrative discourse as the narratives do consist of all types of discourse as illustrated in (17).

(17) a. *mɔjo unt^si-po waa aŋulai hopu ŋa maluk^hossu lussi e*

<i>mɔjo</i>	<i>unt^si-po</i>	<i>wa-a</i>			
at that time	2DU-GEN	younger brother-ERG			
<i>aŋu-lai</i>	<i>hopu</i>	<i>tuŋa</i>			
1SG-DAT	self	alone			
<i>ma-luk^h-o-s-su</i>		<i>lus-si</i>	<i>e</i>		
NEG-leave-1SG-M.EXTDR-2DU		tell-3DU.PST	REP		

‘At that time, the younger brother told them not to leave him alone, it is said.’ [TKHA.NR-72:15]

⁹⁹ A hortatory discourse (i.e., the text of command forms and modals feature in the main line can be classified as hortatory) is regarded as a subtype of the behavioral discourse (Longacre and Hwang 2012:169-70).

b. *aŋulai jo tuhe ŋa k^hut^sosu lussi e*

aŋu-lai jo tuhe ŋa
1SG-DAT also together EMPH

k^hut^s-o-su lu-s-si e
take-1SG-2DU tell-M.EXTDR-3DU.PST REP

‘He told them to take him together with them, it is said.’

c. *kingobi ŋa huŋni jei delt^sumu*

kim-go-bi ŋa huŋ-ni jei delt^su-mu
house-inside-LOC EMPH enter-2PL PRT villager-PL

‘My villagers! Please enter in the house.’ [ISL.NM-45:29]

d. *kubia k^hant^he anisulam disni wou*

kubi-a k^hant^he ani-sulam dis-ni wou
shaman-ERG properly 2SG.POSS-way follow-HON PRT

‘The shaman, please follow your way properly.’ [ISL.NM-45:35]

Examples (17a, b) and (17c, d) are extracted from two different narrative texts. Both the pairs form the ‘Keep the heat on’ phase of the story. In the first pair, the conflict has just started and the extracted texts intensify the conflict between the participants in two sides: two elder sisters *toma-k^hema* ‘Toma-Khema’ and their younger brother *k^hwakt^silikpa* ‘Khwakchilikpa’. Similarly, the second pair (17c, d) forms the prepeak phase of the plot. The house owner has invited his neighbors to enter into the house; the villagers have reached their house for worshipping the hearth. After preparing everything, one of the neighbors requests the shaman to perform the worshipping smoothly and genuinely.

(c) Expository discourse

Expository discourse¹⁰⁰ attempts to describe and explain some concrete objects or abstract ideas. It transmits the information of a non-narrative sort from the speaker to the listener. An expository text does not have contingent temporal organization; rather it has logical presentation with supportive materials to support the theme (i.e., descriptive details to present a clear picture of the topic referent). Thus, an expository text is minus both contingent temporal succession and agent orientation. A narrative discourse is comprised of several phases like exposition, inciting incident, developing conflict, climax, denouement and final

¹⁰⁰ Expository discourse may also have a notional segmentation like problem, solution, supporting argumentation and evaluation (Longacre and Hwang, 2012:190).

suspense. The expository text in Dumi usually uses static verbs, present tense and habitual aspect as illustrated in (18).

(18) a. *mismat^sumu k^hanuwama ka k^hurumi hamt^shukta*

mismat^su-mu k^hanuwama ka
 woman-PL beautiful CONJ

k^hurumi ham-t^{sh}uk-t-a
 laborious 3PL-be-NPST-3PL

‘Women are beautiful and laborious.’

b. *kimbi bapmehama birmet^sulai sulam-duwa t^sentani*

kim-bi bapme-ham-a birmet^su-lai
 house-LOC woman-PL-ERG daughter-DAT

sulam-duwa t^sen-t-ani
 house-work teach-NPST-3PL

‘Women teach their daughters all the housework.’

c. *birmet^sumu mupukajo musoka ŋa hamburta*

birmet^su-mu mupu-kajo mu-soka
 daughter-PL parent-COM stay-SEQ

ŋa ham-bur-t-a
 EMPH 3PL-grow-NPST-3PL

‘The daughters grow up staying with their parents.’

- d. *barsoka mundʒunalai kʰur-pʰalu pʌisina tʰukta*

bʌr-soka mun-dʒu-na-lai kʰur-pʰalu

grow-SEQ do-eat-INF-DAT hand-leg

pʌisi-na tʰuk-t-a

tie up-INF be-NPST-3PL

‘While growing, a life partner is needed for her to continue the life process.’

- e. *mʌkakʰi goa kaksɑ dʌni-po kimbi mukdʒukubi hamhupasta*

mʌkakʰi go-a kak-sɑ dʌni-po

that is why heart-ERG choose-NMLZ bridegroom-GEN

kim-bi muk-dʒu-kubi ham-hupas-t-a

house-LOC do-eat-PURP 3PL-reach-NPST-3PL

‘That is why they get married in their choice.’

Examples (18a-e) exhibit neither agent orientation, nor temporal succession. Instead, there is logical presentation anchoring the location in an inverted pyramid style, starting from the general coming to the particular. While describing the life of a Dumi girl, the speaker begins with the universal feature that women are more beautiful and hardworking than the men in their society. Then the focus goes to the Dumi girl who is brought up in the arms of her parents. But for the sake of continuity of tradition, she has to marry one day.

These examples constitute the problem phase of the discourse. Initially, the readers are introduced with *mismatʃu* ‘women’ in example (18a) and *birmetʃu* ‘a daughter’ in examples (18b, c). It implies the problem that the speaker is going to raise a concern with women in general and daughters in particular.

It is to be noted that all these examples comprise static verbs *hamtʰukta* ‘3PL-be-NPST-3PL’ in (18a), *tʰentani* ‘teach-NPST-3PL’ in (18b), *hamburta* ‘3PL-grow-NPST-3PL’ in (18c), *tʰukta* ‘be-NPST-3PL’ in (18d) and *hamhupasta* ‘3PL-reach-NPST-3PL’ in (18e) used in the habitual aspect of the present tense. In addition, while describing a generic feature, the number distinction is neutralized and the third person plural number is used, irrespective of the subject.

(d) Procedural discourse

Procedural discourse¹⁰¹ presents the process of accomplishing a work. As the steps of the process are ordered in succession and are connected with each other, it is plus contingent temporal succession; and as the attention is goal oriented, on what is done rather than who does it, it has the minus value of agent orientation. Procedural discourse ‘varies from the food recipe, to the how-to-do-it book, to the instruction to a particular worker for his activities on a given day’ (Longacre and Hwang 2012:153).

Among the four discourses, the procedural one is the least developed discourse type in the cultural societies of the world and the least discussed discourse type in linguistic literature. According to Longacre and Hwang (2012:153), the relative frequency and universality of the discourse types can be shown in the degree in (19).

(19) Procedural<Expository<Hortatory<Narrative

The nominalized clauses have discourse function of expressing the steps in a natural sequential order in a procedural discourse in Dumi. In such clauses, the verb is affixed exclusively by the nominalizer *-na*.

Let us consider a procedural text which presents the steps of making local beer in the Dumi community as illustrated in (20).

(20) a. *b^hubi lud^zΛm salna t^{sh}ukta*

b^hubi lud^zΛm sal-na t^{sh}ukta

initially millet sift-NMLZ must

‘Initially, there must be sifted millet.’ [CHI.RM-69:05]

b. *t^hohobi kΛŋku k^hrapti*

t^hoho-bi kΛŋku k^hrap-t-i

verticle boiling pot-LOC water put on woven-NPST-1PL.INCL

‘Water must be poured in a vertical boiling pot.’ [CHI.RM-69:08]

¹⁰¹ Longacre and Hwang (2012:153) notes that (a) procedural discourse generally describes actions contemplated or anticipated but not realized, a how-to-do-it discourse, which has plus projection. (b) It can also be used to show how something was done in the past and then it has the value of minus projection.

- c. *mambika luŋk^ha jukna ka mam-po p^hurku-a rukna t^{sh}ukta*

mambika luŋk^ha juk-na ka
 after that yeast grind-INF CONJ

mam-po p^hurku-a ruk-na t^{sh}ukta
 that-GEN dust-ERG spray-INF must

‘After that, there the yeast must be ground and its dust
 must be sprayed on the spread rice.’ [CHI.RM-69:17]

- d. *mΛnΛka ape ham-pom d^za kajo k^hant^he lupna t^{sh}ukta*

mΛnΛ-ka ape ham-pom d^za
 then-after earlier spread-PRF rice

kajo k^hant^he lup-na t^{sh}ukta
 CONV nicely mix-INF must

‘Then, it must be mixed up nicely with the yeast.’ [CHI.RM-69:18]

- e. *tesoka t^ʃi k^hip^sa mukti*

tesoka t^ʃi k^hip-sa mu-k-t-i

like this local beer prepare-NMLZ do-M.EXTDR-NPST-1PL.INCL

‘We prepare the local beer like this.’ [CHI.RM-69:31]

Examples (20a-e) present a glimpse of the procedural discourse in Dumii. In this example, the process of preparing local beer at home is given. Examples (20a-c) describe what is needed to make local beer. To prepare *t^ʃi* ‘local beer,’ initially we need millet, water and yeast as the basic ingredients. Example (20d) explains about the process further. Finally, example (20e) ends up the process elucidating that ‘we prepare local beer like this.’ In this example, we notice that the steps have to be placed in a logical order (i.e. the plus contingent temporal succession). On the other hand, it generalizes the process without focusing on any participant (i.e., minus agent orientation). A noticeable feature about the Dumii procedural discourse is that it generally uses first person plural agreement and is expressed in the present habitual aspect and future tense.

In practice, the combination of several types of discourse is found in a single text. According to Smith (2003:8), ‘Actual texts usually are not monolithic. In narratives, for instance, the significant unit is the episode: a group of events and states in sequence that are

bound together by a unifying theme. Narrative episodes, however, rarely consist only of sequence. There are also descriptive passages and perhaps argument as well.'

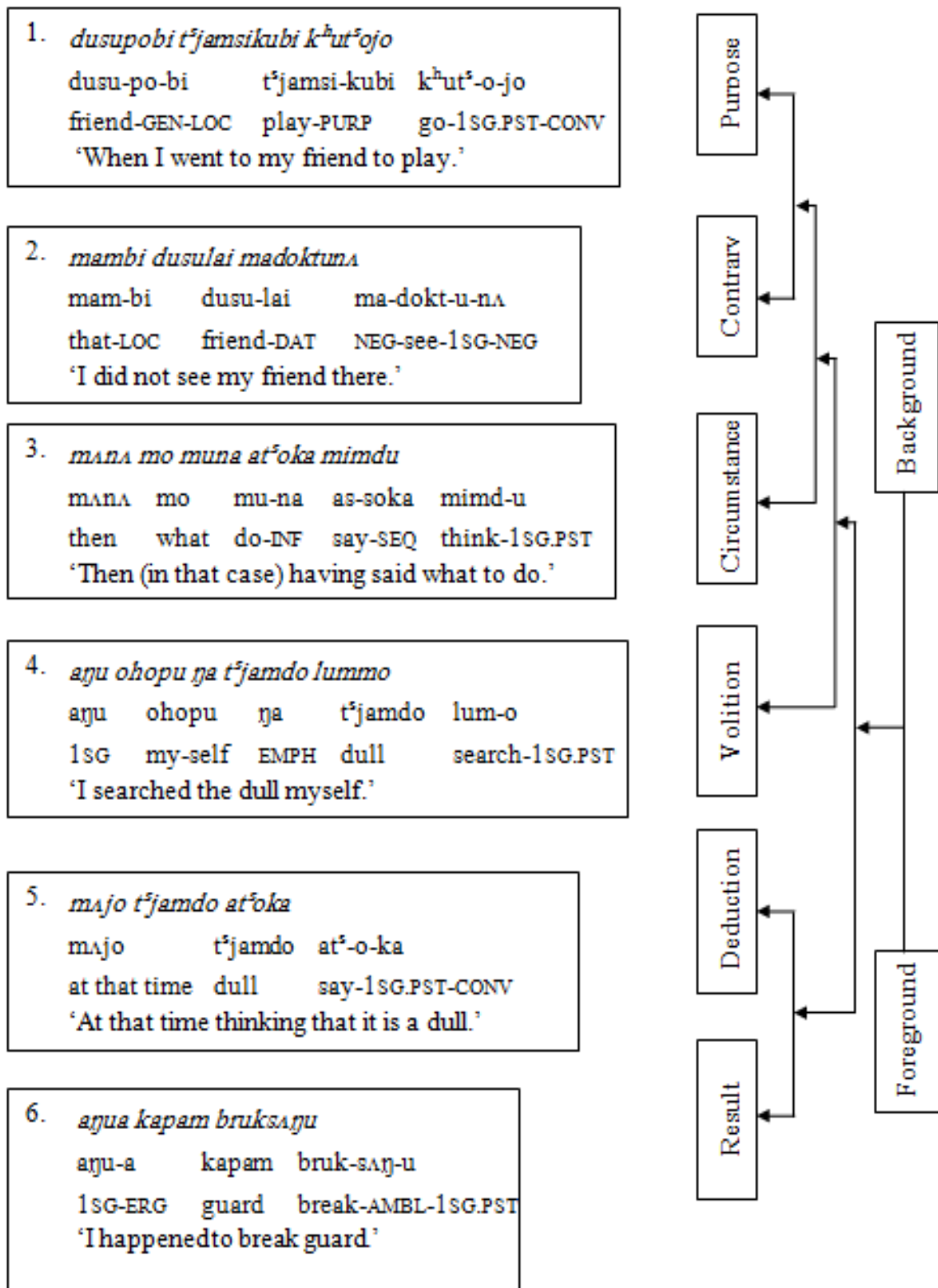
11.2.3 Thematic continuity

In this sub-section, we make a preliminary attempt to analyze the morphosyntactic devices which function in the domain of thematic continuity in Dumi discourse. Unlike topic or action continuity, thematic continuity may not be expressed by overt morphosyntactic devices. The devices which are used to code the topic or action continuity may be used by extension, to express (or reinforce) the thematic continuity (Payne, 1997:344). It is not easy to deal with thematic continuity. The first reason is that the main idea or theme of the discourse is hierarchically structured on semantic principles. The second reason is that the morphosyntactic devices which help the interpretation of that structure are sprinkled in the discourse. There are many frameworks within which the thematic structure of the message can be diagrammed.

Givón (1983:8) notes that thematic continuity is the overall matrix for all other continuities (i.e., action continuity and topic continuity) in the discourse. He further claims that thematic continuity coincides with action and topic continuity in the thematic paragraph in discourse. In the 'SOV type' of languages like Dumi, thematic continuity is coded by verb-final or clause-chain final suffixes. In this section, we investigate such devices to code thematic continuity in a narrative discourse in Dumi.

We have tried to follow the framework of rhetorical structure theory proposed by Mann and Thompson (1987) and further elaborated by Trail & Hale (1995). As in Bhujel (Regmi, 2012:150), we present the excerpt of an expository discourse in Dumi and look at how the thematic structure is morphosyntactically encoded.

Figure 11.2: Rhetorical structure analysis of an expository text in Dumi



In Figure 11.2, we have analyzed the text into six semantic notions: purpose, contrary to expectation, circumstance, volition, deduction and result. Furthermore, we have presented how they are linked together to form the hierarchical thematic structure. This structure mainly employs purposive clause, sentence nominal clause, conditional proposition connector and sequential converbial clause in hierarchical order.

11.3 Summary

In this chapter, we dealt with the major aspects of discourse continuity in Dumi. We discussed three types of continuities: topic continuity, action continuity and thematic continuity. Different types of morphosyntactic devices are used in the domains of these continuities at the multi-propositional discourse level. Zero anaphora (or anaphoric zero) is used in the contexts of maximal referential continuity. In the domain of action continuity, tense/aspect markers and nominalized clauses are used as morphosyntactic devices in this language. All the four discourses: narrative, behavioral, expository and procedural show the sequentiality of events. Thematic continuity is coded by sequential converbal clauses and nominalized clauses.

CHAPTER 12

SUMMARY AND TYPOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

12.0 Outline

This chapter comprises three sections. In section 12.1, we present a summary of the major findings of the study. Section 12.2 deals with the typological implications of the study. In section 12.3, we discuss the concluding remarks highlighting the prominent structural features in the Dumri language.

12.1 Major findings

In this section, we present the major findings of the features of the Dumri language in the domains of sociolinguistics, phonology, morphology, syntax and discourse-pragmatics.

12.1.1 Sociolinguistic features

Dumri is a member of the East Himalayish sub-section of the T-B section of the Sino-Tibetan language family. It is a less documented and an endangered Kirati language of the Rai group, spoken mainly in Makpa, Jalapa, Baksila, Sapteshwor and Kharmi VDCs in Khotang district of Sagarmatha zone in eastern Nepal. Dumri is used in almost all the domains of language use in a multilingual speech community. In minority, there are other Kirati languages of the Rai group, viz., Thulung, Khaling, Koyee, Sampang, Nachhiring and Chamling.

Although Nepali is the language of wider communication (LWC) in the Dumri speaking area, there is a positive attitude towards the use of the mother tongue. The level of intergenerational language transmission in the Dumri speech community is strong enough as the children use their mother tongue in some villages of Makpa VDC (i.e., an isolated Dumri speaking area). However, because of the use of Nepali as the medium of instruction in education, intermarriage and migration, the Dumri speakers are gradually shifting to Nepali. In terms of vitality, Dumri can be categorized as 6a (vigorous) as it has a sustainable orality.

12.1.2 Phonological features

There are 26 consonant phonemes in Dumri. They show four-way contrasts: place of articulation, manner of articulation, voicing and aspiration. In terms of place of articulation, there are six types of consonant phonemes: bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. According to the manner of articulation, there are seven types of consonant phonemes in Dumri: stops, nasals, affricates, fricatives, trills, laterals and approximants. Dumri shows consonant clusters which are exclusively realized within syllables. There are seven oral monophthongs with contrast in length, which occur in word-initial, word-medial and word-final position.

There are ten diphthongs distinctly identified in Dumri. The maximum syllable structure is (C₁) (C₂) (G) V (X), where X is either a consonant or a vowel. The frequency of occurrence of consonant clusters in the medial position is higher than in the initial position, but no consonant cluster exists in the coda position (i.e., word-finally). The consonant cluster existing only in onset, but not in coda position is one of the most common features of T-B languages. The weight of the syllable is solely determined by the rhyme of the syllable. Dumri shows both heavy and light syllable structures.

In Dumri, stress is not a distinctive feature, but intonation is distinctive. Dumri exhibits two types of assimilation: point of articulation and manner of articulation, both conditioned by their surrounding segments. There are two types of point of articulation assimilation: the assimilation of voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop and alveolar nasal. The voiced bilabial stop

changes into the voiceless bilabial stop under the influence of a preceding voiceless bilabial stop. The language also shows the process of coalescence of a root final velar nasal with a following velar nasal. The deletion is conditioned by syllable structure.

A segment or a morpheme consisting of more than one segment may be deleted to preserve or restore a syllable or word pattern that is acceptable in this language. Dumi presents the process of epenthesis which is conditioned by the syllable structure. Likewise, vowel harmony plays an important role of morphophonological change in this language. It is proposed that the Devanagari writing system can be used to capture the phonological features of the language with necessary modifications to it or by using diacritics.

12.1.3 Morphological features

Although there seems to be biological gender, like in Koyee (Rai, 2015:297), Dumi lacks grammatical gender. Likewise, person and number are marked morphologically. In terms of number, there are three categories of nouns: singular, dual and plural. The language uses a numeral classifier for the distinction between human vs. non-human nouns. They are attached to numerals as suffixes outside the noun. Dumi is an ergative-absolutive language. It exhibits the relational functions such as ergative, instrumental, dative, genitive, ablative, locative, allative, comitative and inessive. The human patient nouns or direct object nouns in a transitive clause are marked by the dative case inflection.

In common with other T-B languages, Dumi employs nominalization and compounding. The nouns can be derived from the verbs and adjectives through nominalization. Two categories of pronouns are: personal pronouns and pro-forms. The personal pronouns show three persons (1st vs. 2nd vs. 3rd) and three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural). Also found are the non-honorific and honorific pronouns under second and third persons. The first person non-singular numbers (i.e., both the dual and plural) show the distinction between inclusivity and exclusivity. The reflexive is marked on the pronouns whereas reciprocal is marked on the verb.

Most of the adjectives are derived from descriptive verbs with nominalizing affixes. They are used to fill the copula complement slot and modify the referent of the noun in a noun phrase. The higher numerals are derived from the lower ones by using mixtures of bases. Tense, aspect, mood and modality frequently co-occur in combination with the agreement inflections in the clause structure of the language. They are marked by separate morphemes or by the same morphemes in the complex verb.

Verbs inflect for two tense categories: past and non-past. The category of past tense is further sub-categorized into recent past and remote past. There are two aspects in Dumi: perfective and imperfective. The perfective aspect can be further sub-categorized into past-perfective (recent past-perfective vs. remote past-perfective), perfect, inceptive, completive. Similarly, the imperfective aspect can be further sub-categorized into durative and habitual. The epistemic modality of evidentiality is encoded in the verb by tense markers.

Dumi has epistemic and evaluative (deontic) modalities. The epistemic modalities, which are marked by special verb inflections, include probability, certainty, mirativity and negation. There are two types of evaluative modalities: ability and obligation. They are also encoded by verbal affixes. Causative is marked morphologically and lexically in Dumi. It exhibits two types of copulas formally and functionally, viz., existential and equational.

A bound grammatical morpheme, an independent word, derived words and syntactic constructions can be used as adverbs. Semantically, the adverbs in Dumi can be sub-

categorized into manner, time, aspect, place, epistemic adverbs. There are a few post-positions which may mark different cases in the language.

12.1.4 Syntactic features

The basic constituent order in Dumi is SOV, which can be used freely. The constituents may be permuted within the clause to a great extent for topicalization and focusing. The epistemic modality of certainty and certain time adverbials have been grammaticalized in this language.

Likewise, the adverb indicating certainty is formed by affixing the suffix *-det/-den/-des* to the verb root in Dumi. The main function of adverbs is to modify events or states. The forms which have been analyzed as a category of adverb are distinct semantically, formally and syntactically from other major lexical word classes: nouns, verbs and adjectives. Semantically, the adverbs can be sub-categorized into manner, time, aspect, place, epistemic, intensity, instrumental and expressive adverbs.

There are a few post-positions in this language. In terms of verbal predicates, there are four types of clauses: simple intransitive clauses, simple transitive clauses, intransitive clauses with indirect object and transitive clauses with indirect objects. The intransitive predicates can take an object, coded by the post-position in the language. In addition, Dumi also presents interrogative, imperative and optative clauses.

Nominalization is a dominant morphosyntactic process in Dumi. It uses both derivational and clausal nominalization. Derivational nominalization appears to be very productive. It extensively employs nominalized clauses in broader syntactic structures where they function as a noun phrase. Such structures include attributive phrases, nominal-complement constructions, relative clauses, verbal-complement clauses, adverbial clauses and free-standing independent clause.

Dumi exhibits various types of complex expressions formed by employing various morphosyntactic strategies. There are two types of complement clauses: subject complement and object complement clauses. Both are non-finite clauses and they are embedded within the matrix clause. In Dumi, the verbs in the majority of the adverbial clauses are morphologically marked by subordinating affixes.

There are two types of relative clauses: externally headed relative clauses and relative-correlative clauses. Cross-linguistically, Dumi definitely appears to be closer to other Kirati languages like Khaling, Koyee, etc.

12.1.5 Discourse-pragmatic features

Dumi shows three aspects of discourse continuity: topic, action and thematic. It uses a number of morphosyntactic devices in these domains of continuity. The devices such as constituent order, anaphoric zeros, independent pronouns and verb agreement are mainly used to mark topic continuity.

Dumi uses tense/aspect markers and nominalized clauses as morphosyntactic devices to code action continuity. The narrative and procedural discourse show the sequentiality of events. The thematic continuity is coded by sequential converbal clauses as well as nominalized clauses. SOV is the basic word order in this language. However, the order of the constituents is relatively free.

12.2 Typological implications

In this section, we first make an attempt to compare the common characteristic structural features of the Dumri language with other Kirati languages of the Rai group from a typological perspective: Thulung, Khaling, Koyee, Sampang, Nachhiring, Chamling, Bahing, Wambule, Jerung, Kulung, Puma, Bantawa and Yamphu. Furthermore, we also try to compare with other Kirati languages like Limbu and Sunuwar. Then, we explore the syntactic features associated with complex constructions in these languages. Matisoff (2003:6) notes that Tibeto-Burman languages are typologically diverse and is not easy to indicate which typological feature is the most 'common.'

There are two sections of Tibeto-Burman languages: Himalayish and Bodish. They share some distinct typological features and some structural features as well. The Himalayish group of T-B languages differs from those of the Bodish group (Noonan, 2003).

Different Kirati languages of the Rai group like Thulung, Khaling, Koyee, Sampang, Nachhiring and Chamling are neighbouring languages of Dumri. Nepali as the lingua-franca is spoken in the linguistic area of this language. Due to the long and stable language contact accompanied by multilingualism, it is natural that they have some features distinct to each other and that they share many common linguistic typological features too. After long contact with other languages, most of the languages in South Asia share common features as the areal typology (Abbi 2001; Noonan 2003, 2005; and Subbarao 2012).

Keeping these facts in consideration, we compare from a typological perspective both the phonological and morphosyntactic features of the Dumri language with the common phonological and morphosyntactic features in the T-B languages. Here, common features mean those structural features which are characteristic of the group (i.e., Himalayish) as a whole. In this section, we explore the typological features attested in the neighboring languages and use the common characteristic phonological features of the T-B languages proposed in Benedict (1972), Zograph (1982), Matisoff (2003) and Noonan (2003), and then we highlight some striking features of the language. In this section, we explore the typological implications on different levels of study: phonology, morphology and syntax.

12.2.1 Phonological comparison

Dumri shares a number of common phonological features which are characteristic of the T-B languages¹⁰². However, Dumri exhibits some phonological features which cut across the language family. In this sub-section, we briefly compare the phonological features of this language with that of the major common phonological features in T-B languages.

(a) Vowels

Benedict (1972:57) and Matisoff (2003:157) propose a five vowel system (i, u, o, a, e) for Tibeto-Burman languages. In addition, Dumri has two more vowel phonemes: unrounded high central /i/ and low-mid back /ʌ/, resulting in a seven vowel system (i, i, u, o, ʌ, a, e). In terms of the size of the set of vowels used in the languages of the world, Dumri may be referred to as being an above average vowel inventory (i.e., maximum 5-6 vowels) language (Maddieson, 2008b).

¹⁰² Matisoff (2003:6) notes that T-B language (extends over a huge geographic range) is characterized by great typological diversity, comprising languages that range from the highly tonal, monosyllabic, analytic type with practically no affixational morphology.

(b) Consonants

Benedict (1972:13) proposes 16 consonant phonemes (g, k, ŋ, d, t, n, s, z, r, l, b, p, m, r, w, y) for the Tibeto-Burman languages. However, Dumi exhibits 26 consonants. In terms of the size of set of consonants used in the languages of the world, Dumi may be referred to as being a moderately large consonant inventory (i.e., 26-33) language (Maddieson, 2008a).

(c) Breathy voice

Breathy voice is generally considered as related to tone. It is typically associated with a low tone. Noonan (2003:16) notes that the Himalayish languages in general lack this phonological feature. However, Dumi shows the feature of breathy voice.¹⁰³

(d) Phonemic voicing contrast

Noonan (2003) notes that the Himalayish languages exhibit a phonemic voicing contrast, but the Bodish languages lack this feature. Phonemic voicing contrast is one of the universal features of language. The fact is that no language has voiced stops without voiceless stops. Dumi shows the phonemic voicing contrast in stops.

(e) Stress

Regmi (2013:143) quotes Noonan (2003) that stress is relatively weak in all the Himalayish and Bodish languages. In the same vein, stress is relatively weak in Dumi.

(f) Syllable canon

The syllable canon in Dumi is very similar to Kham (Watters, 2002:32). The maximum canon consists of (C₁) (C₂) (G) V (X), where G is a glide and X is a consonant or a vowel. It is also very similar to the syllable canon for the non-tonal Tibeto-Burman languages proposed in Noonan (2003). Table 12.1 summarizes the phonological comparison between Dumi and other Kirati languages (like Khaling, Koyee, etc.) under the east Himalayish group.

¹⁰³ Breathiness appears only in word-initial and word-medial position but not in word final position in Dumi.

Table 12.1: Phonological comparison between Dumi and the Tibeto-Burman (Dumi, Kirati and Himalayish) [\checkmark =presence and x=absence]

	Phonological features	Dumi	Kirati	Himalayish
1.	Mono-syllabicity	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
2.	Breathiness	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
3.	Phonemic voicing contrasts	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
4.	Voicing opposition in liquids and nasals	x	x	\checkmark
5.	Retroflex series	x	x	\checkmark
6.	Fricatives			
	a. Two fricative [alveolar and glottal]	\checkmark	\checkmark	x
	b. One fricative [alveolar/palato-alveolar]	\checkmark	\checkmark	x
7.	Affricates			
	a. Alveolar series only	\checkmark	\checkmark	x
	b. Palatal alveolar series	\checkmark	\checkmark	x
8.	Distinct alveolar & palato-alveolar	x	x	\checkmark
9.	Phonemic nasalized vowels	x	x	\checkmark
10.	Stress: relatively weak and on word boundary	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark

[Table 12.1 is adapted from Regmi (2013:268) and modified in accordance with the common features of the Kirati languages under the Himalayish group of the T-B languages]. Table 12.1 shows that Dumi maintains much more features of the Himalayish group of the T-B branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family.

12.2.2 Morphosyntactic comparison

Dumi maintains a correspondence with the genetically related languages at the morphosyntactic level and, in many features, it exhibits universal patterns; it cuts across the language family. In this sub-section, we compare the morphosyntactic features of Dumi with other Kirati languages under the T-B languages.

(a) Affixation

Most of the Kirati languages have person and number marker agreement with multiple arguments, and this feature exists in Dumi too.¹⁰⁴ Himalayish languages express reflexives as

¹⁰⁴ All Bodish languages lack person/number agreement and they have conjunct/disjunct systems in the languages like Kathmandu Newar (Regmi, 2013:213).

part of their verbal word and so as in the Dumi language. Noonan (2003) notes that prefixing is a common feature of the Himalayish languages.¹⁰⁵ Dumi, with the exception of the negative marker *ma-/a-* in past tense, is a suffixing language.

(b) Verb morphology

Like in other Himalayish languages, there is person/number agreement in the verbs in Dumi. Like other Kirati languages, verb morphology is relatively complex in this language. Dumi exhibits morphological causative as a valence increasing strategy. Morphologically, causativisation, which can be realized in Dumi are one of its areal features (Masica 1976:189).

(c) Word order

The Himalayish languages exhibit SOV as a basic word order in the main clauses and so does Dumi. Masica (1976:190) claims that SOV word order is not only the characteristic feature of the Tibeto-Burman languages, but also a South Asian feature. Ebert (1994:100) notes that SOV is the constituent order of Kirati languages. Dumi also maintains the implicational universals associated with basic SOV constituent order. Other Kirati languages like Limbu (van Driem 1987), Dumi (van Driem 1993), Khaling (Ebert 1994), Chamling (Ebert 1997), Kulung (Tolsma 1999), Wambule (Opgenort 2002), Jerung (Opgenort 2004), Sunuwar (Rapacha 2005) and Chhathare Limbu (Tumbahang 2011), Koyee (Rai 2015) also exhibit basic word order subject-object-verb (i.e., SOV order). Dumi as an SOV language confirms almost all the implicational universals with regard to constituent orders proposed in Greenberg (1963) by allowing ADJ N, DEM N and NUM N which are common in the Himalayish languages.

(d) Reflexive and numeral classifiers

Dumi, as a Himalayish language, has an inflectional reflexive. As Masica (1976:189) notes, numeral classifiers are one of the areal features of T-B languages, and they are one of the features of the Himalayish languages. The Dumi language has numeral classifiers which occur before nouns.

(e) Verbal with nominal and adjectival functions

In the Himalayish languages, the verb has both nominal and adjectival functions. Dumi commonly uses nominalization for this purpose.

(f) Converb constructions

Dumi exhibits two types of converbal constructions: simultaneous and sequential. (Masica, 1976) notes that this is not only one of the characteristic features of the Tibeto-Burman languages, but also an areal feature of the South Asian languages.

(g) Complex predicates and other features

Masica (1976) notes that complex predicates are areal features of T-B languages. Dumi also presents this feature. It makes use of interrogative pronouns in order to make finite relative clauses.

A summary of the main features of the Dumi language in relation to the general characteristics of the Himalayish languages are as shown in Table 12.2.

¹⁰⁵ This seems to be a common feature of Tibeto-Burman, but it is not a common feature of the languages belonging to the Bodish group.

Table 12.2: Morphosyntactic comparison between Dumi and other Kirati languages
(Dumi, Kirati and Himalayish) [\checkmark =presence and x=absence]

	Morphosyntactic features	Dumi	Kirati	Himalayish
1.	Prefixation	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
2.	Person marking	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
3.	Multiple person marking	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
4.	Number marking	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
5.	Inflectional reflexive	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
6.	(a) Order of adjective-noun (ADJ N)	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
	(b) Order of demonstrative-noun (DEM N)	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
	(c) Numeral-noun	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
7.	Ergativity	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
8.	Compound case	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
9.	'Vertical' verbs	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
10.	Morphological/lexical causative: increasing strategies	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
11.	Honorific verb & noun stems	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
12.	Verbal with nominal and adjectival functions	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
13.	Numeral classifiers	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
14.	Finite subordinate clauses	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark

[Table 12.2 is adapted from Regmi (2013:271) and modified in accordance with the common features of the Kirati languages under the Himalayish group of the Tibeto-Burman group].

12.3 Conclusion

To conclude, Dumi is a poly-synthetic language exhibiting complex verb morphology, gradually shifting to Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC). In Dumi, the level of intergenerational language transmission is strong. It reveals a number of typologically interesting domains of phonology as well as morphosyntax. Past tense is marked by the suffix

-i/-o/-u depending on the person and number of the subject. Sometimes it remains as if it is not overtly marked unlike in Bantawa (Doornenbal, 2009:86).

To sum up, Dumi is a verb-final Kirati language with the default SOV constituent order. Most of the syntactic functions in this language are indicated by nominalization. Morphologically, Dumi is a complex pronominalized language. Syntactically, it is a left-branching and dependent marking language. Adjectives and determiner always precede the noun in Dumi. The majority of Dumi adjectives are derived from verbs. Relative clauses are formed mainly by nominalization, employing the gap strategy. Dumi makes use of different morphosyntactic devices for the coherence of the clauses at discourse levels.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1

(a) Language informants

S.N.	Name	Age	Sex	Education	Address
1.	Lak Dhan Rai	70	M	Class-5	Makpa-6, Norung
2.	Ratna Maya Rai	69	F	Illiterate	Makpa-6, Norung
3.	Masini Rai	67	F	Literate	Dharan-8, Sunsari
4.	Muga Dhan Rai	73	M	Literate	Makpa-6, Norung
5.	Jas Bahadur Rai	65	M	Class-5	Makpa-6, Norung
6.	Nanda Raj Rai	74	M	Class-5	Makpa-6, Norung
7.	Chatur Man Rai	67	M	Illiterate	Makpa-6, Norung
8.	Harka Shova Rai	36	F	Intermediate	Baikunthe-5, Bhojpur
9.	Karna Bahadur Rai	68	M	Class-5	Makpa-5, Ilim
10.	Bir Bahadur Rai	65	M	Class-5	Makpa-5, Ilim
11.	Bhupa Dhwoj Rai	58	M	Class-3	Makpa-5, Ilim
12.	Ishwor Man Rai	47	M	Master's	Makpa-6, Norung
13.	Jahan Sari Rai	54	F	Illiterate	Makpa-4, Lumdu
14.	Tanka Kharubu Rai	51	M	Class-10	Makpa-4, Lumdu
15.	Jaya Ram Rai	49	M	Diploma	Makpa-3, Bepla
16.	Sarashwati Rai	39	F	Intermediate	Makpa-1, Makpa
17.	Sahajit Rai	35	M	Master's	Makpa-5, Ilim
18.	Laxmi Rai	32	F	Intermediate	Makpa-9, Chaintar
19.	Guna Raj Rai	31	M	Master's	Makpa-5, Ilim
20.	Mitra Kumar Rai	28	M	Diploma	Makpa-5, Ilim
21.	Asar Rai	46	M	Class-7	Makpa-4, Lumdu
22.	Purna Maya Rai	46	F	Literate	Lamidanda-5, Chiuribas
23.	Raha Maya Rai	54	F	Literate	Makpa-4, Lumdu
24.	Mani Kumar Rai	47	M	Class-10	Makpa-4, Lumdu-Chhuka
25.	Chatur Bhakta Rai	59	M	Master's	Sapteshwor-1, Chiurikharka
26.	Visnu Kumari Rai	59	F	Literate	Makpa-5, Ilim
27.	Rikhishore Rai	52	M	S. L. C.	Kharmi-4, Niruta
28.	Ashok Rai	49	M	S. L. C.	Jalapa-9, Kharadel

29.	Tej Maya Rai	31	F	M. A.	Baksila-6, Halkum
30.	Hira Bahadur Rai	49	M	I.A.	Lamidanda-5, Chiuribas
31.	Amar Rai	37	M	Diploma	Lamidanda-5, Chiuribas
32.	Mati Raj Rai	36	M	Diploma	Makpa-4, Lumdu
33.	Mitra Kumari Rai	47	F	Literate	Makpa-4, Lumdu
34.	Ram Bahadur Rai	59	M	Literate	Makpa-4, Lumdu
35.	Jaya Kumari Rai	49	F	Literate	Makpa-3, Bepla
36.	Ginita Rai	20	F	B.A.	Makpa-6, Norung
37.	Subasi Rai	49	F	Illiterate	Makpa-5, Ilim
38.	Himal Rai	39	M	M.Ed.	Makpa-2, Bakchuwa
39.	Surya Bikram Rai	44	M	I.A.	Makpa-5, Ilim
40.	Januka Rai	22	F	I.A.	Makpa-1, Makpa
41.	Bal Bahadur Rai	54	M	Illiterate	Makpa-5, Ilim
42.	Bhumika Rai	39	F	Literate	Makpa-3, Bepla
43.	Shree Jhamak Rai	47	M	Class 10	Makpa-5, Ilim
44.	Krishna Kumari Rai	55	F	Literate	Makpa-1, Makpa
45.	Ram Bahadur Rai	58	M	Literated	Makpa-5, Ilim
46.	Sita Rai	47	F	SLC	Makpa-6, Norung
47.	Khagendra Rai	50	M	M.B.A.	Makpa-8, Lewa
48.	Satya Kala Rai	45	F	M. Ed.	Makpa-8, Lewa
49.	Padam Bahadur Rai	65	M	Literate	Jalapa-9, Kharbari
50.	Kalpana Rai	59	F	Illiterate	Jalapa-9, Kharbari
51.	Ista Bahadur Rai	37	M	Literate	Jalapa-9, Kharbari
52.	Makar Rai	36	M	SLC	Jalapa-9, Kharbari
53.	Utsav Rai	24	M	Diploma	Jalapa-9, Kharbari
54.	Shanta Hira Rai	62	F	Illiterate	Jalapa-5, Sasarka
55.	Jayasore Rai	67	M	SLC	Jalapa-5, Sasarka
56.	Birmal Rai	48	M	Literate	Jalapa-5, Sasarka
57.	Dil Bahadur Rai	45	M	M.A.	Kharmi-9, Syabru
58.	Sakalakchhi Rai	66	F	Illiterate	Kharmi-9, Syabru

59.	Sumitra Rai	43	F	Literate	Kharmi-9, Syabru
60.	Sarandhoj Rai	65	M	Literate	Kharmi-9, Syabru
61.	Bal Ram Rai	67	M	Literate	Kharmi-9, Syabru
62.	Nabin Rai	38	M	Master's	Kharmi-9, Syabru
63.	Januka Rai	59	F	Master's	Baksila-1, Baksila Bazar
64.	Padam Rai	31	M	Literate	Baksila-1, Baksila Bazar
65.	Laba Kumar Rai	27	M	Literate	Baksila-1, Baksila Bazar
66.	Top Kumar Rai	29	M	Intermediate	Baksila-1, Baksila Bazar
67.	Moula Kumar Rai	47	M	I.A.	Baksila-1, Baksila Bazar
68.	Dan Bahadur Rai	46	M	I. A.	Baksila-1, Baksila Bazar
69.	Chhatra Kumar Rai	48	M	M. A.	Baksila-1, Baksila Bazar
70.	Anita Rai	39	F	SLC	Baksila-6, Halkum
71.	Mani Prasad Rai	47	M	Diploma	Baksila-6, Halkum
72.	Mouli Dhan Rai	24	M	Master's	Jalapa-9, Sabalung
73.	Mohan Singh Rai	36	M	Diploma	Sapteshor-1, Tharpu Danda
74.	Padam Singh Rai	49	M	Diploma	Sapteshor-1, Tharpu Danda
75.	Naina Bahadur Rai	51	M	Diploma	Sapteshor-1, Tharpu Danda
76.	Tarajung Rai	47	M	Intermediate	Sapteshor-1, Tharpu Danda
77.	Asta Bahadur Rai	68	M	Literate	Sapteshor-1, Tharpu Danda
78.	Jina Kumari Rai	52	F	Literate	Sapteshor-1, Tharpu Danda

APPENDIX 1(b)

Inventory of the phonemes in Dumí

I. Consonant phonemes

		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
		VL VD	VL VD	VL VD	VL VD	VL VD	VL VD
Plosive	Unaspirated	p b	t d			k g	ʔ
	Aspirated	p ^h b ^h	t ^h d ^h			k ^h g ^h	
Affricate	Unaspirated				t ^s d ^z		
	Aspirated				t ^{sh} d ^{zh}		
Nasal		m		n		ŋ	
Trill				r			
Fricatives				s			h
Lateral				l			
Semi-vowel		w			j		

II. Vowel phonemes

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

APPENDIX 2(a)
Lineages and clans in Dumi

	Lineages (Samet)	Clans (Pachha)	Residing VDCs
1.	Dikpa-Dikma	Halaksu, Kharubu, Walakpa, Hajurchu	Makpa, Baksila
2.	Busuru-Yuyuma	Sarachu, Hamruchu, Harasi, Dimmachu, Walakpu	Kharmi, Jalapa
3.	Chhachhupu-Chhekuma	Khawachu, Raichu, Jipuchu, Chhachung, Riplachu, Turachu	Jalapa, Kharmi
4.	Braksupa-Braksuma	Satma	Sapteshwor, Baksila, Kubhinde
5.	Braspa-Brasma	Muraha	Baksila
6.	Chhachhapa-Chhekama	Ratku, Hadi, Rangkasu	Baksila
7.	Dhikmi-Dikhama	Luppo	Baksila
	7 Lineage (Samet)	21 Clans (Pachha)	

Source: Isilim, vol. 1 (2056 v.s.); Field study of Dumi (2013)

APPENDIX 2(b)
(i) Own generation

Dumi	English
<i>dumbu</i>	‘husband’
<i>epja</i>	‘husband’s elder brother/brother-in-law’
<i>wa</i>	‘husband’s younger brother/brother-in-law’
<i>delme</i>	‘younger brother's wife’
<i>mokt^su</i>	‘younger sister’s husband’
<i>nana</i>	‘husband’s elder sister/sister-in-law’
<i>anabu</i>	‘elder sister’s husband’
<i>wa</i>	‘husband’s younger sister/sister-in-law’
<i>me?</i>	‘wife’
<i>pepe</i>	‘wife’s elder brother’
<i>b^houd^zu</i>	‘elder brother’s wife’
<i>dad^ze!</i>	‘brother!’ (addressing)
<i>wa</i>	‘wife’s younger brother’
<i>nana</i>	‘wife’s elder sister’
<i>ena</i>	‘elder sister!’ (addressing)
<i>wa</i>	‘wife’s younger sister’

Source: Field study of Dumi (2013)

(ii) First ascending generation

Dumi	English
<i>papa</i>	‘father’
<i>epa</i>	‘father! (addressing)’
<i>mama</i>	‘mother’
<i>ema</i>	‘mother! (addressing)’
<i>t^{sh}atpu</i>	‘spouse’s father/father-in-law’
<i>t^{sh}atmu</i>	‘spouse’s mother/mother-in-law’
<i>remnipu</i>	‘step father’
<i>remnimu</i>	‘step mother’
<i>etema/tetem</i>	‘father’s elder brother’s wife’
<i>t^{sh}it^sim</i>	‘father’s younger brother’s wife/aunt’
<i>pusãĩ</i>	‘father’s sister’s husband’ (older or younger)
<i>maid^zu</i>	‘mother’s brother’s wife’ (older or younger)
<i>p^hopo</i>	‘mother’s younger sister’s husband/uncle’
<i>hilpu</i>	son/daughter’s wife/husband’s father’
<i>hilmu</i>	son/daughter’s wife/husband’s mother’

Source: Field study of Dumi (2013)

(iii) First descending generation

Dumi	English
<i>tʃu</i>	‘child (male or female)’
<i>mi:smatʃu</i>	‘daughter’
<i>lasbatʃu</i>	‘son’
<i>kurtʃu</i>	‘step child’
<i>lasbatʃu</i>	‘daughter’s husband/son-in-law’
<i>nɔmmɛ</i>	‘younger brother’s wife/sister-in-law’ or, ‘son’s wife/daughter-in-law’
<i>delmɛ</i>	sister-in-law’ or, daughter-in-law’ (addressing!)
<i>moktʃu</i>	‘daughter’s husband/son-in-law’

Source: Field study of Dumi (2013)

(iv) Great-grand kinsmen

Dumi	English
<i>nuru-tʃutʃu</i>	‘great-grandfather’
<i>kuppu-tʃutʃu</i>	‘great-great-grandfather’
<i>nuru-pipi</i>	‘great-grandmother’
<i>kuppu-pipi</i>	‘great-great-grandmother’
<i>juju</i>	‘great-grandchild (male/female)’

Source: Field study of Dumi (2013)

(v) Parents and children

Dumi	English
<i>papa</i>	'father'
<i>mama</i>	'mother'
<i>ema!</i>	'mother!' (addressing)
<i>epa!</i>	'father!' (addressing)
<i>remnipu</i>	'step-father'
<i>remnimu</i>	'step-mother'
<i>mupu</i>	'parents'
<i>etepa</i>	'father's elder brother'
<i>etepa</i>	'mother's elder sister's husband'
<i>etema</i>	'mother's elder sister'
<i>teteu !</i>	'father's elder brother' (addressing)
<i>tetem !</i>	'father's elder brother's wife (addressing)
<i>p^hopo</i>	'father's younger brother/uncle'
<i>nono</i>	'mother's younger sister'
<i>t^šu</i>	'child'
<i>d^zoŋle</i>	'twin'
<i>last^šu</i>	'son'
<i>mist^šu</i>	'daughter'
<i>kiki</i>	'maternal uncle'
<i>nini</i>	'father's sister (elder/younger)'
<i>ŋAsu</i>	son's/daughter's father in law'
<i>rewo</i>	son's/daughter's father/mother's in law'

Source: Field study of Dumi (2013)

(vi) Siblings and cousins

Dumi	English
<i>nana</i>	'elder sister/husband's elder brother's wife'
<i>enabu/b^hena</i>	'elder sister's husband'
<i>pepe/dad^ze</i>	'elder brother/husband's elder brother'
<i>b^houd^zu</i>	'elder brother's wife'
<i>wa</i>	'husband's younger brother/brother-in-law'
<i>dusu</i>	'friend'

Source: Field study of Dumi (2013)

(vii) Grand and great-grand kinsmen

Dumi	English	Dumi	English
<i>t^hut^hu</i>	'grandfather'	<i>pipi</i>	'grandmother'
<i>nuru-t^hut^hu</i>	'great-grandfather'	<i>nuru-pipi</i>	'great-grandmother'
<i>t^hu:pi</i>	'grandparents'	<i>t^ha:t^ha</i>	'grand-child (male/female)'

Source: Field study of Dumi (2013)

(viii) The ordinal kinship terms

English	Male	Nepali	Female	Nepali
first born	<i>ton^hduse</i>	जेठा	<i>toma</i>	जेठी
second born	<i>lum^hduse</i>	माहिला	<i>lu^hduma</i>	माहिली
third born	<i>wakuse</i>	साहिँला	<i>wakirma</i>	साहिँली
fourth born	<i>takuse</i>	काहिँला	<i>takirma</i>	काहिँली
fifth born	<i>mikuse</i>	अन्तरे	<i>mikurma</i>	अन्तरी
sixth born	<i>bakuse</i>	जन्तरे	<i>bakirma</i>	जन्तरी
seventh born	<i>t^{sh}ekuse</i>	मन्तरे	<i>t^{sh}ekirma</i>	मन्तरी
youngest born	<i>sibise</i>	कान्छा	<i>sibirma</i>	कान्छी

Source: Field study of Dumi (2013)

APPENDIX 2(c)

Neighbouring Kirati language communities

	Dumi area	Adjoining VDCs	Neighbouring Kirat Rai speech communities	Remarks
1.	Makpa	Dubekol, Jyamire, Ribdung, Maheshwori, Aiselukharka, Rakha-Bangdel, Bakachol	Bahing, Thulung, Khaling, Nachhiring	North-West
2.	Sapteshwor-Baksila	Rakha-Bangdel, Rawa-Dipsung, Sungdel, Baspani, Khartamchha	Koyee, Sampang, Nachhiring	North-East
3.	Jalapa-Kharmi	Baspani, Patheka, Nerpa, Diktel, Kubhinde, Haunchur	Sampang, Chamling, Khaling	South-East

Source: Field study of Dumi (2013)

APPENDIX 3(a)

(i) VDCwise Dumi population in Khotang district¹⁰⁶

	VDC	Number of household	Dumi population
1.	Kharmi	176	880
2.	Jalapa	203	1015
3.	Baksila	318	1,590
4.	Sapteshwor	233	1,165
5.	Makpa	221	1,105
	Total	1,151	5,755

Source: field study of Dumi (2013)

¹⁰⁶ minority of Dumi people are also in the neighbouring VDCs like Maheshwori (Thulung area), Sungel (Koyee area), Patheka (Sampang area), Phedi (Sampang area), Kubhinde (mixed society), Baspani (Sampang area), Diktel (mixed society), Khartamchha (Sampang area), Nerpa (Chamling area), Houchur (mixed society), Lamidanda (Thulung and Bahing area).

(ii) Districtwise Dumi population

S. N.	Population	Population	Remarks
1.	Kailali	1	
2.	Sindhuli	1	
3.	Tehrathum	1	
4.	Taplejung	4	
5.	Banke	5	
6.	Bhaktapur	9	
7.	Dhankuta	12	
8.	Lalitpur	13	
9.	Panchthar	18	
10.	Okhaldhunga	24	
11.	Solukhumbu	39	
12.	Bhojpur	62	
13.	Kathmandu	102	
14.	Jhapa	136	
15.	Sankhuwasabha	193	
16.	Ilam	198	
17.	Udayapur	221	
18.	Morang	533	
19.	Sunsari	877	
20.	Khotang	5,189	
	Total	7,638	

Source: Social Inclusion atlas of Nepal Language groups (2014)

APPENDIX 3(b)
Existing Kirati Rai languages

	Language	District	Code	Population
01.	<i>Lingkhim*</i>	Ilam	[lii]	129
02.	Phangduwali	Dhankuta	[phw]	290
03.	<i>Sam**</i>	Bhojpur	[raq]	401
04.	Belhare	Dhankuta	[byw]	599
05.	Koyee	Khotang, Bhojpur	[kkt]	1,271
06.	Tilung	Khotang, Udayapur	[tij]	1,424
07.	Jerung	Okhaldhunga, Sindhuli	[jee]	1,763
08.	Chhiling	Dhankuta	[cur]	2,046
09.	Chhintang	Dhankuta	[ctn]	3,712
10.	Lohorung	Sankhuwasabha	[lbr]	3,716
11.	Mewahang	Sankhuwasabha	[emg]	4,650
12.	Athpare	Dhankuta	[aph]	5,530
13.	Dungmali	Bhojpur	[raa]	6,260
14.	Puma	Khotang, Udayapur	[pum]	6,686
15.	Dumi	Khotang	[dus]	7,638
16.	Yamphu	Sankhuwasabha	[ybi]	9,208
17.	Nachhiring	Khotang	[cnd]	10,041
18.	Bahing	Okhaldhunga, Solukhumbu	[bhj]	12,658
19.	Umbule	Okhaldhunga, Khotang, Udayapur	[wme]	13,470
20.	Khaling	Solukhumbu, Khotang	[klr]	14,467
21.	Sampang	Khotang, Bhojpur	[rav]	18,270
22.	Thulung	Solukhumbu, Khotang	[tdh]	20,659
23.	Kulung	Solukhumbu	[kle]	33,170
24.	Chamling	Khotang, Udayapur	[rab]	76,800
25.	Bantawa	Bhojpur	[bap]	1,32,583

* No speaker found yet. ** A controversial language among the Kirat Rai communities.

Source: CBS report 2011 and Ethnologue Languages of Nepal (2012)

APPENDIX 3(c)

Regional distribution of the Kirati languages
(in eastern Nepal)

Wallo Kirat (Western Kirat)		Majh Kirat (Central Kirat)		Pallo Kirat (Eastern Kirat)	
1.	Khaling	1.	Sampang	1.	Lohorung
2.	Dumi	2.	Kulung	2.	Yamphu
3.	Koyee/Koyu	3.	Nachhiring	3.	Limbu *
4.	Bahing	4.	Mewahang	4.	Chhathare
5.	Thulung	5.	Dungmali	5.	Athpare
6.	Sunuwar *	6.	<i>Waling</i> **	6.	Chhulung
7.	<i>Lingkhim</i> **	7.	Bantawa	7.	Chhintang
8.	<i>Hayu</i> **	8.	Puma	8.	Belhare
9.	Wambule	9.	Chamling	9.	Yakkha *
10.	Jerung	10.	<i>Saam (Pongyong)</i> **	10.	<i>Mugali</i> **
11.	Tilung	11.	<i>Chukwa (Pohing)</i> **	11.	Phangduwali
8	Total	8	Total	8	Total
Total = 33 Kirati (24 Rai) languages					

- Rai community is also considered as the 'Khambu' particularly in the east of Mechi river.
- * In addition to the Rai community; Limbu, Sunuwar, Yakkha and Hayu also belong to the wide Kirat communities.
- **Lingkhim, Chukwa, Mugali, Saam, Waling are also claimed as the language communities of the Rai group, but detailed study is urgently required for the clarification.

Source: Sited from Gerd Hanßon 1991(a)

APPENDIX 4(a)

Verb roots: (i) [Consonant ‘-k’ ending]

	UL FORM	VERB ROOT	GLOSS	PST			NPST		
				3SG	3DU	3P`L	3SG	3DU	3PL
Transitive	kok	kok	‘cut’	kok-ti	kok-si	kok-ni	kok-ta	kok-ta-si	kok-ta-ni
	k ^h ok	k ^h ok	‘shave’	k ^h ok-ti	k ^h ok-si	k ^h ok-ni	k ^h ok-ta	k ^h ok-ta-si	k ^h ok-ta-ni
	t ^h ok	t ^h ok	‘knit’	t ^h ok-ti	t ^h ok-si	t ^h ok-ni	t ^h ok-ta	t ^h ok-ta-si	t ^h ok-ta-ni
	klak	klak	‘smear’	klak-ti	klak-si	klak-ni	klak-ta	klak-ta-si	dok-ta-ni
	kwak	kwak	‘dig’	kwak-ti	kwak-si	kwak-ni	kwak-ta	kwak-ta-si	kwa-ta-ni
	t ^s wak	t ^s wak	‘trap’	t ^s wak-ti	t ^s wak-si	t ^s wak-ni	t ^s wak-ta	t ^s wak-ta-si	t ^s wak-ta-ni
	ljak	ljak	‘lick’	ljak-ti	ljak-si	ljak-ni	ljak-ta	ljak-ta-si	ljak-ta-ni
	p ^h ik	p ^h ik	‘broom’	p ^h ik-ti	p ^h ik-si	p ^h ik-ni	p ^h ik-ta	p ^h ik-ta-si	p ^h ik-ta-ni
luk	luk	‘poke’	luk-ti	luk-si	luk-ni	luk-ta	luk-ta-si	luk-ta-ni	
			Σ-ti	Σ-si	Σ-ni	Σ-ta	Σ-ta-si	Σ-ta-ni	
Intransitive	huk	huk	‘bark’	huk ^h -u	huk ^h -i	ham-huk ^h -u	huk-ta	huk-ti	ham-huk-ta
	p ^h uk	p ^h uk	‘get up’	p ^h uk-u	p ^h uk-i	ham-p ^h uk-u	p ^h uk-ta	p ^h uk-ti	ham-p ^h uk-ta
	ŋok	ŋok	‘weap’	ŋuk ^h -u	ŋuk ^h -i	ham-ŋuk ^h -u	ŋuk-ta	ŋuk-ti	ham-ŋuk-ta
	luk	luk	‘prick’	luk-ti	luk-si	luk-ni	luk-ta	luk-ta-si	luk-ta-ni
	t ^s ok	t ^s ok	‘trap’	t ^s ok-ti	t ^s ok-si	t ^s ok-ni	t ^s ok-ta	t ^s ok-ta-si	t ^s ok-ta-ni
			Σ-u	Σ-i	ham-Σ-u	Σ-ta	Σ-ti	ham-Σ-ta	

(ii) [Consonant ‘-r’ ending]

	UL FORM	VERB ROOT	GLOSS	NPST			PST		
				3SG	3DU	3PL	3SG	3DU	3PL
Transitive	t ^s Λr	t ^s Λr	‘pay’	t ^s ur-ta	t ^s ur-ta-si	t ^s ur-ta-ni	t ^s ur-i	t ^s ur-si	t ^s ur-ni
	p ^h ir	p ^h jar	‘sew’	p ^h ir-ta	p ^h ir-ta-si	p ^h ir-ta-ni	p ^h ir-i	p ^h ir-si	p ^h ir-ni
	pjar	pjar	‘clasp’	pjar-ta	pjar-ta-si	pjar-ta-ni	pjard-i	pjar-si	pjar-ni
	sur	sur	‘wash’	sur-ta	sur-ta-si	sur-ta-ni	sur-i	sur-si	sur-ni
	d ^{zh} irt	d ^{zh} jar	‘abhor’	d ^{zh} jar-ta	d ^{zh} ir-ti	d ^{zh} ir-ta-ni	d ^{zh} jard-i	d ^{zh} jar-si	d ^{zh} jar-ni
				Σ-ta	Σ-ti	Σ-ta-ni	Σ-i	Σ-si	Σ-ni
Intransitive	t ^s irt	t ^s jar	‘urinate’	t ^s ir-ta	t ^s ir-ti	ham-t ^s ir-ta	t ^s ir-i	t ^s ir-i	ham-t ^s ir-i
	dirt	djar	‘suit’	dir-ta	dir-ti	ham-dir-ta	dir-i	djar-si	ham-dir-i
	tur	tur	‘break’	tur-ta	tur-ti	ham-tur-ta	tur-i	tur-i	ham-tur-i
	birt	bjar	‘fly’	bir-ta	bir-ti	ham-bir-ta	bir-i	bir-i	ham-bir-i
	bΛr	bΛr	‘grow’	bur-ta	bur-ti	ham-bur-ta	bur-i	bur-i	ham-bur-i
				Σ-ta	Σ-ti	ham-Σ-ta	Σ-i	Σ-i	ham-Σ-i

(iii) [Consonant ‘-l’ ending]

UL FORM	VERB ROOT	GLOSS	NPST			PST		
			3SG	3DU	3PL	3SG	3DU	3PL
til	tjal	‘up root’	til-ta	til-ta-si	til-ta-ni	til-i	til-si	til-ni
t ^s il	t ^s jal	‘tear’	t ^s il-ta	t ^s il-ta-si	t ^s il-ta-ni	t ^s il-i	t ^s il-si	t ^s il-ni
t ^h il	t ^h jal	‘peel out’	t ^h il-ta	t ^h il-ta-si	t ^h il-ta-ni	t ^h il-i	t ^h il-si	t ^h il-ni
p ^h ul	p ^h ʌl	‘stir’	p ^h ul-ta	p ^h ul-ta-si	p ^h ul-ta-ni	p ^h ul-i	p ^h ul-si	p ^h ul-ni
sul	sul	‘hide’	sul-ta	sul-ta-si	sul-ta-ni	sul-i	sul-si	sul-ni
tul	tʌl	‘push’	tul-ta	tul-ta-si	tul-ta-ni	tul-i	tul-si	tul-ni
			Σ-ta	Σ-ta-si	Σ-ta-ni	Σ-i	Σ-si	Σ-ni

(iv) [Consonant ‘-p’ ending]

UL FORM	VERB ROOT	GLOSS	NPST			PST		
			3SG	3DU	3PL	3SG	3DU	3PL
k ^h ip	k ^h ip	‘cook’	k ^h ip-ta	k ^h ip-ta-si	k ^h ip-ta-ni	k ^h ip-ti	k ^h ip-si	k ^h ip-ni
t ^s ip	t ^s ip	‘press’	t ^s ip-ta	t ^s ip-ta-si	t ^s ip-ta-ni	t ^s ip-ti	t ^s ip-si	t ^s ip-ni
t ^s ʌp	t ^s ʌp	‘write’	t ^s ʌp-ta	t ^s ʌp-ta-si	t ^s ʌp-ta-ni	t ^s ʌp-ti	t ^s ʌp-si	t ^s ʌp-ni
hʌp	hʌp	‘drink’	hʌp-ta	hʌp-ta-si	hʌp-ta-ni	hʌp-ti	hʌp-si	hʌp-ni
dap	dap	‘taste’	dap-ta	dap-ta-si	dap-ta-ni	dap-ti	dap-si	dap-ni
k ^h rʌp	k ^h rʌp	‘cover’	k ^h rʌp-ta	k ^h rʌp-ta-si	k ^h rʌp-ta-ni	k ^h rʌp-ti	k ^h rʌp-si	k ^h rʌp-ni
			Σ-ta	Σ-ta-si	Σ-ta-ni	Σ-ti	Σ-si	Σ-ni

(v) [Consonant ‘-ŋ’ ending]

	U L	VERB	GLOSS	NPST			PST		
	FORM	ROOT		3SG	3DU	3PL	3SG	3DU	3PL
Transitive	huŋ	hoŋ	‘enter’	huŋ-ta	huŋ-ti	ham-huŋ-ta	huŋ-u	huŋ-i	ham-huŋ-u
	t ^h aŋ	t ^h aŋ	‘get fall’	t ^h aŋ-ta	t ^h aŋ-ta-si	t ^h aŋ-ta-ni	t ^h aŋ-u	t ^h aŋ-si	t ^h aŋ-ni
	t ^s uŋ	t ^s uŋ	‘prepare’	t ^s uŋ-ta	t ^s uŋ-ta-si	t ^s uŋ-ta-ni	t ^s uŋ-u	t ^s uŋ-si	t ^s uŋ-ni
	pruŋ	proŋ	‘set’	pruŋ-ta	pruŋ-ta-si	pruŋ-ta-ni	pruŋ-u	pruŋ-si	pruŋ-ni
	p ^h iŋ	p ^h iŋ	‘send’	p ^h iŋ-ta	p ^h iŋ-ta-si	p ^h iŋ-ta-ni	p ^h iŋ-u	p ^h iŋ-si	p ^h iŋ-ni
				Σ-ta	Σ-ta-si	Σ-ta-ni	Σ-u	Σ-si	Σ-ni
Intransitive	laŋ	laŋ	‘have fun’	laŋ-ta	laŋ-ti	ham-laŋ-ta	laŋ-u	laŋ-i	ham-laŋ-u
	k ^h ljiŋ	k ^h ljaŋ	‘cover’	k ^h liŋ-ta	k ^h liŋ-ti	ham-k ^h liŋ-ta	k ^h liŋ-u	k ^h liŋ-i	ham-k ^h liŋ-u
	t ^h aŋ	t ^h aŋ	‘fall’	t ^h aŋ-ta	t ^h aŋ-ti	ham-t ^h aŋ-ta	t ^h aŋ-u	t ^h aŋ-i	ham-t ^h aŋ-u
	haŋ	haŋ	‘dry’	haŋ-ta	haŋ-ti	ham-haŋ-ta	haŋ-u	haŋ-i	ham-haŋ-u
				Σ-ta	Σ-ti	ham-Σ-ta	Σ-u	Σ-i	ham-Σ-u

(vi) [Consonant ‘-n’ ending]

UL FORM	VERB ROOT	GLOSS	NPST			PST		
			3SG	3DU	3PL	3SG	3DU	3PL
in	in	‘sell’	in-ta	in-ta-si	in-ta-ni	in-d(*t)i	in-si	in-ni
t ^h en	t ^h en	‘raise up’	t ^h en-ta	t ^h en-ta-si	t ^h en-ta-ni	t ^h en-di	t ^h en-si	t ^h en-ni
t ^s an	t ^s an	‘pile up’	t ^s an-ta	t ^s an-ta-si	t ^s an-ta-ni	t ^s an-di	t ^s an-si	t ^s an-ni
tan	tan	‘bring down’	tan-ta	tan-ta-si	tan-ta-ni	tan-di	tan-si	tan-ni
kan	kan	‘reject’	kan-ta	kan-ta-si	kan-ta-ni	kan-di	kan-si	kan-ni
ŋin	ŋin	‘afraid’	ŋin-ta	ŋin-ta-si	ŋin-ta-ni	ŋin-di	ŋin-si	ŋin-ni
bʌn	bʌn	‘touch’	bʌn-ta	bʌn-ta-si	bʌn-ta-ni	bʌn-di	bʌn-si	bʌn-ni
t ^s en	t ^s en	‘teach’	t ^s en-ta	t ^s en-ta-si	t ^s en-ta-ni	t ^s en-di	t ^s en-si	t ^s en-ni
			Σ-ta	Σ-ta-si	Σ-ta-ni	Σ-d(*t)i	Σ-si	Σ-ni

(vii) [Consonant ‘-m’ ending]

UL FORM	VERB ROOT	GLOSS	NPST			PST		
			3SG	3DU	3PL	3SG	3DU	3PL
k ^h lim	k ^h lim	‘step on’	k ^h lim-ta	k ^h lim-ta-si	k ^h lim-ta-ni	k ^h lim-d (*t)i	k ^h lim-si	k ^h lim-ni
t ^s jam	t ^s jam	‘get play’	t ^s jam-ta	t ^s jam-ta-si	t ^s jam-ta-ni	t ^s jam-di	t ^s ip-si	t ^s ip-ni
ljam	ljam	‘persuade’	ljam-ta	ljam-ta-si	ljam-ta-ni	ljam-di	ljam-si	ljam-ni
d ^h um	d ^h um	‘blow’	d ^h um-ta	d ^h um-ta-si	d ^h um-ta-ni	d ^h um-di	d ^h um-si	d ^h um-ni
			Σ-ta	Σ-ta-si	Σ-ta-ni	Σ-d(*t)i	Σ-si	Σ-ni
hum	hum	‘fall’	hum-ta	hum-ti	ham-hum-ta	hum-u	hum-i	ham-hum-u
lim	lim	‘sprout’	lim-ta	lim-ti	ham-lim-ta	lim-u	lim-i	ham-lim-u
rim	rjam	‘cool off’	rim-ta	rim-ti	ham-rim-ta	rim-u	rim-i	ham-rim-u
t ^s um	t ^s Λm	‘dance’	t ^s um-ta	t ^s um-ti	ham-t ^s um-ta	t ^s um-u	t ^s um-i	ham-t ^s um-u
			Σ-ta	Σ-ti	ham-Σ-ta	Σ-u	Σ-i	ham-Σ-u

B. Vowel ending

(i) [Vowel ‘-i’ ending]

	UL	VERB	GLOSS	PST			NPST		
	FORM	ROOT		3SG	3DU	3P`L	3SG	3DU	3PL
Transitive	bi	bi	‘give’	bi- \emptyset	bi-si	bi-ni	bi-ta	bi-ta-si	bi-ta-ni
	p ^{hi}	p ^{hi}	‘beg’	p ^{hi} - \emptyset	p ^{hi} -si	p ^{hi} -ni	p ^{hi} -ta	p ^{hi} -ta-si	p ^{hi} -ta-ni
	k ^{hi}	k ^{hi}	‘steal’	k ^{hi} - \emptyset	k ^{hi} -si	k ^{hi} -ni	k ^{hi} -ta	k ^{hi} -ta-si	k ^{hi} -ta-ni
				Σ - \emptyset	Σ -si	Σ -ni	Σ -ta	Σ -ta-si	Σ -ta-ni
Intransitive	i	i	‘excrete’	e- \emptyset	i-ji	ham-e- \emptyset	e-ta	i-ti	ham-e-ta
	ji	ji	‘come down’	je- \emptyset	ji-ji	ham-je- \emptyset	je-ta	ji-ti	ham-je-ta
	ri	ri	‘laugh’	re- \emptyset	ri-ji	ham-re- \emptyset	re-ta	ri-ti	ham-re-ta
	d ^{zi}	d ^{zi}	‘speak’	d ^z e- \emptyset	d ^{zi} -ji	ham-d ^z e- \emptyset	d ^z e-ta	d ^{zi} -ti	ham-d ^z e-ta
				Σ - \emptyset	Σ -i	ham- Σ -i	Σ -ta	Σ -ti	ham- Σ -ta

(ii) [Vowel ‘-e’ ending]

	UL FORM	VERB ROOT	GLOSS	PST			NPST		
				3SG	3DU	3P ^L	3SG	3DU	3PL
Transitive	d ^z et	d ^z e	‘call’	d ^z e-ti	d ^z es-si	d ^z et-ni	d ^z et-ta	d ^z et-ta-si	ut-ta-ni
	sit	se	‘kill’	si-di	sis-si	sit-ni	sit-ta	sit-ta-si	sit-ta-ni
	prit	pre	‘pluck’	pri-di	pris-si	prit-ni	prit-ta	prit-ta-si	prit-ta-ni
	p ^h et	p ^h e	‘serve’	p ^h e-ti	p ^h es-si	p ^h et-ni	p ^h et-ta	p ^h et-ta-si	p ^h et-ta-ni
	het	he	‘filter’	he-ti	hes-si	het-ni	het-ta	het-ta-si	het-ta-ni
				Σ-ti	Σ-si	Σ-ni	Σ-ta	Σ-ta-si	Σ-ta-ni
	ŋe	ŋe	‘become sick’	ŋit ^s -i	ŋit ^s -i	ham-ŋit ^s -i	ŋis-ta	ŋis-ti	ham-ŋis-ta
	d ^z e	d ^z e	‘call’	d ^z e-ti	d ^z es-si	d ^z et-ni	ŋis-ta	ŋis-ti	ham-ŋis-ta
	re	re	‘sharpen’	re-ti	res-si	ret-ni	ret-ta	ret-ta-si	ret-ta-ni

(iii) [Vowel ‘-Λ’ ending]

	UL FORM	VERB ROOT	GLOSS	PST			NPST		
				3SG	3DU	3P'L	3SG	3DU	3PL
Transitive	Λt	Λ	‘return’	Λ-ti	ΛS-si	Λt-ni	Λt-ta	Λt-ta-si	Λt-ta-ni
	k ^h Λt	k ^h Λ	‘take’	k ^h Λ-ti	k ^h ΛS-si	k ^h Λt-ni	k ^h Λt-ta	k ^h Λt-ta-si	k ^h Λt-ta-ni
	hΛt	hΛ	‘snatch’	hΛ-ti	hΛS-si	hΛt-ni	hΛt-ta	hΛt-ta-si	hΛt-ta-ni
				Σ-ti	Σ-si	Σ-ni	Σ-ta	Σ-ta-si	Σ-ta-ni
Intransitive	p ^h lΛt	p ^h lΛ	‘help’	p ^h lΛ-ti	p ^h lΛS-si	p ^h lΛt-ni	p ^h lΛt-ta	p ^h lΛt-ta-si	p ^h lΛt-ta-ni
	d ^z Λt	d ^z Λ	‘graze’	d ^z Λ-ti	d ^z ΛS-si	d ^z Λt-ni	d ^z Λt-ta	d ^z Λt-ta-si	d ^z Λt-ta-ni
	t ^s Λt	t ^s Λ	‘tease’	t ^s Λ-ti	t ^s ΛS-si	t ^s Λt-ni	t ^s Λt-ta	t ^s Λt-ta-si	t ^s Λt-ta-ni
	brΛt	brΛ	‘call’	brΛ-ti	brΛS-si	brΛt-ni	brΛt-ta	brΛt-ta-si	brΛt-ta-ni
				Σ-ti	Σ-si	Σ-ni	Σ-ta	Σ-ta-si	Σ-ta-ni

(iv) [Vowel ‘-a’ ending]

	UL FORM	VERB ROOT	GLOSS	PST			NPST		
				3SG	3DU	3P'L	3SG	3DU	3PL
	t ^s at	t ^s a	‘deny’	t ^s a-∅	t ^s a-(j)i	ham-t ^s a	t ^s a-ta	t ^s a-ti	ham-t ^s a-ta
	t ^{sh} at	t ^{sh} a	‘grow’	t ^{sh} a-∅	t ^{sh} a-(j)i	ham-t ^{sh} a	t ^s a-ta	t ^s a-ti	ham-t ^s a-ta
				Σ-ti-∅	Σ-(j)i	ham-Σ-	Σ-ta	Σ-ta-ti	ham-Σ-ta
Transitive	t ^h at	t ^h a	‘snatch’	t ^h a-ti	t ^h as-si	t ^h at-ni	t ^h at-ta	t ^h at-ta-si	t ^h at-ta-ni
	p ^h at	p ^h a	‘detach’	p ^h a-ti	p ^h as-si	p ^h at-ni	p ^h at-ta	p ^h at-ta-si	p ^h at-ta-ni
	bat	ba	‘say’	ba-ti	bas-si	bat-ni	bat-ta	bat-ta-si	bat-ta-ni
	lat	la	‘take out’	la-ti	las-si	lat-ni	lat-ta	lat-ta-si	lat-ta-ni
	sat	sa	‘close’	sat-ti	sas-si	sat-ni	sat-ta	sat-ta-si	sat-ta-ni
					Σ-ti	Σ-si	Σ-ni	Σ-ta	Σ-ta-si

(v) [Vowel ‘-u’ ending]

	UL FORM	VERB ROOT	GLOSS	PST			NPST		
				3SG	3DU	3P*L	3SG	3DU	3PL
Transitive	d ^z u	d ^z u	‘eat’	d ^z u-∅	d ^z u-si	d ^z u-ni	d ^z u-ta	d ^z u-ta-si	d ^z u-ta-ni
	d ^h u	d ^h u	‘dig’	d ^h u-∅	d ^h u-si	d ^h u-ni	d ^h u-ta	d ^h u-ta-si	d ^h u-ta-ni
	pu	pu	‘weave’	pu-∅	pu-si	pu-ni	pu-ta	pu-ta-si	pu-ta-ni
	tu	tu	‘keep’	tu-∅	tu-si	tu-ni	tu-ta	tu-ta-si	tu-ta-ni
				Σ-∅	Σ-si	Σ-ni	Σ-ta	Σ-ta-si	Σ-ta-ni
Intransitive	hu	hu	‘come’	h _Λ -∅	hu-(j)i	ham-h _Λ	ho-ta	hu-ti	ham-ho-ta
	nu	nu	‘recover’	n _Λ -∅	nu-(j)i	ham-n _Λ	no-ta	nu-ti	ham-no-ta
	mu	mu	‘stay’	m _Λ -∅	mu-(j)i	ham-m _Λ	mo-ta	mu-ti	ham-mo-ta
				Σ-∅	Σ-(j)i	ham-Σ	Σ-ta	Σ-ti	ham-Σ-ni

APPENDIX 4 (b)

C. Declarative

Table 1: Inflections of the verb *dʒu-t* 'eat' (Affirmative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	um-a	dʒa	dʒu-ta	dʒu-∅
	3DL	unt ^s i-a	dʒa	dʒu-ta-si	dʒu-si
	3PL	unimu-a	dʒa	dʒu-ta-ni	dʒu-ni
	2SG	ani-a	dʒa	a-dʒu-ta	a-dʒu/i-∅
	2DL	ant ^s i-a	dʒa	a-dʒu:-ti	a-dʒu:i
	2PL	animu-a	dʒa	a-dʒo:-ta-ni	a-dʒo:-ni
	1SG	aŋu-a	dʒa	dʒΛ-ŋ-t-o	dʒΛ-ŋ-u
	1DL.i	int ^s i-a	dʒa	dʒu:-t-i	dʒu:-(j)i
	1DL.e	int ^s i-a	dʒa	dʒu:-t-u	dʒu:-(j)u
	1PL.i	iŋki-a	dʒa	dʒuk-t-i	dʒukk-i
	1PL.e	iŋki-a	dʒa	dʒuk-t-a	dʒukk-u

Table 2: Inflections of the verb *dʒu-*'eat' (Negative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	um-a	dʒa	dʒu-ta-nΛ	ma-dʒu-nΛ
	3DL	un t ^s i-a	dʒa	dʒu-ta-si-nΛ	ma-dʒu-si-nΛ
	3PL	unimu-a	dʒa	dʒu-ta-ni-nΛ	ma-dʒu-ni-nΛ
	2SG	ani-a	dʒa	a-dʒu-ta-nΛ	a-dʒu/i-nΛ
	2DL	ant ^s i-a	dʒa	a-dʒu:-ti-nΛ	a-dʒu:(j)i-nΛ
	2PL	animu-a	dʒa	a-dʒo:-ta-ni-nΛ	a-dʒo-ni-nΛ
	1SG	aŋu-a	dʒa	dʒΛŋ-to-no	ma-dʒΛŋ-u-nΛ
	1SG	int ^s i-a	dʒa	dʒu:-ti-nΛ	ma-dʒu:-(j)i-nΛ
	1DLi	int ^s i-a	dʒa	dʒu:-ti-nΛ	ma-dʒu:-(j)i-nΛ
	1DLe	iŋki-a	dʒa	dʒuk-ti-nΛ	ma-dʒukk-i-nΛ
	1PLi	iŋki-a	dʒa	dʒuk-ta-nΛ	ma-dʒukk-u-nΛ

Table 3: Inflections of the verb *t^sʌp* ‘write’ (Affirmative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	um-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta	t ^s ʌp-ti
	3DL	unt ^s i-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta-si	t ^s ʌp-si
	3PL	unimu-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta-ni	t ^s ʌp-ni
	2SG	ani-a	sʌp ^h u	a-t ^s ʌp-ta	a-t ^s ʌp-ti
	2DL	ant ^s i-a	sʌp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ti	a-t ^s u:p ^h -i
	2PL	animu-a	sʌp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ta-ni	a-t ^s u:p-ni
	1SG	aŋu-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-to	t ^s ʌp-tu
	1DLi	int ^s i-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti	t ^s u:p ^h -i
	1DLe	int ^s i-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti	t ^s u:p ^h -i
	1PLi	iŋki-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ti	t ^s ʌpk-i
	1PLe	iŋki-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta	t ^s ʌpk-u

Table 4: Inflections of the verb *t^sʌp-t* ‘write’ (Negative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	im-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta-nʌ	ma-t ^s ʌp-ti-nʌ
	3DL	unt ^s i-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta-si-nʌ	ma-t ^s ʌp-si-nʌ
	3PL	unimu-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta-ni-nʌ	ma-t ^s ʌp-ni-nʌ
	2SG	ani-a	sʌp ^h u	a-t ^s ʌp-ta-nʌ	a-t ^s ʌp-ti-nʌ
	2DL	ant ^s i-a	sʌp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ti-nʌ	a-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nʌ
	2PL	animu-a	sʌp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ta-ni-nʌ	a-t ^s u:p-ni-nʌ
	1SG	aŋu-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-to-no	ma-t ^s ʌp-tu-nʌ
	1SG	int ^s i-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti-nʌ	ma-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nʌ
	1DLi	int ^s i-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti-nʌ	ma-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nʌ
	1DLe	iŋki-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ti-nʌ	ma-t ^s ʌpk-i-nʌ
	1PLi	iŋki-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta-nʌ	ma-t ^s ʌpk-u-nʌ

Table 5: Inflections of the verb *a:l-t* ‘uproot’ (Affirmative form)

		PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3 RD	SG	um-a	ɲilo	a:l-ta	a:l-i
		DL	unt ^{si} -a	ɲilo	a:l-ta-si	a:l-si
		PL	unimu-a	ɲilo	a:l-ta-ni	a:l-ni
	2 ND	SG	ani-a	ɲilo	a-a:l-ta	a-a:l-i
		DL	ant ^{si} -a	ɲilo	a-a:l-ti	a-a:l-i
		PL	animu-a	ɲilo	a-a:l-ta-ni	a-a:l-ni
	1 ST	SG	aɲu-a	ɲilo	a:l-to	a:l-o
		DLi	int ^{si} -a	ɲilo	a:l-ti	a:l-ti
		DLe	unt ^{su} -a	ɲilo	a:l-tu	a:l-tu
		PLi	iŋki-a	ɲilo	a:l-ti	a:l-ti
		PLe	uŋku-a	ɲilo	a:l-ta	a:l-ta

Table 6: Inflections of the verb *a:l-t* ‘uproot’ (Negative form)

		PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	um-a	ɲilo	a:l-ta-nΛ	ma-a:l-i-nΛ	
	3DL	un t ^{si} -a	ɲilo	a:l-ta-si-nΛ	ma-a:l-si-nΛ	
	3PL	unimu-a	ɲilo	a:l-ta-ni-nΛ	a:l-ni-nΛ	
	2SG	ani-a	ɲilo	a-a:l-ta-nΛ	a-a:l-i-nΛ	
	2DL	ant ^{si} -a	ɲilo	a-a:l-ti-nΛ	a-a:l-ti-nΛ	
	2PL	animu-a	ɲilo	a-a:l-ta-ni-nΛ	a-a:l-ni-nΛ	
	1SG	aɲu-a	ɲilo	a:l-to-nΛ	ma-a:l-o-nΛ	
	1 DLi	int ^{si} -a	ɲilo	a:l-ti-nΛ	ma-a:l-i-nΛ	
	1 DLe	unt ^{su} -a	ɲilo	a:l-tu-nΛ	ma-a:l-u-nΛ	
	1 PLi	iŋki-a	ɲilo	a:l-ti-nΛ	ma-a:l-ki-nΛ	
	1 PLe	uŋku-a	ɲilo	a:l-ta-nΛ	ma-a:l-ku-nΛ	

D. Verb paradigm

Table A: Transitive verb

(i) *jΛm-na* ‘hit’ (tr.) and *tʰ-na* ‘fall’ (intr.)

(Transitive)			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	(Intran.)
			1SG	1DUe	1PLe	1DUI	1PLi	2SG	2DU	2PL	3SG	3DU	3PL	
			aju	unt ^s u	uŋku	int ^s i	iŋki	ana	ant ^s i	animu	um	unt ^s i	unimu	
1.	1SG	aju						jΛmna	jΛmnasi	jΛmnani	jΛmdu	jΛmsu	jΛmnu	t ^h ijo
2.	1DUe	unt ^s u						jumu	jumu	jumu	jumu	jumu	jumu	t ^h iju
3.	1PUE	uŋku						jΛmku	jΛmku	jΛmku	jΛmku	jΛmku	jΛmku	t ^h ikku
4.	1DUI	int ^s i									jumi	jumi	jumi	t ^h iji
5.	1PUI	iŋki									jΛmki	jΛmki	jΛmki	t ^h ikki
6.	2SG	ana	ajumo	ajumu	ajΛmku						ajΛmdi	ajΛmsi	ajΛmni	at ^h iju
7.	2DU	ant ^s i	ajumosu	ajumu	ajΛmku						ajumi	ajumi	ajumi	at ^h iji
8.	2PL	animu	ajumonu	ajumu	ajΛmku						ajumni	ajumni	ajumni	at ^h i:ni
9.	3SG	um	ajumo	ajumu	ajΛmku	ajumi	ajΛmki	ajumu	ajumi	ajumni	jΛmdi	jΛmsi	jΛmni	t ^h iju
10.	3DU	unt ^s i	ajumosu	ajumu	ajΛmku	ajumi	ajΛmki	ajumu	ajumi	ajumni	jΛmsi	jΛmsi	jΛmni	t ^h iji
11.	3PL	unimu	ajumonu	ajumu	ajΛmku	ajumi	ajΛmki	ajumu	ajumi	ajumni	jΛmni	jΛmni	jΛmni	hamt ^h iju

Table B: The affixes of the Transitive Conjugation

(ii) *j* Δ *m*-*na* ‘hit’ (tr.) and *t*^h-*na* ‘fall’ (int.)

(Transitive)			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
			1SG	1DUe	1PLe	1DUi	1PLi	2SG	2DU	2PL	3SG	3DU	3PL	(Intr.)
			a η u	unt ^s u	u η ku	int ^s i	i η ki	ana	ant ^s i	animu	um	unt ^s i	unimu	
1.	1SG	a η u						- Σ -n Δ	- Σ -n Δ si	Σ -n Δ ni	Σ -du	Σ -su	Σ -nu	Σ -jo
2.	1DUe	unt ^s u						- Σ -u	- Σ -u	Σ -u	Σ -u	Σ -u	Σ -u	Σ -ju
3.	1PUe	u η ku						- Σ -ku	- Σ -ku	Σ -ku	Σ -ku	Σ -ku	Σ -ku	Σ -kku
4.	1DUi	int ^s i									Σ -i	Σ -i	Σ -i	Σ -ji
5.	1PUi	i η ki									Σ -ki	Σ -ki	Σ -ki	Σ -kki
6.	2SG	ana	a- Σ -o	a- Σ -u	a- Σ -ku						a- Σ -di	a- Σ -si	a- Σ -ni	a- Σ -ju
7.	2DU	ant ^s i	a- Σ -osu	a- Σ -u	a- Σ -ku						a- Σ -i	a- Σ -i	a- Σ -i	a- Σ -ji
8.	2PL	animu	a- Σ -onu	a- Σ -u	a- Σ -ku						a- Σ -ni	a- Σ -ni	a- Σ -ni	a- Σ -ni
9.	3SG	um	a- Σ -o	a- Σ -u	a- Σ -ku	a- Σ -i	a- Σ -ki	a- Σ -u	a- Σ -i	a- Σ -ni	- Σ -di	Σ -si	Σ -ni	Σ -ju
10.	3DU	unt ^s i	a- Σ -osu	a- Σ -u	a- Σ -ku	a- Σ -i	a- Σ -ki	a- Σ -u	a- Σ -i	a- Σ -ni	- Σ -si	Σ -si	Σ -ni	Σ -ji
11.	3PL	unimu	a- Σ -onu	a- Σ -u	a- Σ -ku	a- Σ -i	a- Σ -ki	a- Σ -u	a- Σ -i	a- Σ -ni	- Σ -ni	Σ -ni	Σ -ni	ham- Σ -ju

(iii) Inflections of the verb *tuj* ‘drink’

	PRONOUN		NON-PAST PERFECT	PAST PERFECT	PST PROGRESSIVE
1.	3SG	um	tuj-um-go-t-a	tuj-um-gΛ	tuj-t ^h Λd-im-gΛ
2.	3DL	unt ^{si}	tuj-sim-go-t-a	tuj-sim-gΛ	tuj-t ^h Λss-im-gΛ
3.	3PL	unimu	tuj-nim-go-t-a	tuj-nim-gΛ	tuj-t ^h Λtn-im-gΛ
4.	2SG	ani	a-tuj-um-go-t-a	a-tuj-um-gΛ	a-tuj-t ^h Λd-im-gΛ
5.	2DL	ant ^{si}	a-tuj-im-go-t-a	a-tuj-im-gΛ	a-tuj-t ^h iq-im-gΛ
6.	2PL	animu	a-tuj-nim-go-t-a	a-tuj-nim-gΛ	a-tuj-t ^h Λisn-im-gΛ
7.	1SG	aŋu	tuj-om-go-t-a	tuj-om-gΛ	tuj-t ^h Λd-um-gΛ
8.	1DLi	int ^{si}	tuj-im-go-t-a	tuj-im-gΛ	tuj-t ^h iq-im-gΛ
9.	1DLe	unt ^{su}	tuj-um-go-t-a	tuj-um-gΛ	tuj-t ^h iq-um-gΛ
10.	1PLi	iqki	tuj-kim-go-t-a	tuj-kim-gΛ	tuj-t ^h Λqk-im-gΛ
11.	1PLE	uŋku	tuj-kum-go-t-a	tuj-kum-gΛ	tuj-t ^h Λqk-kum-gΛ

(iv) Inflections of the verb *dʒut*-‘eat’ (Affirmative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	um-a	d ^z a	d ^z u-t-a	d ^z u-∅
	3DL	unt ^s i-a	d ^z a	d ^z u-t-a-si	d ^z u-si
	3PL	unimu-a	d ^z a	d ^z u-t-a-ni	d ^z u-ni
	2SG	ani-a	d ^z a	a-d ^z u-t-a	a-d ^z u/i-∅
	2DL	ant ^s i-a	d ^z a	a-d ^z u:t-i	a-d ^z u:i
	2PL	animu-a	d ^z a	a-d ^z o:-t-a-ni	a-d ^z o:-ni
	1SG	aŋu-a	d ^z a	d ^z Λ-ŋ-t-o	d ^z Λŋ-u
	1DLi	int ^s i-a	d ^z a	d ^z u:-t-i	d ^z u:-(j)i
	1DLe	unt ^s u-a	d ^z a	d ^z u:-t-u	d ^z u:-(j)u
	1PLi	iŋki-a	d ^z a	d ^z uk-t-i	d ^z ukk-i
	1PLE	uŋku-a	d ^z a	d ^z ukt-a	d ^z ukk-u

(v) Inflections of the verb *dʒu*-‘eat’ (Negative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	um-a	d ^z a	d ^z ut-a-nΛ	ma-d ^z u-nΛ
	3DL	un t ^s i-a	d ^z a	d ^z ut-a-si-nΛ	ma-d ^z u-si-nΛ
	3PL	unimu-a	d ^z a	d ^z ut-a-ni-nΛ	ma-d ^z u-ni-nΛ
	2SG	ani-a	d ^z a	a-d ^z ut-a-nΛ	a-d ^z u/i-nΛ
	2DL	ant ^s i-a	d ^z a	a-d ^z u:t-i-nΛ	a-d ^z u:(j)i-nΛ
	2PL	animu-a	d ^z a	a-d ^z o:t-a-ni-nΛ	a-d ^z o-ni-nΛ
	1SG	aŋu-a	d ^z a	d ^z Λŋt-o-no	ma-d ^z Λŋ-u-nΛ
	1SG	int ^s i-a	d ^z a	d ^z u:t-i-nΛ	ma-d ^z u:-(j)i-nΛ
	1DLi	unt ^s u-a	d ^z a	d ^z u:t-u-nΛ	ma-d ^z u:-(j)u-nΛ
	1DLE	iŋki-a	d ^z a	d ^z ukt-i-nΛ	ma-d ^z ukk-i-nΛ
	1PLi	uŋku-a	d ^z a	d ^z ukt-a-nΛ	ma-d ^z ukk-u-nΛ

(vi) Inflections of the verb *t^sΛpt*-‘write’ (Affirmative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	um-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s Λpt-a	t ^s Λpt-i
	3DL	unt ^s i-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s Λpt-a-si	t ^s Λp-si
	3PL	unimu-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s Λpt-a-ni	t ^s Λp-ni
	2SG	ani-a	sΛp ^h u	a-t ^s Λpt-a	a-t ^s upt-i
	2DL	ant ^s i-a	sΛp ^h u	a-t ^s u:pt-i	a-t ^s u:p ^h -i
	2PL	animu-a	sΛp ^h u	a-t ^s u:pt-a-ni	a-t ^s u:p-ni
	1SG	aŋu-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s Λpt-o	t ^s Λpt-u
	1DLi	int ^s i-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s u:pt-i	t ^s u:p ^h -i
	1DLe	unt ^s u-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s u:pt-u	t ^s u:p ^h -u
	1PLi	iŋki-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s Λpt-i	t ^s Λpk-i
	1PLE	uŋku-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s Λpt-a	t ^s Λpk-u

(vii) Inflections of the verb *t^sΛpt*-‘write’ (Negative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	um-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s Λpt-a-nΛ	ma-t ^s Λpt-i-nΛ
	3DL	un t ^s i-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s Λpt-a-si-nΛ	ma-t ^s Λp-si-nΛ
	3PL	unimu-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s Λpt-a-ni-nΛ	ma-t ^s Λp-ni-nΛ
	2SG	ani-a	sΛp ^h u	a-t ^s Λpt-a-nΛ	a-t ^s Λpt-i-nΛ
	2DL	ant ^s i-a	sΛp ^h u	a-t ^s u:pt-i-nΛ	a-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nΛ
	2PL	animu-a	sΛp ^h u	a-t ^s u:pt-a-ni-nΛ	a-t ^s u:p-ni-nΛ
	1SG	aŋu-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s Λpt-o-no	ma-t ^s Λpt-u-nΛ
	1SG	int ^s i-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s u:pt-i-nΛ	ma-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nΛ
	1DLi	unt ^s u-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s u:pt-i-nΛ	ma-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nΛ
	1DLe	iŋki-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s Λpt-i-nΛ	ma-t ^s Λpk-i-nΛ
	1PLi	uŋku-a	sΛp ^h u	t ^s Λpt-a-nΛ	ma-t ^s Λpk-u-nΛ

(viii) *lamt^hna* ‘to walk’ (Affirmative form)

	PERSON	NPST	PST
1.	3SG	<i>lamt^hta</i>	<i>lamt^hju</i>
		‘S/he walks.’	‘S/he walked.’
2.	3DU	<i>lamt^hti</i>	<i>lamt^hji</i>
		‘They (DU) walk.’	‘They (DU) walked.’
3.	3PL	<i>hamlam t^hta</i>	<i>hamlamt^hju</i>
		‘They walk.’	‘They walked.’
4.	2SG	<i>alamt^hta</i>	<i>alamt^hju</i>
		‘You walk.’	‘You walked.’
5.	2DU	<i>alamt^hti</i>	<i>alamt^hji</i>
		‘You (DU) walk.’	‘You (DU) walked.’
6.	2PL	<i>alamt^htani</i>	<i>alamt^hni</i>
		‘You (PL) walk.’	‘You (PL) walked.’
7.	1SG	<i>lamt^hto</i>	<i>lamt^hjo</i>
		‘I walk.’	‘I walked.’
8.	1DU.INCL	<i>lamt^hti</i>	<i>lamt^hji</i>
		‘We (DU.INCL) walk.’	‘We (DU.INCL) walked.’
9.	1DU.EXCL	<i>lamt^htu</i>	<i>lamt^hju</i>
		‘We (DU.EXCL) walk.’	‘We (DU.EXCL) walked.’
10.	1PL.INCL	<i>lamt^hkti</i>	<i>lamt^hkki</i>
		‘We (PL.INCL) walk.’	‘We (PL.INCL) walked.’
11.	1PL.EXCL	<i>lamt^hkta</i>	<i>lamt^hkku</i>
		‘We (PL.EXCL) walk.’	‘We (PL.EXCL) walked.’

(ix) *lamt^hina* ‘to walk’ (Negative form)

1.	3SG	<i>lamt^hitanΛ</i>	<i>malamt^hijunΛ</i>	<i>malamt^hinΛ</i>
		‘S/he walks.’	‘S/he walked.’	‘S/he walked.’
2.	3PL	<i>hamlamt^hitanΛ</i>	<i>hamlamt^hijunΛ</i>	<i>hamlamt^hinΛ</i>
		‘They (PL) walk.’	‘They (PL) walked.’	‘They (PL) walked.’
3.	3DU	<i>lamt^hitinΛ</i>	<i>malamt^hijinΛ</i>	<i>malamt^hinΛ</i>
		‘They (DU) walk.’	‘They (DU) walked.’	‘They (DU) walked.’
4.	2SG	<i>alamt^hitanΛ</i>	<i>alamt^hijunΛ</i>	<i>alamt^hinΛ</i>
		‘You walk.’	‘You walked.’	‘You walked.’
5.	2PL	<i>alamt^hitaninΛ</i>	<i>alamt^hininΛ</i>	<i>alamt^hininΛ</i>
		‘You (PL) walk.’	‘You (PL) walked.’	‘You (PL) walked.’
6.	2DU	<i>alamt^hitinΛ</i>	<i>alamt^hijinΛ</i>	<i>alamt^hijinΛ</i>
		‘You (DU) walk.’	‘You (DU) walked.’	‘You (DU) walked.’
7.	1SG	<i>lamt^hitono</i>	<i>malamt^hijono</i>	<i>malamt^hijono</i>
		‘I walk.’	‘I walked.’	‘I walked.’
8.	1DU.INCL	<i>lamt^hitinΛ</i>	<i>malamt^hijinΛ</i>	<i>malamt^hijinΛ</i>
		‘We (DU.INCL) walk.’	‘We (DU.INCL) walked.’	‘We (DU.INCL) walked.’
9.	1DU.EXCL	<i>lamt^hitunΛ</i>	<i>malamt^hijunΛ</i>	<i>malamt^hijunΛ</i>
		‘We (DU.EXCL) walk.’	‘We (DU.EXCL) walked.’	‘We (DU.EXCL) walked.’
10.	3PL.INCL	<i>lamt^hiktinΛ</i>	<i>malamt^hikkinΛ</i>	<i>malamt^hikkinΛ</i>
		‘We (PL.INCL) walk.’	‘We (PL.INCL) walked.’	‘We (PL.INCL) walked.’
11.	3PL.EXCL	<i>lamt^hiktanΛ</i>	<i>malamt^hikkunΛ</i>	<i>malamt^hikkunΛ</i>
		‘We (PL.EXCL) walk.’	‘We (PL.EXCL) walked.’	‘We (PL.EXCL) walked.’

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(i) *bint* 'give' [past/past root form]

	UL form		NPST	ROOT	PST	ROOT
01.	bint	1s→3s	bi-ηt-o	Σ-o	biη-u	Σ-u
02.	bint	1s→3d	bi-ηt-o-su	Σ-o-su	biη-o-su	Σ-o-su
03.	bint	1s→3p	bi-ηt-o-nu	Σ-o-nu	biη-o-nu	Σ-o-nu
04.	bint	1di→3	bi:-t-i	Σ-i	bi:-ji	Σ-ji
05.	bint	1de→3	bi:-t-u	Σ-u	bi:-ju	Σ-ju
06.	bint	1pi→3	bi-kt-i	Σ-i	bi-kk-i	Σ-i
07.	bint	1pu→3	bi-kt-a	Σ-a	bi-kk-u	Σ-u
08.	bint	1s → 2s	bi-nt-a	Σ-a	bi-n-nΛ	Σ-n-nΛ
09.	bint	1s → 2d	bi-nt-a-si	Σ-a-si	bi-n-nΛ-si	Σ-n-nΛ-si
10.	bint	1s → 2p	bi-nt-a-ni	Σ-a-ni	bi-n-nΛ-ni	Σ-a-ni
11.	bint	2 → 1s	a-be-t-o	a-Σ-o	a-be-t-o	a-Σ-o
12.	bint	2→1d	a-bi-t-i	a-Σ-i	a-bi-t-i	a-Σ-i
13.	bint	2→1p	a-bi-kt-i	a-Σ-i	a-bi-kt-i	a-Σ-i
14.	bint	2s→3	bi-t-a	Σ-i	bi-t-a	Σ-a
15.	bint	2d→3	bi-t-a-si	Σ-a-si	bi-t-a-si	Σ-a-si
16.	bint	2p→3	bi-t-a-ni	Σ-a-ni	bi-t-a-ni	Σ-a-ni
17.	bint	3 → 1s	a-be-t-o	a-Σ-o	a-be-t-o	a-Σ-o
18.	bint	3→1d	a-bi-t-i	a-Σ-i	a-bi-t-i	a-Σ-i
19.	bint	3→1p	a-bi-kt-i	a-Σ-i	a-bi-kk-i	a-Σ-i
20.	bint	3→2s	a-bi-t-a	a-Σ-a	a-bi-t-a	a-Σ-a
21.	bint	3→2d	a-bi-t-i	a-Σ-i	a-bi-t-i	a-Σ-i
22.	bint	3→2p	a-bi-t-a-ni	a-Σ-a-ni	a-bi-t-a-ni	a-Σ-a-ni
23.	bint	3s→3	bi-t-a	Σ-a	bi-t-a	Σ-a
24.	bint	3ns→3	bi-t-a-ni	Σ-a-ni	bi-t-a-ni	Σ-a-ni

(ii) *bint* 'give' [Non-past and Past form]

		Non-past form		Past form	
01.	1 → 2s	bi-nt-a	∑-a	bi-n-nΛ	∑-n-nΛ
02.	1 → 2d	bi-nt-a-si	∑-a-si	bi-n-nΛ-si	∑-n-nΛ-si
03.	1 → 2p	bi-nt-a-ni	∑-a-ni	bi-n-nΛ-ni	∑-n-nΛ-ni
04.	1s → 3s	bi-ηt-o	∑-o	bi-ηu	∑-ηu
05.	1s → 3d	bi-ηt-o-su	∑-o-su	bi-ηo-su	∑-ηo-su
06.	1s → 3p	bi-ηt-o-nu	∑-o-nu	bi-ηo-nu	∑-ηo-nu
07.	1di → 3	bi-t-i	∑-i	bi:-ji	∑-ji
08.	1de → 3	bi-t-u	∑-u	bi:-ju	∑-ju
09.	1pi → 3	bi-kt-i	∑-k-i	bi-k-ki	∑-k-ki
10.	1pe → 3	bi-kt-a	∑-k-a	bi-k-ku	∑-k-ku
11.	2 → 1s	a-be-t-o	a-∑-o	a-be-ηu	a-∑-ηu
12.	2 → 1d	a-bi-t-i	a-∑-i	a-bi-ju	a-∑-ju
13.	2 → 1p	a-bi-kt-i	a-∑-i	a-bi-k-ku	a-∑-k-ku
14.	2s → 3	a-bi-t-a	∑-i	a-bi-∅	a-∑-∅
15.	2d → 3	a-bi-t-i	∑-i	a-bi-ji	a-∑-ji
16.	2p → 3	a-be-t-a-ni	∑-i-ni	a-be:-ni	a-∑-ni
17.	3 → 1s	a-be-t-o	a-∑-o	a-be-ηu	a-∑-ηu
18.	3 → 1di	a-bi-t-i	a-∑-i	a-bi-ji	a-∑-ji
19.	3 → 1de	a-bi-t-u	a-∑-u	a-bi-ju	a-∑-ju
20.	3 → 1pi	a-bik-t-i	a-∑-i	a-bi-k-ki	a-∑-k-ki
21.	3 → 1pe	a-bik-t-a	a-∑-a	a-bi-k-ku	a-∑-k-ku
22.	3 → 2s	a-bi-t-a	a-∑-i	a-be-∅	a-∑-∅
23.	3 → 2d	a-bi-t-i	a-∑-i	a-bi-ji	a-∑-ji
24.	3 → 2p	a-bi-t-a-ni	a-∑-a-ni	a-be-ni	a-∑-ni
25.	3s → 3s	bi-t-a	∑-a	bi-∅	∑-∅
26.	3s → 3d	bi-t-a-si	∑-a-si	bi-si	∑-si
27.	3s → 3p	bi-t-a-ni	∑-a-ni	bi-ni	∑-ni
28.	3ns → 3	bi-t-a-ni	∑-a-ni	bi-ni	∑-ni

(a) Inflections of the verb *tʰap-t* ‘write’ (Affirmative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	um-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta	t ^s ʌp-ti
	3DL	unt ^{si} -a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta-si	t ^s ʌp-si
	3PL	unimu-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta-ni	t ^s ʌp-ni
	2SG	ani-a	sʌp ^h u	a-t ^s ʌp-ta	a-t ^s up-ti
	2DL	ant ^{si} -a	sʌp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ti	a-t ^s u:p ^h -i
	2PL	animu-a	sʌp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ta-ni	a-t ^s u:p-ni
	1SG	aŋu-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-to	t ^s ʌp-tu
	1DLi	int ^{si} -a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti	t ^s u:p ^h -i
	1DLe	unt ^{su} -a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti	t ^s u:p ^h -i
	1PLi	iŋki-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ti	t ^s ʌpk-i
	1PLe	uŋku-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta	t ^s ʌpk-u

(b): Inflections of the verb *tʰap-t* ‘write’ (Negative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	im-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta-nʌ	ma-t ^s ʌp-ti-nʌ
	3DL	un t ^{si} -a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta-si-nʌ	ma-t ^s ʌp-si-nʌ
	3PL	unimu-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta-ni-nʌ	ma-t ^s ʌp-ni-nʌ
	2SG	ani-a	sʌp ^h u	a-t ^s ʌp-ta-nʌ	a-t ^s ʌp-ti-nʌ
	2DL	ant ^{si} -a	sʌp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ti-nʌ	a-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nʌ
	2PL	animu-a	sʌp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ta-ni-nʌ	a-t ^s u:p-ni-nʌ
	1SG	aŋu-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-to-no	ma-t ^s ʌp-tu-nʌ
	1SG	int ^{si} -a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti-nʌ	ma-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nʌ
	1DLi	int ^{si} -a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti-nʌ	ma-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nʌ
	1DLe	iŋki-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ti-nʌ	ma-t ^s ʌpk-i-nʌ
	1PLi	iŋki-a	sʌp ^h u	t ^s ʌp-ta-nʌ	ma-t ^s ʌpk-u-nʌ

(c): Inflections of the verb *a:l-t* 'uproot' (Affirmative form)

		PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3 RD	SG	im-a	ɲilo	a:l-ta	a:l-i
		DL	unt ^s i-a	ɲilo	a:l-ta-si	a:l-si
		PL	unimu-a	ɲilo	a:l-ta-ni	a:l-ni
	2 ND	SG	ani-a	ɲilo	a-a:l-ta	a-a:l-i
		DL	ant ^s i-a	ɲilo	a-a:l-ti	a-a:l-i
		PL	animu-a	ɲilo	a-a:l-ta-ni	a-a:l-ni
	1 ST	SG	aɲu-a	ɲilo	a:l-to	a:l-o
		DLi	int ^s i-a	ɲilo	a:l-ti	a:l-ti
		DLe	int ^s i-a	ɲilo	a:l-ti	a:l-ti
		PLi	iŋki-a	ɲilo	a:l-ti	a:l-ti
		PLe	iŋki-a	ɲilo	a:l-ta	a:l-ta

(d): Inflections of the verb *a:l-t* 'up root' (Negative form)

		PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	um-a	ɲilo	a:l-ta-nΛ	ma-a:l-i-nΛ	
	3DL	un t ^s i-a	ɲilo	a:l-ta-si-nΛ	ma-a:l-si-nΛ	
	3PL	unimu-a	ɲilo	a:l-ta-ni-nΛ	a:l-ni-nΛ	
	2SG	ani-a	ɲilo	a-a:l-ta-nΛ	a-a:l-i-nΛ	
	2DL	ant ^s i-a	ɲilo	a-a:l-ti-nΛ	a-a:l-ti-nΛ	
	2PL	animu-a	ɲilo	a-a:l-ta-ni-nΛ	a-a:l-ni-nΛ	
	1SG	aɲu-a	ɲilo	a:l-to-nΛ	ma-a:l-o-nΛ	
	1 DLi	int ^s i-a	ɲilo	a:l-ti-nΛ	ma-a:l-i-nΛ	
	1 DLe	unt ^s u-a	ɲilo	a:l-tu-nΛ	ma-a:l-u-nΛ	
	1 PLi	iŋki-a	ɲilo	a:l-ti-nΛ	ma-a:l-ki-nΛ	
	1 PLe	uŋku-a	ɲilo	a:l-ta-nΛ	ma-a:l-ku-nΛ	

APPENDIX 4(c)
(210+5) wordlist of Dumi

S.N.	अङ्ग्रेजी (English)	नेपाली (Nepali)	दुमी (Dumi)
1.	body	शरीर	rΛm
2.	head	टाउको	dΛk ^h lΛ
3.	hair	कपाल	dosom
4.	face	अनुहार	kΛp ^h u
5.	appearance	मुहार	ŋaju
6.	eye	आँखा	miksi
7.	ear	कान	ŋit ^s o
8.	nose	नाक	nu
9.	mouth	मुख	kwam/kΛm
10.	teeth	दाँत	ŋilo
11.	tongue	जिब्रो	lem/ljam
12.	cheek	गाला	namp ^h oksi
13.	belly	पेट	mupu
14.	hand	हात	k ^h ur
15.	elbow	कुइनो	k ^h urun ^h k ^h u
16.	palm	हत्केला	p ^h amtΛ
17.	finger	आँला	aũli
18.	fingernail	नङ	sΛndi
19.	leg	खुट्टा	p ^h Λlu
20.	skin	छाला	sako
21.	bone	हाड	salu
22.	heart	मुटु	t ^s uwa

23.	blood	रगत	hi
24.	urine	पिसाब	t ^s jark ^h uma
25.	feces	दिसा	k ^h il
26.	village	गाउँ	del
27.	house	घर	kim
28.	roof	छानो	kimt ^s o
29.	door	ढोका	lamt ^s uko
30.	firewood	दाउरा	su:
31.	broom	कुचो	p ^h ikdΛm/t ^{sh} ekurim
32.	mortar	सिलौटो	kopt ^s uŋ
33.	pestle	लोहोरो	juklu
34.	wooden ladle	दाबिलो	kΛrt ^s Λm
35.	knife	चक्कु	bit ^{sh} u
36.	axe	बञ्चरो	pΛndi
37.	rope	डोरी	ribo
38.	thread	धागो	sale
39.	needle	सियो	t ^s ame/t ^s Λme
40.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	gu
41.	shad	छायाँ	sikurim
42.	sun	घाम	nam
43.	moon	चन्द्रमा	lolmutu
44.	sky	आकाश	d ^h iriten
45.	star	तारा	soŋger
46.	rain	वर्षा	hu
47.	water	पानी	kΛŋku
48.	river	नदी	kawa

49.	cloud	बादल	mΛ:mi
50.	sun-shadow	घाम-छायॉ	ba:bΛrim
51.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	nagu
52.	wind	बतास	hi:
53.	stone	ढुङ्गा	lu:
54.	path	बाटो	lamdu
55.	sand	बालुवा	sigjama
56.	fire	आगो	mi
57.	smoke	धुवाँ	mik ^h uma
58.	ash	खरानी	pɪ
59.	mud	माटो	puk ^h u
60.	dust	धुलो	p ^h urku
61.	gold	सुन	sonapa
62.	tree	रूख	bu
63.	leaf	पात	sΛ:p ^h u
64.	root	जरा	sup ^h ar
65.	thorn	काँडा	gri
66.	flower	फूल	pu:ma
67.	fruit	फल	si
68.	mango	आँप	Λmbi
69.	banana	केरा	ljāwaksi
70.	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	dot ^s er
71.	barley	जौ	kΛt ^s er
72.	rice (husked)	चामल	su:ru
73.	paddy	धान	d ^z Λm

74.	potato	आलु	sambaki
75.	eggplant	बैगुन	bembuwa
76.	yam	पिडालु	k ^h oksi
77.	chili	खुर्सानी	biram
78.	turmeric	बेसार	bi:ma
79.	curry	तिहुन	k ^h
80.	bean	सिमी	sībi
81.	soybean	भटमास	gjaksi
82.	asparagus	कुरिलो	pr ^h akpr ^h
83.	mushroom	च्याउ	t ^s eu
84.	oil	तेल	kiwa
85.	salt	नुन	rum
86.	meat	मासु	su
87.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	t ^{sh} Δd ^h wa
88.	fish	माछा	ŋu
89.	chicken	चल्ला	buplo
90.	egg	अण्डा	p ^h ati
91.	cow	गाई	biʔi
92.	buffalo	भैंसी	meisi
93.	milk	दुध	omlo/dudu
94.	horns	सिङ	gro
95.	tail	पुच्छर	mi:ri
96.	goat	बाख्रो	t ^{sh} wara/t ^{sh} Δra
97.	dog	कुकुर	k ^h liba
98.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	swalembi/b ^h i
99.	monkey	बाँदर	noksu

10.	bat	चमेरो	pomtipa
101.	ant	कमिला	t ^{sh} umpalu
102.	spider	माकुरो	grot ^{sh} u
103.	name	नाम	nu:
104.	man	मान्छे	minu
105.	woman	आइमाई	misma
106.	child	बच्चा	t ^s u:t ^s u
107.	father	बाबा	papa/pu/epa
108.	mother	आमा	mama/mu/ema
109.	older brother	दाजु	pepe/dad ^z e
110.	younger brother	भाइ	wa
111.	older sister	दिदी	nana
112.	younger sister	बहिनी	wa
113.	son	छोरो	l st s ^u
114.	daughter	छोरी	mist ^s u
115.	husband	लोग्ने (श्रीमान)	dumbu
116.	wife	स्वास्नी (श्रीमती)	me?e
117.	boy	केटो	l ^s ba
118.	girl	केटी	misma
119.	day	दिन	ma
120.	night	रात	sin ^Δ m
121.	morning	विहान	disse
122.	noon	मध्यान्ह	nulu
123.	evening	साँझ	somna
124.	yesterday	हिजो	asn ^Δ m

125.	today	आज	amna
126.	tomorrow	भोलि	asala
127.	week	हप्ता (साता)	hʌpʈa
128.	month	महिना	lo
129.	year	वर्ष	t ^h o
130.	old	पुरानो	t ^{sh} iŋa
131.	new	नयाँ	niŋa
132.	good	राम्रो (असल)	k ^h anuksa
133.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	k ^h aiksa
134.	unripe	काँचो	swata
135.	wet	भिजेको	d ^{zh} it ^s im
136.	dry	सुख्खा	haŋum
137.	long	लामो	soŋsa
138.	short	छोटो	k ^h amam
139.	hot	तातो	haksa
140.	cold	चिसो	t ^{sh} uksa
141.	right	दाहिने	pjʌ
142.	left	देब्रे	d ^z ʌ
143.	near	नजिक	p ^h arbi
144.	far	टाढा	mambi
145.	big	ठूलो	g ^h ʌlsa
146.	small	सानो	tilsa
147.	heavy	गह्रौँ	loŋsa
148.	light	हलुका	pelonŋ
149.	above	माथि	k ^h o:ti
150.	below	तल	hi:ti

151.	white	सेतो	bubum
152.	black	कालो	makum
153.	red	रातो	halalam
154.	one	एक	tuk
155.	two	दुई	sΛk
156.	three	तीन	suk
157.	four	चार	buk
158.	five	पाँच	nek
159.	six	छ	rek
160.	seven	सात	sek
161.	eight	आठ	uk
162.	nine	नौ	nuk
163.	ten	दश	tuksi
164.	eleven	एघार	tuktu
165.	twelve	बाह्र	tuksΛ
166.	twenty	बीस	sΛksi
167.	one hundred	एक सय	tusiksi
168.	who	को	asu/asi
169.	what	के	mo
170.	where	कहाँ	k ^h Λmbi
171.	when	कहिले	hijo/hinΛm
172.	how many	कति	hito
173.	which	कुन	hem
174.	this	यो	tam
175.	that	त्यो	mam
176.	these	यिनीहरू	tammu

177.	those	उनीहरू	mammu
178.	same	उही	heŋam
179.	different	फरक (अलग)	k ^h e
180.	whole	सबै	k ^h AtlΛ/k ^h ΛlΛ
181.	broken	फुटेको	bruk ^h um
182.	few	थोरै	pit ^s it ^s i
183.	many	धेरै	dumo
184.	all	सबै	k ^h AtlΛ
185.	to eat	खानु	d ^z una
186.	to bite	टोक्नु	ka:na
187.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	krumna
188.	to drink	पिउनु	tuŋna
189.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	kumina
190.	to sleep	सुत्नु	imsina
191.	to lie	पल्टनु	t ^h i:sina
192.	to sit	बस्नु	ŋaisina
193.	to give	दिनु	bina
194.	to burn	डढाउनु	hu:na
195.	to die	मर्नु	mi:na
196.	to kill	मार्नु	se:na
197.	to fly	उड्नु	bjarna
198.	to walk	हिँड्नु	lamt ^h ina
199.	to run	दौडनु	bulna
200.	to go	जानु	k ^h Λ:na
201.	to come	आउनु	huna
202.	to speak	बोल्नु	d ^z ina

203.	to hear	सुनुनु	ŋina
204.	to look	हेनु	senna
205.	I	म	aŋu
206.	you (informal)	तँ	anu/ani
207.	you (formal)	तपाइँ	anni/animu
208.	he	ऊ	um
209.	she	उनी	um
210.	we two (incl.)	हामी दुई (समा.)	int ^{si}
211.	we two (excl.)	हामी दुई (असमा.)	unt ^{su}
212.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	iŋki
213.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	uŋku
214.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	animu
215.	they	उनीहरू	unimu

APPENDIX 5

Elicited and Text data

Text topics and the information of the narrators

Text	Text topic [Narrator, Name, Age]	Reference no.
	<i>delbi to: pusi</i> ‘loom weaving in the village’	
1. Text A ₁	Narrated by Mr. Netra Mani Rai (Makpa-6, Norung, Khotang)	[DTP.NMR-45:01-55]
	<i>t ŋ k hptijo</i> ‘While preparing local beer’	
2. Text A ₂ (a)	Oral narrative; Speaker: Mrs. Ratna Maya Rai (Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)	[CHL.RM-69:01-26]
	<i>hent ŋ muktijo</i> ‘While preparing alcohol’	
3. Text A ₂ (b)	Oral narrative; Speaker: Mrs. Masini Rai (Dharan-8, Bhotepul, Sunsari)	[HEN.MR-67:01-17]
	<i>t shelmu puktijo</i> ‘Weaving straw mat’	
4. Text A ₂ (c)	Oral narrative; Speaker: Mr. Chatur Man Rai (Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)	[CHEL.CM-67:01-11]
	<i>g hrupo t ŋ</i> ‘A baby parrot’	
5. Text A ₃	Oral narrative; Speaker: Mrs. Harka Shova Rai (Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)	[GPC.HSR-36:01-43]
	<i>susu dapsi</i> ‘worshipping the hearth’	
6. Text A ₄	Written narrative; Author: Mr. Netra Mani Rai (Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)	[ISI.NM-45:01-31]
	<i>makipa del</i> ‘Makpa village’	
7. Text A ₅	Oral narrative; Speaker: Mr. Lakh Dhan Rai (Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)	[MAK.LD-70:01-29]
	<i>toma-k hema</i> ‘Toma-Khema’	
8. Text A ₆	Oral narrative; Speaker: Mr. Nanda Raj Rai (Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)	[TK.NRR-72:01-26]
	<i>suptulu</i> ‘Hearth’	
9. Text A ₇	Oral narrative; Speaker: Mr. Karna Bahadur Rai (Makpa-5, Ilim, Khotang)	[HRT.KBR-68:01-25]

A. Sample analyzed texts

This appendix comprises a small selection of texts that form the foundation of the grammatical analysis and also add a feel of the Dumi language in actual use. Below, I have listed two stories from Dumi oral literature, viz., *delbi to: pusi* ‘loom weaving in the village’ and *suptulu* ‘The hearth’ related to Kirati customs and tradition, two stories also from Dumi oral literature, viz., *makipa del* ‘Makpa village’ and *toma-k^hema* ‘Toma-Khema’ related to the Kirat origin and history. Likewise, four stories: *susu dapsi* ‘worshipping the hearth’, *t^{sh}elmu puktijo* ‘Weaving strawmat’, *t^hi k^hiptijo* ‘While preparing local beer’ and *hent^h i muktijo* ‘While preparing alcohol’; give the glimpses of the Dumi rituals and culture in Kirat tradition. In addition, the story *g^hirupo t^hu* ‘A baby parrot’ shows the additional linguistic features of the Dumi language, which should give a feeling for the vivid language that storyteller use and have all the characteristics of narratives. These have the double function of adding some texts of this genre to the corpus, while at the same time informing the reader about these traditions.

1. Text A₁: *delbi to: pusi* ‘loom weaving in the village’

Narrated by Mr. Netra Mani Rai [DTP.NMR-45];

Makpa-6, Norung, Khotang

(01) *delbi to: pusi*

del-bi	to:	pu-si	
village-LOC	loom	weave-NMLZ	
‘Loom weaving in the village’			

(02) *tam ad^{zh}o delgob^hal-bim tum*

tam	ad ^{zh} o	del-gob ^h al-bim	tum	∅
this	in past	village-towards-GEN	matter	COP
‘This is the matter of the village in past.’				

(03) *mΛjo aŋu malokt^hum ŋa moŋu*

mΛjo	aŋu	malokt ^h um	ŋa	mo-ŋ-u
at that time	1SG	too young	EMPH	be-1SG-PST
‘At that time, I was too young.’				

(04) *mΛjo hopua munhΛnpom tum*

mΛjo hopu-a mu-n-hΛ-n-po-m tum ∅
 at that time self-ERG do-pl-bring-pl-PFVT matter COP
 ‘It is the matter of doing ourselves.’

(05) *mΛjo delgob^hal atasabam heŋa p^hjarhΛnpom desi gumu magΛthiŋnΛ*

mΛjo del-gob^hal atasaba-m heŋa p^hjar-hΛn-po-m
 at that time village-LOC today-GEN like sew-bring-PFV

 desi gu-mu ma-gΛ-thiŋ-nΛ
 ready made cloth-PL NEG-be-HAB-NEG
 ‘At that time, the ready-made clothes were
 not available in my village like these days.’

(06) *delbi kimkimbi d^{zh}araa hopu-hopua ŋa k^haŋi puna t^{sh}ukthiŋu*

del-bi kim-kim-bi d^{zh}ara-a hopu-hopu-a
 village-LOC house-house-LOC everyone-ERG REFL-ERG

 ŋa k^haŋi pu-na t^{sh}uk-thiŋu
 FOC hand made cloth weave-INF be-HAB
 ‘Everyone in the village had to weave the loom in every house.’

(07) *atasaba sensoka adz^ho t^{sh}ote ŋa b^hukto jo g^hat^hŋu*

atasaba sen-soka ad^{zh}o t^{sh}ote

nowadays see-SEQ long ago more

ŋa b^hukto jo g^hat^hŋ-u

FOC pain also be-HAB-PST

‘There was much more suffering compare to these days.’

(08) *hiũdobi t^{sh}ote ŋa d^zu l^hat^hŋu*

hiũdo-bi t^{sh}ote ŋa d^zu l^hat^hŋ-u

winter-LOC extremely FOC cold feel-HAV-PST

‘We used to feel extremely cold in the winter.’

(09) *ak^he gu k^hamsina ŋa madont^hl^hisini^h*

ak^he gu k^hamsi-na ŋa ma-don-t^hl^hisi-na

sufficiently clothes wear-INF FOC NEG-get-HAB-PRF

‘We used to get no sufficient clothes.’

(10) *te tuk p^her gu tuŋa k^hamt^hl^hisinpo*

tuk p^her gu tuŋa k^ham-t^hl^hisi-npo

one set cloth only wear-HAB-1PL

‘We used wear just one set of clothes.’

- (11) *mambika duwa ηa dʒu lAk^ho mi huηna t^{sh}ukt^hiηu*
 mam-bika duwa ηa dʒu lΛ-k^ho
 that-ABL extremely EMPH cold feel-if
 mi huη-na t^{sh}uk-t^hiη-u
 fire sit by side-INF must-HAB-1PL
 ‘If we felt extremely cold, we used to sit side by the fire.’

- (12) *t^{sh}Λwabi sultu p^hAlua k^hrimso lamt^hina t^{sh}ukt^hiηu*
 t^{sh}Λwa-bi sultu p^hAlu-a k^hrim-so lamt^hin-t^hΛnpo
 frost-loc naked foot-ERG step-CONV walk-HAB
 ‘We had to walk outside with bare foot.’

- (13) *opo kimbi nanaham hammΛnΛ*
 o-po kim-bi nana-ham ham-mΛ-nΛ
 1SG.POSS-GEN house-LOC elder.sister-PL PL-be-NEG
 ‘There were not elder sisters in the family.’

- (14) *mΛkak^hi mΛjoηa to: puna jo t^seisinpom*
 mΛkak^hi mΛjo-ηa to:
 so that that time-FOC loom
 pu-na jo t^seisin-pom
 weave-INF also learn-PFV
 ‘So that we learned to weave the loom at that time.’

- (15) *kimgobim sulam duwabi jo mamalai p^hlana t^{sh}ukt^hɲu*
 kim-go-bi-m sulam jo
 house-inside-LOC-PRF works also

 mama-lai p^hlana t^{sh}uk-t^hɲu-u
 mother-DAT help-INF be-HAB-3SG
 ‘We used to support mother in the house works.’
- (16) *tejo hiũdo gota*
 tejo hiũdo go-t-a
 now winter be-NPST-3SG
 Now, it is the winter.
- (17) *tesoŋa salanne hiũdo hotajo ad^{zh}o t^su:t^su moŋujom tummu nubi k^hirsti*
 tesoŋa sal-^{anne} hiũdo hot-ajo ad^{zh}o
 like this every year winter come-CONV long ago

 t^su:t^su mo-ŋujo-m tum-mu nu-bi k^hirs-t-i
 child be-CONV-PRF event-PL mind-LOC come-NPST-3SG
 ‘Every year when the winter begins, the memories of my childhood
 appear in my mind.’
- (18) *mɔjo pwatelbi haldenpom tokk^hom omiksibi lɔisbakta*
 mɔjo pwatel-bi halden-po-m
 that-time yard-LOC spread-PRF-NMLZ

 tokk^hom o-miksi-bi lɔis-bak-t-a
 loom place 1SG.POSS-eye-LOC appear-keep-NPST-3SG

‘Even now I feel like seeing weaving of looms in front of the house.’

(19) *mama ham t^samum tuk t^ho t^{sh}ukt^hijta*

mama ham-t^sam-u-m tuk t^ho t^{sh}uk-t^hij-t-a
 mother HON-die-3SG-PRF one year be-AMBL-NPST-3SG

‘It is being passed away just one year since my mother died.’

(20) *k^hojo ad^zijo to: put^hattani heŋa lota*

k^hojo ad^zijo to: pu-t^hat-t-a-ni
 however still loom weave-HAB-NPST-3SG-HON

heŋa lot-a

like feel-3SG.NPST

‘However, we feel as if she is still weaving looms.’

(21) *m^ljo delgob^hal kim-kimbi to: put^hatni*

m^ljo del-gob^hal kim-kim-bi
 that-time village-TOWARDS house-house-LOC

to: pu-t^hat-ni

loom weave-HAB-3PL

‘At that time, in the village, they used to weave loom in each house.’

(22) *ad^{zh}obika munh^lisim tummu t^samusso k^hl^lisi*

ad^{zh}o-bika mu-n-h^lis-i-m

long time ago-ABL do-M.EXTDR-HAB-1PL.INCL-PRF

tum-mu t^samu-ssɔ k^hʌis-i

thing-PL forget-SIM go-1PL.PST

‘We are forgetting the things that we used to do long ago.’

(23) *hito ne t^samna nirim jo gota*

hito ne t^sam-na nir-im jo go-t-a

how FOC loose-INF finish-PRF also be-NPST-3SG

‘It has already been lost many things’

(24) *hopupo ridum-hʌdum jo t^samt^hiŋta ŋa*

hopu-po ridum hʌdum jo t^sam-t^hiŋ-t-a ŋa

self-GEN rituals custom also lose-HAB-NPST-3SG FOC

‘We are losing gradually the rituals and customs too.’

(25) *tam tummu mimitjo go t^saita*

tam tum-mu mim-t-i-jo

this thing-PL remember-NPST-1PL.INCL-CONV

go t^sai-t-a

soul feel sad-NPST-3SG

‘We feel sad remembering these things.’

(26) *mat^samna wak^ho hito nusi t^{sh}ukuwa*

ma-t^sam-na wak^ho hito nusi t^{sh}uk-u-wa

NEG-lose-NEG if how much nice be-3SG.PST-PROB

‘If there were not lost these things, we would feel happy.’

(27) *tejo hopupo brΛ kajo to:po sikiparibi zharaa nu t^{sh}ina t^{sh}ukta*

tejo hopu-po brΛ kajo to:-po
now self-GEN language CONJ loom-GEN

sikipari-bi zhara-a nu t^{sh}i-na t^{sh}uk-t-a

skill-LOC all-ERG mind careful-INF must-NPST-3SG

‘We all msut be cautious about the skills in weaving loom and mother tongue.’

(28) *tam sΛkli tumnua ŋa iŋki rΛdu t^sumu t^{sh}eŋk^halukti*

tam sΛk-li tum-nu-a ŋa

this two-CLF thing-DU-ERG EMPH

iŋki rΛdu t^su-mu t^{sh}eŋ-k^haluk-t-i

1PL.INCL Rai progeny-PL recognize-BEN-NPST-1PL.INCL

‘These two things may recognize us as Rai ethnic group.’

(29) *to: puksa rewos rΛdu bika k^hem sua muhutnim doisim maŋgu*

to: puk-sa rewos rΛdu bika

loom weave-NMLZ custom Rai besides

k^hem su-a mu-hut-ni-m do-isi-m ma-ŋgu

other caste-ERG do-AMBL-3PL-PRF see-REF-PRF NEG-be

‘The custom of weaving loom has not been seen in other castes than in Rai community.’

(30) *su: kajo pabua k^ho nuk^hΛksa*

su: kajo pabu-a k^ho nuk-k^hΛk-sa
wood COM bamboo-ERG COND be-AMBL-NMLZ

‘Only two things required are bamboo and the wood.’

(31) *kim pwatelbi ŋa to k^hom haltijo nuk^hΛksa*

kim pwatel-bi ŋa to k^hom
house yard-LOC EMPH loom place

hal-t-i-jo nuk-k^hΛk-sa
spread-NPST-1PL.INCL-CONV be-AMBL-NMLZ

‘The loom can be made in the yard of the house.’

(32) *lΛsba misma asisia k^hojo pu-na djarsa.*

lΛsba misma asi-a k^hojo pu-na djar-sa
male female anyone else-ERG but weave-INF match-NMLZ

‘This can be woven by the male and female anyone else.’

(33) *teso punpom gulai pu:kajo lumsoka daptik^ho nuksa*

teso pu-n-pom gu-lai pu:-kajo
like this weave-M.EXTDR-PRF cloth-DAT ash-COM

lum-soka dapt-i k^ho nu-k^hΛk-sa
 boil-SEQ beat-NPST.1PL.INCL COND be-AMBL-NMLZ

‘The cloth weaved in loom can be washed by boiling with ash.’

(34) *mΛka k^hi ad^{zh}o rΛdu delbi zharaa kim-kimbi pusoka hammunt^hΛisi*

mΛka k^hi ad^{zh}o rΛdu del-bi zhara-a
 so that PRT long time ago Rai village-LOC everyone-ERG

kim kim-bi pu-soka ham-mun-t^hΛis-i
 house house-LOC weave-SEQ 3PL-wear-HAB-3PL.PST

‘Therefore, the clothes used to be worn in every Rai community weaving themselves.’

(35) *tejo aηu-a to: pu-si kajo*

tejo aηu-a to: pu-si kajo
 now 1SG-ERG loom weave-NMLZ COM

k^hādi-po dubi t^suri t^sΛp-t^hΛt-t-o
 weaving cloth-GEN about story write-DUR-NPST-1SG

‘Now, I am writing a story about loom weaving and the clothes prepared.’

(36) *ad^{zh}o aηu o-hopu-a ηa jo t^sapso mat^sapso to: pΛηt^hΛdu*

ad^{zh}o aηu o-hopu-a ηa jo
 in past 1SG 1SG-self-ERG EMPH also

t^sap-so ma-t^sap-so to: pΛ-η-t^hΛd-u

can-SIM NEG-can-SIM loom weave-1SG-DUR-1SG.PST

‘In the past, myself used to working hard to weave loom.’

(37) *mΛjo delgob^hal duspihama kokkoksi alunt^hΛnpo*

mΛjo del-gob^hal duspi-ham-a kokkoksi a-lun-t^hΛn-po
 at that time village-ALL adult-PL-ERG aware 1-tell-HAB-GEN

‘At that time, the elders used to make aware us saying we msut know the skills in weaving loom.’

(38) *asia k^hojo sikipari t^sentΛisina t^{sh}ukta mei*

asi-a k^hojo sikipari
 anyone-ERG else skills

t^sen-tΛis-i-na t^{sh}ukta mei
 learn-AMBL-1PL.INCL-INF must PRT

‘Anyone else must learn skills for weaving.’

(39) *monok^ho aplo lad^zi ak^huptani mei*

monok^ho aplo lad^zi a-k^hup-t-ani mei
 anyone-ERG later on shyness 2-become-NPST-2PL PRT

‘Otherwise, you may feel shy when you become matured.’

(40) *mΛkak^hi aηua jo malokt^sum moηum bika ηa to: puna t^seisum*

mΛkak^hi aηu-a jo malokt^sum mo-η-u-m
 so that 1SG-ERG also childhood be-1SG-PST-PRF

bika ŋa to: pu-na t^seis-u-m
 ABL EMPH loom weave-INF learn-1SG.PST-PRF
 ‘That’s why I learnt weaving loom in the childhood.’

(41) *nulu t^sut^sukajo meisi dzasso k^hojo somna disse mamalai to: puna p^hlatthlatnu*

nulu t^sut^su-kajo meisi dzas-so k^hojo
 day grandfather-COM buffalo graze-SIM else

somna-disse mama-lai to:
 evening-morning mother-DAT loom

pu-na p^hlat-that-nu
 weave-INF help-DUR-1SG.PST

‘I used to assist my mother in weaving looms in the morning and evening even if I used to help my grandfather in grazing buffaloes.’

(42) *majo hiũdobi t^homale ŋa duspiham mades hamk^hust^hiŋu*

majo hiũdo-bi t^homale ŋa
 at that time winter-LOC every year EMPH

duspi-ham mades ham-k^hus-t^hiŋ-u
 adult-PL Terai PL-go-HAB-3PL

‘Every year in the winter, the aged people used to go down to the Terai.’

(43) *mamla hopu t^sapsi salekajo rum k^hotthlatni*

mam-la hopu t^sap-si
 there-ABL as far as can-NMLZ

sale-kajo rum k^hot-th^hat-n-i
 thread-COM salt bring up-HAB-3PL-PST

‘As they could as possible they used to bring cotton (thread) and salt from there.’

(44) *hutk^hotnika sin^Λm daulobi mi grasso sale polauni munt^hΛnpo*

hut-k^hot-ni-ka sin^Λm daulo-bi mi
 bring-AMBL-3PL-CONV night hearth-LOC fire

gras-so sale polauni mun-t^hΛn-po
 blow-SIM thread polauni do-HAB-1PL.INCL

‘After they brought, we used to roll thread at night sitting side by the fire.’

(45) *mam njarsoka pãd^za bjakna ka p^hunt^hΛnpo*

mam njar-soka pãd^za
 that finish-SEQ loom

bjak-na ka p^hu-n-t^hΛn-po
 put-INF CONJ collect-M.EXTDR-HAB-1PL.INCL

‘After finishing that, we used to spread the loom and collect it manually.’

(49) *gu p^hjarna njarsoka sAk suk din jApaka unt^si anthAisi:*

gu p^hjar-na njar-soka sAk suk din
clothes sew-INF finish-SEQ two three day

jApaka unt^si kim-hu a-n-thAis-i:

later 3DU house-ALL return-M.EXTDR-HAB-3DU.PL

‘After finishing sewing the clothes, they (two) used to return home two-three days later.’

(50) *mAjo duspihama t^hakpuri jo k^haŋipo ŋa hammunt^hAisi*

mAjo dusp-i-ham-a thakpuri jo
at that time adult-PL-ERG girdle also

k^haŋi-po ŋa ham-mun-thAis-i

k^hadi-GEN EMPH 3PL-wear-HAB-3PL

‘At that time, the elders used to wear girdle made from weaving clothes.’

(51) *aŋu o-hopu ŋa jo k^haŋipo gu muisina t^{sh}ote ŋa jatto*

aŋu o-hopu ŋa jo k^haŋi-po
1SG 1SG.POSS-self EMPH also Khadi-GEN

gu muisi-na t^{sh}ote ŋa jat-t-o

clothes wear-INF much more EMPH like-NPST-1SG

‘I like much more to wear the clothes made from weaving loom.’

(52) *kimbi adzijo ad^{zh}om k^hariipo ogu got^hiŋta*

kim-bi adzijo ad^{zh}o-m

house-LOC still long time before-GEN

k^hari-po o-gu go-t^hiŋ-t-a

Khani-GEN 1SG.POSS-clothes be-DUR-NPST-3SG

‘There is still my cloth made from weaving loom.’

(53) *atasaba ne tam-lai aŋu-a muisina mono t^hisi-na dumo jatto*

atasaba ne tam-lai aŋu-a

nowadays FOC this-DAT 1SG-ERG

muisi-na mono t^hisi-na jat-t-o

wear-INF not preserve-INF like-NPST-1SG

‘Nowadays, I like to preserve it rather than wearing.’

(54) *mamghari-bi salepo larela t^{sh}uknu je k^hausipo piurila
hopua muisiksa gu hopua ŋa t^huŋt^hapo*

mam-ghari-bi sale-po lare-la t^{sh}uk-nu

that-time-LOC thread-GEN roll-SOR be-nmlz

je k^hausi-po piuri-la hopu-a muisi-k-sa

or cotton-gen lump-SOR self-ERG wear-M.EXTDR-NMLZ

gu hopu-a ɲa t^suŋ-t^hʌn-po

cloth self-ERG EMPH prepare-HAB-1PL

‘At that time, the required wearing clothes were prepared whether from the lump of cotton or from the roll of the thread.’

(55) *mʌkək^{hi} t^sʉpihamla ad^{zh}om dumo tummu t^seisina t^{sh}ukta maka*

mʌkək^{hi} ad^{zh}o-m t^sʉpi-ham-la

so that long time before-GEN ancestral-pl-sor

dumo tum-mu t^seisi-na t^{sh}ukta maka

much more thing-PL learn-INF must PRT

‘That’s why it is said we must learn much more things from the ancestrals.’

2. Text A₂ (a): *tʰi kʰiptijo* ‘While preparing local beer’

Oral narrative; Speaker: Mrs. Ratna Maya Rai [CHI.RM-69]

(Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)

(01) *tʰi kʰiptijo*

tʰi kʰip-t-i-jo

local beer cook-NPST-1PL.INCL-CONV

‘While cooking local beer.’

(02) *bʰubi ludʒʌm salna tʰukta*

bʰubi ludʒʌm sal-na tʰukta

initially millet sift-NMLZ must

‘Initially, there must be sifted the millet.’

(03) *daulobi mi dʰumna tʰukta*

daulo-bi mi dʰum-na tʰukta

hearth-LOC fire set-INF must

‘There must be set the fire on the hearth.’

(04) *tʰohobi kʌŋku kʰrapna tʰukta*

tʰoho-bi kʌŋku kʰrap-na tʰukta

verticle boiling pot-LOC water put on woven-INF must

‘There must be boiled the water in a vertical boiling pot.’

(05) *kʌŋku blettajo apeka swakpom lud^zʌm mambi bjakna t^{sh}ukta*

kʌŋku blet-t-a-jo apeka sal-po-m
water boil-NPST-3SG-CONV earlier sift-GEN-NMLZ

lud^zʌm mambi bjak-na t^{sh}ukta
millet there put-INF must

‘While boiling water there must be put the earlier sifted millet.’

(06) *t^{sh}emt^{sh}ema kʌrt^sʌma p^hʌlnajomuna t^{sh}ukta*

t^{sh}emt^{sh}ema kʌrt^sʌm-a p^hʌl-na t^{sh}ukta
sometimes ladle-INST stir-INF must

‘Sometimes, there must be stirred it with a ladle.’

(07) *mi:staka daulola t^henna t^{sh}ukta*

mi:staka daulo-la t^hen-na t^{sh}ukta
after well cooked hearth-ABL take out-INF must

‘The pot must be taken out from the hearth after well cooked.’

(08) *mambika k^hant^he rjamuna t^{sh}ukta*

mambika k^hant^he rjam-mu-na t^{sh}ukta
after that properly get cold-CAUS-INF must

‘Then, it must properly get cold.’

(09) *rimtaka danjoŋmabi p^he:na t^{sh}ukta*

rimtaka danjoŋma-bi p^he:-na t^{sh}ukta
 after getting cold bamboo mate-LOC serve-INF must
 ‘After getting cold, it must be served on bamboo mat.’

(10) *mambika luŋk^haa rukna t^{sh}ukta*

mambika luŋk^ha-a ruk-na t^{sh}ukta
 after that yeast-ERG spray-INF must
 ‘After that, there must be sprayed with the yeast.’

(11) *k^hant^he p^hal-so hulna t^{sh}ukta*

k^hant^he p^hal-so hul-na t^{sh}ukta
 nicely stir-SIM mix-INF must
 ‘By stirring, it must be mixed up nicely.’

(12) *mΛnΛ toubi rupsoka samna t^{sh}ukta*

mΛnΛ tou-bi rup-soka k^hant^he sam-na t^{sh}ukta
 then bamboo basket-LOC collect-SEQ nicely ferment-INF must
 ‘By collecting in a bamboo basket, it must be fermented nicely.’

(13) *tesoka samtijo golamka jamla tuna t^{sh}ukta*

tesoka sam-t-i-jo go-lamka
 like this formant-npst-1pl.incl-CON inner-ABL

jamla tu-na t^{sh}ukta

banana leaf put-INF must

‘There must be put the banana leaves in the inner side of the bamboo basket while fermenting it.’

(14) *samtijo toulai daulo p^harbi t^hjarna t^{sh}ukta*

sam-t-i-jo tou-lai daulo
formant-npst-1pl.incl-CON bamboo basket-DAT hearth

p^harbi t^hjar-na t^{sh}ukta

near by put vertically-INF must

‘There must be put the bamboo basket vertically near by the hearth.’

(15) *sak-suk dinbi t^si p^hukta*

sak-suk din-bi t^si p^huk-t-a
two-three day-LOC local beer mature-NPST-3SG

‘The local beer gets matured within two-three days.’

(16) *majo t^silai d^hawa lupibi bjakna t^{sh}ukta*

majo t^si-lai d^hawa lupi-bi bjak-na t^{sh}ukta
at that time local beer-DAT immediately clay pot-LOC put-INF must

‘At that time, the local beer must be put in a clay pot.’

(17) *surtam t^si lamlu ŋa t^sanuksa numta*

surtam t^si lamlu ŋa t^sanuksa num-t-a
well fermented local beer earlier FOC tasty smell-NPST-3SG

‘The well fermented local beer smells tasty earlier than it gets matured.’

(18) *monok^ho tʃi tʃirta*

monok^ho tʃi tʃir-t-a

otherwise local beer urinate-NPST-3SG

‘Otherwise, the local beer urinates.’ [Lit. ‘Otherwise, it will come out the liquid from the fermented local beer.’]

(19) *lupipo kwambi gamsa sa:na bʌkna tʃʰukta*

lupi-po kwam-bi gamsa

clay pot-GEN mouth-LOC tight

sa:na bʌk-na tʃʰukta

lid put-INF must

‘There must be put the tight lid in the mouth of clay pot.’

(20) *lupilai mipo p^harbi tuna tʃʰukta*

lupi-lai mi-po p^har-bi tu-na tʃʰukta

clay pot-DAT fire-GEN nearby-LOC keep-INF must

‘The clay pot must be put nearby the fire.’

(21) *teso lupibi bjaktim tʃi hito tukti modu tʃokta*

teso lupibi bjak-t-i-m tʃi

in this way day-LOC put-NPST-1PL.INCL-NMLZ local beer

hito tuk-t-i modu tʃokt-a

how much keep-NPST-1PL.INCL that much get mature-3SG.NPST

‘The local beer that is put in the clay pot gets as much matured as it is kept longer.’

(22) *rΛdu namt̚ʷpo kimbi hijojo t̚ʷi tukdeksa mutani*

rΛdu nam-t̚ʷu-po kim-bi hijojo

Rai sun-child-GEN house-LOC whenever

t̚ʷi tuk-dek-sa mu-t-ani

local beer keep-AMBL-NMLZ do-NPST-3PL

‘Whenever, they keep the local beer in every Rai’s house.’

(23) *kimbi t̚ʷi manguk^ho k^holo t̚ʷukta aksa jo gota*

kim-bi t̚ʷi manguk-k^ho k^holo

house-LOC local beer not-in case inauspicious

t̚ʷuk-t-a ak-sa jo gota

be-NPST-3SG say-NMLZ also COP

‘It is believed that there is inauspicious in case there is not the local beer in the house.’

(24) *rΛdu namt̚ʷpo buktika miktim tumbu t̚ʷi proŋna t̚ʷukta*

rΛdu nam-t̚ʷu-po buk-t-i-m-bika

Rai sun-child-GEN born-NPST-PL.INCL-NMLZ-ABL

mik-t-i-m tumbu t̚ʷi proŋ-na t̚ʷukta

die-PL.INCL-NMLZ till local beer offer-INF COP

‘There is urgently needed the local beer from womb to tomb in Rai custom.’

(25) *kimbi duspihama k^had^za jo t^ʃɪŋa tuŋtani*

kim-bi duspi-ham-a k^had^za
 house-LOC adult-PL-ERG snack

jo t^ʃi-ŋa tuŋ-t-ani
 also local beer-FOC drink-NPST-PL

‘The elders drink local beer as the snack in their houses.’

(26) *duwabi kumina lotajo jo t^ʃɪŋa tuŋsa mutani*

duwa-bi kumina lota-jo jo
 field-LOC thirsty feel-conv also

t^ʃi-ŋa tuŋ-sa mu-t-ani
 local beer-FOC drink-NMLZ do-NPST-PL

‘While feeling thirsty working in the field, they drink local beer too.’

3. Text A₂ (b): *hent* ʔ *muktijo* ‘While preparing alcohol’

Oral narrative; Speaker: Mrs. Masini Rai (HEN.MR-67)

(Dharan-8, Bhotepul, Sunsari)

(01) *hent* ʔ *muktijo*

hent^si muk-t-i-jo
 alcohol do-NPST-1PL.INCL-CONV
 ‘While preparing alcohol.’

(02) *t^soktim t^ʔbi kʌŋku t^{sh}okna t^{sh}ukta*

t^sokt-i-m t^ʔi-bi kʌŋku t^{sh}ok-na t^{sh}ukta
 get matured-PST-PRF local beer-LOC water pour-INF must
 ‘There must be poured water in the matured local beer.’

(03) *daulobi t^hoho k^hrapna t^{sh}ukta*

daulo-bi t^hoho k^hrap-na t^{sh}ukta
 hearth-LOC vertical pot place-INF must
 ‘There must be placed the vertical pot on the hearth.’

(04) *t^hohobi apekam t^ʔ lenna t^{sh}ukta*

t^hoho-bi apekam t^ʔi len-na t^{sh}ukta
 vertical pot-LOC earlier local beer pour on-INF must
 ‘There must be poured on the earlier local beer on the pot.’

(05) *t^hoho t^sobi p^huŋga ŋanna t^{sh}ukta*

t^hoho t^so-bi p^huŋga ŋan-na t^{sh}ukta
 vertical pot tip-LOC condenser position-INF must
 ‘There must be positioned condenser on that.’

(06) *p^huŋga gobi pɔini ŋanna t^{sh}ukta*

p^huŋga go-bi pɔini ŋan-na t^{sh}ukta

condenser tip-LOC reservoir put-INF must

‘There must be put reservoir inside the condenser.’

(07) *pɔini gobi luŋk^ha jo tuna t^{sh}ukta*

pɔini go-bi luŋk^ha jo tu-na t^{sh}ukta

reservoir inside-LOC yeast also put-INF must

‘There must be put the yeast inside the reservoir.’

(08) *p^huŋgapo kwam t^sobi b^hata ŋanna t^{sh}ukta*

p^huŋga-po kwam t^sobi b^hata ŋan-na t^{sh}ukta

condenser-GEN mouth on cooler cover-INF must

‘There must be positioned the cooler on the mouth of condenser.’

(09) *mam bika p^huŋgapo kwamlai gua sa:na t^{sh}ukta*

mam bika p^huŋga-po kwam-lai

that after condenser-GEN mouth-DAT

gu-a sa:-na t^{sh}ukta

cloth-ERG cover-INF must

‘After that, the mouth of condenser must be tightly covered with cloth.’

(10) *mam bika b^hatabi kΛŋku bjakna t^{sh}ukta*

mam bika b^hata-bi t^{sh}uksa kΛŋku bjak-na t^{sh}ukta
 that after cooler-LOC cold water pour on-INF must
 ‘After that, there must be poured on cold water in the cooler.’

(11) *mΛΛΛ daulobi mi d^humna t^{sh}ukta*

mΛΛΛ daulo-bi mi d^hum-na t^{sh}ukta
 then hearth-LOC fire light-INF must
 ‘Then, there must be light on the fire in the hearth.’

(12) *t^hohobim t^ʃ blettaka hent^ʃ i pΛinibi dΛisti*

t^hoho-bi-m t^ʃi blet-t-a-ka
 vertical pot-LOC-PRF local beer boil-INF

 hent^ʃi pΛini-bi dΛis-t-i
 alcohol reservoir collect-NPST-3SG
 ‘When the water is about to boil in the cooler,
 there must be reduced the fire.’

(13) *hent^ʃilai dumi brΛbi samki jo akti*

hent^ʃi-lai dumi brΛ-bi samki jo ak-t-i
 alcohol-DAT Dumi language-LOC samki also say-NPST-1PL.INCL
 ‘Alcohol is also called samki in Dumi.’

(14) *t^sΛa hent^silai sΛŋk^huma jo hamasta*

t^sΛ-a hent^si-lai sΛŋk^huma jo ham-as-t-a
 somebody-ERG alcohol-DAT sangkhuma also pl-say-NPST-3SG
 ‘Somebody use the term ‘sangkhuma’ for alcohol.’

(15) *b^hatabim kΛŋku blena battajo mi sΛ:na t^{sh}ukta*

b^hata-bi-m kΛŋku ble-na battajo
 cooler-LOC-PRF water boil-INF about to

mi sΛ:na t^{sh}ukta
 fire reduce-INF must

‘When the water is about to boil in the cooler,
 there must be reduced the fire.’

(16) *mΛŋΛka b^hatabim haksΛ kΛŋku lana ka t^{sh}uksΛ kΛŋku bjakna t^{sh}ukta*

mΛŋΛ-ka b^hata-bi-m haksΛ kΛŋku la-na
 then-and cooler-LOC-PRF hot water take out-INF

ka t^{sh}uksΛ kΛŋku bjak-na t^{sh}ukta
 and cold water pour on-INF must

‘And then, there must be replaced hot water with cold water.’

4. Text A₂(c): *t^{sh}elmu puktijo* ‘While weaving straw mat’

Oral narrative; Speaker: Mr. Chatur Man Rai [CHEL.CM-67]

(Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)

(01) *t^{sh}elmu puktijo*

t^{sh}elmu *puk-t-i-jo*
 straw mat cook-NPST-1PL.INCL-CONV
 ‘While weaving straw mat.’

(02) *k^hΛΛbika lamlu pabu hilna t^{sh}ukta*

k^hΛΛ-bika *lamlu* *pabu* *hil-na* *t^{sh}ukta*
 all-ABL earlier bamboo cut down-INF must
 ‘At first, there must be cut down the bamboo.’

(03) *mambika hito dΛηsa musoka kripna t^{sh}ukta*

mam-bika *hito* *dΛη-sa* *mu-soka* *krip-na* *t^{sh}ukta*
 that-after how much match-NMLZ do-SEQ cut-INF must
 ‘After that, there must be cut in to small pieces matching them in length.’

(04) *mΛηΛ pabu broknaka tjar kwakna t^{sh}ukta*

mΛηΛ *pabu* *brok-naka* *tjar* *kwak-na* *t^{sh}ukta*
 then bamboo break-CONV strip plait-INF must
 ‘After that, there must be broken the bamboo and plait the strips.’

(05) *tjar kwakna njarsoka mamlai kΛηkubi d^{zh}i-na t^{sh}ukta*

tjar kwak-na njar-soka mam-lai kΛηku-bi d^{zh}i-na t^{sh}ukta

strip plait-INF finish-SEQ that-DAT water-LOC get wet-INF must

‘After the completion of plaiting the strips, it must be got wet in water.’

(06) *mΛηΛ ka tjarlai kΛηkula lassoka kaηna t^{sh}ukta*

mΛηΛ ka tjar-lai kΛηku-la

then and strip-DAT water-ABL

las-soka kaη-na t^{sh}ukta

take out-SEQ get semi-dry-INF must

‘And then, the strips must get semi-dry.’

(07) *mambika sulam duwa selsoka t^{sh}elmu puna t^{sh}ukta*

mam-bika sulam duwa sel-soka

that-ABL way working take pattern-SEQ

t^{sh}elmu pu-na t^{sh}ukta

straw mat weave-INF must

‘Then following the pattern of working, there must be weaved straw mat.’

(08) *puna njartim t^{sh}elmulai dilnaka tuna t^{sh}ukta*

pu-na njar-t-i-m t^{sh}elmu-lai

weave-INF complete-NPST-1PL.INCL-PRF straw mat-DAT

dil-na-ka tu-na t^{sh}ukta

roll-INF-CONV keep-INF must

‘After the completion of weaving the straw mat,
there must be kept by rolling it.’

(09) *t^{sh}elmulai mik^humabi tuna hamasta*

t^{sh}elmu-lai mik^huma-bi tu-na ham-as-t-a

straw mat-DAT smoke-LOC keep-INF 3PL-say-NPST-3PL

‘It is said that straw mat must be kept in smoke.’

(10) *tesoka tuktim t^{sh}elmu d^ziŋta jo*

tesoka tuk-t-i-m t^{sh}elmu d^ziŋ-t-a jo

like this keep-PNST-PST-PRF straw mat last-NPST-3SG also

‘The straw mat kept like this lasts longer too.’

(11) *r^hadu t^supo k^hamak^haserbi t^{sh}elmu t^sahē t^{sh}ukd^zota*

r^hadu t^su-po k^hamak^haser-bi

Rai offspring-GEN ritual-LOC

t^{sh}elmu t^sahē t^{sh}uk-d^zo-t-a

straw mat require be-HAB-NPST-3SG

‘The straw mat is urgently required in Kirat Rai rituals.’

5. Text A₃: *g^hirupo t^{ʃu}* ‘A baby parrot’

Oral narrative; Speaker: Mrs. Harka Shova Rai [GPC.HSR-36]

(Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)

(01) *ad^{zh}o tukli saulobi g^hirua j^ʌ b^ʌktim g^ʌ*

ad^{zh}o tuk-li saulo-bi g^hiru-a j^ʌ b^ʌkt-im g^ʌ

long ago one-NCLF jungle-LOC parrot-ERG nest make-PRF COP

‘Long ago, there was a parrot nest in the jungle.’

(02) *j^ʌbi s^ʌkli ut^{ʃu} burt^hi^ŋim g^ʌ*

j^ʌ-bi s^ʌk-li ut^{ʃu} bur-t^hi^ŋ-im g^ʌ

nest-LOC two-NCLF baby grow-PROG-DUL.IMPRF COP

‘There were two babies growing in the nest.’

(03) *tuk din hi: kilso g^hʌlsa hu je*

tuk din g^hʌlsa hu je

one day heavy rain fall-PST

‘One day it rained heavily.’

(04) *m^ʌjoŋa tukli ut^{ʃu} pu:k^hubi t^haŋt^{sh}ʌ*

m^ʌjo-ŋa tuk-li ut^{ʃu} puk^hu-bi t^haŋ-u-t^{sh}ʌ

that time-EMPH one-NCLF baby ground-LOC fall-PST.3SG-MIR

‘At the mean time, one of the babies fell on the ground.’

(05) *mam ut^su mamla bjarna mat^sapnΛ*

mam ut^su bjar-na mam-la ma-t^sap-nΛ

that baby fly-NMLZ there-ABL NEG-can-NEG

‘The baby could not fly from there.’

(06) *mΛjo ηa tukli minua dokt*

mΛjo ηa tuk-li minu-a mam dok-(t)i

that time EMPH one-NCLF person-ERG that see-3SG.PST

‘At the mean time, a man saw that (baby bird).’

(07) *silpupo t^su doktika minupo lud^{zh}amu*

silpu-po t^su dok-tika minu-po lud^{zh}am-u

bird-LOC baby see-SEQ man-GEN fear-PRF

‘He was frightened seeing the baby bird.’

(08) *senso mo wo muna maka asso mimdi*

sen-so mo mu-na maka as-so mimd-i

look-SIM what do-NMLZ part say-SIM think-3SG

‘Looking that, he thought for what to do.’

(09) *mam silput^su lamt^sinobi soselgobi*

b^hrust^hijum gΛ

mam silpu-t^su lam-t^sino-bi

that bird-baby way-below-LOC

sosel-gobi b^hrus-t^hiŋ-um g_Λ
 leaves-INES cheer-PROG-PRF COP

‘That baby bird was crying on the leaves below the path.’

(10) *hijobika sojembaa usomu t^hanabatim g_Λ*

hijo-bika sojemba-a u-somu t^ha-na-batim g_Λ
 when-ABL appetite-ERG 3.POSS-breathing detach-NMLZ-POSS COP

‘It was about to die as it was hungry for a long time.’

(11) *uma silput^su d^hawa lup^hu*

um-a silput^su d^hawa lup^h-u
 3SG-ERG baby-bird immediately catch-PRF

‘He caught the baby bird immediately.’

(12) *mambika minua kurika ukim k^hΛti*

mam-bika minu-a kur-i-ka u-kim k^hΛt-i
 then man-ERG carry-PST-CONV POSS-house take-3SG.PST

‘Then, that person took it to his house.’

(13) *kimbi t^supti, ka d^zuna biso tuli*

kim-bi t^supt-i ka
 house-LOC trap-3SG. PST CONJ

dʒuna biso tuli
 eat-INF give-CONV tame-3SG.PST

‘He trapped it and tamed it providing food materials.’

(14) *mama jaksa k^hAtlΛ ηa dʒuna bi*

mam-a jak-sa k^hAtlΛ ηa dʒu-na bi-∅
 that-ERG like-ADJVZR all FOC eat-INF give-PST

‘He gave all the eating things that it liked.’

(15) *g^hirupo t^su jo dʒuna doktima lit^si*

g^hiru-po t^su jo dʒu-na
 parrot-GEN baby FOC eat-INF

dokt-i-m-a lit^s-i
 get-PST-PRF-ERG survive-3SG.PST

‘The baby parrot also grew up with the proper care.’

(16) *mama ak^he dʒuna doktika bolo ηa buri jo*

mam-a a-k^he dʒu-na dok-tim-a
 that-ERG say-like eat-INF get-PRF-ERG

bolo ηa bur-i
 soon FOC grow-3SG.PST

‘Getting sufficient foods, it grew up soon.’

(17) *mam burim doktika minua te: mimdi*

mam bur-im dokt-ika minu-a te: mimd-i
 that grow-PRF see-CONV man-ERG PRT think-3SG.PST
 ‘Seeing its growth, the man thought.’

(18) *tam silpu ne namparubi bjarlΛηsa wo maka*

tam silpu ne namparu-bi bjar-lΛη-sa wo maka
 this bird PRT sky-LOC fly-AMB-NMLZ PRT
 ‘This bird is supposed to fly in the sky.’

(19) *tesoka t^swakdessoka ne unusi t^{sh}uktanΛ je*

tesoka t^swak-des-soka ne
 like this trap-keep-CONV PRT

 u-nusi t^{sh}ukt-a-nΛ je
 3SG.POSS-happiness be-3SG.NPST-NEG PRT
 ‘It may not feel happy while keeping in the trap.’

(20) *ad^zi ne le-nsun-na wo je at^si-ka mim-padi*

ad^zi ne le-nsun-na
 now PRT release-AMB-INF

 woje at^si-ka mim-pad-i
 PRT say-CONV think-AMB-3SG.PST

‘He thought to release it from the trap.’

(21) *leksuktika jo ak^he dʒuna doktanΛ k^ho*

lek-sukt-ika jo a-k^he
release-SEND-CONV also say-like

dʒu-na dokt-a-nΛ k^ho
eat-INF get-3SG.NPST-NEG FOC

‘If it won’t get anything to eat after releasing from here.’

(22) *tambi heŋa tam-lai asi-a dʒu-na bit-a ka*

tambi heŋa tam-lai asi-a dʒu-na bit-a ka
here like this-DAT who-ERG eat-INF give-3SG.NPST PRT

‘Who will feed it like here?’

(23) *dʒuna tuŋna doktanΛ k^hone mandʒa ŋa t^{sh}ukta*

dʒu-na tuŋ-na dok-t-a-nΛ
eat-INF drink-INF get-NPST-3SG-NEG

k^hone mandʒa ŋa t^{sh}uk-t-a
if hungry FOC be-NPST-3SG

‘It will feel hungry in case it won’t get anything to eat.’

(24) *mandʒa ŋa bjarlanna ne tama mo tʂapta ka*

mandʒa ŋa bjar-lan-na ne
hungrily EMPH fly-AMB-INF PRT

tam-a mo t^sapt-a ka
 this-ERG what can-3SG.NPST PRT

‘It may not be able to fly hungrily.’

(25) *mΛjo asia wo d^zuna bitaka*

mΛjo asi-a wo d^zu-na bit-a ka
 at that time who-ERG PRT eat-INF give-3SG.NPST PRT

‘At that time who will feed it.’

(26) *tejo tumbu lΛm d^zunna kuk^hum ŋa maŋgu*

tejo tumbu lΛm-d^zun-na
 now till search-AMB-INF

kuk^h-um ŋa ma-ŋg-u
 know-PRF EMPH NEG-be-3SG.PST

‘It has not learnt to eat searching independently.’

(27) *tamlai k^hant^he t^sensoka lissΛŋto at^si*

tam-lai k^hant^he t^sen-soka lis-sΛŋ-t-o at^s-i
 this-DAT nicely teach-SEQ release-AMB-NPST-1SG say-3SG.PST

‘He thought to release it teaching nicely.’

(28) *mambika mamlai tesoka k^hant^he kajo t^sendi*

mam-bika mam-lai tesoka k^hant^he kajo t^send-i
 then that-DAT like this nicely COM teach-3SG.PST
 ‘Then, he taught it nicely.’

(29) *dibumi hota ka p^ha:ri datta*

dibumi ho-t-a p^ha:ri dAt-t-a
 hunter come-NPST-3SG trap adjust-NPST-3SG
 ‘The hunter will come and set the trap.’

(30) *dʒunalam patta k^hojo mam dʒukubi mak^hana*

dʒuna-lam pat-t-a k^hojo
 eating-source manage-NPST-3SG however

mam dʒu-kubi ma-k^hΛ-nΛ
 that eat-PURP NEG-go-NEG

‘Although there will be eating sources, better not to go there.’

(31) *mam g^hirua jo sulam kajo ŋa k^hant^he t^seisi*

mam g^hiru-a jo sulam kajo
 that parrot-ERG also way COM

ŋa k^hant^he t^seis-i
 EMPT nicely learn-3SG.PST

‘That parrot also learnt it nicely.’

- (32) *hito minua t^sendim k^hΛΛ ηa kuk^hu jo*
 hito minu-a t^send-i-m
 whatever person-ERG teach-PST-PRF

 k^hΛΛ ηa kuk^h-u jo
 all EMPH know-3SG.PST also
 ‘He learnt properly whatever the man taught him.’
- (33) *mam doktika minu jo unusi t^{sh}ukuka jank^haisi*
 mam dokt-i ka minu jo jank^hais-i
 that see-PST CONJ person also become happy-3SG.PST
 ‘Seeing that the man became happy.’
- (34) *mambika minua g^hiru lissi*
 mambika man minu-a g^hiru liss-i
 then that man-ERG parrot release-3SG.PST
 ‘Then, the man released the parrot.’
- (35) *mam jo jank^hΛisiso kawabi biri*
 mam jo jank^hΛisi-so kawa-bi bir-i
 that also be happy-CONV air-LOC fly-3SG.PST
 ‘That (baby bird) also flew away happily.’

(36) *g^hiru jo pak^habi bjarna doktima jank^hΛisi*

g^hiru jo pak^ha-bi bjar-na
parrot also outside-LOC fly-INF

dokt-im-a jank^hΛis-i

get-PRF become happy-3SG.PST

‘The parrot became happy flying in the open air.’

(37) *uhopuŋa namparubi biriheŋa swaa muti*

uhopu ŋa namparu-bi bir-i
itself EMPH sky-LOC fly-PST

heŋa swa-a crumd-i

DUR hungry-ERG feel-3SG.PST

‘While it was flying in the sky, it felt hungry.’

(38) *senΛdi k^hΛmbi jo mojo madokna*

sen-Λad-i k^hΛmbi jo mojo ma-dok-na
look-AMBL-3SG.PST where also anything NEG-see-NEG

‘When he searched but could not find anything.’

(39) *sojembaa mina batim gΛ*

sojemba-a mi-na batim gΛ
hunger-ERG die-INF about to COP

‘It was about to die due to hunger.’

(40) *k^hant^he sendijo juku puk^hubi d^zuna tum dokt-i*

k^hant^he send-ijo juku puk^hu-bi
nicely look-CONV below ground-LOC

d^zu-na tum dokt-i
eat-INF thing see-3SG.PST

‘While looking nicely, it could see eating thing.’

(41) *unu hursiso taisika d^zuna lumu*

u-nu hursi-so
3SG.POSS-mind feel happy-SIM

tais-i-ka d^zu-na lum-u
come down-CONV eat-INF try-3SG. PST

‘Landing on the ground, it tried to eat that thing.’

(42) *d^zuna madona ŋa minupo p^ha:ri:bi kilpaisi*

d^zu-na ma-do-na ŋa minu-po
eat-INF NEG-see-INF EMPH person-GEN

p^ha:ri-bi kil-pais-i
trap-LOC trap-AMBL-3SG.PST

‘Before it could eat that thing, it positioned in trap.’

(43) *mambika dibumia jo jank^hΛisiso k^hΛtika kΛ k^hɪpd̪ ʔi*

mambika dibumi-a jo jan-k^hΛisi-so

then hunter-ERG also being happy-SIM

k^hΛt-i ka sid-i

take-3SG.PST CONJ kill-3SG.PST

‘Then the hunter took it and killed.’

6. Text A₄: *susu dΛpsi* ‘worshipping the hearth’

Written narrative; Author: Mr. Netra Mani Rai [ISL.NM-45]

(Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)

(01) *susu dΛpsi*

susu dΛp-si

ancestral worship-NMLZ

‘Ancestral worshipping’

(02) *e apu! taja ηeni maka*

dear apu! taja ηeni maka

EMPH (your) father here listen FOC

‘Your father! Please listen to me.’

(03) *mo wo ana abasni jei*

mo wo ana a-bas-ni jei

what FOC say 2-say-PL FOC

‘Your father! Please listen to me.’

(03) *jakkam kimbi nanaa tukli tum munim gΛ*

jakkam kim-bi nana-a tuk-li

that house-LOC sister-ERG one-CLF

tum mu-ni-m gΛ

thing do-HON-PFVT COP

‘The sister from that house told me one thing.’

(04) *mo tum wo ɲiamusni maka*

mo tum wo ɲi-a-mus-ni maka
 what thing FOC tell-2-CAUS-HON FOC
 ‘What did she tell you?’

(05) *hama ne asala somna ɲa wo susu dɔpmuksa e maka*

ham-a ne asala somna
 they-erg FOC tomorrow evening

 ɲawo susu dɔp-muk-sa e maka
 FOC hearth-ritual perform-CAUS-ADJ PRT FOC
 ‘They are going to perform the hearth-ritual just tomorrow.’

(06) *mɔnɔ jukkum-tukkum kimbi mo hamasta*

mɔnɔ jukkum-tukkum kim-bi mo ham-ast-a
 then up-down house-LOC what PL-say-NPST
 ‘Then, what do they say in up and down houses?’

(07) *kubia asalabika majuksa e*

kubi-a asala-bika ma-juk-sa e
 shaman-ERG tomorrow-ABL NEG-get free-NMLZ PRT
 ‘The shaman won’t be available from tomorrow.’

(08) *asia wo ηiamusnim*

asi-a wo ηi-amus-ni-m
 who-ERG PRT tell-BEN-3SG.PST-NMLZ
 ‘Who told you?’

(09) *tukkum kimbim delmea aṭ̣im*

tukkum kim-bim delme-a aṭ̣-i-m
 upper house-GEN daughter-ERG say-3SG.PST-NMLZ
 ‘The sister in law from upper house said.’

(10) *b^hika wo majuksa e mΛΛ*

b^hika wo ma-juk-sa e mΛΛ
 why PRT NEG-get free-NMLZ PRT then
 ‘Why will he not be available?’

(11) *ad^za somna ηa Jukkum del tai:sikksa e*

ad^za somna ηa jukkum
 later on evening EMPH lower

 del tai:sik-k-sa e
 village go down-M.EXTDR-NMLZ PRT
 ‘He will go down the town today evening only.’

(12) *mok^ho ne k^hΛrd^zΛm t^suŋtunna t^{sh}ukta*

mok^ho ne k^hΛrd^zΛm t^suŋ-tun-na t^{sh}ukta

if it is PRT fresh beaten rice prepare-AMB-INF must

‘If it is, then fresh beaten rice must be prepared.’

(13) *t^su:t^sumu lukubi p^hiŋna c^hukta k^hi*

t^su:t^su-mu lukubi p^hiŋ-na t^{sh}ukta k^hi

child-PL bring send-INF must PRT

‘There must be sent the children to bring it.’

(14) *t^soktim jamla wo gota je maŋgu*

t^soktim jamla wo got-a je ma-ŋg-u

matured banana leaf PRT be-3SG.NPST PRT NEG-be-3sg.npst

‘Whether there is matured banana leaf or not?’

(15) *pwatel p^harguju gota maka*

pwatel p^har-guju got-a maka

yard near-below be-3SG.NPST PRT

‘There is below the yard only.’

(16) *d^hapsa sΛp^hu ŋa maŋgu wone*

d^hapsa sΛp^hu ŋa ma-ŋg-u wone

wide leaf emph NEG-be-3SG.NPST PRT

‘It is not wide leaf.’

(17) *mok^ho tukusim nok^husta ni*

mok^ho tukusim no-k^hust-a ni
 otherwise up there alright-AMB-3SG.NPST PRT
 ‘Otherwise, there is over there.’

(18) *p^hiru ne bu:kajom ŋa gota*

p^hiru ne k^hanuksa bu:-kajo ŋa gota
 zinger PRT nice plant-COM FOC COP
 ‘Is the zinger with the plant?’

(19) *atemi ne pokk^hil bjanpoma burim gota*

atemi ne po-k^hil bjan-po-m-a
 this year PRT pig-dung put-GEN-PRF-ERG

 bur-i-m gota
 grow-PST-PRF COP
 ‘It has grown up due to pig dung this year.’

(20) *topsu kajo p^hipsu ad^{zh}oŋkam ŋa nota je*

topsu kajo p^hipsu
 bamboo vessel COM pipe

 ad^{zh}oŋka-m ŋa nota je
 last year-GEN FOC ok PRT
 ‘Are the bamboo vessel and the pipe from the last year ok?’

(21) *elu kubi ne hunk^honna batni wone*

elu kubi ne hunk^hon-na batni wone

oh yes shaman PRT come up-INF nearly POSS

‘Oh yes, the shaman is nearly arrived.’

(22) *unihopu tuṅa je asisi hammota*

uni-hopu tuṅa je asi-si ham-mo-t-a

he-self only or who-REP HON-be-NPST-3PL

‘He is alone or others are also there?’

(23) *sak sukli tum muso hamk^huṅt^hiṅta*

sak suk-li tum mu-so ham-k^huṅ-t^hiṅ-t-a

two three-CLF talk do-SIM PL-come up-PROG-NPST-3PL

‘Two or three persons are coming up talking each other’

(24) *elu hamh_hl_hl_h mei delt^sumu*

e lu ham-h_hl_hl_h mei delt^su-mu

oh yes PL-arrive-3PL.PST PRT villager-PL

‘Oh yes, the villagers have arrived.’

(25) *kingobi ṅa huṅni jei delt^sumu*

kim-go-bi ṅa huṅ-ni jei delt^su-mu

house-inside-LOC EMPH enter-2PL PRT villager-PL

‘My villagers please enter in the house.’

(26) *mamgob^hal ɲa ɲaisikti mei kubi kajo delt^ɹumu*

mamgob^hal ɲa ɲaisi-kt-i
over there EMPH sit-NPST-1PL.INCL

mei kubi kajo delt^su-mu
PRT shaman COM villager-PL

‘Dear shaman and villagers, please sit over there.’

(27) *amna ɲa sekkimbi njarna t^{sh}ukta*

amna ɲa sek kim-bi njar-na t^{sh}ukta
today EMPH seven house-LOC finish-INF COP

‘We have to finish in seven houses today only.’

(28) *hito t^sapsi bolo ɲa muk-t-i woje*

hito t^sapsi bolo ɲa muk-t-i woje
what ever as far as quickly EMPH do-NPST-1PL.INCL PRT

‘Let’s do as quickly as possible.’

(29) *mΛka k^hi k^hΛtlΛ mambi t^sujom gota*

mΛka k^hi k^hΛtlΛ
so that EMPH everything

mam-bi t^suŋ-o-m gota
 there-LOC prepare-1SG.PST-NMLZ COP
 ‘So that I have prepared everything over there.’

(30) *aŋune proisu mei watto t^{sh}aruham*

aŋu-ne prois-u mei wattot^{sh}aru-ham
 1SG-ERG start-1SG.PST PRT brotherhood-PL
 ‘Let me start my brotherhoods.’

(31) *kubia k^hant^he anisulam disni wou*

kubi-a k^hant^he ani-sulam dis-ni wou
 shaman-ERG properly 2POSS-way follow-HON PRT
 ‘The shaman, please follow your way properly.’

7. Text A₅: *makipa del* ‘Makpa village’

Oral narrative; Speaker: Mr. Lakh Dhan Rai [MAK.LD-70]

(Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)

(01) *makipa del*

makipa del

Makpa village

‘Makpa village’

(02) *makpa dellai ad^{zh}o mak^hipa hamast^hɪju e*

makpa del-lai ad^{zh}o

Makpa village-DAT long time ago

makipa ham-as-t^hɪju-u e

Makipa PL-say-HAB-3PL.PST REP

‘Long time ago, Makpa was known as Makipa, it is said.’

(03) *k^hojo atasaba makpa ŋa assoka t^{sh}eŋti*

k^hojo atasaba makpa

however nowadays Makpa

ŋa as-soka t^{sh}eŋ-t-i

FOC say-SEQ recognize-NPST-1PL

‘However, nowadays, it is recognized as Makpa.’

(04) *k^hΛΛbika lamlu tam k^hombi sΛkli rΛdu t^sunu hujim gΛ e*

k^hΛΛ-bika lamlu tam k^hom-bi sΛkli
all-ABL at first here place-LOC two

rΛdu t^su-nu hu-(j)i-m gΛ e

Rai progeny-DL come-PST-PRF COP REP

‘At first, two Kirat Rai progeny had come in this place, it is said.’

(05) *unt^si-po nu t^sΛĩ ganpa kajo rΛtepa gΛ e*

unt^si-po nu t^sΛĩ ganpa kajo rΛtepa gΛ e

3DU Dumī FOC Rai CONJ Ratepa COP.PST REP

‘Their (two) name were Ganpa and Ratepa.’

(06) *unt^si dumi rΛdu t^sunu muji*

unt^si dumi rΛdu t^su-nu mu-(j)i

3DU Dumī Rai offspring-DU be-2DU.PST

‘They (two) were Dumī Rai.’

(07) *tam k^hombi saulo hipsoka mujim e*

tam k^hom-bi saulo hip-soka mu-(j)i-m e

this place-LOC jungle cut-SEQ be-2DU.PST-PRF REP

‘They (two) destroyed the jungle and stayed in this place.’

(08) *mambika ŋa makpabi iŋki dumi rΛdu t^sumu tedu sΛrpom hamasta*

mam-bika ŋa makpa-bi iŋki dumi rΛdu

that-AFTER FOC Makpa-LOC 1PL.INCL Dumī Rai

t^su-mu tedu sΛr-po-m ham-as-t-a

offspring-PL this much grow-GEN-PRF 3PL-say-NPST-3PL

‘After that, it is believed that Dumī people have grown up in Makpa.’

(09) *unt^si jo tambi tuhe pi(j)i-m t^sΛĩ mono e*

unt^si jo tambi tuhe pi-(j)i-m t^sΛĩ mono e

3DU also here together come-3DU.PST-PRF PRT NOT REP

‘They two also did not come together here, it is said.’

(10) *lamlu tambi ganpa pijum gΛ e*

lamlu tambi ganpa pi-(j)u-m gΛ e

at first here Ganpa come-3SG.PST-PRF COP REP

‘Initially, Ganpa had come here, it is said.’

(11) *mΛnΛka rΛtepa jo disso pijum gΛ e*

mΛnΛ ka rΛtepa jo dis-so pi-(j)u-m gΛ e

then and Ratepa also follow-SIM come-PST-PRF COP REP

‘And then, following him, Ratepa had also come here, it is said.’

(12) *upe lamt^hijum sulam timso tambi hΛijum gΛ e*

u-pe lamt^hi-(j)u-m sulam tim-so
 3SG.POSS-elder brother walk-PST-PRF way follow-SIM

tambi hΛpi-(j)u-m gΛ e
 here come-PST-PRF COP REP

‘And then, following him, Ratepa had also come here, it is said.’

(13) *mam lamlu tam k^hombi minu ham-mΛ-nΛ e*

mam lamlu tam k^hom-bi minu ham-mΛ-nΛ e
 that earlier this place-LOC people PL-live-NEG REP

‘Earlier than that, nobody was living in that place, it is said.’

(14) *mΛjo tambi sumandu saulo gΛ e*

mΛjo tambi sumandu saulo gΛ e
 at that time here humid jungle COP REP

‘At that time, there was a humid forest, it is said.’

(15) *mΛjo unt ĩ duŋkululamka pijim gΛ e*

mΛjo duŋkulu-lamka
 at that time Dungkulu-ABL

pi-(j)i-m gΛ e
 come-3DU.PST-PRF COP REP

‘At that time they (two) had come from Dungkulu, it is said.’

(16) *untʰi kajo maki aksa kukli kʰliba jo mΛ e*

unt^si kajo maki ak-sa kuk-li
3DU COM maki say-NMLZ one-CLF

kʰliba jo mΛ e

dog also COP REP

‘There was also a dog named Maki with them, it is said.’

(17) *t^sΛa tam kʰom makia ŋa lamlu tumdim gΛ jo hamasta*

t^sΛ-a tam kʰom maki-a ŋa
someone-ERG this place Maki-ERG FOC

lamlu tumd-i-m gΛ jo ham-as-t-a

at first find out-PST-PRF cop also PL-say-NPST-3PL

‘Someone say that this place was found out by Maki at first.’

(18) *mam kʰlibapo nulamka ŋa makpa nu dʒinhΛnpom aksa jo gota*

mam kʰliba-po nu-lamka ŋa makpa
that dog-GEN name-ABL FOC Makpa

dʒin-hΛn-po-m ak-sa jo gota

say-AMBL-GEN-PRF say-NMLZ also cop

‘From the name of the dog, the village’s name Makpa is popular.’

(19) *k^hojo tam tum t^sΛa modu k^hrittaninΛ*

k^hojo tam tum t^sΛ-a modu k^hrit-t-ani-nΛ
 but this claim someone-ERG that much agree-NPST-PL-NEG
 ‘But someone disagree with this claim.’

(20) *maki g^hΛsa dibumi k^hliba mΛ e*

maki g^hΛl-sa dibumi k^hliba mΛ e
 Maki large-ADJVR hunter dog COP REP
 ‘Maki was a large hunter dog, it is said.’

(21) *unt^si-po tuk tuk-li ru jo mΛ e*

unt^si-po tuk tuk-li ru jo mΛ e
 3DU-GEN one one-CLF helper also COP REP
 ‘They (two) had one-one helper, it is said.’

(22) *rulai Ant^so assoka d^zeksa mut^hAssi e*

ru-lai Ant^so as-soka
 helper-DAT Ancho say-SEQ

 d^zek-sa mu-t^hΛs-s-i e
 call-NMLZ do-HAB-M.EXTDR-3DU.PST REP
 ‘They (two) used to call the helper using the word ‘Ancho, it is said.’

(23) *kingo pak^ha sulam duwabi rua ŋa p^hlaksɑ mut^hɔdi e*

kim go-pak^ha sulam duwa-bi ru-a
house in-out work field-LOC helper-ERG

ŋa p^hlɔk-sɑ mu-t^hɔd-i e
FOC help-NMLZ do-HAB-3DU.PST REP

‘The helper used to involve in the work in and outside the house, it is said.’

(24) *unt^si swakli ŋa kubi mu-(j)i e*

unt^si swak-li ŋa kubi mu-(j)i e
3DU two-CLF FOC shaman be-3DU.PST REP

‘Both of them were shaman, it is said.’

(25) *unt^siɑ t^homale t^{sh}ɔmdɔm jo mut^hɔssi e*

unt^si-ɑ t^homale t^{sh}ɔmdɔm
3DU-ERG annually chant

jo mu-t^hɔs-s-i e
also do-HAB-M.EXTDR-3DU.PST REP

‘They (two) used to chant annually, it is said.’

(26) *hijojo t^{sh}irijamlo ka d^hirijamlobi mut^hɔssi e*

hijojo t^{sh}irijamlo ka d^hirijamlobi
every autumn and spring-LOC

mu-t^hΛs-s-i e

do-HAB-M.EXTDR-3DU.PST REP

‘They (two) used to perform in each spring and autumn, it is said.’

(27) *unt^{si}po t^{sh}ΛmdΛm muksa juŋk^hli ad^zijo godesta*

unt^{si}-po t^{sh}ΛmdΛm muk-sa

3DU-GEN chant do-nmlz

juŋk^hli ad^zijo go-des-t-a

Yungkhuli still be-AMBL-NPST-3SG

‘The Yungkhuli where they (two) used to chant is still there.’

(28) *atasaba tam saptel-bi baluk-li pat^{sh}a dumi mukti*

atasaba tam saptel-bi baluk-li

nowadays this area-LOC four-CLF

dumi pat^{sh}a muk-t-i

Dumi clan stay-NPST-1PL.INCL

‘Nowadays, there are four Dumi clans in this area.’

(29) *dumi bika t^hulu ka nat^{sh}irin rΛdu jo hamt^hin^{ta}*

dumi bika t^hulu ka nat^{sh}irin

Dumi besides Thulung and Nachhiring

rΛdu jo ham-mo-t^hin^{ta}-a

Rai also PL-stay-AMBL-NPST-3SG

‘Besides Dumi, there also Thulung and Nachhiring Rai people.’

8. Text A₆: *toma-k^hema* ‘Toma-Khema’

Oral narrative; Speaker: Mr. Nanda Raj Rai [NRR-72]

(Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)

(01) *toma k^hema*

toma k^hema

Toma Khema

‘Toma-Khema.’

(02) *ad^{zh}o toma kajo k^hema muji e*

ad^{zh}o toma kajo k^hema mu-(j)i e

long time ago Toma and Khema be-3PL.PST REP

‘Long time ago, there were Toma and Khema, it is said.’

(03) *unt^{si}ipo tukli wa jo mΛ e*

unt^{si}-po tuk-li wa

3DU-GEN one-CLF younger brother

jo mΛ e

also be-3SG.PST REP

‘They (two) also had a younger brother, it is said.’

(04) *um-po nu k^hwakt^silikpa g_Λ e*

um-po nu k^hwakt^silikpa g_Λ e
 3DU-GEN name Khwakchilikpa be-3SG.PST REP

‘His name was Khwakchilikpa, it is said.’

(05) *k^hwakt^silikpa r_Λk_Λ t^{sh}uksa m_Λ e*

k^hwakt^silikpa r_Λk_Λt^{sh}uksa m_Λ e
 Khwakchilikpa restless be-3SG.PST REP

‘Khwakchilikpa was restless, it is said.’

(06) *k^hwakt^silikpa r_Λk_Λ t^{sh}uksa m_Λ e*

k^hwakt^silikpa r_Λk_Λt^{sh}uksa m_Λ e
 Khwakchilikpa restless be-3SG.PST REP

‘Khwakchilikpa was restless, it is said.’

(07) *unimu reskuppa ham-t^{sh}uk-u-m g_Λ e*

unimu reskuppa ham-t^{sh}uk-u-m g_Λ e
 3PL parentless PL-be-3PL.PST-PFR be-3SG.PST REP

‘They were already parentless, it is said.’

(08) *unimu kajo d^zuna mojo mag_ΛΛ e*

unimu kajo d^zu-na mo
 3PL COM eat-INF anything

jo ma-gΛ-nΛ e
 also NEG-be-3SG.PST-NEG REP

‘They had nothing to eat, it is said.’

(09) *mΛka hitokdin mand^za ŋa hammΛliŋu e*

mΛka hito-k-din mand^za
 so that how many-M.EXTDR-days hungrily

ŋa ham-mΛ-liŋu e
 emph PL-stay-DUR REP

‘They used to pass many days staying hungry.’

(10) *nananu unt^si-po wa lokk^hΛssoka lΛmd^zΛm lΛmkubi pak^ha k^hut^si*

nana-nu unt^si-po wa lokk^hΛ-s-soka
 elder sister-DU 3DU-GEN younger brother leave-M.EXTDR-SEQ

lΛmd^zΛm lΛm-kubi pak^ha k^hut^s-i
 food search-PUR out go-3DU.PST

‘Leaving him alone, elder sisters went out in search of food.’

(11) *mΛjo kunananu lΛmd^zΛm lΛmkubi pak^ha k^hut^si*

u-birme-nu lΛmd^zΛm
 3SG.POSS-sister-DU food

lɔm-kubi pak^ha k^hut^s-i
 search-PUR out go-3DU.PST

‘His sisters went out in search of food.’

(12) *tuk k^hep unananua lɔmdʒɔm lɔmsoka hussi e*

tuk k^hep u-nana-nu-a lɔmdʒɔm
 one time 3SG.POSS-elder sister-DU-ERG

lɔm-soka hus-s-i e
 search-SEQ bring-M.EXTDR-3DU.PST REP

‘Once, his sisters brought the food searching somewhere, it is said.’

(13) *mɔnɔ ka daulobi dʒa kapi k^hrapsim gɔ e*

mɔnɔ ka daulo-bi dʒa kapi
 then and hearth-loc rice cooking pot

k^hrap-s-i-m gɔ e
 position-3DU-PST-PRF be-3SG.PST REP

‘And then, they positioned the pot on hearth for cooking rice, it is said.’

(14) *mɔjo ŋa k^hwakt^silikpaa unu hurk^hɔisika kensɔ daulo k^hirdi e*

mɔjo ŋa k^hwakt^silikpa-a u-nu
 at that time FOC Khwakchilikpa-ERG 3sg.poss-mind

hur-k^hʌi-sika daulo k^hird-i e
 be happy-AMBL-CONV hearth go round-3SG.PST REP

‘At the mean time, Khwakchilikpa became happy and went around the hearth.’

(15) *moso k^hirt^hʌisi he:ŋa daulobim su: b^hapk^hʌtit^sʌ*

moso k^hir-t^hʌis-i he:ŋa
 like that go round-PROG-3SG DUR

daulo-bi-m su: b^hap-k^hʌt-i-t^sʌ
 hearth-LOC-PRF fire wood strike-AMBL-3SG.PST-MIR

‘While he was moving around the hearth, he stricken on firewood.’

(16) *mambika d^za kapi daulobi t^huk^hu*

mam bika d^za
 that then rice

kapi daulo-bi t^huk^h-u
 cooking pot hearth-LOC spill-3SG.PST

‘Then the rice (together with the cooking pot) spilled on the hearth.’

(17) *mam doksika unananua jarsi*

mam dok-s-ika u-nana-nu-a jar-s-i
 that see-DU-CONV rice scold-DU-3DU.PST

‘Seeing that, two sisters scolded him.’

(18) *mam doksika nananua jarsi e*

mam dok-s-ika nana-nu-a
 that see-DU-CONV elder sister-DU-ERG

jar-s-i e
 scold-DU-3DU.PST REP

‘Seeing that, two sisters scolded him.’

(19) *mam doksika unananua jarsi e*

mam dok-s-ika nana-nu-a
 that see-DU-CONV elder sister-DU-ERG

jar-s-i e
 scold-DU-3DU.PST REP

‘Seeing that, two sisters scolded him.’

(20) *mambika k^hwakt^silikpa p^hΛmdeisika ηuk^hu*

mam-bika k^hwakt^silikpa p^hΛm-dei-sika ηuk^h-u
 that-ABL Khwakchilikpa knee down-DUR-CONV cry-3SG.PST

‘After that, Khwakchilikpa cried kneeling down.’

- (21) *dʒuna madoknΛjo uk^hana jo pat^si*

dʒu-na ma-dok-nΛ-jo

eat-INF NEG-get-NEG-CONV

u-k^hana jo pat^s-i

3SG.POSS-dipress also feel-3SG.PST

‘While missing the opportunity for eating, he frustrated.’

- (22) *ŋuk^hu he:ŋa mambi ŋa ipd^zΛ*

ŋuk^h-u he:ŋa mam-bi ŋa ipd^z-Λ

cry-3SG.PST DUR there-LOC emph sleep-3SG.PST

‘While crying, he slept there.’

- (23) *unanua hito dʒessi jo map^huknΛ*

u-na-nu-a hito

3SG.POSS-elder sister-DU-ERG what ever

dʒes-s-i jo ma-p^huk-nΛ

call-DU-PST also NEG-get up-NEG

‘Whatever his elder sisters called him, he didn’t get up.’

- (24) *unanua hito dʒessi jo map^huknΛ*

9. Text A₇: *suptulu* ‘Hearth’

Oral narrative; Speaker: Mr. Karna Bahadur Rai [KBR-68]

(Makpa-5, Ilim, Khotang)

(01) *suptulu*

sup(*suk)-tu-lu

three-supporting-stone

‘Three supporting stones’ (Lit.: ‘Hearth’).

(02) *del gob^hal d^{zh}ara r^Λdu t^ʰupo kim-kimbi suptulu k^huŋsa mutani*

del gob^hal d^{zh}ara r^Λdu t^ʰu-po

village towards all Rai offspring-GEN

kim-kim-bi suptulu k^huŋ-sa mu-t-ani

house-house-LOC hearth put on-NMLZ do-NPST-3PL

‘In the village, the Rai people put on the hearth in each house.’

(03) *t^homale ŋa t^{sh}irijamlobi suptulu d^zeksa mutani*

t^homale ŋa t^{sh}irijamlo-bi

every year EMPH autumn-LOC

suptulu d^zek-sa mu-t-ani

hearth worship-NMLZ do-NPST-3PL

‘They worship the hearth once a year in autumn.’

(04) *suptulu dʒenalai susu dʌpsi jo hamasta*

suptulu dʒena-lai susu dʌpsi jo ham-as-ta

hearth call-DAT susu dapsi also 3pl-say-NPST-3PL

‘Worshipping the hearth is also called susu dapsi.’

(05) *tʰʌ daulo ʌpna jo hamastam ŋikti*

tʰʌ-a daulo ʌp-na

someone-ERG fireplace worship-INF

jo ham-as-t-a-m ŋi-k-t-i

also 3PL-say-NPST-3PL-PRF hear-NPST-1PL.INCL

‘It is also heard that someone called ‘daulo apna’ for hearth worshipping.’

(06) *susu dʌptijo ubu kajom pʰiru proŋna tʰukta*

susu dʌp-t-ijo u-bu

hearth worship-NPST-CONV 3SG.POSS-plant

kajo-m pʰiru proŋ-na tʰukta

com-PRF zinger offer-INF must

‘While worshipping the hearth there must be offered zinger with plant.’

(07) *mosoka ŋa mʌjo nigum suru jo tʰuŋna tʰukta*

mosoka ŋa mʌjo nigum

likewise EMPH on that occasion new

suru jo t^suŋ-na t^{sh}ukta

rice also prepare-INF must

‘Likewise, the new rice must be prepared on that occasion.’

(08) *t^sok^ho t^ʃi jo t^suŋna t^{sh}ukta*

t^sok^ho t^ʃi jo t^suŋ-na t^{sh}ukta

neat local beer also prepare-INF must

‘There must be prepared neat local beer prepared especially for that purpose.’

(09) *t^sok^ho t^ʃi maguksaa t^sok^ho luŋk^ha kajo rɒbusi kɒŋkubi t^suŋna t^{sh}ukta*

t^sok^ho t^ʃi ma-guk-sa-a t^sok^ho luŋk^ha

neat local beer NEG-be-NMLZ-ERG neat yeast

kajo rɒbusi kɒŋku-bi t^suŋ-na t^{sh}ukta

COM millet water-LOC prepare-INF must

‘There must be prepared neat yeast and millet with water in case there is not prepared neat local beer.’

(10) *t^ʃilai tobabi bjaksoka p^hipsu kajo proŋna t^{sh}ukta*

t^ʃi-lai toba-bi bjak-soka

local beer-DAT vertical pot-LOC put-seq

p^hipsu kajo proŋ-na t^{sh}ukta

pipe com prepare-INF must

‘The local beer must be put on the vertical bamboo pot with a pipe.’

(11) *mΛjo hama suptulu kajo pat^{shu} p^{hi}tani*

mΛjo ham-a suptulu kajo pat^{shu} p^{hi}-t-ani
 on that occasion 3PL-ERG hearth com prosperity ask-NPST-3PL
 ‘On that occasion, they ask prosperity with the hearth.’

(12) *mΛjo hama suptulu kajo pat^{shu} p^{hi}tani*

mΛjo ham-a suptulu kajo pat^{shu} p^{hi}-t-ani
 on that occasion 3PL-ERG hearth com prosperity ask-NPST-3PL
 ‘On that occasion, they ask prosperity with the hearth.’

(13) *suptulu k^hΛbi t^sili muna ita aksa jo gota*

suptulu k^hΛ-bi t^sili mu-na
 hearth near-LOC angriness do-INF

ita ak-sa jo gota
 not say-NMLZ also COP.NPST

‘It is believed that there should not get angry in front of the hearth.’

(14) *mΛkak^{hi} suptulu-hu p^hΛlu hikna ita jo hamastam*

mΛkak^{hi} suptulu-hu p^hΛlu
 that’s whay hearth-ALL toy

hik-na ita jo ham-as-t-a-m
 face-INF not also 3PL-say-NPST-3PL-PRF

‘That’s why; it is prohibited to face the toy towards the hearth.’

(15) *suptulubi hi tamstik^ho k^holo t^{sh}ukta ŋa*

suptulu-bi hi tams-t-i k^ho

hearth-LOC blood collect-NPST-3SG if

k^holo t^{sh}uk-t-a ŋa

misfortune be-NPST-3SG EMPH

‘In fact, there would be misfortune in case there is collected the human-blood in the hearth.’

(16) *suptulubi sukli lupo k^he-k^he ŋa nu gota*

suptulu-bi-m suk-li lu-po

hearth-LOC-PRF three-CLF stone-GEN

k^he-k^he ŋa nu gota

separate EMPH name COP.NPST

‘In the combination of hearth, the three stones have the separate names.’

(17) *sukli lulai serlu, wattolu, dAnilu akti*

suk-li lu-lai serlu

three-CLF stone-DAT serlu

wattolu bApmelu akti

wattolu bapmelu say-NPST-1PL.INCL

‘Three stones are called ‘serlu’, ‘wattolu’ and ‘bapmelu’, respectively.’

- (18) *suptululai buklihu lamka t^hamalua k^hirsa mukti*

suptulu-lai buk-li-hu lamka

hearth-DAT four-CLF-ALL COM

t^hamalua-a k^hir-sa mu-k-t-i

thamalu-ERG surround-NMLZ do-M.EXTDR-NPST-1PL.INCL

‘The four stones surrounding the hearth is called ‘thamalu’.’

- (19) *tiluŋ hejam rΛdu hampo t^hamalu mandum suptulu jo t^{sh}ukta*

tiluŋ hejam rΛdu ham-po t^hamalu

Tilung like Rai PL-GEN thamalu

mandum suptulu jo t^{sh}ukta

without hearth also be-NPST-3SG

‘Some Rai communities like Tilung have the hearth without the surrounding ‘thamalu.’

- (20) *k^hΛΛbika lamlu ne serlu aktim kimbim assoka t^{sh}eŋti*

k^hΛΛ-bika lamlu ne serlu

all-com earlier PRT serlu

ak-t-i-m kim-bi-m

say-NPST-1PL.INCL-PRF house-LOC-PRF

as-soka t^{sh}eŋ-t-i

say-SEQ know-NPST-1PL.INCL

‘First of all, ‘serlu’ is known as the representative of the house owner.’

(21) *serlulai ŋa rurilu jo akti*

serlu-lai ŋa rurilu jo ak-t-i

owner stone-DAT EMPH rurilu also say-NPST-1PL.INCL

‘House owner stone ‘serlu’ is also known as ‘rurilu.’

(22) *mambika wattolu aktim hopu gobim pe wa assoka t^{sh}eŋti*

mam-bika wattolu ak-t-i-m hopu go-bi-m

that-ABL wattolu say-NPST-1PL.INCL-PRF self inside-LOC-PRF

pe wa as-soka t^{sh}eŋ-t-i

elder brother younger brother say-SEQ know-NPST-1PL.INCL

‘After that, ‘wattolu’ is considered as the representative of the brotherhoods.’

(23) *mosoka ŋa dʌnilu aktim birt^sumu assoka t^{sh}eŋti*

mosoka ŋa dʌnilu ak-t-i-m

likewise emph danilu say-NPST-1PL.INCL-PRF

birt^su-mu as-soka t^{sh}eŋ-t-i

SISTER-PL say-SEQ know-NPST-1PL.INCL

‘Likewise, ‘danilu’ is known as the representative of the sisters and brothers in law.’

24) *t^sΛa dΛpsibi sukli lupō tum pitʰi k^he ŋa battani*

t^sΛ-a dΛpsi-bi suk-li lu-po
 someone-ERG chant-LOC three-CLF stone-GEN

tum pitʰi k^he ŋa bat-t-ani
 matter a little different EMPH say-NPST-3PL

‘While chanting someone claims that the meaning of the three stones in the hearth is slightly different.’

(25) *b^hʰk^hojo suptulua rΛdu t^su^opo t^supilai miŋsa sulam duwa abikti*

b^hʰk^hojo sup-tu-lu-a rΛdu t^su-po
 whatsoever three-position-stone-ERG Rai offspring-GEN

t^supi-lai miŋ-sa sulam a-bi-k-t-i
 ancestral-DAT remember-NMLZ way 3SG-provide-NPST-1PL.INCL

‘Whatsoever, the hearth provides us the way to remember the ancestral.’

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