

A GRAMMAR OF DUMI

A DISSERTATION

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in

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By

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RECOMMENDATION LETTER

We hereby recommend that this dissertation entitled **A GRAMMAR OF DUMI** prepared by **Mr. Netra Mani Rai** under our supervision and guidance be accepted by the Research Committee for the final examination in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in LINGUISTICS.

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This dissertation entitled **A GRAMMAR OF DUMI** was submitted by **Mr. Netra Mani Rai** for final examination to the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in LINGUISTICS. I, hereby, certify that the Research Committee of the Faculty has found this dissertation satisfied in scope and quality and has, therefore, accepted it for the degree.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this PhD dissertation entitled **A GRAMMAR OF DUMI** submitted to the Office of the Dean, faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, is an entirely original work prepared under the supervision of my supervisor. I have made due acknowledgements to all ideas and information borrowed from different sources in the course of writing this dissertation. The results presented in this dissertation have not been presented or submitted anywhere else for the award of any degree or for any reasons. No part of the content of this dissertation has ever been published in any form before. I shall be solely responsible if any evidence is found against my declaration.

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Date: _____

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ABSTRACT

This study presents a linguistic description of the Dumi language (639-3; dus) 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 poorly described Kirati language of the Rai group, spoken by an ethnic group 'Dumi' residing mainly in Khotang District. This is a field-based linguistic study of the grammatical features of the Dumi language. 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 the 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 fifteen chapters and five appendices. Chapter 1 outlines the background of the study, objectives of the study, review of literature, significance of the study, research methodology, limitations of the study and organization of the study. Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework of the study. Chapter 3 discusses the language and the people (i.e., sociolinguistic aspects). Chapter 4 analyzes the segmental and supra-segmental features (i.e., phonology) of the language. Chapter 5 examines the morphophonological processes in the language. Chapter 6 proposes the writing system for this language. Chapter 7 discusses the nominal and pronominal morphology. Chapter 8 looks at the functions and forms of the adjectives. It also briefly deals with the numeral system in Dumi. Chapter 9 analyzes the verb morphology in this language. Chapter 10 discusses the adverbs and postpositions. Chapter 11 deals with the simple clauses in Dumi. Chapter 12 focuses the nominalizations. Chapter 13 examines the clause combining. Chapter 14 discusses the discourse in Dumi. Finally, chapter 15 presents the summary and typological implications of the study. The appendices comprise list of the informants, Kinship patterns in Dumi, nine sample interlinearized (i.e., morphologically analyzed) texts, 215 wordlist, verb roots and verb paradigms.

There are 26 consonant and 7 basic oral vowel phonemes with length contrast in Dumi. The person and number are marked by 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	ऊ
14.	ɨ:	ऊः

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
Σ	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
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
EXCL	exclusive
FOC	focus
GEN	genitive
HABT	habitual
HON	honorific
IMPRFT	imperative
i	inclusive
i.e.	that is
INCL	inclusive
INCP	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
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
PRF	prefix
PNR	person, number and role
PRFT	perfect

PRFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSB	possibility
POSS	possessive
POST	posterior
POSTP	postposition
PRED	predicative
PRFT	perfect
PRFV	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
SIM	simultaneous
SIML	similaritive
SORC	source
SUBM	subordinate marker
T-B	Tibeto-Burman
TEMP	temporal
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
UL	underlying (form)
V	verb
VDC	village development committee
VDCs	village development committees
VI	verb intransitive
VT	verb transitive
→	acting upon
↓	falling intonation
↑	rising intonation
'	word stress

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This study is an attempt to present a linguistic description of the Dumi language [dus]¹ within the framework of the functional-typological grammar (FTG) developed mainly by T. Givón (2001) and further supplemented by Noonan (2003, 2005), Dryer (2006), Dixon (2010) and DeLancey (2011).

Dumi (639-3 dus]) is one of the Kirati languages of the Rai group.² ‘Kirat’ is an umbrella term, commonly used to refer to the people of the four separate Kirat ethnic groups: Rai, Limbu, Sunuwar and Yakkha. Among 25 different Kirat Rai speech communities, Dumi belongs to the western Kirati group of the Eastern Himalayish branch of the Tibeto-Burman branch³ 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 Kirat Rai languages, 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 25 different languages of Kirat 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 Dumi includes other Kirat Rai communities like Thulung [tdh], Khaling [klr], Koyee [kkt], Sampang [rav], Nachhiring [ncd], Chamling [rab], etc. spoken in the surroundings of the Dumi speaking area. So the Dumi people are in day-to-day contact with these

¹ The three letter code defined by the ISO 639-3 standard of the individual languages and macro-languages (Ethnologue, 2012).

² The Kirati language groups 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.

³ The name "Tibeto-Burman" was first applied to this group in 1856 by James Richardson Logan, who added Karen in 1858.

Kirati languages of Rai group in the respective areas in socio-cultural and other daily activities.

At present, none of the Dumi people from their homeland 'Kha.Ja.Ba.Sa.Ma.'⁴ are monolingual⁵. There is day-to-day contact with other neighbouring Kirati Rai languages (i.e. multilingual setting) and just because of the lack of an awareness program and heavy influence of the lingua franca 'Nepali', the majority of the Dumi speakers are gradually shifting to Nepali⁶.

Dumi is an ethnonym and a loconym referring to both the Dumi community and the language they speak. The total population of Dumi is 12,000 in Nepal (Eppelle et al. 2012: 45). The previous CBS report 2001 shows that the total population of the Dumi was 5,271. However, 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 the mother tongue⁷. Eppelle et al. (2012: 45-46) identify Dumi with the ISO code [639-3: dus] and claim that there are three dialects: Kharbari (i.e., Jalapa), Lamdija (i.e., Baksila) and Makhipa (i.e., Makpa).

1.2 Statement of the problem

Dumi is a previously poorly documented Kirati language, spoken in the northern Khotang district of eastern Nepal. There is an attempt in the description of the Dumi language based on the Baksila variety⁸. However, the previous studies do not present a substantial description of the linguistic structures of the Makpa Dumi. Thus, this study attempts to serve the most in-depth description of the language till the date. The Makpa variety is still unexplored till the date. As no comprehensive study in the

⁴ 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 Makpa area; Koyu/Koyee, Nachhiring and Sampang in Baksila and Sapteshwor area; Sampang and Chamling in Kharmi and Jalapa area.

⁵ Toba et al (2002) states that 'monolingual speakers are mostly found among people of the old generation and among those living in remote villages without contact to outsiders.

⁶ 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).

⁷ 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.

⁸ There are three distinct varieties of Dumi, viz. Jalapa-Kharimi, Baksila-Sapteshwor and Makpa varieties.

Makpa variety of this language has been done so far, the main problem is to present a description of the sociolinguistic and linguistic features of the Dumi language from the forms and functional perspective. There are a number of issues to be settled regarding this language, which can be listed as follows:

- a. What are the sociolinguistic situations of the language?
- b. What are the phonetic, phonological and morphophonological features of the language, and what is the appropriate writing system for the language?
- c. What are the morphological features of the language at the sentence levels?
- d. What are the morphosyntactic features of the language at the discourse levels?
- e. What can be the implications of the language from functional-typological grammar (FTG) perspective?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The general objective of this study is to prepare a descriptive grammar of the Dumi language, insightfully guided by the functional typological grammar perspective.

The specific objectives can be listed as follows:

- a. To examine the sociolinguistic situations of the language: domains of the language use, multilingualism, language vitality and level of language endangerment in this language;
- b. To analyze the phonetic, phonological and morphophonological features of the language; and to propose a writing system for the language;
- c. To present a morphological features of the language at the sentence levels;
- d. To present a morphosyntactic features of the language at the discourse levels; and
- e. To explore the possible functional typological implications of the language.

1.4 Review of literature

There are only a few works dealing with the Dumi people, their rituals, culture and language. These works describe some aspects of the sociolinguistics, phonology, morphology and syntax of the language apart from the other related aspects of this speech community. The reviews of the linguistic research which has been carried out

in the Dumi language till now have been presented in the chronological order as follows:

Hodgson (1828) is the first study which provides basic information about two dozen Kirati languages.⁹ Analyzing the verb patterns of different Kirati languages, he notes that Kirati verbs are not easily segmentable, due in large part to the presence of portmanteau morphemes (i.e., a single morph can be analysed into more than one morpheme), crowded affix strings and extensive allomorphy. Furthermore, he makes two important observations about T-B languages and claims these languages fall into two categories: pronominalizing (i.e., verbs inflecting for pronominal subject and object), and non-pronominalizing (i.e., verbs not inflecting for pronominal). Among these two distinct categories, Dumi falls under the first category (i.e., pronominalizing Tibeto-Burman language group of the Kirati Rai cluster).

In addition, Hodgson (1857: 351-372, 1880: 194-215) is credited to be the first to recognize the separate forms for the dual, and also double sets of the dual and the plural of the first person, one including and one excluding the person addressed¹⁰. He has also identified the affinity among T-B languages, all of which are indigenous languages. He introduced the ‘Dumi’ word in his grammatical notes and the Dumi language appears in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, and there is also a text labeled ‘Rai’ which was collected in Dumi (Grierson 1909, III (I): 372-381). Later, he published a comparative vocabulary of twenty-eight T-B languages and the sketch grammars of a few languages of the same genetic stock.

Grierson (1909: 372-381) incorporated several minority languages of Nepal like Dumi in the substantial *Linguistic Survey of India*, though he relied on earlier research and did not provide ample information about this language. He entirely depended on the

⁹ Like Bahing, Limbu, Vayu, Lohorung and Kulung, Hodgson further categorizes the Kirati languages into the four groups: (a) Limbu (affinities to Eastern Kirati); (b) Eastern Kirati: Greater Yakkha (Yakkha, Phangduwali, Belhare, Athpare, Chhintang, Chulung) and Upper Arun River (Yamphu, Lohorung, Mewahang, Waling); (c) Central Kirati: Khambu (or Rai) (Kulung, Nachhiring, Sampang, Sam) and Southern Kirati (Bantawa, Puma, Chamling, Dungmali), and (d) Western Kirati: Mid-western (Thulung, perhaps a primary branch of Kirati), Chaurasiya (Wambule, Jerung), Upper Dudhkosi River (Khaling, Dumi, Koyee), and North-western (Bahing, Sunuwar, Wayu).

¹⁰ For detailed information, see Hodgson’s Dumi vocabulary which is simply a glossary of the Dumi vocabulary without the gloss in English or Nepali.

Hodgson's Dumi vocabulary¹¹ (i.e., 310 wordlist comparing the Dumi language with English and Nepali) and an analysis of the data. The strength of this work is the analysis of the undescribed language like Dumi as the milestone. However, it would have been much better if it had rendered glosses in English and Nepali too. Also, two number systems are mentioned (Grierson, 1909: 374) as the singular and the plural, but the existing dual number is missing. On the other hand, the numerals mentioned here are similar with Makpa Dumi up to cardinal number two only. But the remaining numerals are completely different from the number three upwards.

Benedict (1972) is an extensive work on the Tibeto-Burman languages like Dumi. He has presented comparative phonological features of the T-B languages and made a phonological reconstruction of Proto-Tibeto-Burman. Dumi belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family for its syntactic, pronominalization and distinct linguistic features.

Toba (1973), with the collection of words consisting of the Swadesh one hundred wordlist, claims that Kharbari (i.e. Jalapa) dialect seems to be more common with the Makpa dialect which is absolutely right. Similarly, the Sapteshwor dialect is related to the Jalapa dialect in many aspects. Likewise, the Kubhinde dialect seems to be closer to the Baksila dialect.¹² These dialects can be distinguished in terms of phonology, nominal and verbal morphology and lexicon as well. Even solely on the basis of Makpa data, Toba's one hundred wordlist (1973: 4-7, 1976: 3-4) reveals closer affinity between Dumi and Koyee than between Dumi and Khaling, Nachhiring, Sampang and Chamling.

Hansson (1991: 33) is an extensive work on the Dumi language that presents a peculiar scenario about Dumi. It is occasionally classified as a dialect of Khaling (cf. the introduction of S. and I. Toba 1973: 4-7). However, it is to be considered a separate language on the basis of syntax and verb morphology. There is an obvious systemic distinction between Dumi and Khaling. He further mentions that there is a close genetic relationship between Koyee and Dumi, showing a very high number of cognates and isoglosses shared with Khaling. Other labels that have been attested for

¹¹ The data gathered in Hodgson's Dumi vocabulary seems to be originally from Baksila Dumi.

¹² The Dumi people from Kubhinde VDC are the same clan as in Baksila (i.e., Satma or Sotmali). Historically, their ancestors migrated from the Baksila area in the past.

the Dumi language are *Sotmali* (i.e. one of the clans or *Pachha* 'Satma' among 21 clans within Dumi ethnic group which are found in the Baksila ridge), and "*Brasmi*," a lineage or *Same* (or *Samet*) in Sapteshwor VDC among the seven lineages in Dumi.

Toba et al. (2002) has made an extensive survey on the languages of Nepal. The report shows that there are approximately 2,000 Dumi speakers who are multilingual. The report declares that there exist four dialects in Dumi: Makpa, Kharbari, Baksila and Kubhinde, but it does not give any information about the Dumi speakers from the Kharmi area¹³. In addition to these facts, other findings are: internal migration; dependence on agriculture as the main economic activity; the pursuance of the Kirat religion, animism, shamanism and the worship of ancestors which guide all aspects of life in the Dumi community; no official status of mother tongue and urgent need of its promotion.

van Driem (1993) is the first comprehensive study which provides descriptive grammatical categories of Dumi¹⁴. He has based his analysis of the Dumi language on a traditional descriptive model which is the first linguistic-based grammar ever prepared about the Dumi language in Baksila Dumi following a systematic linguistic tradition. He asserts the fact that there are at least four dialects: Baksila, Sapteshwor, Makpa and Jalapa. He notes that the Makpa dialect is different from the other three dialects and further reveals that, '*... an in-depth study of Makpa Dumi is still sorely needed*' (van Driem, 1993: 6).

True to what van Driem has stated Makpa Dumi is a distinct variety of the Dumi language. There are some relevant facts that could be pointed out for further study. He further points out that 'the whole retention seems to be somewhat higher in the Makpa area where there is a greater number of middle-aged and some children who have retained their language (1993: 7).' This claim justifies that the retention of the Dumi language is healthier in the Makpa area than in the Baksila or any other Dumi areas.

¹³ The geographical distribution in the past included present Kharmi VDC into Jalapa VDC.

¹⁴ van Driem prepared 'A Grammar of Dumi' collecting the information in a three-month stay in Halkhum village of Baksila VDC in 1987. The field study carried out in 2064 v.s. in Baksila area shows that the entire Dumi population is multilingual in Koyee, Sampang and Nepali. Some of the Dumi in Baksila and Sapteshwor are also multilingual in Nachhiring. However, the maximum Dumi speakers in the Makpa area are multilingual in Thulung.

Although a study of the Dumi language from Baksila (particularly in Halkhum village) has already been carried out by a senior linguist, van Driem (1993), other dialects and their interrelationship with other neighbouring Kirati languages (i.e. Thulung, Khaling, Koyee, Nachhiring, Sampang and Chamling) neither on the functional typological grammar perspective nor on any other perspectives have yet been studied.

This can also be taken as a justification for the exhaustive study of ‘Makpa Dumi’ where he notices that, ‘Dumi is still the medium of communication’ (1993: 7). The language is used in the village in agricultural works and the local market. But it is not used in the local or government offices. Table 1.1 presents some of the kinship terms from ‘A Grammar of Dumi’ (1993: 14) which are not applicable in Makpa Dumi.

Table 1.1: Some kinship terms in different dialects

Baksila	English	Makpa
<i>tete</i>	‘older than parent’	<i>teteu</i>
<i>p^hop^ho</i>	‘younger than parent’	<i>p^hopo</i>
<i>t^{si}it^{si}im</i>	‘younger than parent’ (paternal)	<i>t^{sh}it^{si}im</i>
<i>kirΛ</i>	‘maternal uncle (younger than mother)’	<i>kiki</i>
<i>wa:tto</i>	‘elder brother’	<i>pe:pe</i>
<i>birma</i>	‘younger sister’	<i>wa</i>
<i>t^{sh}ari</i>	‘younger brother’	<i>wa</i>

Source: van Driem (1993) and the field study in Dumi (2013)

The examples in Table 1.1 show that in Makpa Dumi, the term *kirΛ* refers to ‘the maternal uncle’ in a general sense, without restricting to the maternal uncle (younger than mother). Similarly, the term refers in general to brothers whereas the term *t^{sh}ari* ‘is used for the younger ones’. Likewise, *birma* or *birme* in a general sense in the Makpa area means ‘sisters’.

There are some Dumi words taken from ‘A Grammar of Dumi’ which are used distinctively in different Dumi speaking areas.

Table 1.2: Words comparison in different dialects (Makpa and Baksila)

Makpa	English	Baksila	page	Makpa	English	Baksila	page
<i>suk</i>	‘three’	<i>rjek</i>	(87)	<i>saulo</i>	‘jungle’	<i>sa:ʔi</i>	(54)
<i>tʃi</i>	‘fore head’	<i>tʃi</i>	(53)	<i>brʌ</i>	‘language’	<i>boʔo</i>	(53)
<i>tʃi</i>	‘millet beer’	<i>ɪmma</i>	(58)	<i>mʌnʌ</i>	‘then’	<i>moykə</i>	(57)
<i>bu</i>	‘tree’	<i>bʰu</i>	(53)	<i>tuhe</i>	‘together’	<i>tugʰe</i>	(179)
<i>repna</i>	‘to obey’	<i>repni</i>	(150)	<i>repna</i>	‘to rise’	<i>pʰikni</i>	(150)

Source: A grammar of Dumi (van Driem, 1993) and the field study in Dumi (2013)

Likewise, so far as the Dumi phonology presented in chapter two of ‘A Grammar of Dumi’ is concerned, the voiceless consonant, aspirated affricate ‘tʰ’ and ‘tʰʰ’ sounds are missing from the list of consonants which are noticeable evidently in Makpa Dumi.

Yadava (2004), based on the CBS 2001 report, analyzes the pattern of language endangerment in Nepal¹⁵. He suggests that some drastic measures should be taken immediately for the revitalization of the languages of this group. He provides more information on Dumi and proposes the genetic affiliation of the Dumi language. He classifies Dumi under the potentially endangered group¹⁶ among 92 living languages in Nepal (CBS 2001). Furthermore, it is characterised by a lack of

¹⁵ On the basis of five levels of endangerment defined by Wurm (1998), he categorizes the languages of Nepal into seven groups: safe languages (18), almost safe languages (15), potentially endangered languages (8), endangered languages (22), seriously endangered languages (12), moribund languages (7) and extinct/nearly extinct languages.

¹⁶ According to the degree of endangerment defined by Stephen Wurm (1998: 192), the five levels of endangerment of the languages are summarized as: (a) Potentially endangered: under heavy pressure from a large language and beginning to lose child speakers, (b) Endangered: have few or no children learning the language and youngest good speakers are young adults, (c) Seriously endangered: have the youngest good speakers’ age 50 years or older, (d) Moribund: have only handful of good speakers left, mostly very old, (e) Extinct: have no speakers left.

intergenerational language transmission and a lack of language use in education and media, though their speakers have a positive attitude towards their mother tongue.

Kirat Rai Yayokkha (2006) provides the comparative information of 26 different Kirati Rai languages. Besides the languages of the Kirat Rai group, it also includes the ‘Limbu (Yakthung) [lif] and the ‘Yakkha’ [ybh] languages, but there is missing another major Kirati language group Sunuwar or ‘Koĩt^s’ [suz]) among the main four Kirat ethnic groups (or Kirat communities)¹⁷.

Rai and Paudel (2008) is the first study based on Makpa Dumi which provides an overview of the Dumi language as the fundamental background to the report of ‘The Documentation of the Dumi Language’. The study presents the inventory of the distinct segments of Dumi which are given under vowels and consonants. There are seven oral vowels in Dumi, which contrast in length. The inventory of Dumi oral vowels are: /i, ī, u, e, ʌ, o, a/. It is also noticed that there is vowel sequence or diphthongs: /ei, eu, ʌi, ai, au, ii, oi, ou/, etc. There is also a distinctly limited nasalization in Dumi such as in some native Dumi words like *b^hĩka* ‘why’, *p^hĩli* ‘cave’, *b^hĩsoka* ‘how’, etc. Similarly, there are also nasal vowels in some Nepali loan words: *pĩĩās* ‘onion’, *bĩĩās* ‘interest’, *bĩĩāsi* ‘paddy field’, etc.

Dumi consonants are classified into different groups on the basis of their manner and place of articulation. The inventory of Dumi consonants are: plosive /p, p^h, b, b^h, t, t^h, d, d^h, ʈ, ʈ^h, k, k^h, g, g^h/; affricates /t^s, t^{sh}, d^z, d^{zh}/; fricatives /s, h/; nasals /m, n, ŋ/; trill /r/; lateral /l/; semi-vowels /w, j/. In practice, glottal stop [ʔ] appears in deletion of the sounds like /p, t, k/. Likewise, the vowel length appears in deletion of the glottal stop [ʔ] in the noun. e.g., *meʔ* → *me*: ‘wife’, *biʔ* → *bi*: ‘cow’, *poʔ* → *po*: ‘pig’, *pĩʔ* → *pĩ*: ‘ash’, etc.

¹⁷ (a) The strength of this publication is the grouping the Kirati Rai languages according to the name of the adjoining rivers in the ‘Kirati land’ (or *Kirat Pradesh* in Nepali).

(b) Among four Kirati ethnic groups: Sunuwar, Rai, Yakkha and Limbu, the 100 wordlist from Sunuwar language has been excluded which is a must to be included in the following edition.

The main vocabulary of Dumi is made by two sources: native words and loan words. Native words are made mainly by five word formation processes: derivation, affixation, reduplication, compounding and onomatopoeic. Loan words, on the other hand, are borrowed especially from Nepali, English and other neighboring Kirati languages of the Rai group like Koyee, Khaling, Thulung, Sampang, Nachhiring, Chamling, etc. Dumi verbs are nominalized by adding the suffix <-na> to make a noun from the verb. In addition to this, the derivation of verb, adjective and adverb has also been found in Dumi. The dual number is indicated by the suffix <-nu> e.g., *tʰu:tʰu-nu* ‘two babies’ and the suffix <-mu> e.g., *tʰu:tʰu-mu*¹⁸ ‘children’ is used for non-honorific plural number whereas <-ham> as in *duspi-ham* ‘elders’ is used for honorific plural number¹⁹. There are two morphological processes to form noun stems: compounding and reduplication. There are eleven personal pronouns in Dumi: *aŋu*, *intʰi*, *untʰi*, *iŋki*, *uŋku*, *ani/anni*, *antʰi*, *animu/anni*, *um*, *ham*, *untʰi*, *unimu*; which are marked for number and case, but the gender is unmarked.

Rai (2008) provides an introductory outline of Dumi verbs in the topic ‘Dumi verb morphology’ in his M.A. thesis on the basis of the data collected from the fieldwork in the main Dumi speaking ‘Makpa’ area and on the basis of a native speaker’s intuition. This study is limited to verb patterns and their agreement and his findings are particularly limited to the domains of morphosyntax and discourse that may require further study. This is the first research-based linguistic work ever done on the Dumi language by a native speaker on Makpa based data.

He notes that the Dumi simple stem construction consists of a verb stem and affixes indicating tense and showing agreement for person and number with the actant (or actants) of the verb. Intransitive, reciprocal and reflexive verbs agree only with the subject, whereas a transitive verb agrees with both agent (subject) and patient (object). The verbal affixes in Dumi are of two types: prefix and suffix. There are three different types of prefixes: the third person plural (or honorific) subject morpheme

¹⁸ In Baksila Dumi, the nominal plural suffix -mu is pronounced as -mɿ (van Driem, 1993: 83).

¹⁹ In the new generation, the plural markers -ham (honorific marker) and -mu/-mɿ (non-honorific marker) are used interchangeably elsewhere in Dumi speaking areas.

<ham->, the non-third person morpheme <a-> and the negative past morpheme <ma->.

The suffixes are: <-i /-o /-u> for past tense, <-t> for non-past tense (i.e., present and future) <-isi> for reflexive with <-s> and <-isu> allomorphs, <-k> for the first person plural past, <-ŋ> for the first person, <-u> for 1s→ 3/PT, <-i> for inclusive, <-u> with the allomorph <-ɨ> for exclusive, <-a> for non-first person subject, <-si> for non-first person dual and <-na> with the allomorph <-no> for negative form, respectively. There are two types of ‘to be’ verbs in Dumi: *mota* ‘to be’ for animate and *gota* ‘to be’ for inanimate.

Similarly, the morpheme <-mu-> makes the causative and <-isi> makes the intransitive from transitive as a valence increasing device of derivational morphology. In Dumi, reflexive or reciprocal (or passivization) in the past is marked by <-isi> and in the non-past marked by <-isti>. When it may function as a nominal, the suffix as the infinitive marker <-na> is used and <-si> for the gerund. This study is limited to the verb patterns and their agreement. The domains of morphosyntax and discourse may require further study.

Rai and Thokar (2013) present the linguistic and sociolinguistic background information about the Dumi language in the survey report carried out by ‘LinSuN’²⁰. It is found that the Dumi language has been retained in three generations only in some villages like Norung²¹, Lumdu-Chhuka, Ilim, Makpa, Bepla, Bakchuwa, Lewa, Chaintar, etc. of Makpa VDC. But limited speakers of two generations (except the children) can be found in other VDCs like Jalapa, Baksila, Sapteshwor and Kharmi. The sociolinguistic field study report carried out by the LinSuN in the Dumi homeland (i.e., ‘Kha.Ja.Ba.Sa.Ma.’) shows that the entire Dumi population is multilingual in different Kirati languages of Rai group, viz., Thulung, Khaling,

²⁰ Linguistic Survey of Nepal ‘LinSuN’ carried out by the Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Nepal.

²¹ The term ‘Norung’ has been derived from the origin *Norodel* or *Dumidel*, where there is residence of only the Dumi ethnic group in the village; *Norodel* is formed from the two separate words *Noro* ‘water resource’ and *del* ‘village’ (i.e. literally, the village of water resource). There is a natural water resource called *noroku* (or ‘Pati kholo’ in Nepali) nearly in the middle of the village. Hence, the name of the Dumi village has been introduced as ‘Norung’ as the ward no.6 of Makpa VDC in northern Khotang district.

Koyee, Sampang, Nachhiring, Chamling, etc. However, in the present context, none of the Dumi people are monolingual at all.

‘Dumi Kirat Rai Funsikim’ (abbreviated as DKRF) regularly publishes a magazine entitled ‘Isilim’ since 1999, focusing on the history, socio-cultural, native Dumi language and the ethnic identity of the Dumi community.²² There is a ray of hope with such creativity in development, promotion and preservation of the Dumi language and culture.

Eppele et al. (2012: 45) categorizes Dumi as EGIDS 7 (shifting) by assessing the level of endangerment. It classifies Dumi in the western Kirati Rai language of Himalayan group that belongs to the Tibeto-Burman branch under the Sino-Tibetan language family. It further notes that there is no monolingual speaker in Dumi and the language speakers are gradually decreasing even though the speakers show positive attitudes towards their mother tongue. It provides the information of 2,500 mother tongue speakers. It clearly says that there are three dialects in Dumi, viz. Kharbari, Lamdiya and Makpa. It provides further information that Dumi is most similar to Khaling [klr] and Koyee [kkt]. It gives the phonemic inventory of 25 consonants and 14 vowels. The concise information shows that the Devanagari script is in practice for the writing system in this language.

To sum up, the available works on the Dumi language are Hodgson (1828), Hodgson (1857), Grierson (1909), Benedict (1972), Toba (1973), Hansson (1991), van Driem (1993), Toba et al. (2002), Boyd (1988), Yadava (2004), Rai and Paudel (2008), Rai (2008), Eppele et al. (2012), Rai and Thokar (2013). These works so far reviewed have assisted the understanding of the existing features of the Dumi language. Some works, though with limited data, are of descriptive types and certainly outside the framework of the functional-typological approach. However, no attempt has yet been made to provide a fuller analysis and description of the functional and formal perspectives of the Dumi language from the Makpa area. Thus, for a detailed description in Dumi, each domain of the language has to be further explored with more discourse data from the functional perspective. Only a fuller description may, at

²² The magazine is a semi-annual bulletin writing on contemporary issues and research-based publications. Recently, in the autumn season, the 16th volume (2071) was published as a cultural-based publication.

a time and more reliably, reveal characteristic sociolinguistic, phonetic and phonological, morphophonological, morphosyntactic and discourse-pragmatic properties of the Dumi language. The main goal of this study is to analyze the Dumi data from the functional-typological perspective.

1.5 Research methodology

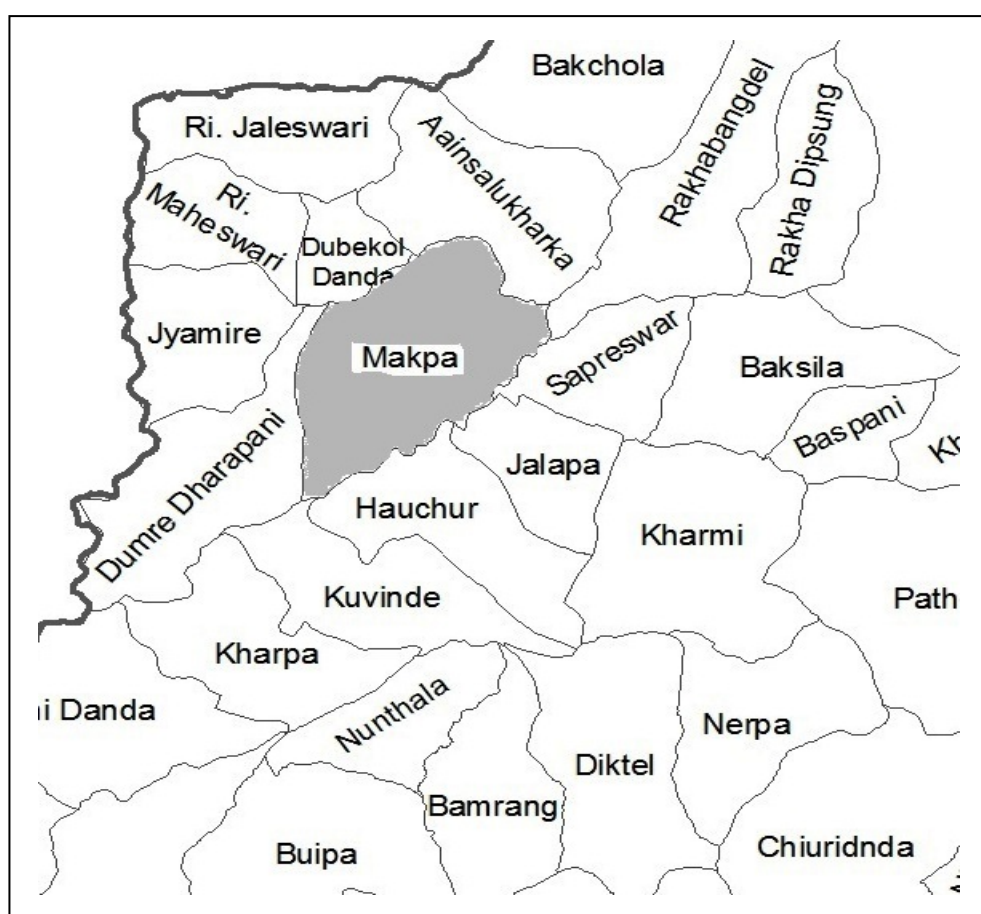
This dissertation aims at describing the grammatical system of Dumi. While writing this dissertation, Givón (2001) and Noonan (2005) have been followed for the framework. As far as possible, the illustrations are drawn from interlinearized text from the context of the Dumi speech community with appropriate free translation. To achieve the goals of the study, the following research tools and approaches have been used. The research methodology adopted for accomplishing this study is presented in four headings: selection of the field site, data collection (or database), theoretical framework and presentation and analysis, which are discussed as follows:

a. Selection of the field site

Since this study is exclusively based on the Dumi language spoken in the Makpa area (i.e., northern part from the Rawa River) in northern Khotang District. The data for this research has been collected especially from Dumi speakers in different wards of Makpa VDC: Makpa (ward no. 1), Bakchuwa (ward no. 2), Bepla (ward no. 3), Lumdu-Chhuka (ward no. 4), Ilim (ward no. 5), Norung (ward no. 6), Lewa (ward no. 8) and Chaintar (ward no. 9) (See Appendix 1(a) for detail). These villages are geographically adjoining to each other and are considered as the area of the same Dumi variety.²³ Since the primary goal of this study is to present a grammatical description of the Dumi language, the researcher himself was involved five times for three to four weeks field visit while collecting the data in those areas (i.e., together with the areas in the Dumi homeland, different wards in Makpa VDC).

²³ Though there is mutually intelligibility, there are some differences at the lexical level between Makpa (ward no. 1) and Norung (ward no. 6) villages.

Map 1.1: Study area ‘Makpa VDC’ (Source: District profile of Khotang district, 2070)



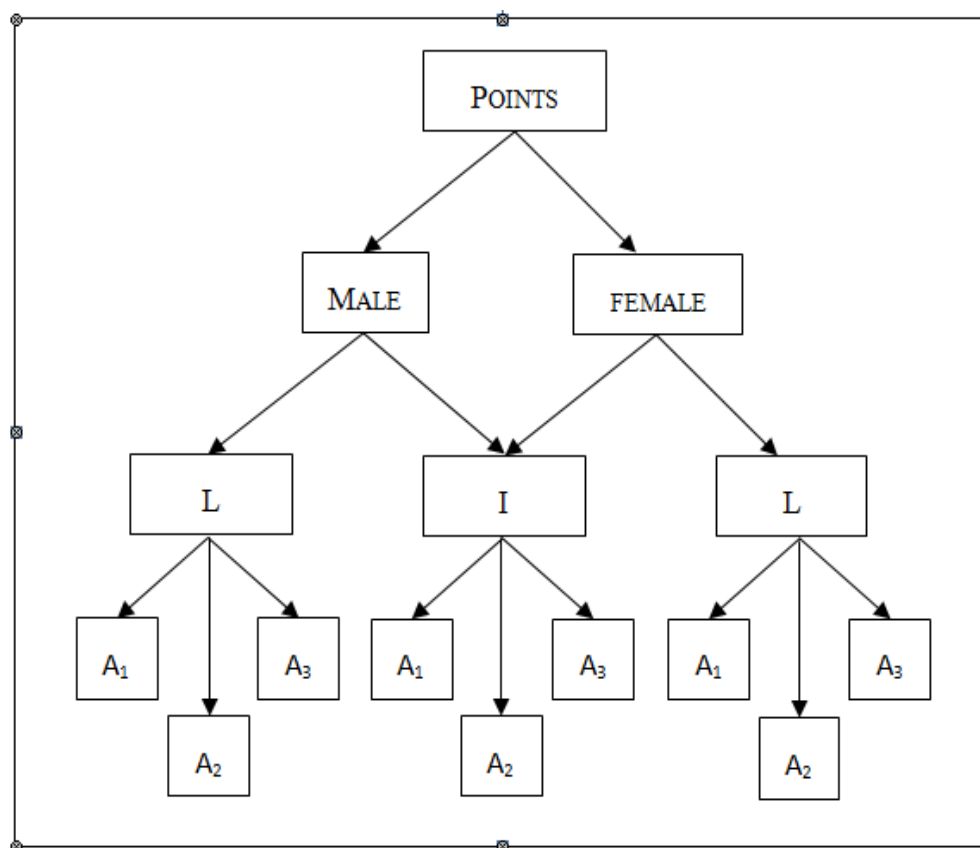
b. Database

In this study, two types of data have been employed: sociolinguistic and linguistic data. The first type of data was collected by using the standard sociolinguistic questionnaire developed by ‘LinSuN’. The questionnaire included basic questions: language resources, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism, domain language use, language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes. In the field visit it was administered in the eight wards of Makpa VDC (i.e., the main Dumi speaking area in the Dumi homeland). In the sampling model, at least ten individuals representing different categories of sex, age and educational background from each survey point²⁴ were selected.

²⁴ The different survey points were: Makpa, Ilim, Bakchuwa, Bepla, Lumdu-Chhuka, Norung, Lewa and Chaintar villages of Makpa VDC.

Figure 1.1 presents a model for the sampling of informants from each survey point in Dumi speech community.

Figure 1.1: Sampling model of informants in each survey point



Following the sampling model to the maximum, at least 10 informants were selected from three distinct age groups: A₁ (15-34 years), A₂ (35-59 years) and A₃ (60 + years) with their sex and educational background in each survey point.²⁵

The database for the description of the grammatical system of this study comprises both elicited data and text corpus.²⁶ By using a field method popularly known as translational elicitation, the data on the sound patterns, morphology, syntax as well as the basic vocabulary were collected from the language informants. The elicited data obtained from the frames and scheduled interviews were recorded using the audio recorder, transcribed and analyzed with the help of well-equipped devices. Such data have primarily been used for the description of the language. Texts comprising

²⁵ Altogether more than 60 informants were involved in the collection of the data.

²⁶ The elicited data were collected from frequent field visits in the individual Dumi villages and text corpus from the published Dumi language magazine 'Isilim' and Pipal Pustak from the Mother Tongue Centre Nepal 'MTCN'

folktales, rituals, festivals and professions were collected and the morphology was analyzed through the latest computer software named *Toolbox*²⁷. The text data have also been used for the further cross-checking of the elicited data (from the researcher's intuition) used in the description. Both elicited data and text corpuses were cross-checked with other native speakers from the respective Dumi speaking areas.

c. Theoretical framework

As mentioned earlier, this linguistic description of Dumi is based on the linguistic theory called the functional-typological grammar (FTG) proposed by T. Givón (2001). The meticulous discussion of the model is presented in detail in the next Chapter two.

d. Presentation and analysis

Examples of the sound patterns and grammatical structures in the language are provided in the description. Initially, each example is transcribed by using IPA²⁸ symbols and then, each word is separated into individual morphemes. Then, each morpheme is provided interlinear morpheme translations (i.e., glosses) by using a conveniently accessible list of abbreviated symbols. Furthermore, each example is provided with a free translation in English. In the meantime, cross-referencing has been provided as needed. Morphology has been described in general with 'a form to function orientation' and syntax with 'a function to form orientation'.

Some oral texts, related to different aspects of Dumi life, their culture, tradition, folktales, legends and daily activities, have been collected with morpheme glosses and translations. The sociolinguistic information has been analyzed together with the required information presented in tables and diagrams. Prominent typological features of the language have been explained. Typological comparison has been made with the common features of the languages of the Himalayish section of the Tibeto-Burman

²⁷ (a) The corpus used for the illustration is analysed with the help of the useful computer software 'toolbox'.

(b) The latest conventions of Leipzig glossing rules have been used for the purpose or interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses:
(www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php).

²⁸ International Phonetic Alphabets (IPA) referred by the International Phonetic Association.

branch of Sino-Tibetan family. Selected sample texts, basic Dumi wordlist and the detailed information of the informants are given in Appendices.

1.6 Significance of the study

Since no considerable work on any aspect of Makpa Dumi has been done so far, this study will be of great significance not only for the Dumi speech community, but also for the researchers and the linguists interested in the typological study of the Kirati languages. The existing problems (or challenges) regarding Dumi and other Kirati languages are their proper classification, identification of lineage, clan, genetic affiliation, many unidentified linguistic features and inter-relationship among them as well. Although the number of the Kirati languages has been increasing in the recent census, 2011²⁹, their historical interrelations among them have not been precisely identified yet. At this point, this study of the Dumi language attempts to present a linguistic description on the socio-linguistic, phonological, morphosyntactic properties and discourse analysis of this language.

The significance of this study can be enumerated as follows:

- a. This study will lay the foundation for much more extensive research on the Dumi speech community, especially from the Makpa area, their language and culture living at home and abroad.
- b. This study will definitely pave the way and constitute a significant contribution to the further study of other varieties of the Dumi language.
- c. This study will help to boost up the identity of the Dumi in the multilingual society.
- d. This study will help to support Dumi communities in their endeavor to develop and promote the use of their language and to encourage the continuation of its use by future generations.

²⁹ In the recent census report 2011 (2068 v. s.), there are altogether 25 Kirati Languages of the Rai group.

- e. This study will be a great resource in material development for syllabus designers, textbook writers and teachers of this language for mother tongue education as there is a constitutional provision to provide multilingual education in the mother tongue up to the primary level, which has been an aspiration of the Dumi speech community.
- f. This study will facilitate researches in other Dumi areas like Jalapa, Kharmi, Baksila, Sapteshwor, etc. of the Dumi language in particular and other closer Kirati languages of the Rai group (i.e., Khaling, Koyee, Thulung, Sampang, Nachhiring, etc.) and that of the Tibeto-Burman branch of Sino-Tibetan family in general.
- g. The findings of this study may be used for evaluating the empirical adequacy of the assumptions made in language typology as well as linguistic theories.
- h. In addition to the Dumi speech community, it will also raise the level of linguistic consciousness in the speakers of the other minority languages and encourage them to use their mother tongue in all the domains of social life.
- i. This dissertation presents a descriptive grammar of the Dumi from the Makpa area and will have a contribution to the promotion, preservation and standardization of this language.
- j. Since the examples are drawn from natural interlinearized texts, it will be of significance for linguists interested in typological studies especially those interested in other varieties of the Dumi language or other Kirati languages of the Rai group.

Finally, this dissertation presents functional-typological presentation of Makpa Dumi. However, by no means can it be claimed to be a complete study. It can further be reviewed and refined to have a much more intensive understanding of other varieties of this language. Furthermore, for the first time, Makpa Dumi has been sub-classified according to the existing grammatical features of this language. This will certainly help to determine the genetic affiliation of other Kirat speech communities.

1.7 Limitations of the study

In this study, the limitations are of two types: geographical limitations and conceptual limitations. Geographically, it is limited to the Dumi speech community of the Makpa area (i.e., VDC) only, as the Dumi speech communities in the other areas³⁰ speak different Dumi varieties from Makpa. The linguistic data were collected from all the wards (i.e., Dumi villages) except the ward no. 7 (i.e., Rumbula)³¹. Conceptually, this dissertation is a descriptive presentation guided by the functional-typological perspective of the Dumi grammar from Makpa area. In this way, it is a typologically informed and a functionally guided descriptive grammar of this language.

This study has the following limitations:

- a. This study is in fact a description of the structural features of the Dumi language. However, a little attempt has been made to compare the structural features of the dialect with the general features of other Dumi speaking areas mainly incorporated in van Driem (1993).
- b. Fundamentally, this study is limited to the linguistic description of the Dumi language spoken in Makpa area of northern Khotang district in Sagarmatha zone of eastern Nepal. As mentioned in Ethnologue (2012: 45), there seems to be three dialects (i.e., Makpa, Jalapa and Baksila) of the Dumi language. This study especially is based on the Makpa Dumi where retention of the language is healthier than in the other areas.³²
- c. As mentioned earlier, the theoretical framework adopted for the analysis of the Dumi language is Functional-typological Grammar (FTG). Furthermore, an insight model of descriptive linguistics like Generative Phonology will also be used in the analysis of morphophonological processes in this language.
- d. It has employed ‘first language’ i.e., mentalist approach and inductive methodology trying to describe the native speaker-learners’ competence in a descriptive framework (based on Dixon 1980: 97, Ebert 2003, Rai 1985, etc.)

³⁰ They are Jalapa, Baksila, Sapteshwor and Kharmi VDCs in the northern Khotang district.

³¹ Only the Brahmin people are living in ward no. 7, ‘Rumbula’ (also pronounced also as Rumala),

³² The retention in Dumi homeland (i.e. Makpa, Jalapa, Baksila, Kharmi and Sapteshwor) is gradually in decreasing order. The rate of shifting into Nepali from the Makpa area is high and the speakers from a child’s generation are very limited. especially in Jalapa, Baksila, Kharmi and Sapteshwor.

- e. In the same vein, this study presents a contemporary analysis of Dumi language from Makpa area despite of the historical approach.

1.8 Organization of the study

The entire study has been organized into fifteen chapters. In chapter 1, we provide some background on the language and its speakers: the statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, review of the literature, significance of the study, research methodology and limitations of the study. Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical framework: a functional typological perspective employed in the study. In chapter 3, we discuss a brief introduction to the Dumi ethnic group and the language they speak. Chapter 4 begins with the analysis of the sound patterns (i.e., phonology) of the Dumi language as the most important grammatical aspects of the language. In chapter 5, we present the morphophonological alternations attested in this language. Furthermore, chapters six through ten explore the morphological processes of different word classes. Chapter 6 examines the writing system in Dumi. In chapter 7, we present nominal morphology in this language. Chapter 8 presents the adjectives and numerals. Verb morphology in Dumi is explored in chapter 9. Chapter 10 discusses the adverbs and postpositions in the language. In chapter 11, we deal with the simple clauses in this language, whereas we discuss nominalizations in this language in chapter 12. Chapter 13 examines clause combining in this language. In chapter 14, we analyze the discourse in the language. Finally, chapter 15 presents the summary of the major findings and typological implications of the whole study.

Appendix 1 comprises two sections: 1(a) information of the language informants, and 1(b) the inventory of the phonemes in the Dumi language. Similarly, Appendix 2 consists of two sections: 2(a) the lineages and clans in Dumi, and 2(b) the kinship terms in Dumi. The VDC and district-wise Dumi population (recently enumerated in the latest census) and the existing Kirati languages of the Rai group are given in Appendix 3. Appendix 4 presents the verb roots and verb paradigms of different types in past and non-past tense. In Appendix 5, we have included nine short interlinearized Dumi texts as samples. Finally, the references used in this dissertation are listed.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Outline

In this chapter, we deal with the theoretical framework adopted as the guideline for this dissertation. It comprises five sections. Section 2.1 briefly discusses the functional approach to language. In section 2.2, we present the typological grammar (FTG) approach to language. Section 2.3 presents the strength and methodology of the framework. Summarizing this chapter, section 2.4 gives a brief account of the theoretical works that have been followed and consulted during the preparation of this dissertation.

2.1 Functional approach to language

Functionalists consider language as a means of human communication. For them ‘human language is not simply a device for presenting and pointing to interesting objects and events in the world, but it is a set of tools for communicating our experience, a set of tools, whose forms are adapted to their functions and thus can be explained only in terms of those functions’ (DeLancey 2013: 5-6). The basic principle behind functional-typological theory is that the nature of language is most intensely understood by an examination not only of linguistic structures, but also by how those structures are used by speakers in communication (i.e., how structures function in language¹). In this respect, two renowned functionalists, Foley and Van Valin (1984: 7), claim that functionalism in linguistics is a perspective that observes a language as a system of communication and an instrument of verbal interaction among human beings. The functional approach to grammar was developed in the mid-1970s as a model of a grammar alternative to the formal linguistic theories like Bloomfield's structuralism and Chomsky's Generative Grammar.

Cristofaro (2003: 7) notes that the functional theories seek to account for language structure in terms of language function. Givón (2001a: 2) quotes Halliday (1973: 7), who clearly defines the functional approach to language as shown in the figure 2.1.

¹ Structures without function are plainly senseless and functions without structures are downright lame (Michael Halliday, 1973).

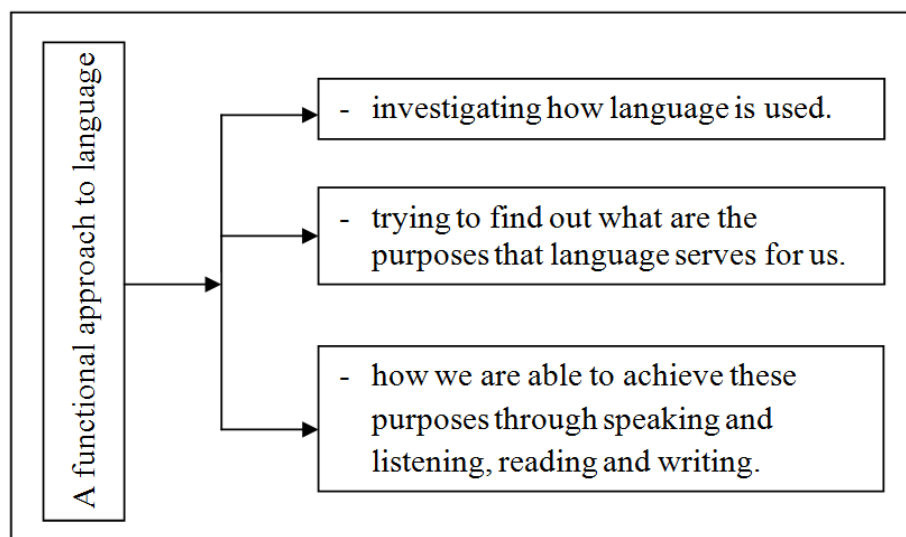


Figure 2.1: The functional approach to language

Halliday (1994: 7) explains that ‘seeking to explain the nature of language in functional terms: seeking whether language itself has been shaped by use, and if so, in what ways, how the form of language has been determined by the function it has evolved to serve’.

2.2 Typological approach to grammar

In this sub-section, we briefly discuss the typological approach to grammar proposed in Givón (1984, 1990). The origin of the functional typological approach can be traced back to the German linguists Friedrich von Schlegel and Wilhelm von Humboldt (Whaley 1997: 18). Consequently, this approach, considered as a theory of grammar, flourished only in the 1970s. It focused on the description and analysis of the structures of language from the discourse pragmatic functions perspective which they perform in communication. The typological approach to cross language grammatical diversity has been historically associated with a functionalist perspective on grammar from von Humboldt down to Greenberg (Givón 2001a: 20). It was further developed in the late 1960s to 1970s as an approach to grammar as an alternative to generative grammar².

Greenberg (1963) has presented the premise that languages can be classified in some other ways. He has studied a variety of syntactic, semantic and morphological characteristics of languages of the world and formed 45 universals. This research

² This theory was promoted by a renowned linguist Noam Chomsky (1965).

reveals all mathematically possible word order combinations across different phrasal categories. He has pointed out that vast majority of languages have several variant orders but a single dominant one. He proposes six possible orders of subject (S), verb (V) and object (O): SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS, OSV and OVS, the last three of which are found to be very rare. This kind of word order typology pre-supposes the viability of categories such as subject, verb, object, noun and adjective as the basic linguistic entities of all natural languages. He argues that any typological analysis requires cross-linguistic comparison of the relationship between linguistic form and external function as a descriptive prerequisite. However, there are a number of methodological problems in this approach.

In general, the study of language universals (i.e., concerned with finding those properties that are common to all human languages) and the study of language typology, (it is necessary that there should be differences among different languages) might seem to be opposite, even in conflict with one another. The contrast can thus be summed up as one between the study of the similarities across languages and the study of the differences among languages. However, there is actually no conflict between the study of language universals and the study of language typology. While carrying out a typological analysis on the same parameter across languages, one finds a certain number of logically possible types, and then classifies each language of the sample according to one or other of these types. On the whole, a typological approach to the study of grammar comprises detailed descriptions of the similarities and differences of the languages of the world, despite their historical background³.

Although there are a great many contributions made by Dick (1978), Greenberg et al. (1978) and Givón (1979) for the development of the functional-typological approach to language, it was Givón (1984, 2001a, 2001b) who combined the typological perspective with the functional approach, and further developed the latest theoretical framework called the functional-typological grammar (i.e., FTG model)⁴. It was further supplemented by Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002), Cristofaro (2003), Bhatt (2004),

³ The detailed descriptions, in turn, contribute to the understanding of the structure and function of human language.

⁴ Halliday (1973: 7) clearly defines the functional approach to language in this way: ‘a functional approach to language means, first of all, investigating how language is used: trying to find out what are the purposes that language serves for us and how we are able to achieve these purposes through speaking and listening, reading and writing.’

Dixon and Aikhenvald (2004), Givón (2009) and a host of other linguists like Shopen (1985, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c) and the World Atlas of Language Structures. It is a collective framework which has gradually been developed over the past few decades.

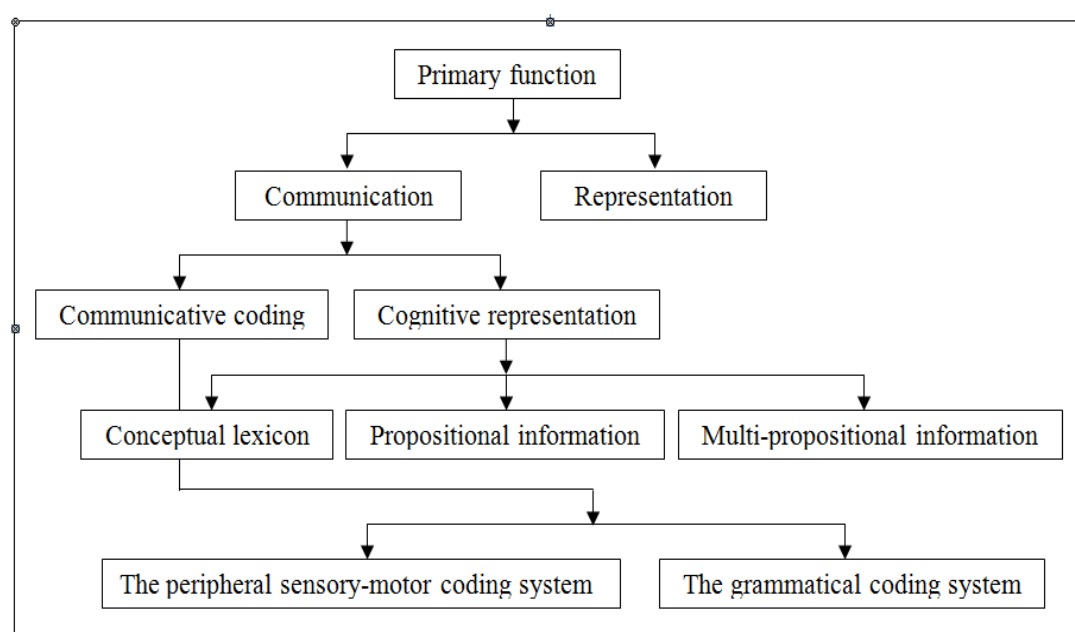
Since the functional-typological grammar approach is a diachronic approach in nature, it attempts to explain the language at the level of language change. Functional factors (or motivations) exert force on linguistic change, encouraging certain changes and discouraging others. Dryer (2006: 213) mentions that functionalists believe that there is sometimes a competition in these motivating factors. Once one motivation wins, then that is the way the language is. A distinguishing feature of the functional typological approach is that certain aspects of language structures depend on language function. Functional-typological research is interested in the correspondence between linguistic structures and functional domains. Since each individual language is unique, the functional typologists argue that the individual morphosyntactic features and the functional domains associated with them may not be similar cross-linguistically. However, all languages apparently have means to encode the same range of functional domains. If cross-linguistic comparison is based on particular functional domains, all languages can be included within the analysis (Cristofaro 2006: 142).

He further explains this approach to language in Givón (2001a, 2001b). According to Givón (2001a: 7), functional typological grammar has its roots in typology and functionalism. So, FTG takes for granted that human languages serve two primary functions: representation and communication of knowledge or experience. He divides the human communication system into two well known sub-systems: the cognitive representation system and the communicative coding system. Furthermore, the cognitive representation system consists of three levels: the conceptual lexicon level, the propositional information level and the multi-propositional discourse level.⁵

The functions of the human languages can be schematized as in the figure 2.2.

⁵ These three linguistic terminologies are also known as meaning, information and function, respectively.

Figure 2.2: The functions of the human languages



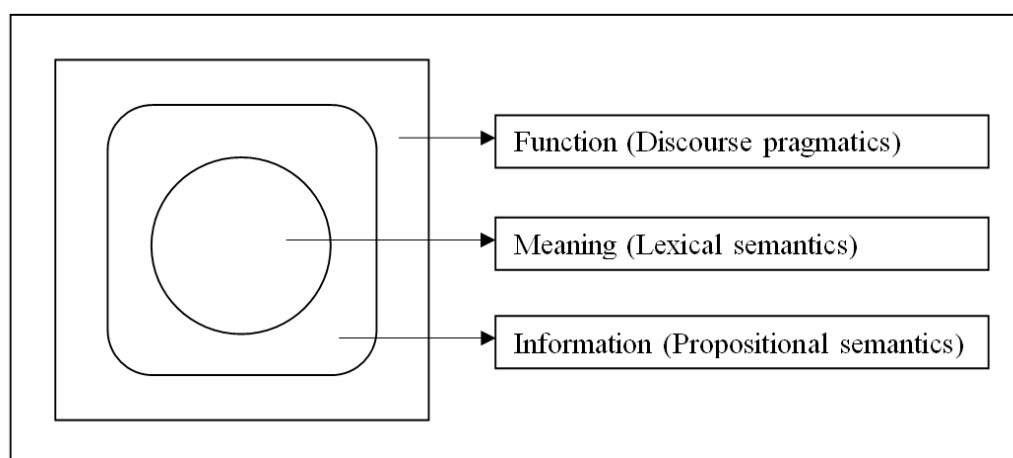
The conceptual lexicon is a repository of relatively time-stable, relatively socially shared, relatively well-coded concepts, taken together, constitutes a cognitive map of our experiential universe (Givón 2001a: 7). Such lexical concepts are the conventionalized types of experiences which are shared by all the members of a particular speech community. These lexical concepts (i.e., words) can be combined into propositional information (i.e., clauses) about states or events in which entities partake. Similarly, the multi-propositional level is the discourse level in which individual state (or event) clauses are combined into coherent discourse.⁶

Givón (1984: 32) notes that there is always an interaction among these three levels of cognitive representation. He further states that words have meaning but carry no information by themselves unless they are embedded within propositions. Propositions carry information once words are plugged into them, but they do not carry any specific discourse function unless embedded within discourse. Finally, only within a specific discourse context do propositions carry discourse function. Conversely, it is impossible to characterize discourse function without reference to propositional-semantic meaning.

⁶ Givón (2001a: 8) claims that human discourse is predominantly multi-propositional (i.e., its coherence transcends the bounds of its component clauses).

The interaction and hierarchic organization of the words (meaning), clause (information) and discourse (function) can be schematized in a concentric fashion as in the figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3: The hierarchic organizations of human cognitive levels



Givón (1984: 33), in consequence, explains that each sentence in discourse context is the joint expression of the propositional semantic information plus at least some discourse-pragmatic function. The functional-typological model of linguistics which describes and analyzes the language was developed by many functional typologists, mainly Givón (1990, 2001) as cited in Regmi (2013: 24-25). This model appears in sharp contrast with transformational generative grammar (TGG) not only in the basic assumptions about language, but also in methodology of linguistic analysis. In the form of a synopsis, the assumptions and methodology of the functional-typological model are discussed below.

2.3 Strength and methodology of the framework

In the functionalist approach, linguistic form is independent of linguistic meaning and it is not a self-continued system. The linguistic system is a system of signs or symbolic units, where form and meaning are related directly to each other. The functionalist model of grammatical organization makes links between form and function central, in particular arguing for constructions as complex units pairing form and meaning (Croft and Cruse 2004: 9-11). Functionalist approaches are more likely to explain grammatical generalizations formed in purely syntactic terms. There are basically two ways in which language function may, or may not, have an intimate

relationship with linguistic form. The first is in the relationship between signifier (form) and signified (function, in the sense of meaning) in the linguistic sign system.

When we talk about function, we are looking beyond the structure of the language. In functional-typological grammar, we ask, 'Is the structure this way because it performs a particular function?' This is the reason that made Givón (1984) find interconnectedness between biology and linguistics (i.e., language can be thought of as an adaptive organism like a biological species, it evolves and it changes according to needs. Since the purpose of a linguistic system involves communication and what is communicated is the meaning denoted by the linguistic form, the meaning of a linguistic form is interpreted as functional. In this regard, the form seems to be the most uniform, stable and abstract (i.e., U-S-A) aspects of language, whereas functional aspects tend to be associated with use.

Givón (2001) adopts both the formal and functional approach to treat grammar and it confidently asserts that structures without functions are meaningless. In other words, a structure becomes senseless without functions, and functions without structures are considered as downright lame. In this approach, we try to investigate how language is used: what are the purposes that languages serve for human beings and how human beings are able to achieve these purposes through speaking, listening, reading and writing and we seek to explain the nature of language in functional terms: if language itself has been shaped by use, and if so in what ways and how the forms of language have been determined by function it has evolved to serve.

The functional-typological approach believes not in competence, but in performance. Grammar emerges and changes, and the form adjusts itself to novel functions and extends meanings only in performance (Givón, 2001). From a functional point of view, there are two primary functions of human language: representation of knowledge and communication of knowledge. Most of the concepts of functional-typological grammar are indeed developed in Givón (1984; 1990; 2001). They have been further reconsolidated in Givón (2010). As in Givón (2001), the human language has two core adaptive functions: representation and communication of information. It clearly shows that there is a combinatorial relation between lexical semantics, propositional information and multi-propositional coherence. Human communication is coded by two devices: sensory-motor (i.e., phonology) and grammar. The former

codes the lexicon, whereas the latter codes both propositional information at the clause level and multi-propositional information at the discourse level. In general, grammar employs four primary coding devices: morphology, intonation, rhythmic and sequential order of words and morphemes.

In Givón (2010), grammar has been redefined as both structure and as adaptive function. In this respect, the adaptive approach has been proposed to describe the structure of language. The newly introduced functional-typological model of grammar has been further supplemented by other linguists, mainly, Noonan (2003), Dryer (2006), Dixon (2010) and DeLancey (2011).

The methodologies adopted by the functional-typological approach to grammar for collecting and analyzing the data (Regmi, 2013: 32) can be summarized as follows:

- a. The FTG defines the domain of grammatical categories functionally and independently of language specific structures.
- b. It defines the diversity of the domain of grammatical categories functionally and independently of language specific structures.
- c. It tries to explain why some forms pair consistently with some functions than with other functions (Regmi 2007: 13).
- d. It explores the new structural types in the language, and
- e. It uses a mixed-type of data-natural texts as well as elicited sentences.

Thus, while preparing the grammar of Dumi, Givón (1984, 2001a, 2001b) was taken as the guideline for the overall theoretical framework. Likewise, other linguists like Shopen (1985, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c), Payne (1997, 2006) and Longacre & Hwang (2012) were taken into consideration for the grammatical description of specific grammatical topics and have been introduced at the beginning of the discussion.

Since Dumi is a Tibeto-Burman language, Grierson (1968a, 1968b, 1968c, 1968d) has been attested to be very supportive of the typological presentation. In addition, the discourse analysis is also based on Givón (1984) and Longacre and Hwang (2012). So far as the features of a grammar are concerned, Weber (2006: 417) expresses his view in this way that a grammar should be corpus based, data driven, theory informed, user

friendly, which is the essence of the functional-typological approach to writing grammar in Dumi.

2.4 Summary

To sum up, functional-typological grammar is characterized by typological, formal and functional perspectives. It is one of the best and popular theoretical frameworks for the grammatical description of a previously unwritten and adequately undescribed language like Dumi. Within this framework, we can describe what the Dumi language is like and provide explanations: why the Dumi language is the way it is. This framework, unlike a formal framework, prefers source of terms to theory specific terminology. In a functional framework, the focus of the explanations is on the fact that grammatical rules do not generate words and phrases in a vacuum. In this framework, we seek explanations in discourse, processing, economy, perception-cognition and iconicity. Generally, morphology is described with a form-to-function orientation and syntax with a function-to-form orientation.

We provide plenty of examples comprising both elicited and text data and compare the structural features of the languages with the common structural features of the whole family. Within this theoretical framework, we analyze the communicative coding systems, both peripheral-sensory codes and grammatical codes evolved to code the three components of human cognitive representation system: conceptual lexicon, propositional information and multi-propositional discourse in the Dumi language. Thus, we analyze the structure (phonology, morphology, syntax and discourse) in the Dumi language at the lexical, clause, sentence and discourse levels in this study.

CHAPTER 3

THE LANGUAGE AND PEOPLE

3.0 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

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.

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

3.1 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:

3.1.1 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*.

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.

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.

3.1.2 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., Makhipa 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 3.1.

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, Muraha, Raichu, Walakpa, Hadi, Khawachu, Walakpu, Jipuchu, Turachu, Satma, Hamruchu, Sarachu, Harasi, Kharubu, Dimmachu and Luppo.

Map 3.1: Dumi residing areas in the map of Nepal



Source: Nepal atlas of language groups (2006)

3.1.3 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.

3.2 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:

3.2.1 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, beens, 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.

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.

3.2.2 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 *rab* *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

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.

due to the number of men that have served as British Gurkha soldiers across the globe. Also, a large number of youths have gone abroad in search of job opportunities.

3.2.3 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 *udhauri puja* 'downward worship') the full moons in the Nepali month Mansir (i.e., November-December) and *d^hirijamlo* 'Baisakhe Purne' (or *ubhauri 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.

3.2.4 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

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.

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’asum*, ‘the lower part’¹⁴.

3.3 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:

3.3.1 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

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.

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.

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).

3.3.2 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

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.

Driem (1993:21), the term *todu* or, *toduse* is only used with respect to the referent as offspring (for detail: Appendix 1:i).

3.3.3 Marriage patterns

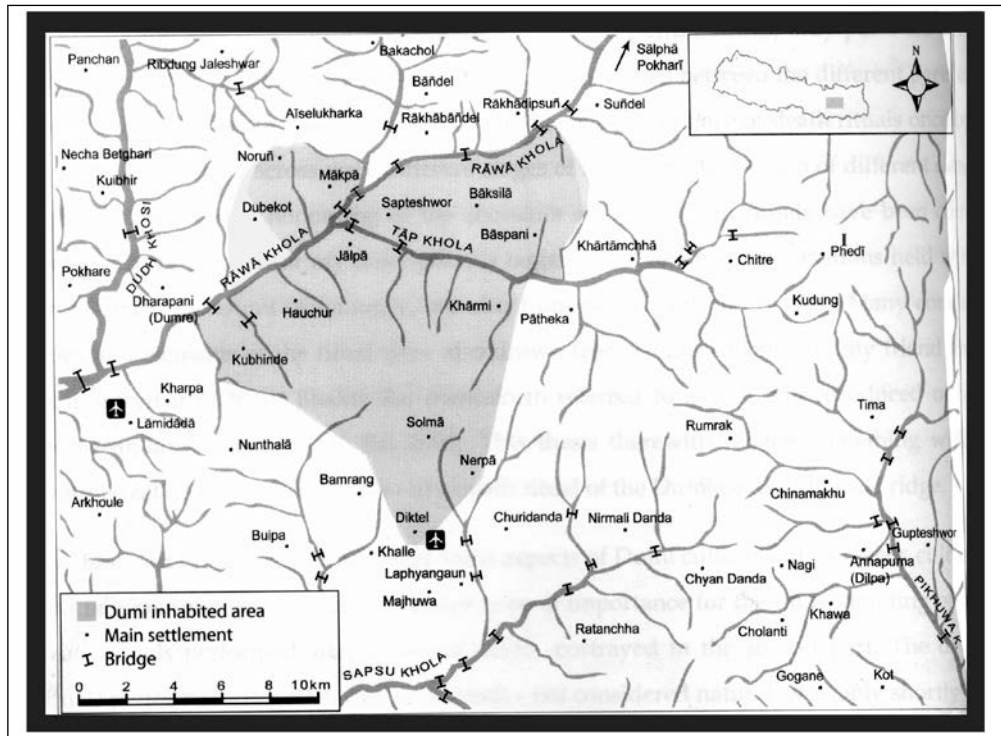
It is clear that the *Samet* ‘lineage’ and *Pachha* ‘clan’ do not have direct semantic overlaps. For this reason, *Pachha* will be used as a default term to refer to kinship groups within the Dumi speech community. In social practices, siblings within the same clan are prohibited from intermarriage. 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).

3.4 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 3.2.

Map 3.2: The Dumi-speaking area in northern Khotang district



Source: Rai and Poudel (1991:ix)

3.5 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’.

3.5.1 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

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).

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 boʻlo*, *dumi bro*) with main three dialects: Eastern (with Sotmali), Western (Makpa), Southern (with Brasmi, nearly extinct) and Koyee (*Koi boʻlo*, *Koyu boʻ?*). 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.

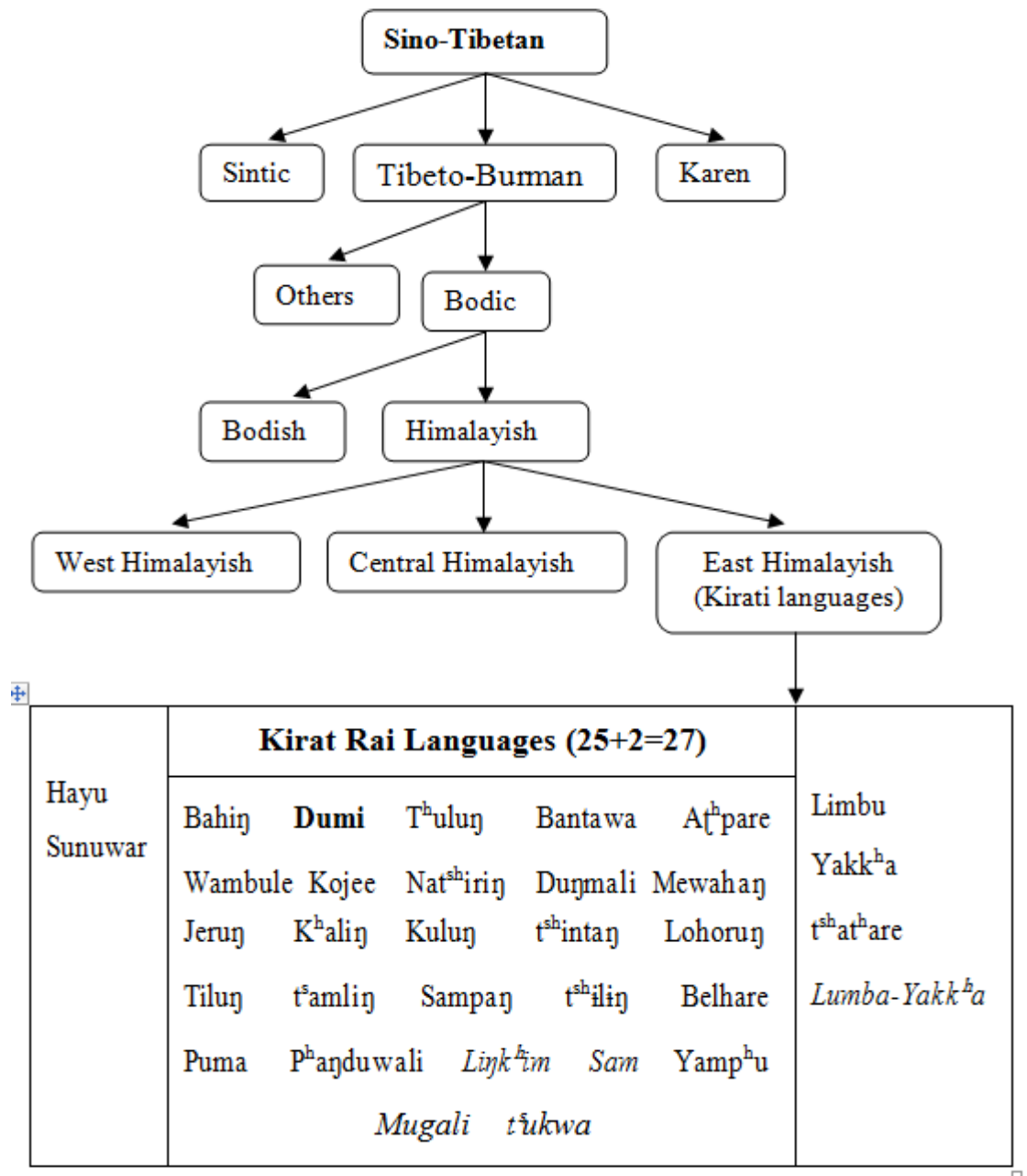
Bradley (2002:18) notes that there is a linguistically close relation among the three Kirati Rai languages, which are spoken in eastern Nepal. Although the genetic classification under the Sino-Tibetan family has been done up to the Eastern Himalayish group, there is not any clear cut genetic classification 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 3.1. We suggest the following classification.

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 3.1: Linguistic affiliation of Dumi



Source: Eppele et al. 2012, LinSuN

3.5.2 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 3.1 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).

3.6 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:

3.6.1 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

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).

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 3.1 presents the population distribution of the Dumi community in their homeland in Khotang district of Sagarmatha zone in eastern Nepal (Map 3.1).

Table 3.1: 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%

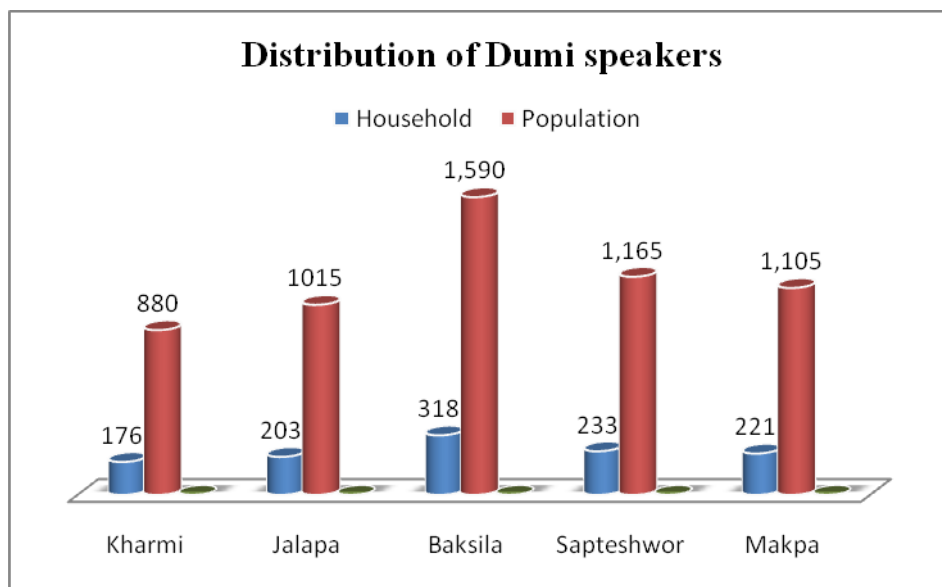
Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Dumi (2014)

Table 3.1 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.

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.

Figure 3.2 shows the population distribution of Dumi speakers²⁶ in their homeland.

Figure 3.2: 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, Patheka, Phedi, Kubhinde²⁷, Baspani, Diktel, Khartamchha, Nerpa, Haunchur, Lamidanda, etc., in Khotang District.

3.6.2 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

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.

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.

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.

3.6.3 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.

3.6.4 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 Lamdiya 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.

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

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.

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.

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 3.2 presents the responses of the participants.

³⁰ In Baksila Dumi, the Dumi word *brΛ* ‘language’ is pronounced as *br* or *Boʔ* 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 3.2: 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 3.2 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.

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

Figure 3.3: Illustration of the existence of multilingualism

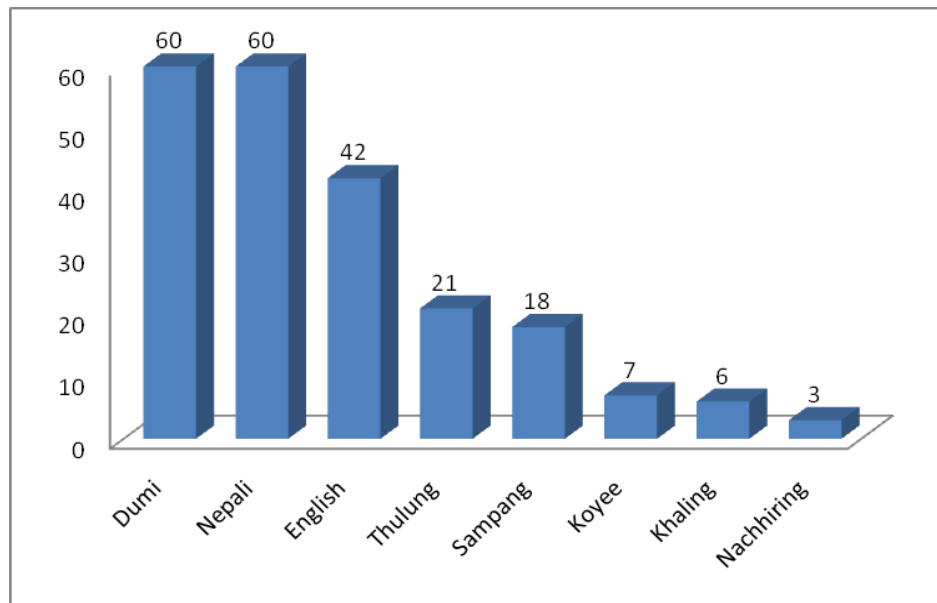


Figure 3.3 shows that majority of the participants speak both the Dumi and Nepali languages while there is a gradually decreasing number of English, Thulung, Sampang, Koyee, Khaling, Nachhiring speakers in the Dumi speech community.³²

3.7 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.

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.

3.7.1 Lexical similarity

Dumi presents different arrays of lexical similarity percentages among the five survey points. Table 3.3 presents the lexical similarity in percentage among the survey points in the Dumi speech community in the northern part of Khotang district.

Table 3.3:

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 3.3 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 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.

3.7.2 Phonetic similarity

Dumi presents different ranges of phonetic similarity percentages among the survey points. Table 3.4 presents the phonetic similarity percentage among the survey points in the Dumi speech community.

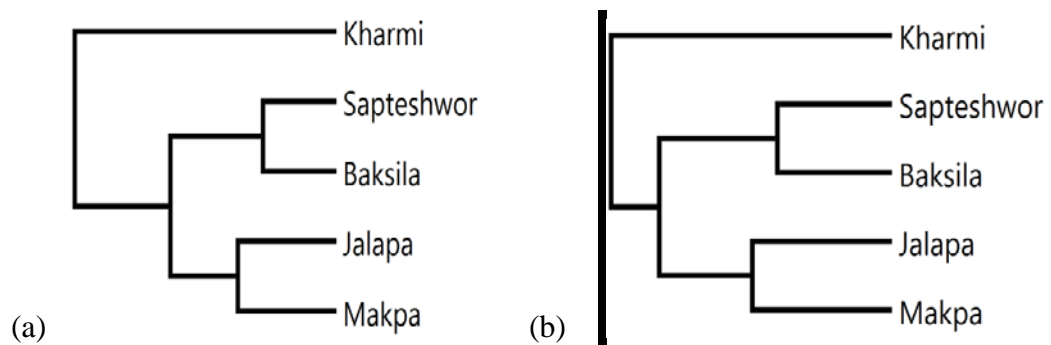
Table 3.4: Phonetic similarity in the five survey points (in percentage)

	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 3.4 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.

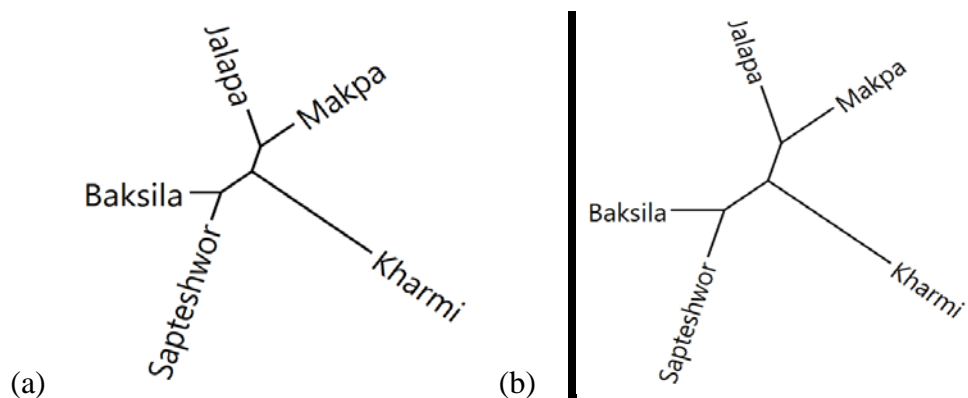
Figure 3.4: Similarities matrix: (a) Lexical, and (b) Phonetic



Figures 3.4 (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 Dumi.

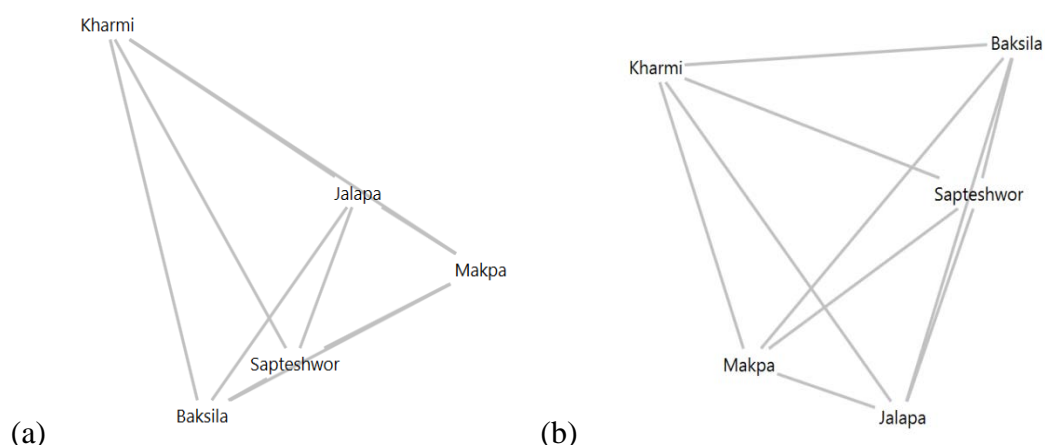
Similarly, the following tree diagram shows the distinct three varieties (Makpa and Jalapa; Sapteshwor and Baksila; and Kharmi) in Dumi.

Figure 3.5: 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 3.5 (a, b).

Figure 3.6: 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 3.6 shows that the Makpa and Jalapa speech varieties of Dumi 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.

3.8 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 4

PHONOLOGY

4.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the phonology of Dumi. It is organized into six sections. Section 4.1 deals with the vowel phonemes and document their acoustic features instrumentally. In section 4.2, we identify the consonant phonemes, their description, distribution and clusters. Section 4.3 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 4.4. Section 4.5 briefly deals with the suprasegmental features: length, stress and intonation. Finally, in section 4.6, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

4.1 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.

4.1.1 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 4.1 presents the inventory of oral monophthongs¹ in Dumi.

Table 4.1: 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:	

Table 4.1 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.

4.1.2 Phonological oppositions in vowels

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

Table 4.2 presents the contrast in terms of the length of these vowels.

¹ 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 4.2: 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:/	/d ^z eta/	‘call him/her’	/d ^z e: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 ʌlʌ/	‘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.	/ɪ/ vs. /ɪ:/	/t ^s ɪ/	‘child’	/t ^s ɪ:/	‘poison’
		/t ^s ɪkta/	‘points out’	/t ^s ɪ:kta/	‘mole’

Table 4.2 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 4.3.

Table 4.3: 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/	/pɪ/	‘ash’	/pʌ/	‘bloom’
e.	/ʌ/ vs. /a/	/kʌ/	‘curry’	/ka/	‘and’
f.	/i/ vs. /a/	/t ^s ɪpna/	‘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 4.3 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 4.4.

Table 4.4: The oppositions 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 4.4 shows the oppositions for the vowels in terms of the frontness of the tongue in Dumi.

4.1.3 Distribution of oral monophthongs

In this sub-section, we present an overview of the positional distribution of the oral vowels in the language. Table 4.5 provides an overview of the positional distribution of the oral monophthongs.

Table 4.5: Distribution of the oral monophthongs

nophthongs	rd initial	rd medial	rd final
i	+	+	+
e	+	+	+
ɨ	+	+	+
ʌ	+	+	+
a	+	+	+
o	+	+	+
u	+	+	+

Table 4.5 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 4.6 presents the examples for the positional distribution of the oral monophthongs.

Table 4.6: Positional distribution of the oral monophthongs

Vowels	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’	/pi/	‘ash’
ʌ	/ʌmri/	‘orchid’	/kaɾ/	‘wound’	/k ^h ʌɾʌ/	‘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 4.6 shows the positional distribution of the oral monophthongs.

4.1.4 Nasalized vowels

There are three distinctive nasal vowels in Dumi. They are: high-front /ĩ/, high-back /ũ/ and low-central /ã/. Table 4.7 presents the inventory of nasalized vowels.

Table 4.7: Inventory of the nasalized vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	ĩ		ũ
Low		ã	

Table 4.7 shows the inventory of the nasalized vowels in Dumi.

Table 4.8 presents the distribution of nasal vowels.

Table 4.8: Distribution of the nasal vowels

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

Table 4.8 shows the distribution of the nasal vowels in Dumi.

Table 4.9 presents the phonological oppositions between the nasal vowels and corresponding oral vowels.

Table 4.9: Phonological opposition

(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 4.9 shows the phonological oppositions between the nasal vowels and corresponding oral vowels.

4.1.5 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’
 /bijã/ ‘interest’
 /bjãsi/ ‘low land’
 /k^hãbo/ ‘pillar’
 /k^hãŋi/ ‘weaving cloth’
 /pijã/ ‘onion’
 /t^sΛĩ/ ‘particle’

4.1.6 Diphthongs

Dumi exhibits only a few diphthongs², all of them are rising ones, gliding from low or mid-low to high positions, front or back. The most frequently used diphthongs³ 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 4.10 and Table 4.11, respectively.

² 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.

³ 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 4.10: Diphthongs in Dumi

iu	ui
ei/eu	oi/ou
	Λi/Λu
ai/au	

Table 4.10 shows the diphthongs in Dumi.

Table 4.11 presents the distribution of diphthongs.

Table 4.11: Distribution of diphthongs

	Initial		medial		Final	
Λi	/Λisina/	‘to return’	/dʷΛisina/	‘to graze’	/mattΛi/	‘only’
Λu	...		/kʰΛusi/	‘cotton’	/bΛkʰΛu/	‘dumb’
ai	...		/taisina/	‘come down’	/makai/	‘maize’
au	...		/bausa/	‘fox’	/sau/	‘black smith’
ei	...		/meisi/	‘buffalo’	/mei/	‘ok’
eu		/tʰeu/	‘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 4.11 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 4.12 displays the vowel patterns in the formation of diphthongs⁴.

Table 4.12: 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’	...	
ʌ → i	ʌi	/ʌisina/	‘to return’	/dʒʌisina/	‘to graze’	/matʌi/	‘only’
a → i	ai	/aisina/	‘to sit’	/ŋaisina/	‘to sit’	...	
e → i	ei	/meisi/	‘buffalo’	/meisi/	‘buffalo’	...	
i → i	ii	/iisu/	‘property’	/diisina/	‘collect’	...	
a → u	au	...		/daulo/	‘hearth’	...	
ʌ → u	ʌu	

Table 4.12 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.

4.1.7 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).

⁴ 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.

- (2)
- a. /i/ /hip/ 'cut (with sickle)'
 - b. /e/ /hep/ 'to hug'
 - c. /a/ /hap/ 'to be entangled'
 - d. /ʌ/ /hʌp/ 'drink'
 - e. /o/ /hop/ 'estimate'
 - f. /u/ /hup/ 'press on'
 - g. /ɪ/ /hɪp/ 'to choke'

Table 4.13 presents the average first and second formant frequencies (i.e., f_1 and f_2) of the seven monophthongal vowels.

Table 4.13: Frequencies of the first two formants of the monophthongs

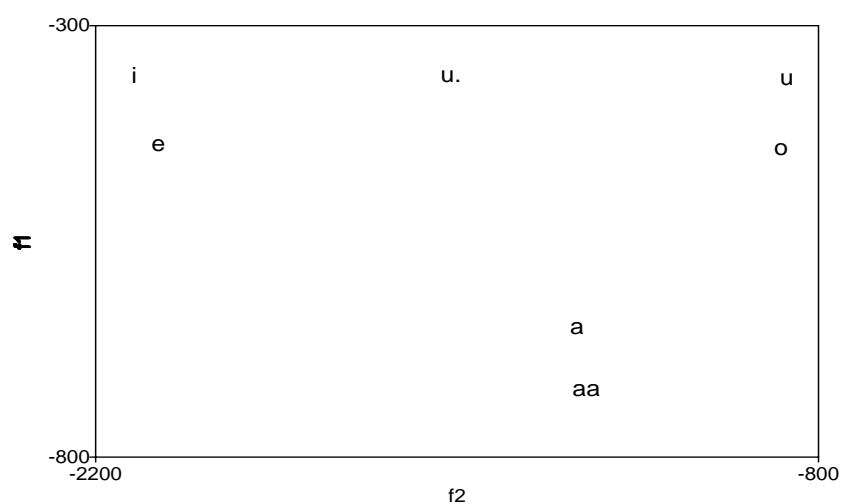
	[i]	[e]	[a]	[ʌ]	[o]	[u]	[ɪ]
f_1 (Hz)	359.77	437.55	721.82	650.39	442.10	361.67	358.52
f_2 (Hz)	2125.79	2078.35	1249.05	1267.22	872.36	863.94	1512.27

Table 4.13 presents the average values of the first and second formants (i.e., f_1 and f_2) of the seven monophthongs.

Figure 4.1 shows the spectrograms of the sounds/formants of the monophthongs.⁵

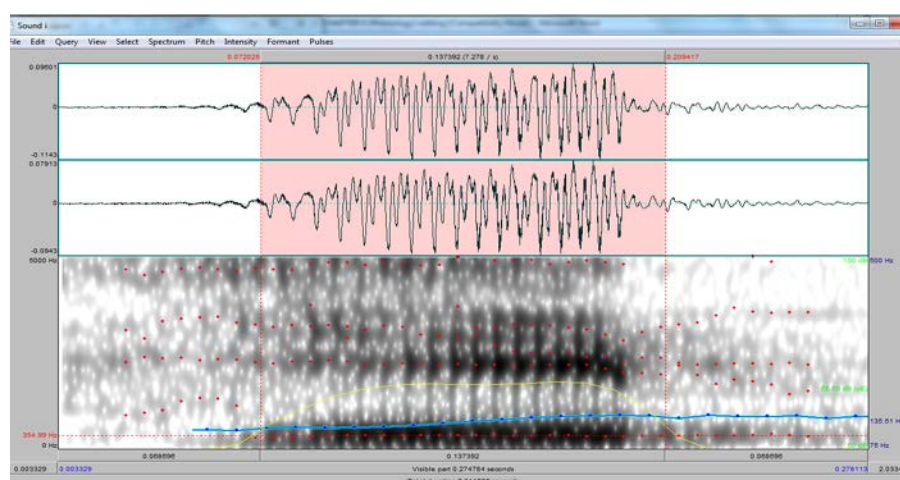
⁵ In the Figure 2.1, there is technically not supported by the IPA symbols. So the two vowels 'ʌ' and 'a' are signified by 'a' and 'aa', respectively.

Figure 4.1: Spectrograms of the sounds/formants of the oral monophthongs⁶



The Figures 4.2 through 4.8 display the spectrograms for each of the sound. The sound analysis was done with the computer software Praat.

Figure 4.2: The spectrogram of the sound [i] in the word *hip* ‘cut’



⁶ The symbols 'u.' and 'aa' (in the Figure 2.1) represent 'i' and 'a', respectively.

Figure 4.3: The spectrogram of the sound [e] in the word *hep* ‘hug’

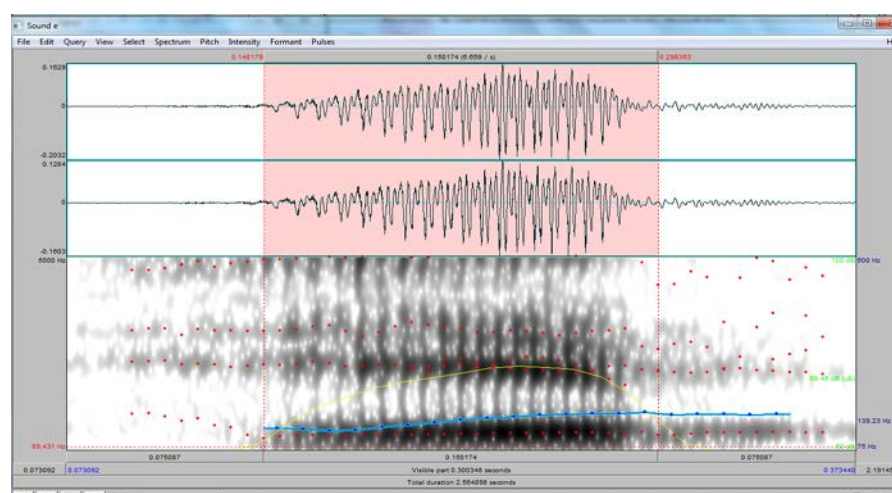


Figure 4.4: The spectrogram of the sound [a] in the word *hap* ‘entangled’

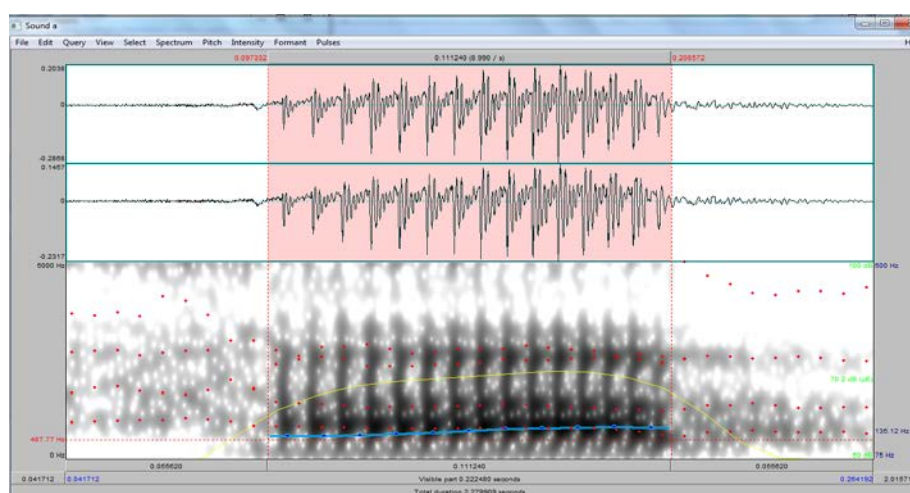
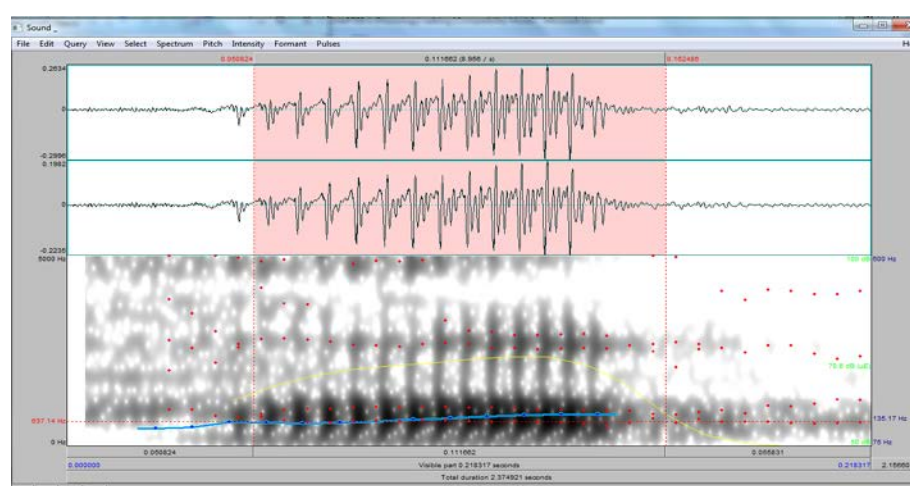


Figure 4.5: The spectrogram of the sound [ʌ] in the word *hap* ‘drink’



4.1.8 Mean duration

In this sub-section, we present the mean duration of the oral monophthongal vowels. Table 4.14 presents the mean duration of all the monophthongs that are found in this language.

Table 4.14: Duration of the monophthongs (6 milliseconds)

monophthongs	get 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
[ɪ]	hip	0.2384

Table 4.14 shows that the mid-front vowel [e] has the longest duration and mid-back vowel [o] has the shortest duration. Figure 4.9 presents the mean durations of individual vowels.

Figure 4.9: Mean durations of monophthongs

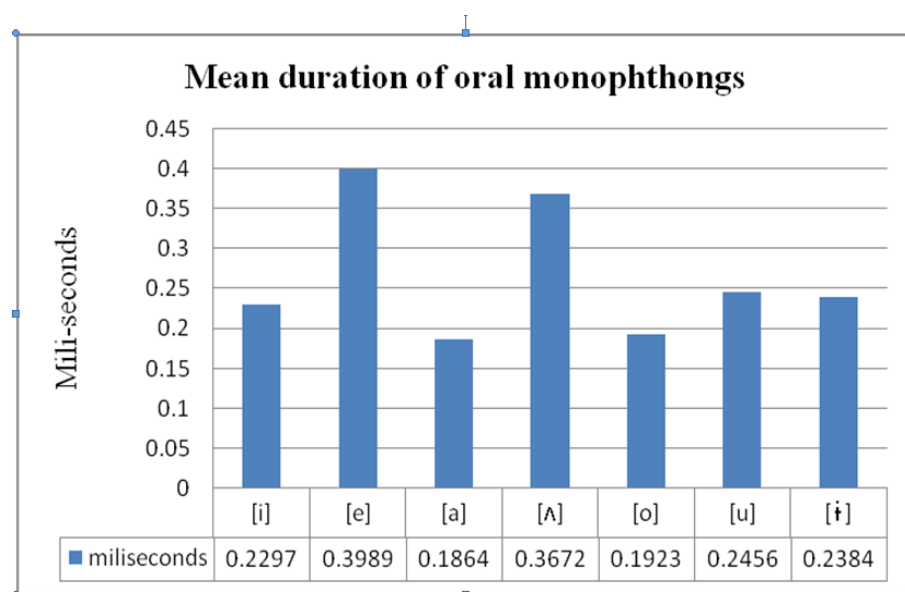


Figure 4.9 shows the mean duration of seven monophthongs. The duration ranges from 0.1823 to 0.3989 milliseconds. This presents, in fact, a little variation between the lengths of the monophthongs. They all are roughly of the same length. The difference between the longest and shortest vowel is only 1/10 of a second, which is the negligible length distinction in deed.

4.2 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.

4.2.1 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 contrasts⁷ 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 consonants⁸ 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)).

⁷ Paudyal (2015:287) notes that South Asian languages show a four way contrasts in stop consonants.

⁸ van Driem (1993:50) includes the series of consonant phonemes /t/, /tʰ/, /d/, /dʰ/ 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 *tʰaŋra* ‘supporting pole’, *kʰaŋi* ‘weaving cloth’, *taka* ‘get bar’.

4.2.2 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).

(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 4.15.

Table 4.15: 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’	/lʌp/	‘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 4.15 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’
	/d/ vs. /d ^h /	/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 4.16.

Table 4.16: 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 4.16 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 4.17.

Table 4.17: Distribution of the velar stops (/k/, /k^h/, /g/, /g^h/)

	Word-initial		Inter-vocalic		Word-final	
/k/	/kΛ/	‘curry’	/tΛki/	‘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 ilΛm/	‘ghee’	/mok ^h o/	‘if’	...	
	/k ^h Λld ^z Λm/	‘goitre’	/mik ^h uma/	‘tear’	...	
/g/	/gu/	‘cloth’	/nigum/	‘blue’	...	
	/gatt ^h a/	‘shed’	/nagu/	‘rainbow’	...	
	/gΛndΛri/	‘neck’	/sago/	‘soul’	...	
/g ^h /	/g ^h em/	‘go around’	
	/g ^h ΛlsΛ/	‘big’	
	/g ^h iru/	‘parrot’	

Table 4.17 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 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 4.18.

Table 4.18: 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 4.18 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) pairs⁹ 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 4.19.

⁹ However, there is no minimal pair for the voiced alveolar unaspirated affricate /d^z/ and the voiced alveolar aspirated affricate /d^{zh}/.

Table 4.19: Distribution of the alveolar affricates¹⁰ (/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 ongel/	‘tender’	/nat ^s ur/	‘jealousy’	...	
/t ^{sh} /	/t ^{sh} i/	‘kernel’	/bit ^{sh} u/	‘knife’	...	
	/t ^{sh} elmu/	‘straw mat’	/at ^{sh} emma/	‘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 4.19 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

¹⁰ 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.

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 4.20.

Table 4.20: 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 4.20 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/ /lΛnna/ ‘to come out’ /rΛnna/ ‘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 4.21.

Table 4.21: Distribution of the lateral /l/ and trill /r/

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

Table 4.21 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 4.22.

Table 4.22: Distribution of the approximants (/w/ and /j/)

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

Table 4.22 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 position¹¹. The minimal (or sub-minimal) pairs of the glottal stop /ʔ/¹² and /ø/ are listed as in (11).

- (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 4.23.

¹¹ 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.

¹² 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.

Table 4.23: 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 4.23 shows that the phonological representation of the glottal stop /ʔ/ occurs only in the word-final position.

4.2.3 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 4.24 provides a summary of their positional distribution.

Table 4.24: 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 4.24 shows the Positional distribution of consonants in Dumi.

Table 4.25 presents the examples for the positional distribution of the consonants in different positions: word-initial, inter-vocalic and word-final.

Table 4.25: Examples of the positional distribution of consonants

	Consonant phonemes	Initial # -		Intervocalic v-v		Final - #	
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’	/glɒdɒ/	‘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 ɒm/	‘millet’	...	
12.	/d ^{zh} /	/d ^{zh} ara/	‘everyone’	/ad ^{zh} oŋka/	‘last year’	...	
13.	/r/	/ribo/	‘rope’	/birɒsi/	‘chilli’	/k ^h ur/	‘hand’
14.	/l/	/lim/	‘seedling’	/k ^h ilɒm/	‘ghee’	/del/	‘village’
15.	/m/	/misma/	‘female’	/sumandu/	‘dark’	/rɒm/	‘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/	/jɒ/	‘back’	/tejo/	‘now’	...	
21.	/w/	/wari/	‘habit’	/kawa/	‘river’	...	
22.	/k/	/kim/	‘house’	/kakal/	‘basket’	/t ^s uk/	‘know’
23.	/k ^h /	/k ^h ilɒm/	‘ghee’	/mok ^h o/	‘if it is’	...	
24.	/g/	/gu/	‘cloth’	/nagu/	‘rainbow’	...	
25.	/g ^h /	/g ^h ɒlsa/	‘big’	
26.	/ʔ/		/biʔ/	‘cow’

Table 4.25 shows the examples of the positional distribution of consonants in Dumi.

From Table 4.25, 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.¹³

4.2.4 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.¹⁴

(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.

¹³ (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.

¹⁴ (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 4.26 presents the word-initial consonant clusters.

Table 4.26: 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 4.26 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 4.27 presents the root-initial consonant clusters.¹⁵

Table 4.27: 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’

¹⁵ 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., *tʃik^hjar-tʃik^hjar* ‘interrupting frequently’, *ljaptjarni* ‘immediately’, *mik^hladʒa* ‘gummy secretions around the eyes’, etc.,. The feature of no consonant cluster in the word-final position agrees with his claim even in Dumi.

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

(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) Geminates 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 4.28 are within a single morpheme, they cross the syllable boundary which is indicated by the dots.

Table 4.28: 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 4.28 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 4.29 presents the word-medial consonant cluster.

Table 4.29: The word-medial consonant cluster (-*kk*-, -*tt*-, -*pp*-)

/-kk-/	/muk.ku/	‘(you+me) did’
	/dʒuk.ku/	‘(s/he+me) ate’
/-tt-/	/kʰʌt.ta/	‘carries’
	/tit.ta/	‘meets’
/-pp-/	/sup.pur/	‘scabies’
	/pop.pou/	‘owl’

Table 4.29 shows the word-medial consonant cluster. However, across the morpheme boundary, the alveolar fricative /s/ can also be geminated as in Table 4.30.

Table 4.30: The word-medial consonant cluster (-*ss*-)

/-ss-/	/dis.so/	‘following’
	/kʰʌs.so/	‘going on’
	/hes.so/	‘filtering’
	/les.so/	‘filtering’

Table 4.30 shows the word-medial consonant cluster in Dumi. Likewise, Table 4.31 presents the word-medial consonant cluster.

Table 4.31: 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-/	/pil.na/	‘to press’
	/pok.su/	‘pork’	/-lt-/	/sul.tu/	‘nacked’
/-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 4.27 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 4.32 presents the consonant cluster with three consonants.

Table 4.32: 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 ljaɲna/	‘to act with teasing’
/krw/	/krwakna/	‘to push into (forcefully)’
/klw/	/klwʌkna/	‘to smear’

Table 4.32 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 4.33 presents the overall patterns of consonant clusters:

Table 4.33: 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 4.34 presents the examples of consonant clusters with glide.

Table 4.34: Examples of consonant clusters with glide

	C₂			
	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 4.34 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)¹⁶. The consonant clusters are discussed as follows:

¹⁶ 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 4.35.

Table 4.35: 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 4.35 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 4.36.

Table 4.36: 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} jaltauri/	‘lengthy’

Table 4.36 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 4.37.

Table 4.37: 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 4.37 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 C₂¹⁷ as in Table 4.38.

Table 4.38: 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 4.38 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 4.39.

¹⁷ However, the alveolar fricative /s/ can combine with the bilabial approximant /w/ too, but the glottal fricative /ɦ/ can not.

Table 4.39: 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 4.39 shows the fricatives combine with the palatal approximant /j/.

(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 4.40.

Table 4.40: 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 4.40 shows the stops combine with the palatal approximant /j/.

4.3 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 (-).

4.3.1 Distinctive features of consonants

Depending upon the Chomsky and Hale (1968), the different distinctive features of consonants are presented in Table 4.41.

Table 4.41: 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 4.41 shows the distinctive features of consonants.

4.3.2 Distinctive features of vowels

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

Table 4.42 presents a summary of the different distinctive features of vowels.

Table 4.42: Distinctive features of vowels

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

Table 4.42 shows the distinctive features of vowels.

4.4 Syllable

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

4.4.1 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 4.43.

Table 4.43: 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 4.43 illustrates the acceptable syllable patterns, consisting of the maximum syllable structure (C₁) (C₂) (G) V (X). Figure 4.10 presents formally the canonical structure of the syllable.

Figure 4.10: The canonical structure of the syllable

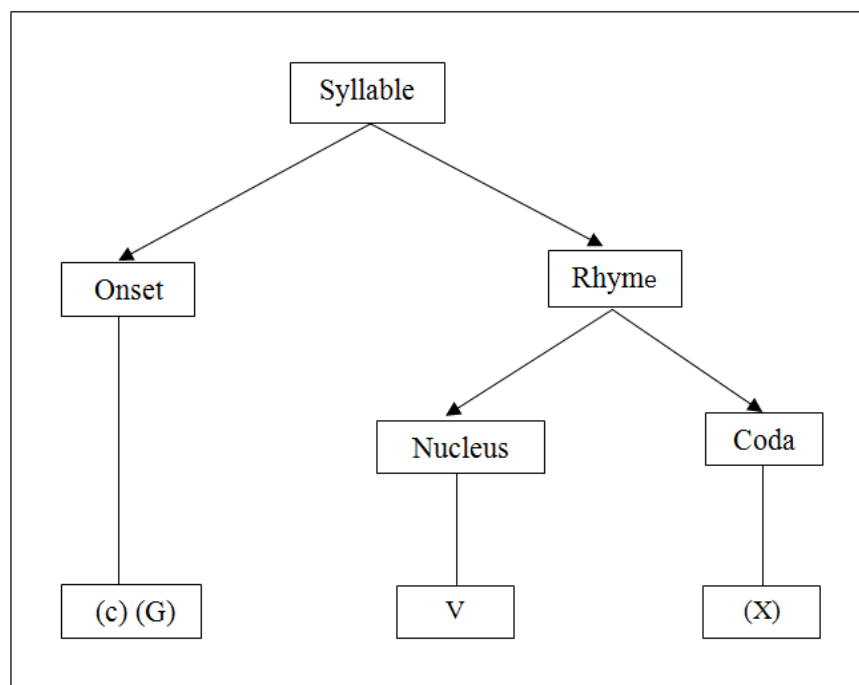
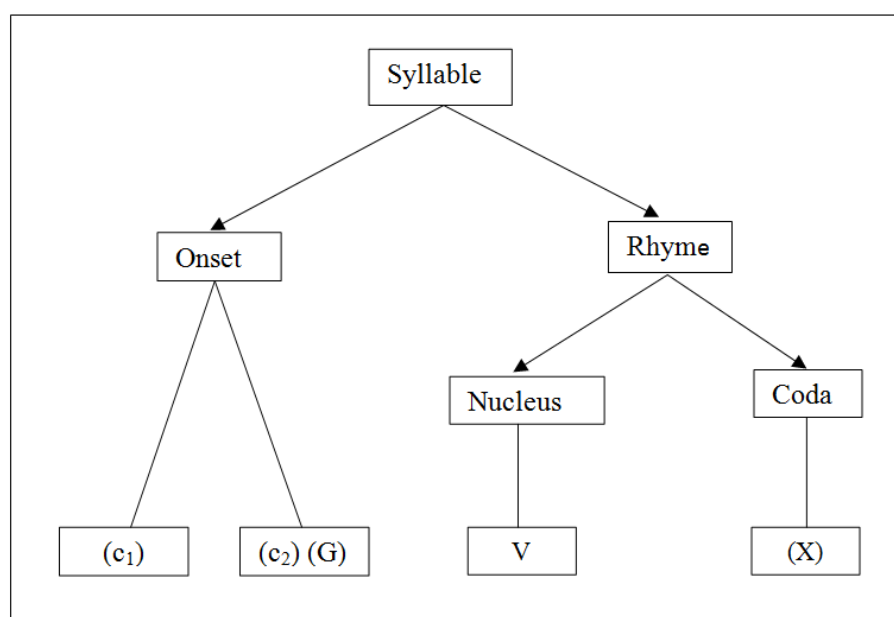


Figure 4.11 shows that the maximum syllable structure consists of (C₁) (C₂) (G) V (X).

Figure 4.11: The maximum canonical structure of the syllable



4.4.2 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 *t^sadu.mi* ‘rich (person)’ is syllabified as *t^sa.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^h.lA* ‘head’, *mis.ma* ‘female’, *p^hur.ku* ‘dust’ are syllabified as *dAk^h.lA*, *mis.ma*, *p^hur.ku* (i.e., CVC.CV).

4.4.3 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 4.44; x is either a vowel or a consonant. Most of the monosyllabic words are heavy syllabic as in Table 4.44.

Table 4.44: Heavy monosyllabic words

a.	CVX	/kim/	‘house’
		/del/	‘village’
		/tim/	‘feel too cold’
		/k ^h ur/	‘hand’
		/k ^h om/	‘place’
		/lɒp/	‘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 4.44 shows the heavy monosyllabic words.

A syllable in which the rhyme consists of only the nucleus is called a light syllable as in Table 4.45.

Table 4.45: 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’
		/dʒa/	‘rice’

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

4.4.4 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 4.46 illustrates the (C) (G) type complex onset.

Table 4.46: 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 4.46 shows the (C) (G) type complex onset.

Similarly, Table 4.47 presents the (C₁) (C₂) (G) type complex onset.

Table 4.47: 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 4.47 shows the complex (C₁) (C₂ (G) type onset.

4.5 Suprasegmental phonemes

In this section, we discuss about the suprasegmental phoneme.¹⁸ The primary suprasegmental features in this language are length, stress and intonation.

4.5.1 Length

There are seven pairs of short vowels with individual length contrast. Table 4.48 presents the minimal pairs with the length of these vowels.

Table 4.48: Contrast in length of the oral vowels

/i/ vs. /i:/	/kina/	‘to quarrel’	/ki:na/	‘to buy’
/e/ vs. /e:/	/d ^z eta/	‘call (him/her)’	/d ^z e: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’
/ɪ/ vs. /i:/	/si/	‘meat’	/si:/	‘mannar’

The minimal pairs in the Table 4.48 show that there is contrast in vowel length. However, the consonants do not contrast in length.

¹⁸ Suprasegmental features are those aspects of speech that involve more than single consonants or vowels. (Ladefoged, 1982:219).

4.5.2 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. /'hinΛm/ 'when'
c. /'duspi/ 'elder'
d. /'dΛk^hlΛ/ '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'nΛmka/ 'yesterday'
b. /hi'tokli/ 'how many'
c. /sam'baki/ 'potato'
d. /bar'boti/ 'sweet yam'
e. /bi'rΛsi/ 'chilli'

4.5.3 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 kʰutʰi* ↓
 pʌbi kʰutʰs-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 khutʰi* ↑
 pabi kʰutʰs-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 kʰutʰi, mono* ↑
 pabi kʰutʰs-i mono
 Pabi go-3SG.PST isn't
 bi went, isn't he?’

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

4.6 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 5

MORPHOPHONOLOGY

5.0 Outline

This chapter is organized into six sections. In section 5.1, we look at various types of segmental morphophonological processes in Dumi. Section 5.2 deals with the processes of coalescence in the language. In section 5.3, we discuss deletion whereas section 5.4 presents the epenthesis in the language. In section 5.5 we deal with some other rules in the language. Finally, section 5.6 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

5.1 Segmental Morphological Processes

In this section, we discuss the various types of segmental morphophonological processes¹, 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:

5.1.1 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.² They are discussed as follows:

¹ Crystal (2003:302) mentions that the term 'morphophonology' is used in the European tradition whereas in the American tradition, it is morphophonemics.

² Symons (1993) notes that epenthesis and deletion are conditioned by the syllable structure, but vowel harmony is conditioned by a larger unit than the syllable.

(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) /k/ → /p/ / ____ /t/

Following are the examples:

(2) a. /suk-tu-lu/ [sup-tu-lu]

three-support-stone

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

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
 /pri:t-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/ [tʌ-ŋ-to]

keep-NPST-1SG

‘(I) keep.’

- c. /tʰen-t-a/ [tʰeŋ-ta]

teach-NPST-1PL.EXCL

‘We (PL.EXCL) teach.’

In examples (6a-c), root final alveolar nasal /n/ in *bin* ‘give’, *tʌn* ‘keep’ and *tʰen* ‘teach’ changes into velar nasal /ŋ/ in *biŋ-t-o* ‘(I) give’, *tʌŋ-t-o* ‘(I) keep’ and *tʰeŋ-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) /p^h/ → /p/ / ____ /t/

It is exemplified in (10).

(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).

$$(13) \quad /g/ \rightarrow /g^h/ \text{ / } ______ /v/$$

Following are the examples:

- (14) a. mam-gob^hal [mam-g^hAl]
 that-around
 ‘towards that side (i.e., over there)’
- b. del-gob^hal [del-g^hAl]
 village-around
 ‘towards the village’
- c. ad^{zh}oŋka-gob^hal [ad^{zh}oŋka-g^hAl]
 last the year-around
 ‘around the last year’

In examples (14a-c), progressive assimilation occurs in *gob^hal* ‘around’ and forms *g^hAl* in *mam-g^hAl* ‘over there’ *del-g^hAl* ‘towards the village’, *ad^{zh}oŋka-g^hAl* ‘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) /k/ → /n/ / ____ /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 *kona* (**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), *mapa* ‘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’.

5.2 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.

5.3 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.

5.3.1 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. | <i>k^hus-na</i> | [k ^h ʌ:-na] | go-INF | ‘to go’ |
| | b. | <i>mus-na</i> | [mo:-na] | finish-INF | ‘to finish’ |
| | c. | <i>brus-na</i> | [brʌ:-na] | scream-INF | ‘to scream’ |
| | d. | <i>k^hʌt-na</i> | [k ^h ʌ:-na] | take-INF | ‘to take’ |
| | e. | <i>d^zʌt-na</i> | [d ^z ʌ:-na] | graze-INF | ‘to graze’ |
| | f. | <i>hʌt-na</i> | [hʌ:-na] | snatch-INF | ‘to snatch’ |

In examples (19a-f), there is syllable final ‘-s’ in *k^hus* ‘go’, *mus* ‘finish’, *brus* ‘scream’, ‘-t’ in *k^hʌt* ‘take’, *d^zʌt* ‘graze’ and *hʌt* ‘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^hΛ:-na* ‘to go’, *mo:-na* ‘to finish’, *brΛ:-na* ‘to scream’, *k^hΛ:-na* ‘to take’, *d^zΛ:-na* ‘to graze’ and *hΛ:-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).

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

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

Following are the examples:

$$(21) \quad \text{a.} \quad /o\text{-}po\text{-}k^h\text{ur}/ \quad [o\text{-}k^h\text{ur}]$$

1SG-GEN-hand

‘my hand’

$$\text{b.} \quad /a\text{-}po\text{-}pepe/ \quad [a\text{-}pepe]$$

2SG-GEN-elder brother

‘your elder brother’

$$\text{c.} \quad /um\text{-}po\text{-}del/ \quad [u\text{-}del]$$

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).

$$(22) \quad /na/ \rightarrow / \emptyset / \text{ ______ } Y$$

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) w → ∅ / ____ #

Following are the examples:

- (25) a. /tuk-kwam/ [tuk-kΛm]

one-mouth

‘a mouthful’

b. /o-rwam/ [o-rΛm]

my-body

‘my body’

c. /mur-swam/ [mur-sΛm]

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) $h \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{___} u$

Following are the examples:

(27) a. /sahu/ [sau]

blacksmith

‘blacksmith’

b. /tohu/ [tou]

‘bamboo basket’

‘bamboo basket’

In example (27a, b), the fricative /h/ in *sahu* ‘blacksmith’ and *tohu* ‘bamboo basket’ 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:

$$(29) \quad \text{a.} \quad /ma-d^zina-k^hika/ \quad [ma-d^zina-jika]$$

NEG-talk-MNR

‘quietly’

$$\text{b.} \quad /ma-dokna-k^hika/ \quad [ma-dokna-jika]$$

NEG-see-MNR

‘unseen’

$$\text{c.} \quad /ma-senna-k^hika/ \quad [ma-senna-jika]$$

NEG-look-MNR

‘carelessly’

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

5.3.2 Vowel deletion

In Dum, perfective marker -i/-u is deleted before the negative suffix -nΛ. This is formulized as: X→∅/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 *-t^si* 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*.

5.4 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

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^hΛja]

that-inside-LOC

‘there inside’

b. tam-go-bi [tam-g^hΛja]

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^hΛja* ‘there inside’ and *tam-g^hΛja* ‘here inside’ with the morphophonological process, the allomorph <*-ja*> is used following the low-mid back vowel /Λ/.

5.6 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 6

WRITING SYSTEM

6.0 Outline

This chapter proposes a writing system for Dumi. This chapter comprises five sections. In section 6.1, we present the rationale on the basis of sociolinguistic reality of the choice of writing for Dumi. Section 6.2 briefly reviews the phonological reality (i.e., phonological system) in Dumi. In section 6.3, we critically examine how far we can accommodate the cardinal numerals in Dumi. Section 6.4 deals with the relevance of writing system that is applied in this language. Finally, in section 6.5, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

6.1 Rationale

This writing system in Dumi has been proposed on the basis of the sociolinguistic reality and the phonological inventory and their analysis discussed in chapter 3.

6.1.1 Sociolinguistic reality

So far as the sociolinguistic reality, Robinson (2003) notes that a proposed writing system should take into account of such reality. Since a writing system is adopted and used by a community of speakers with their particular history, social relations, political context and cultural heritage.

With the series of changes in political situation in Nepal, Dumi ethnic group is, indeed, conscious in their identity and are actively involved in local politics. The community is multilingual in the mother tongue ‘Dumi’ and other languages of Kirati Rai group (i.e., Thulung, Khaling, Nachhiring, Koyee, Sampang, Chamling, etc.) and Nepali as well. In the field of writing system, Dumi is such a minority Kirati language, which is the lesser described and gradually growing towards the writing system. It is widely spoken¹ but not yet used in reading and writing practices till the date. In Dumi, there is inadequate publications (i.e. reading materials) written in the

¹ Among the five VDCs (Kharmi, Jalapa, Baksila, Sapteshwor, Makpa) in Dumi homeland, there is spoken Dumi as mother tongue in almost all the VDCs. However, the retention is comparatively high in Makpa VDC and there is gradual fall in the degree of retention in Jalapa, Baksila, Kharmi and Sapteshwor.

scripts like Devanagari², Roman and IPA. While talking about the documentation of a minority language like Dumi, it signifies the appropriate writing system and so is lacking a standardized writing system including a script and rules for spelling.

In such ground reality, it is not an easy task to propose a writing system using any specific script for this language community. However, there are basically four choices for such language in pre-writing stage: Kirat script³, Roman script, Devanagari script with necessary adaptation. A writing system may not concern only with teaching-learning process, but also the identity of the speech community. Broadly speaking, it is also the possibilities of access to their cultural heritage. So that writing system should be compatible with the social convention of the speech community. Like other minority language groups, together with the preservation, promotion and development of Dumi language, there seem arguments for and against about these choices of appropriate scripts⁴ which are as follows:

- a. In teaching learning process, like others, children from Dumi speech community have to follow Devanagari script and Roman script to learn Nepali and English languages respectively. In this context, it is not an easy task to propose any appropriate writing system in Dumi. In one hand, some Kirat ethnic groups have shown deep interest in using Kirati script. However, this script is not only uncommon to the Dumi speech community, but also not easy to follow and manage time for language preservation using the Kirat script.
- b. Like any other Kirati language groups, the Dumi people show interest in using Kirat script for writing their mother tongue. However, those who have attended the school are basically literate in the contact language Nepali and familiar with Devanagari script. As a result, literate Dumi people feel convenient to use Devanagari script rather than any other script in reading-writing practices.

² Turner (1930: INDEX) mentions 'NAGARI ALPHABET' in place of 'Devanagari alphabet'.

³ Kirat script, also known as Sirijanga script, is widely used in Limbu community. Despite the individual efforts, it is comparatively less practice of this script in Kirat Rai speech communities.

⁴ (a) Robinson (2003) suggest that if a writing system is to be accepted by the community of speakers of a language, decisions must take into account of the social relations within the community and with other communities as well.

(b) In recent tradition of Kirati languages, there have been used three different scripts in daily practice: Kirat (or Sirijanga) script, Kirat Rai Khambu (Kripasalyan) script and Devanagari script.

- c. There is direct influence of other neighbouring Kirati languages and language of wider communication Nepali and English as well. So that many words related to different semantic domains have been heavily borrowed from these languages. So that they are unknowingly habitual with Devanagari script too.
- d. Some languages like Newar and Maithili which retain their own traditional scripts are also motivated to use Devanagari script and the Devanagari script has been proposed and adopted for the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal except a few languages like Limbu and Magar.
- e. Although the Kirat community members are fond of using Kirat script in reading and writing practices, the literate members of ethnic communities, including Dumi, are familiar with the Devanagari characters. As a result, the tendency is towards using the Devanagari rather than the Kirat script.

(a) The Issues of the script

In Nepal, choosing an appropriate script for the less described (i.e., minority) languages is a crucial issue in recent years. So far as the choice of the script for the writing system in any language, Glover (2002) notes that a detailed phonemic analysis and an in-depth study of the dialectal variations of the language are required to suggest a script for the language. There are four alternatives for the choices of the scripts: Kirat, Devanagari Roman and IPA for the unwritten Kirati languages like Dumi. In the present context of Nepal, the Devanagari script may be the easiest choice among them. As a result, the Devanagari script has been adopted for writing Dumi till the date. The Dumi organization ‘Dumi Kirat Rai Fonsikim (DKRF) publishes a series of ‘trilingual Dumi magazine named ‘Isilim’ basically in Devanagari and Roman scripts. The organization has published a ‘Dumi-Nepali-English Dictionary using Devanagari, Roman and IPA scripts. Likewise, there is also a series publication of mother tongue-based Dumi magazine ‘Sulam’ using the Devanagari script.

According to Noonan (2005), there may be other alternative scripts for writing all the unwritten T-B languages of Nepal. However, the Devanagari script can be adopted for the solution of the practical problems in proposing a writing system for unwritten languages of Nepal. While choosing orthography for the Dumi language, there may be a great issue in the new political context in Nepal. Robinson (2003) notes that writing system is not only a linguistic reality, but also a social convention, to be adopted and

practiced by the speech community and the speakers with their particular history, social relations, political context and cultural heritage as well. In this context, we are not motivated to propose the Roman script for Dumi as it is not practically adapted till the date.

So far as choosing the suitable script, the Dumi speakers consider themselves to be Kirat and they show deep interest for using Kirat script⁵. However, they have to use Devanagari and Roman script in daily practices for Nepali and English, respectively. In recent trend, the issue of the orthography has been seriously taken not only as socio-political matter, but also as a symbol of ethnic identity of the speech community. Nonetheless, the Devanagari script seems the appropriate choice for writing the minority languages like Dumi. The possible scripts which can be followed in the writing tradition for the minority languages like Dumi are discussed as follows.

i. Kirat script

The Kirat script was created by a scholar called ‘Sirijanga’⁶. So, someone especially from Limbu ethnic group claim the Kirat script as the Limbu script. However, it is considered as the common script for all the Kirati speech communities and there is gradual increment in day to day practice of this script. This script is practicable even in Dumi writing system except for the glottal stop /ʔ/ and unrounded central high vowel /ɨ/.

The representation of the Kirat script is presented in the Figure 6.1.

⁵ There are two types of Kirat script: Sirijanga and Kirat Rai Khambu script. These are also known as the ‘Sirijanga script’ and ‘Kripasalyan script’, respectively. Sirijanga was from the Limbu community whereas Kripasalyan belongs to Khambu or Rai community. So someone claims that ‘Sirijanga script’ is the Limbu script and ‘Kripasalyan script’ is the Khambu script. However, both the scripts, indeed, are close to each other. The first type of script is used in Nepal whereas the second one is used basically in Sikkim and its adjoining areas.

⁶ The full name was Te-ongsi Sirijunga Xin Thebe from Sikkim. He was the iconic figure for Kirat identity in the 18th century. Schackow (2014:25) claims that he is celebrated as the initiator of an ethnic awakening and as the creator of the Limbu script (legendary accounts state that he found and revived the script). He is widely perceived as a martyr for the Kirati cause, because he was murdered by the Sikkimese Bhutia rulers, allegedly because they perceived his activities as a threat.

Figure 6.1: The representation of the Dumi phonemes in Kirat scrip

Consonants									
𑌕	𑌖	𑌗	𑌘	𑌙	𑌚	𑌛	𑌜	𑌝	𑌞
ka	kha	ga	gha	na	ca	cha	ja	jha	yar
𑌟	𑌠	𑌡	𑌢	𑌣	𑌤	𑌥	𑌦	𑌧	𑌨
ta	tha	da	dha	na	pa	pha	ba	bha	ma
𑌩	𑌪	𑌫	𑌬	𑌭	𑌮	𑌯	𑌰	𑌱	𑌲
Vowel diacritics									
𑌳	𑌴	𑌵	𑌶	𑌷	𑌸	𑌹	𑌺	𑌻	𑌼
a	aa	i	u	ee	ai	oo	au	e	o
𑌽	𑌾	𑌿	𑍀	𑍁	𑍂	𑍃	𑍄	𑍅	𑍆
ka	kaa	ki	ku	kee	kai	koo	kau	ke	ko

ii. Devanagari script⁷

In this section, we first discuss the motivations for the choice of the Devanagari script while writing the Dumi language. Then we critically examine how far it is possible to accommodate the phonological system of the Devanagari script in this language. There are significant difficulties while writing some certain phonemes like the glottal stop /ʔ/ and unrounded central high vowel /i/.

In the purpose of cluster writings, Devanagari alphabets are categorized into four groups: single-lined, parallel-lined, bottom-opened and bottom-closed letters. The single-lined letters are made on the base of single vertical line and the letters geminate in a single vertical line. The parallel-lined letters are also known as the double-lined letters as the letters are composed of two parallel lines. These letters, in course of germination, have replaced the ending vertical line with appendixes letters.

iii. Roman script

Roman script is another easiest alternative to bring into writing system. However, there are some significant hurdles while using the Raman script in Dumi. Like in Devanagari, there are significant difficulties while writing the glottal stop /ʔ/, unrounded central high vowel /i/ and distinguishing some other distinct phonemes like /a/ and /ʌ/.

⁷ Morland-Hughes (1947) expresses the Devanagari as the ‘nagri’ script.

iv. IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet)⁸

IPA is another practical alternative for writing system in Dumi. It would be more accurate with respect to pronunciation but less productive in reading and writing process. Including Dumi, it seems more effective in long term planning for preservation, promotion and development of unwritten languages in Nepal. However, it may be less effective in daily practice of reading and writing process. The representation of the Dumi vowel phonemes in IPA together with their equivalence in Devanagari scripts is presented as in table 6.1:

Table 6.1: The Dumi vowel phonemes in IPA and Devanagari script

IPA	ʌ	a	i	u	ɪ	e	o
Devanagari (देवनागरी)	अ	आ	इ	उ	ड़	ए	ओ

Source: Dumi-Nepali-English Dictionary

6.1.2 Motivations for script choice

There are fundamentally two motivations for the choice of a script for Dumi: the linguistic reality and the social convention, which basically includes the history, social relations, political context and cultural heritage of the Dumi speech community.

We further elaborate these motivations as follows:

- Among the two major difficult aspects of the phonological system of language: Tone and glottal stop, Dumi lacks the tone but there is phonemic glottal stop, which seem not easy to accommodate in both the Devanagari and Kirat script as well.
- The Dumi who can read and write are basically literate in Nepali as the contact language and are certainly habitual in Devanagari script. Thus, it is comparatively easier to follow this script than other scripts for them.
- It is customary to say that many words in different semantic domains have

⁸ The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), which is prescribed by the International Phonetic Association, is acceptable in worldwide.

been heavily borrowed from Nepali and English as well. In practice, they do not pose any difficulty to be written in Devanagari script.

- d. Anyone among the Tibeto-Burman language groups, including Dumi, even marginally literate, are familiar with the Devanagari script and whole the numeral system in Dumi can easily be represented in this script.
- e. Although all the Kirati language groups⁹ show their interest in Kirat script as their ethnic identity and social convention as well, they are motivated to use Devanagari script for convenient. In daily practice, Devanagari script has been proposed and adopted for the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal.¹⁰

From these motivations in present context of Nepal, we can come to the conclusion that Devanagari script is the easiest and reliable way to adopt in Dumi and other individual Kirati languages too. In recent tradition, the very basic thing for the unwritten languages like Dumi is to develop the writing system using the habitual script (i.e., Devanagari) in present context of Nepal.

6.1.3 Orthography

The development of writing system can be considered as one of humanity's greatest intellectual achievements. From both the pictogram and logograms, the graphic representation of language has developed through syllabic writing to the alphabet, which was attained through the creation of a relationship between graphic symbols and sounds. In modern trend, a great deal of writing systems found throughout the modern world, owe their origin directly to the Semitic writing systems of the eastern Mediterranean.

⁹ The prominent Kirati languages can be categorised in to three distinct groups. They are:-

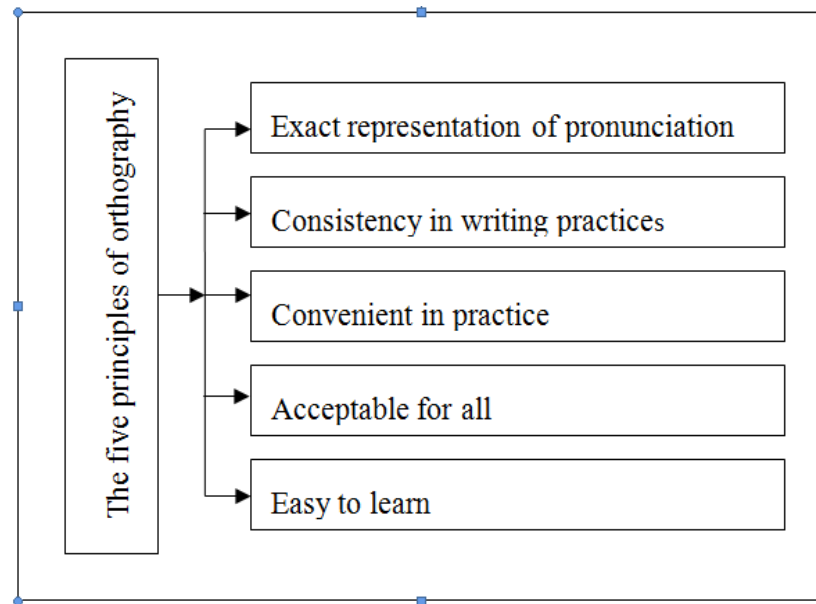
- (a) Rai groups: Athpare, Bahing, Bantawa, Belhare, Chamling, Chhintang, Chiling, Dumi, Dungmali, Jerung, Khaling, Koyee, Kulung, Lingkhim, Lohorung, Mewahang, Nachhiring, Phangduwali, Puma, Sam, Sampang, Thulung, Tilung, Wambule, Yamphu
- (b) Other Kirati groups: Limbu, Yakkha, Sunuwar, and
- (c) Linguistically closed Kirati groups: Hayu and Surel, etc.

¹⁰ (a) However, Wambule and Sampang speech communities have taken the initiation to practice the Kirat script with some modification and addition (especially for implosive sound in Wambule) in 'Kirat script'.

As the idea of writing spread new forms of the symbols were independently invented and sound-symbol correspondences were altered in accordance with language structures.

Basically, there are five principles of orthography, which are shown in the figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2: The five principles of orthography



Practically, Devanagari writing heads rightwards in a horizontal axis that motivates the principles underlying the use of vowel symbols are crucial for reading them. Some vowel symbols for example, ‘u’ and ‘ū’ are used at the bottom; some are indicated by adding a vertical stroke to the right of the principal character, as in ‘ā’ or ‘ī’ (both short & long forms) or ‘o’ or ‘e’ yet others are symbolized by a kind of flag stick in place of the horizontal line at the top of the character.

In the case of pure vowels, both short and long ones, the strokes are unique and they have each an identity of their own. Vowel contrasts such as nasalization of a vowel is indicated by a little moon-shaped symbol (¨) together with a dot (´) called *chandra bindu* (¨ ´) place at the top; the nasalization of a long vowel, a little moon shaped symbol at the top with colon mark. True length of ‘a’ and ‘ā’ and is indicated by a colon mark, which in the Sanskrit language is a symbol for voiceless aspiration (Malla, 2002: ii-iii).

6.2 Phonological reality

In this section, we discuss the phonological reality in Dumi. Basically, a writing system is more linguistic reality than a social convention. A good writing system is expected to represent diverse and fascinating phonological structures of the language.

6.2.1 Consonant phonemes

Dumi comprises 26 consonant phonemes (including the glottal stop /ʔ/) (for detailed: Appendix 1 (b)). They occur in basic, uninflected stems with the phonemic status.

6.2.2 Accommodation

In this sub-section, we first compare the phonological systems which the Devanagari script can easily represent without modifications (or additions) in the basic character set with the Dumi phonological system. We can show how the phonemes in Dumi are represented in the Devanagari script. Finally, we will discuss how the Devanagari script can be adapted for the Dumi phonology. It is obvious that the Devanagari scripts are more preferable than Roman and Kirat script for Dumi. In Dumi, except for the central high vowel /i/, the remaining all the vowel phonemes are not problematic to be accommodated in Devanagari scripts.

In the same vein, the non-breathy consonant phonemes can easily be represented without modification (or addition) in the basic character set in the Devanagari scripts. Noonan (2005) claims the Devanagari script can easily represent many consonantal features, without additions (or modification) and/or reinterpretation. Table 6.2 below presents the consonant phoneme system in Dumi, which can be represented by the Devanagari script without any additions (or modification) and/or reinterpretation of the basic character set.

Table 6.2: Consonant system represented by Devanagari scripts in Dumi

Consonants	Labial	Den-Alv	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Unaspirated stop/affricate	p प	t त	t ^s च	k क	ʔ
Aspirated stop/affricate	p ^h फ	t ^h थ	t ^{sh} छ	k ^h ख	
Voiced stop/affricate	b ब	d द	d ^z ज	g ग	
Breathy/Murmured stop/affricate	b ^h भ	d ^h ध	d ^{zh} झ	g ^h घ	
Voiced nasal stop	m म	n न		ŋ ङ	
Voiced lateral approximant		l ल			
Voiced tap		r र			
Voiceless fricative		s स			
Glottal fricative					h ह
Glide			j य	w व	

Source: Field study in Dumi (2013)

Table 6.2 presents an inventory of consonant phonemes in Dumi in IPA together with their equivalence in Devanagari scripts. It further reveals that there does not appear any problem for non-breathy consonants in Dumi to be represented by the Devanagari scripts.

Table 6.3 below presents the vowel system in Dumi which can be represented by the Devanagari script without any addition (or modification) and/or reinterpretation of the basic character set.

Table 6.3: Vowel system represented by Devanagari scripts

	Front	Central	Back
High	i/i: (इ/ई)	ɨ/ɪ: (ऱ/ऱः)	u/u: (उ/ऊ)
Mid	e/e: (ए/ऐ)		o/o: (ओ/औ)
Low-mid			ʌ/ʌ: (अ/अः)
Low		a/a: (आ/आः)	

Source: Phonemic inventory workshop in Dumi (2007)

Table 6.3 presents an inventory of oral vowels in Dumi in IPA together with their equivalence in Devanagari scripts.

We discuss the way we can represent phonological structures of Dumi in the system of Devanagari as follows:

(a) Non-breathy sounds

The non-breathy sound including voiceless aspirated consonants in Dumi can be represented in the Devanagari script as illustrated in (1).

(1)	a.	p	प्	/po/	पो	‘particle’
	b.	p ^h	फ्	/p ^h u/	फु	‘chicken’
	c.	b	ब्	/bu/	बु	‘tree’
	d.	t	त्	/to:/	तो:	‘loom’
	e.	t ^h	थ्	/t ^h o/	थो	‘year’
	f.	d	द्	/do/	दो	‘hair’
	g.	t ^s	च्	/t ^s u/	चु	‘child’
	h.	t ^{sh}	छ्	/t ^{sh} i/	छी	‘kernel’
	i.	d ^z	ज्	/d ^z a/	जा	‘rice’
	j.	k	क्	/kʌ/	क	‘curry’
	k.	k ^h	ख्	/k ^h i/	खी	‘bile’
	l.	g	ग्	/gu/	गु	‘cloth’
	m.	m	म्	/mi/	मी	‘fire’
	n.	n	न्	/nu/	नु	‘nose’
	o.	ŋ	ङ्	/ŋu/	ङु	‘fish’
	p.	l	ल्	/lu/	लु	‘stone’
	q.	r	र्	/rum/	रुम	‘salt’
	r.	s	स्	/su:/	सु:	‘firewood’
	s.	h	ह्	/hi/	ही	‘blood’
	t.	j	य्	/jum/	युम	‘anger’
	u.	w	व्	/wa:ri/	वा:री	‘habit’
	v.	ʔ	बीʔ	/biʔ/	बीʔ	‘cow’

The examples (1a-v) show the consonant phoneme system (except glottal stop /ʔ/) in Dumi, which can be represented without any additions, or modification and/or reinterpretation of the basic character set in Devanagari script.

(b) Breathy sounds

In Dumi, breathy sound is a property of the syllable. They can be accommodated quite well in the Devanagari script. The syllable initial consonant can be written as in (2).

(2) a.	b ^h	भ	/b ^h u/	/भु/	‘front’
			/b ^h iso/	/भीसो/	‘how’
b.	d ^h	ध	/d ^h amro/	/धाम्रो/	‘cliff’
			/d ^h una/	/धुना/	‘dig’
c.	d ^{zh}	झ	/d ^{zh} ara/	झारा	‘everyone’
			/d ^{zh} umsina/	झुम्सीना	‘get hurt’
d.	g ^h	घ	/g ^h AlsΛ/	/घल्स/	‘large’
			/g ^h iru/	/घीरु/	‘parrot’

Examples (2a-d) show that vowels in Dumi can be represented in Devanagari script as well.

(c) Consonant clusters

Dumi makes use of special allograph which is often required for consonant clusters, often for the first consonant, sometimes for the second as well. These special allographs are referred to as combining forms. In Dumi, where the consonant has no combining vowel there has been used the punctuation stroke referred to as *halanta* (्).

The consonant clusters with the palatal approximant /j/ in Devanagari script can be represented as in (3).

(3)	a.	pj	प्य्	<i>pjakna</i>	प्याक्ना	‘to plait’
	b.	p ^h j	फ्य्	<i>p^hjakna</i>	फ्याक्ना	‘to slap’
	c.	bj	ब्य्	<i>bjarna</i>	ब्यार्ना	‘to fly’
	d.	tj	त्य्	<i>tjalna</i>	त्याल्ना	‘to pull up’
	e.	t ^h j	थ्य्	<i>t^hjalna</i>	थ्याल्ना	‘to peel out’
	f.	dj	द्य्	<i>d^hjakna</i>	द्याक्ना	‘to wipe out’
	g.	t ^s j	च्य्	<i>t^sjarna</i>	च्यार्ना	‘to urinate’
	h.	t ^{sh} j	छ्य्	<i>t^{sh}jalmu</i>	छ्याल्मु	‘bamboo mat’
	i.	d ^{zh}	झ्य्	<i>d^{zh}jarna</i>	झ्यार्ना	‘to hate’
	j.	rj	र्य्	<i>rjapna</i>	र्याप्ना	‘to stand up’
	k.	lj	ल्य्	<i>ljakna</i>	ल्याक्ना	‘to lick’
	l.	nj	न्य्	<i>njarna</i>	न्यार्ना	‘to finish’
	m.	ɲj	इय्	<i>ɲjaldun</i>	इयाल्दुङ	‘baby’
	n.	sj	स्य्	<i>sjar</i>	स्यार	‘louse’
	o.	hj	ह्य्	<i>hjakna</i>	ह्याक्ना	‘to sieve’
	p.	kj	क्य्	<i>kjakna</i>	क्याक्ना	‘to shell’
	q.	k ^h j	ख्य्	<i>k^hjakna</i>	ख्याक्ना	‘to hang’
	r.	gj	ग्य्	<i>gjakna</i>	ग्याक्ना	‘to burst’

Examples (3a-r) show that vowels in Dumi, which can be represented in Devanagari script as well.

The consonant clusters with the labial approximant /w/ in Devanagari script can be represented as in (4).

- (4) a. pw प्व *pwatel* प्वातेल ‘yard’
 b. p^hw फ्व *p^hwakna* फ्वाक्ना ‘to separate’
 c. bw ब्व *bwakna* ब्वाक्ना ‘to include’
 d. tw त्व *twana* त्वाना ‘to feed’
 e. t^hw थ्व *t^hwakna* थ्वाक्ना ‘to strike’
 f. t^sw च्व *t^swakna* च्वाक्ना ‘to imprison’
 g. t^{sh}w छ्व *t^{sh}wakna* छ्वाक्ना ‘to pour water’
 h. d^{zh}w झ्व *d^{zh}wakna* झ्वाक्ना ‘to strike’
 i. rw र्व *rwaa* र्वाआ ‘round worm’
 j. lw ल्व *lwakna* ल्वाक्ना ‘to put over’
 k. nw न्व *nwakna* न्वाक्ना ‘to stroke in the neck’
 l. sw स्व *swakna* स्वाक्ना ‘to sift’
 m. kj क्व *kwakna* क्वाक्ना ‘to dig’
 n. gw ग्व *gwala* ग्वाला ‘look after’

Examples (4a-n) show that vowels in Dumi can be represented in Devanagari script as well.

6.2.3 The vowel phonemes

Dumi has seven basic vowels with length contrast for each of them. A chart with the vowel inventory is provided in table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Overview of Dumi vowel phonemes

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

Table 6.4 presents the phonological reality in Dumi.

We discuss some important phonological realities as follows:

(a) Oral vowels

The oral monophthongal vowels in Dumi can easily be accommodated in Devanagari script as illustrated in (5).

(5)	a.	i	इ	/sina/	सीना	‘bear fruit’
				/kina/	कीना	‘quarrel’
		i:	इ:	/si:na/	सी:ना	‘give up’
				/ki:na/	की:ना	‘purchase’
b.	e	ए		/d ^z ena/	बोलनु	‘to peak’
				/rena/	रेना	‘to laugh’
	e:	ए:		/d ^z e:na/	बोलाउनु	‘to call’
				/re:na/	रे:ना	‘to sharpen’
c.	ʌ	अ		/k ^h ʌlʌ/	खल	‘wild yam’
				/sʌta/	सता	‘(you) reduce’
	ʌ:	अ:		/k ^h ʌ:lʌ/	ख:ल	‘whole’
				/sʌ:ta/	स:ता	‘unripe’
d.	a	आ		/k ^h ana/	खाना	‘to be bitter’
				/ana/	आना	‘you’
	a:	आ:		/k ^h a:na/	खा:ना	‘grievance’
				/a:na/	आ:ना	‘to say’
e.	o	ओ		/to/	तो	‘this’
				/do/	दो	‘let’s go’
	o:	ओ:		/to:/	तो:	‘loom’
				/do:/	दो:	‘hair’
f.	u	उ		/t ^s u/	चु	‘child’
				/t ^s uri/	चुरी	‘became sour’
	u:	उ:		/t ^s u:/	चु:	‘grandfather’
				/t ^s u:ri/	चु:री	‘paid’
g.	i	उ		/t ^s i/	च	‘baby’
				/lit ^s i/	लच	‘(We) told’
	i:	उ:		/ti:/	च:	‘poison’
				/li:t ^s i/	ल:च	‘bamboo basket’

The examples (5a-g) show that vowels in Dumi can be represented in Devanagari script as well.

(b) Nasalized vowels

Like the oral vowels, the nasal vowels in Dumi can be represented in Devanagari script as well. The vowel nasalization is indicated by means of a diacritic, a little moon shaped symbol *chandra bindu* (◌̃) at the top as illustrated in (6).

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| (6) | a. | /b ^h ĩka/ | /भीँका/ | ‘why’ |
| | b. | /b ^h ĩsoka/ | /भीँसोका/ | ‘how’ |
| | c. | /bjãsi/ | /ब्याँसी/ | ‘paddy field’ |
| | d. | /p ^h ũ:li/ | /फुँ:ली/ | ‘cave’ |
| | e. | /aũli/ | /आउँली/ | ‘finger’ |

The examples (6a-e) show that vowel nasalization in Dumi is indicated by means of a diacritic (◌̃) in Devanagari script.

(c) Diphthongs

In Dumi, diphthongs can also be represented in Devanagari script as in (7).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|------|-----------------------|---------|--------------------|
| (7) | a. | /ʌi/ | /tʌisina/ | तइसीना | ‘to keep for self’ |
| | b. | /ʌu/ | /k ^h ʌusi/ | खउसी | ‘cotton’ |
| | c. | /ai/ | /taisina/ | ताइसीना | ‘come down’ |
| | d. | /au/ | /bausa/ | बाउसा | ‘fox’ |
| | e. | /ei/ | /meisi/ | मेइसी | ‘buffalo’ |
| | f. | /eu/ | /waseu/ | वासेउ | ‘fern’ |
| | g. | /oi/ | /doisi/ | दोइसी | ‘appeared’ |
| | h. | /ou/ | /tou/ | तोउ | ‘bamboo basket’ |
| | i. | /ui/ | /muisina/ | मुइसीना | ‘to wear’ |
| | j. | /iu/ | /liulima/ | लीउलीमा | ‘earthquake’ |

The examples (7a-j) show the diphthongs in Dumi, which can be represented in Devanagari script as well.

6.2.4 Phonological realities

There are some important phonological realities like breathiness, voiceless glottal stop, vowel length, central high unrounded vowel, etc.

(a) Glottal stop

In Dumi, a voiceless glottal stop poses a problem in the consistent representation in a writing system. Like in Limbu, Bantawa, Koyee and Khaling, there is distinctive glottal stop, which is phonemically represented as /ʔ/.

The glottal stop is indicated by means of the IPA symbol as in (8).

- (8) a. /meʔe/ मेʔ ‘wife’
b. /poʔo/ पोʔ ‘pig’
c. /biʔi/ बीʔ ‘cow’
d. /piʔi/ पʔ ‘ash’

The examples (8a-d) present the glottal stop in Dumi, which can be represented with the help of IPA symbol /ʔ/ as well.

(b) Vowel length

In Dumi, vowel length is another problem to represent in the orthography.¹¹ Dumi shows a phonemic distinction between short and long vowels. For consistent writing in this language, the Dumi organization ‘DKRF’ has made the convention to represent the vowel length by the colon mark (:) as illustrated in (9).

¹¹ Since there is the length contrast in the whole set (i.e., seven) of vowel phonemes [/i/, /e/, /ɨ/, /u/, /o/, /ʌ/ and /a/], which are not practicable without additional diacritics while representing in the Devanagari script.

(9)	i	इ	/kina/	कीना	‘quarrel’
a.	i:	इः	/ki:na/	कीःना	‘purchase’
	e	ए	/d ^z ena/	जेना	‘to peak’
b.	e:	एः	/d ^z e:na/	जेःना	‘to call’
	ʌ	अ	/k ^h ʌlʌ/	खल	‘wild yam’
c.	ʌ:	अः	/k ^h ʌ:lʌ/	खःल	‘whole’
	a	आ	/k ^h ana/	खाना	‘to be bitter’
d.	a:	आः	/k ^h a:na/	खाःना	‘grievance’
	o	ओ	/to/	तो	‘this’
e.	o:	ओः	/to:/	तोः	‘loom’
	u	उ	/t ^s u/	चु	‘child’
f.	u:	उः	/t ^s u:/	चुः	‘grandfather’
	ɪ	ड़	/si/	स	‘meat’
g.	ɪ:	ड़ः	/si:/	सः	‘firewood’

In the examples (9a-g), the representation of each vowel and its length contrast together with the illustrations in Devanagari script in Dumi.

(c) Tones

In Dumi, tones are generally not realized as the distinct feature in usual pronunciation. So, it is not considered as the major aspects of the phonological system in this language.

6.3 Cardinal numerals

In Dumi, the cardinal numerals can easily be represented in the Devanagari script as illustrated in (10).

(10)	a.	si	सुन्ना	‘zero’	0	०
	b.	tuk	एक	‘one’	1	१
	c.	sak	दुई	‘two’	2	२
	d.	suk	तीन	‘three’	3	३
	e.	buk	चार	‘four’	4	४
	f.	nek	पाँच	‘five’	5	५
	g.	rek	छ	‘six’	6	६
	h.	sek	सात	‘seven’	7	७
	i.	uk	आठ	‘eight’	8	८
	j.	nuk	नौ	‘nine’	9	९
	k.	tuksi	दश	‘ten’	10	१०
	l.	tuktu	एघार	‘eleven’	11	११
	m.	tuksa	बाह	‘twelve’	12	१२
	n.	tuksu	तेह	‘thirteen’	13	१३
	o.	tukbu	चौध	‘fourteen’	14	१४
	p.	tukne	पन्ध्र	‘fifteen’	15	१५
	q.	tukre	सोह	‘sixteen’	16	१६
	r.	tukse	सत्र	‘seventeen’	17	१७
	s.	tuku	अठार	‘eighteen’	18	१८
	t.	tuknu	उन्नाइस	‘nineteen’	19	१९
	u.	saksi	बीस	‘twenty’	20	२०
	v.	suksi	तीस	‘thirty’	30	३०
	w.	neksi	पचास	‘fifty’	50	५०
	x.	sim	सय	‘hundred’	100	१००

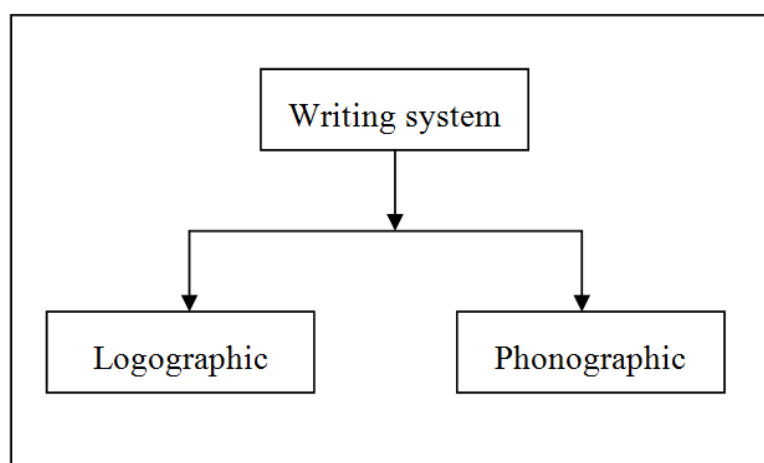
The examples (10a-x) show the cardinal numerals in Dumi, which can be represented in Devanagari script as well.

6.4 Relevance of writing system

So far as the ethnic identity concerned, the mother tongue together with the script is considered as major distinguishing factors in the marginal speech community. In fact, no writing system can be suggested (or prescribed) without the full consent of speech community in the social context. Moreover, the writing system, proposed basically on linguistic analysis of the language must be field-tested to discover how adequate it is for acceptance, how easy it is to read and write and what kind of problems may emerge.

The theoretical aspects of writing systems presented here are grounded in a fundamental observation. The development of the writing system is presented in figure 6.3.

Figure 6.3: Development of the writing system



It is the fact that if the writing system (i.e., orthography) is to be used in the education, it is up to the speech community whose orthography is to be developed. With a little practice, some difficulties like glottal stop /ʔ/, unrounded central high vowel /ɨ/ and vowel length (:) can be learnt easily to accommodate in Devanagari script. The ‘DKRF’ has already practiced such symbols and characters with the consent of the Dumi speech community while publishing the Dumi-Nepali-English Dictionary.

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, we proposed a writing system in Dumi. In the beginning, we looked at the sociolinguistic reality of the Dumi speech community. While considering this reality, it appears that there are four choices for writing: Devanagari, Roman, IPA and Kirat script. The Kirat script could be a practical means for writing system in Dumi. However, only a limited number of Dumi are literate in this script. Another alternative is the Roman script for writing system in this language. Despite the fact that it may be easy to follow, but it is not practically adapted to any Kirati languages under T-B language groups in Nepal. Similarly, IPA could be another trustworthy alternative, but is not common for all Dumi speakers yet. In this background, the most viable option is the Devanagari script basically on the basis of analysis of the language which has been proposed and adopted for most of the languages of Nepal.

So far as the linguistic reality in Dumi, some typical phonemes like glottal stop /ʔ/, unrounded central high vowel /ɨ/ and the vowel length (:) may pose the problem. However, these sounds can be easily accommodated in Devanagari script in two ways: to write them in conjunct form and to write them with a subscript. Apart from this, Devanagari script is easy to follow for those who are literate in Nepali. In recent trend in Nepal, language right is not only urgent issue, but also one of the demands of the indigenous nationalities (i.e., speech communities) and so as the script. It is a universally accepted fact that only the education can ensure development and social inclusion, which is the fundamental requirement for the national integration.

CHAPTER 7

NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

7.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the nominal morphology¹. It is organized into four sections. Section 7.1 discusses the morphological properties of the nouns. In section 7.2, we look at the syntactic properties of the nouns. Section 7.3 deals with the pronominal morphology in the language. Finally, in section 7.4, we sum up the findings of the chapter.

7.1 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’², *lamdid^hza* ‘Baksila’, *kadel* ‘the village

¹ 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.

² A Dumi village situated in Jalapa VDC ward no. 9 in the southern part of Rawakhola valley, in northern Khotang district.

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^{hi}um g_Λ*

saulo-bi dum-po minu-a
jungle-LOC meet-GEN man-ERG

ani-lai a-brus-t^{hi}um g_Λ
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^z_Λ*

o-po t^{sh}aru mismat^su ipd^z_Λ
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 ŋu* ‘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 *ŋimunta* ‘(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.

7.1.1 Gender

Besides the biological gender, there is not grammatical gender.³ 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*⁴.

(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*⁵ as listed in (3).

(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}it^{sh}im</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)

³ 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.

⁴ In some relational words, inanimate words and imperfective deverbalized words, the suffixes *<-pa/-ba, or, -pu/-bu>* and *<-ma/-mu>* are used for the male and female, respectively in Dumi.

⁵ 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’.

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}it^him* ‘aunt’, *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. | <i>ɲind^zurukpa</i> | <i>ɲind^zurukma</i> |
| | | ɲin-d ^z uruk-pa | ɲin-d ^z uruk-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
 in sakela dance’ ‘female-dance-leader
 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-Ø* *sahu-me*
 blacksmith-MASC blacksmith-FEM
 ‘male blacksmith’ ‘female blacksmith’
- b. *dΛmΛ-Ø* *dΛmΛ-me*
 tailor-MASC tailor-FEM
 ‘male tailor’ ‘female tailor’
- c. *swala-Ø* *swala-me*
 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 form⁶. There are some words which are considered as the common gender as listed in (7).

- (7)
- a. *tʰwara* ‘goat’ (male/female)
 - b. *deltʰu* ‘villagers’ (male/female)
 - c. *wa* ‘younger’ (brother/sister)
 - d. *pulam* ‘guest’ (male/female)
 - e. *kʰi:tʰi* ‘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. *papa* ‘father’ *mama* ‘mother’
 - b. *etepa* ‘father's elder brother’ *etema* ‘mother's elder sister’
 - c. *lasba* ‘male’ *misma* ‘female’
 - d. *tʰatpu* ‘father-in-law’ *tʰatmu* ‘mother-in-law’
 - e. *pʰopo* ‘paternal uncle’ *tʰitʰim* ‘maternal aunt’
 - f. *dumbu* ‘husband’ *me* ‘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).

⁶ 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. *bAlAt^hηma* ‘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.

7.1.2 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*⁷, 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^ʃu* ‘basket’ *lut^ʃu-nu* ‘basket-DU’ *lut^ʃu-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’

⁷ In Baksila Dumi, plural number in nouns is indicated by the suffix *-mɛl*, e.g. *dusu-mɛl* ‘friends’ (van Driem, 1993:61).

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. *dʒa* ‘rice’ *dʒa-mu* ‘rice and like that’
 b. *kʰo* ‘utensil’ *kʰo-mu* ‘utensil and like that’
 c. *rʌ:ru* ‘seed’ *rʌ:ru-mu* ‘seed and like that’
 d. *bostu* ‘cattle’ *bostu-mu* ‘cattle and like that’
 e. *sodʒa* ‘money’ *sodʒa-mu* ‘money and like that’

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

7.1.3 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^{ʔa}* ‘two rupees coin’

Examples (13a-e) show that the classifiers⁸ *-li*, *-pu*, *-halam*, *-bo*, *-p^{he}*, represent, respectively, the count noun, human, chant a pile of solid things and round things.

7.1.4 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).

⁸ van Driem (1993) lacks the discussion about the classifiers in his description of the Dumi language.

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^hu-ø t^sApt-i
 3SG-ERG letter-ABS write-3SG.PST
 ‘He wrote a letter.’
- b. *uma dʒa k^hipti*
 um-a dʒa-ø k^hipt-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’, *dʒa* ‘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).

(15) **Intransitive clause**

- a. *t^su:t^su ŋuk^hu*
 t^su:t^su-ø ŋuk^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^hu*
 dog- \emptyset huk^h-u
 dog bark-3SG.PST
 ‘The dog barked.’

In examples (15a-c), the subjects of intransitive clause *t^hu:t^hu* ‘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 7.1.

Table 7.1: Case inflections and their relational functions

Case inflections	Relational functions	Label (gloss)
-a	Ergative/Instrumental	ERG/INST
-lai	Dative/Benefactive	DAT/BEN
-po	Genitive	GEN
-kajo	Comitative	COM
-la	Ablative	ABL
o-/a-/u-	Possessive	POSS
-bi	Locative	LOC
-hu	Allative	ALL
-gobi	Inessive	INES
-la/-lam	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 d^ʒa k^hipti*

um-a	d ^ʒ a	k ^h ipt-i
3SG-ERG	rice	cook-3SG.PST
‘She cooked rice.’		

b. *uma dudu h_Λpti*

um-a	dudu	h _Λ pt-i
3SG-ERG	milk	drink-3SG.PST
‘He drank milk.’		

(ii) Non-past tense

a. *uma d^ʒa k^hipta*

um-a	d ^ʒ a	k ^h ipt-a
3SG-ERG	rice	cook-3SG.NPST
‘She cooks/will cook rice.’		

b. *uma dudu h_Λpta*

um-a	dudu	h _Λ pt-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

‘Nayem cleaned the house with a broom.’

- b. *pΛbia pΛndia su: t^su:m-u*

pΛbi-a pΛndi-a su: t^su:m-u

Pabi-ERG axe-INST wood chop-3SG.PST

‘Pabi chopped the firewood with an axe.’

- c. *ninama bit^{sh}ua ηΛΛ kripti*

ninam-a bit^{sh}u-a ηΛΛ 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), *pΛndia* ‘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^sobi mota*

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^sobi* ‘on the roof’ in (18a), *saulobi* ‘in the jungle’ in (18b), *kimbi* ‘in the house’ in (18c), *lamdubi* ‘on the way’ in (18d), marks

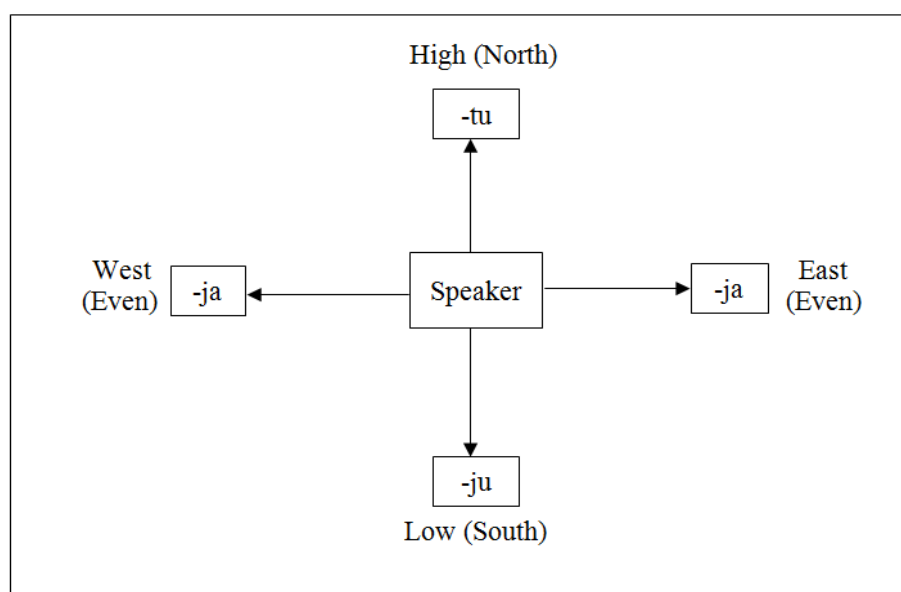
exclusively the locative case. Like Bantawa (Rai, 1985:69), Dumi has locative markers in accordance with the direction as in the Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: 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 7.2 can be explained with the help of the following Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1: 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)

- a. *kim-tu* ‘at home (above)’
- b. *toja-tu* ‘on the Himalayas (above)’
- c. *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 otʰulai sodʰa bi*

um-a o-tʰu-lai sodʰa 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 *otʰu* ‘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*⁹. 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 jʌmdi*

pabi-a u-ru-lai jʌmd-i
 pabi-ERG 3SG.POSS-helper-DAT beat-3SG.PST
 ‘Pabi beat his helper.’

⁹ 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.

b. *k^hlibaa kArtuppalai saulobi sidi*

k^hliba-a kArtuppa-lai saulo-bi sid-i
 dog-ERG jackle-DAT jungle-LOC kill-3SG.PST
 ‘The dog killed a jackle in the jungle.’

c. *ninama aηulai aduk^ho*

ninam-a aηu-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), *aηu* ‘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 gAt^hηu*

d^hamro-bi sisila-po jΛ gΛ-t^hη-u
 cliff-LOC swallow-GEN nest exist-HAB-PST
 ‘There was a swallow’s nest on the cliff.’

b. *mAjo ηa sisilapo t^su mit^si*

mAjo ηa 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 mam-po 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*¹⁰ marks the ablative case as illustrated in (27).

(27) a. *d^hamrolaka dapdΛu t^hiju*

d^hamro-laka dapdΛu t^hi-(j)u

cliff-ABL ox fall down-3SG.PST

‘The ox fell down from the cliff.’

b. *aŋu norolamka 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 sod^ʔa lokk^hu hudi*

*um-a pipi-lamka sod^ʔa lokk^hu hud (*t)-i*

3SG-ERG grandma-ABL money borrow bring-3SG.PST

‘She borrowed money from her grandmother.’

¹⁰ The ablative *lamka* and *laka* are interchangeable and no restriction for using both terms to refer to the source or via (or through).

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 sod^za maŋgu*

um-kajo tejo sod^za 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 daulohu 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 suls-i*
 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 kɒŋkugobi t^{sh}jamsti*
 ŋu kɒŋku-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), *kɒŋku-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^hut^s-a maja-la ma-k^hut^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^hAm-la tambi a-pi-(j)u*

ani k^hAm-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^hAm-la* ‘which way-through’ in (31b), is used to mark the path case. Sometimes, the inflection *-la* is alternatively *-lam*.

In the sections (7.1.1-7.1.4), 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.

7.2 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 reksa bit^{sh}u*

o-po rek-sa bit^{sh}u

1SG-GEN sharp-NMLZ knife

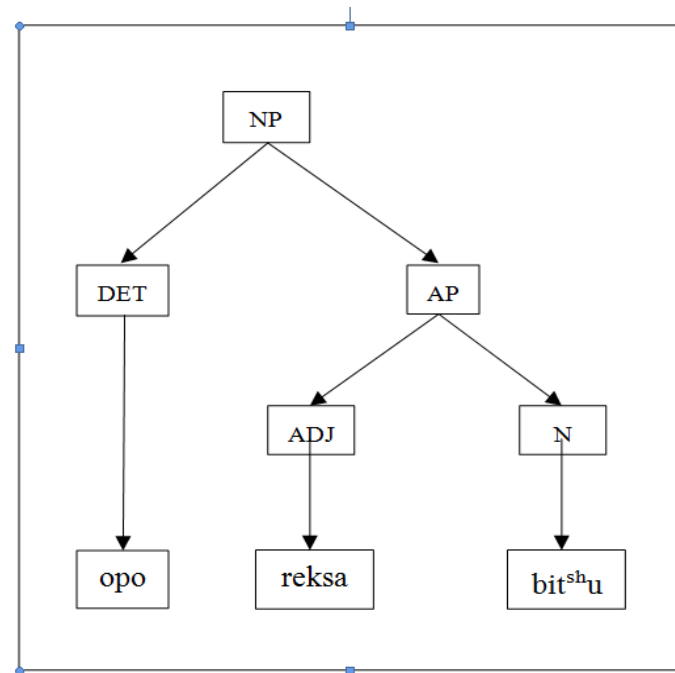
‘my sharp knife’

- b. *umpo huksa 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^{sh}u* ‘knife’ in (32a), which has been modified by two attributes: *opo* ‘my’ and *reksa* ‘sharp’. Similarly, the head of the noun phrase *k^hliba* ‘dog’ in (32b), which has been modified by two attributes: *umpo* ‘his/her’ and *huksa* ‘barking’.

The syntactic structure of the noun phrases in (32a) can be presented as in Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2: 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^hAtlΛ 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 pitʰi sodʒa bi*

pabi-a najam-lai pitʰi 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 rʌ:ru tʰuŋ-u*

ninam-a kakal-bi rʌ:ru tʰuŋ-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.

7.2.1 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>ɳu</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>jelAk^hom</i>	‘Kathmandu’
	<i>ba:ba^rim</i>	‘sun shadow’	<i>kArtuppa</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’, *ɳu* ‘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^su</i>	‘child’	<i>po(k)t^su</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>tun</i>	‘drink’	+ <i>sa</i>	<i>kΛŋku tunsa</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’
 tʰadu ‘wealth’ *tʰadu-mi* ‘a person who has enough wealth’
 hʌʌ ‘happiness’ *hʌʌ-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. *glɪ* ‘warm’ *glɪ-glɪja* ‘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).

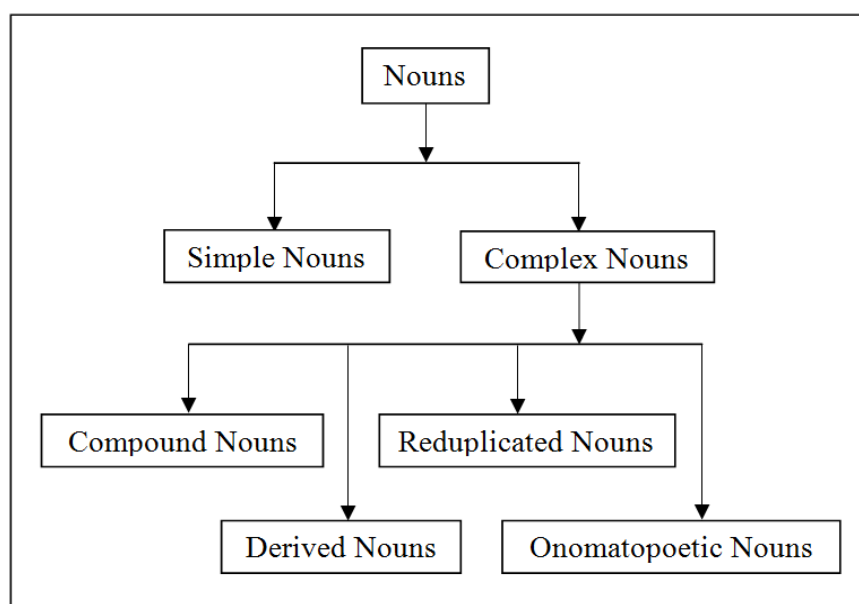
iv. Onomatopoeic

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

- (42) a. *d^hiriri* ‘shouting loudly’
 b. *suk-suk* ‘weeping with voice controlled’
 c. *t^ʃlakto* ‘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 7.3.

Figure 7.3: The classification of the nouns



7.3 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.

7.3.1 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 7.3 presents the personal pronouns in terms of number, person and inclusion vs. exclusion.

Table 7.3: Personal pronouns

	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
1st person	<i>aŋu</i>	<i>int̚ʃ</i>	<i>unt̚ʃu</i>	<i>iŋki</i>	<i>uŋku</i>
2nd person	<i>ani</i>	<i>ant̚ʃ</i>		<i>animu</i>	
3rd person	<i>um</i>	<i>unt̚ʃ</i>		<i>unimu</i>	

Table 7.3 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^hut^so

aŋu del k^hut^s-o

1SG village go-1SG.PST

‘I went to the village.’

- b. First person dual (inclusive)

int^si del k^hut^si

int^si del k^hut^s-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^hakki

iŋki del k^hak-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^hakku

uŋku del k^hak-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^sɿ

um del k^hut^s-i

1SG village go-3SG.PST

‘S/he went to the village.’

- j. Third person dual

unt^sɿ del k^hut^sɿ

unt^sɿ del k^hut^s-i

3DU village go-3DU.PST

‘They (DU) went to the village.’

- k. Third person plural

unimu del hamk^hut^sɿ

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^sia silpu lup^hi

int^si-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)

in^hkia silpu lApki

in^hki-a silpu lAp-k-i

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

‘We (PL.INCL) caught a bird.’

- e. First person plural (exclusive)

un^hkua silpu lApku

un^hku-a silpu lAp-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^sia 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 7.4 presents the pronominal paradigms in terms of case role.

Table 7.4: Pronominal paradigms

Pronoun			ERG/INS	DAT/BEN	GEN	COM	ABL	LOC	ALL	INES	PATH
1.		SG	aŋu-a	aŋu-lai	o-po	aŋu-kajo	aŋu-laka	aŋu-bi	aŋu-hu	aŋu-gobi	aŋu-la
	INCL.	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 7.4 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.

7.3.2 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 7.5 presents a paradigm of the demonstrative pronouns with their different scope.

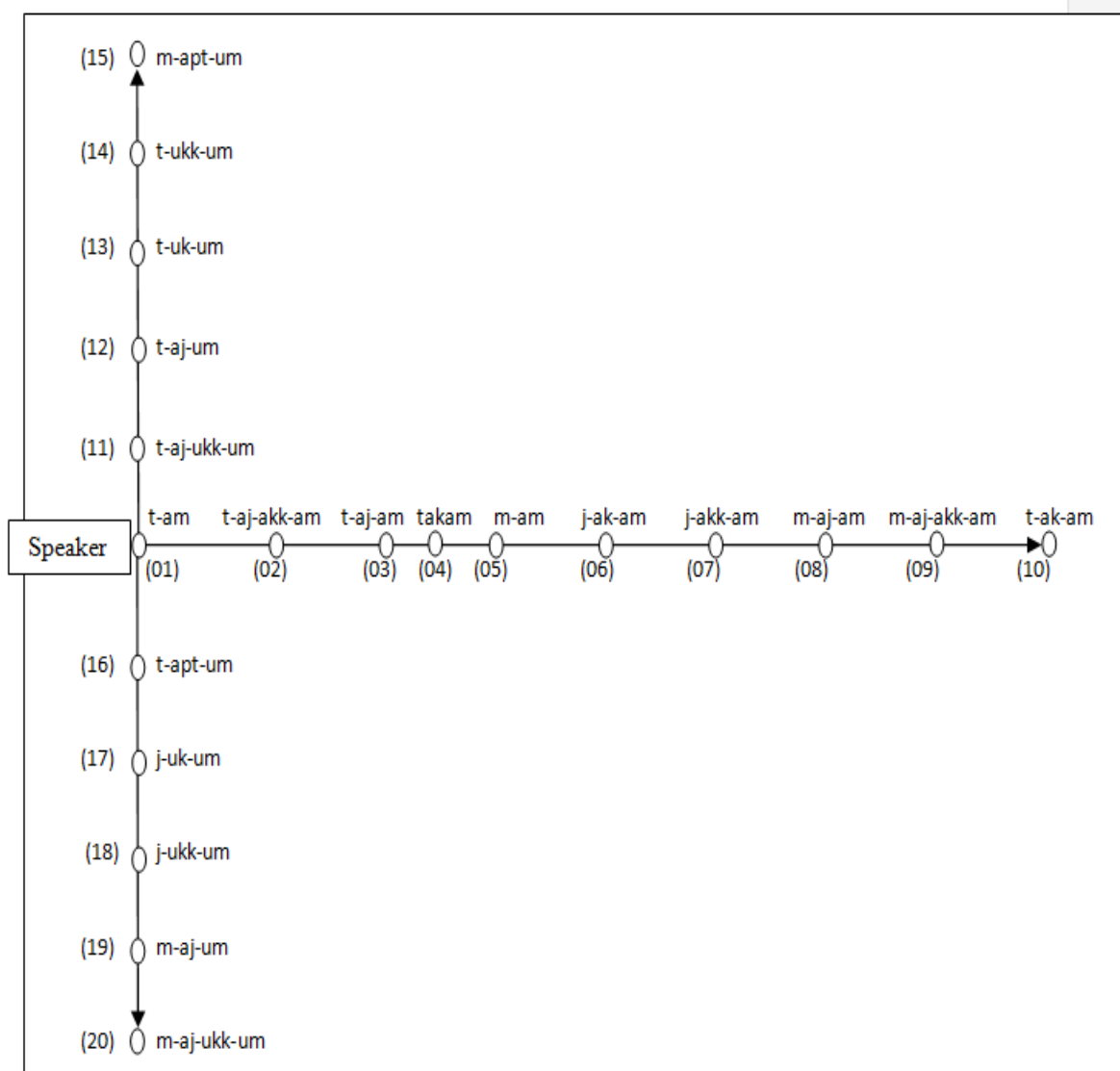
Table 7.5: The paradigms of demonstrative pronouns

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 7.5 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 7.4.

Figure 7.4: The dimensional demonstrative pronouns¹¹



The information from the Figure 7.4 can be presented as in the Table 7.6.

¹¹ In Dumi, the vertical and horizontal dimensional morphemes are *-um* and *-am*, respectively.

Table 7.6: 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 7.7 presents a paradigm of interrogative pronouns¹² with their different scope.

¹² The interrogative pronouns *asi* and *k^hamu* are pronounce as *abo* and *hempa*, respectively, in Baksila Dumi (van Driem 1993:86).

Table 7.7: 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 7.8

Table 7.8: Different interrogative pronouns in Makpa and Baksila

	Interrogative	Makpa	Baksila
a.	who	<i>asi/asu</i>	<i>abo</i>
b.	what	<i>mo</i>	<i>mwo:</i>
c.	when	<i>hijo</i> (PST); <i>hinΛm</i> (NPST)	<i>hina</i>
d.	why	<i>mihika</i> (PST); <i>mona</i> (NPST)	<i>mΛkΛ</i>
e.	how	<i>b'iso</i>	<i>mΛhinΛ</i>
f.	which	<i>hem</i>	<i>hempo</i>
g.	what kind	<i>mihim</i>	<i>mΛhem</i>
h.	where	<i>k^hΛmu</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 *hinΛm* ‘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 *mΛkΛ* ‘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 7.9 presents the reflexive pronouns in terms of number, person and inclusion vs. exclusion.

Table 7.9: Reflexive pronouns in Dumi

	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
1st person	ohopu	int ^s ihopu	unt ^s uhopu	iŋkihopu	uŋkuhopu
2nd person	ahopu	ant ^s ihopu		annihopu	
3rd person	uhopu	unt ^s ihopu		unnihopu	

Table 7.9 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^hlAmutasi*

pe kajo wa p^hlA-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 jAmmutani*

t^su:t^su-mu jAm-mu-t-ani

child-PL beat-RECPL-NPST-PL

‘Children beat each other.’

d. *k^hlibamu kAlmutani*

k^hliba-mu kAl-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^hAmutasi* ‘help each other’ in (46b), *jAmmutani* ‘hit each other’ in (46c) and *kAlmutani* ‘chase each other’ in (46d) 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 tAisum*

aŋu-a o-hopu-lai tA-is-u-m

1SG-ERG 1SG-REFL-DAT keep-REFL-PST-NMLZ

‘I kept for myself.’

b. *aŋua ohopulai ŋa dAisum*

aŋu-a o-hopu-lai ŋa dA-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. *najema uhopulai 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): *inʒki brʌ* ‘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 7.10.

Table 7.10: Possessive pronouns in Dumi

	singular	dual		plural	
		inclusive	exclusive	inclusive	exclusive
1st person	o-po	int ^s i-po	unt ^s u-po	inʒki-po	unʒku-po
2nd person	a-po	ant ^s i-po		ani-po	
3rd person	um-po	unt ^s i-po		uni-po	

Table 7.10 shows the possessive pronouns in Dumi. The possessive pronouns are formed from the personal pronouns by adding the genitive marker *-po* in this language.

7.4 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 8

ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

8.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the properties of the adjectives and numerals. It consists of five sections. Section 8.1 deals with the morphological properties of the adjectives. In section 8.2, we look at the semantic properties of the adjectives in the language. Section 8.3 discusses the syntactic properties of the adjectives. In section 8.4, we discuss the properties of the numerals. Finally, section 8.5 summarizes the findings of this chapter.

8.1 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:

8.1.1 Monomorphemic adjectives

As it is suggested by Dixon (2004:9), the size of monomorphemic adjectives in the languages of the world is typically limited. There are very few monomorphemic adjectives as illustrated 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.

8.1.2 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

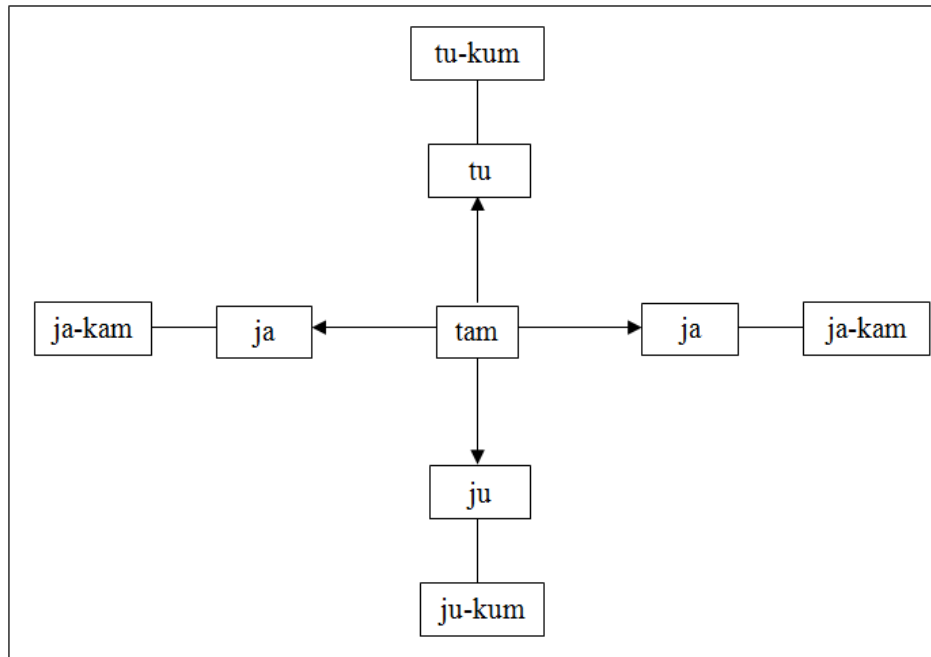
Like Athpare (Ebert, 1997:88), there exist three adjectives that are derived from the demonstrative pronouns (i.e., proximate, distal and remote). The root in the singular form is independent, whereas the suffixes *-nu* and *-mu* occur for the dual and plural forms, respectively as illustrated in (2).

(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 8.1.

Figure 8.1: 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/ [rek _s a]	‘sharp’
b.	<i>kok</i>	‘cut’	/kok-sa/ [kok _s a]	‘cutter’
c.	<i>nΛm</i>	‘stink’	/nΛm-sa/ [nΛm _s a]	‘stinking’
d.	<i>haŋ</i>	‘be dry’	/haŋ-sa/ [haŋ _s a]	‘dried’
e.	<i>t^sur</i>	‘be sour’	/t ^s ur-sa/ [t ^s ur _s a]	‘sour’

In examples (3a-e), the adjectives *rek_sa* ‘sharp’, *kok_sa* ‘cutter’, *nΛm_sa* ‘stinking’, *haŋ_sa* ‘dried’ and *t^sur_sa* ‘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 Dumi, 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’	<i>/t^{sh}uk-sa/</i>	[t ^{sh} uksa] ‘become something’
b.	<i>gu</i>	‘have’	<i>/guk-sa/</i>	[guksa] ‘having something’
c.	<i>t^sap</i>	‘can’	<i>/t^sap-sa/</i>	[t ^s apsa] ‘strong’
d.	<i>k^hanu</i>	‘be nice’	<i>/k^hanu-k-sa/</i>	[k ^h anuksa] ‘nice’
e.	<i>t^sanu</i>	‘taste’	<i>/t^sanu-k-sa/</i>	[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’	<i>/k^hΛk-sa/</i>	[k ^h Λksa] ‘act of going’
b.	<i>bul</i>	‘run’	<i>/bul-sa/</i>	[bulsa] ‘runner’
c.	<i>hoŋ</i>	‘climb’	<i>/hoŋ-sa/</i>	[hoŋsa] ‘climber’
d.	<i>t^{sh}Λm</i>	‘dance’	<i>/t^{sh}Λm-sa/</i>	[t ^{sh} Λmsa] ‘dancer’
e.	<i>di</i>	‘follow’	<i>/dik-sa/</i>	[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}Λm* ‘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 ^z uk/	‘eat’	/d ^z uk-sa/	[d ^z 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^zuksa* ‘eatable’, *buksa* ‘bearing’ consist of the respective verb roots *huk* ‘to bark’, *d^zu* ‘to eat’, *buk* ‘to bear’ followed by the nominalizer *-sa*. In Dumli, 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] ¹	‘seen’
b.	/suŋ/	‘pick up’	/suŋ-pom/	[suŋpom]	‘picked up’
c.	/k ^h p/	‘cook’	/k ^h im-pom/	[k ^h impom]	‘cooked’
d.	/ba/	‘say’	/ban-pom/	[banpom]	‘said’
e.	/hΛ/	‘bring’	/hΛn-pom/	[hΛnpom]	‘brought’
f.	/tu/	‘keep’	/tun-pom/	[tunpom]	‘kept’
g.	/roŋ/	‘use’	/roŋ-pom/	[roŋpom]	‘used’
h.	/t ^{sh} Λm/	‘dance’	/t ^{sh} Λm-pom/	[t ^{sh} Λmpom]	‘danced’
i.	/tjal/	‘up root’	/tjal-pom/	[tjalpom]	‘up rooted’
j.	/p ^h jar/	‘sew’	/p ^h jar-pom/	[p ^h jarpom]	‘sewed’

In examples (8a-j), the adjectives like *donpom* ‘seen’, *roŋpom* ‘used’, *tjalpom* ‘up rooted’, *p^hjarpom* ‘sewed’ consist of the respective verb roots *dok* ‘to see’, *roŋ* ‘to use’, *tjal* ‘to up root’, *p^hjar* ‘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).

¹ The morpheme extender *-n* is inserted when the nominalizer *-pom* is suffixed to the open ended verb roots.

(9)	Root	Gloss	Derived form		Gloss
a.	/t ^s ur/	‘pay’	/t ^s ur-im/	[t ^s urim]	‘paid’
b.	/t ^s jal/	‘tear’	/t ^s jal-im/	[t ^s ilim]	‘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.	/sAp/	‘be full’	/sAp-um/	[sup ^h um]	‘became full’
h.	/brok/	‘break’	/brok-um/	[bruk ^h um]	‘broken’
i.	/t ^h /	‘fall down’	/t ^h -um/	[t ^h ijum]	‘fell down’

In examples (9a-i), the adjectives like *t^surim* ‘paid’, *kadim* ‘bitten’, *mut^sim* ‘finished’, consist of the respective verb roots *t^sAr* ‘to pay’, *kat* ‘to bite’, *mut^s* ‘to finish’ followed by the nominalizer *-im*. Likewise, the adjectives *t^samum* ‘lost’, *t^hijum* ‘fell down’ *sup^hum* ‘became full’ consist of the respective verb roots *t^sam* ‘to lose’, *t^h* ‘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.	/dAk ^h lA/	‘head’	/dAk ^h lA-bim/	[dAk ^h lAbim]	‘of the head’
b.	/kim/	‘house’	/kim-bim/	[kimbim]	‘of the house’
c.	/del/	‘cook’	/del-bim/	[delbim]	‘of the village’
d.	/sauolo/	‘jungle’	/sauolo-bim/	[sauolobim]	‘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 *dAk^hlAbim* ‘of the head’, *kimbim* ‘of the house’, *delbim* ‘of the village’, *saulobim* ‘of the jungle’, *p^har^hbim* ‘of the bottom’ consist of the respective root nouns *dAk^hlA* ‘head’, *kim* ‘house’, *del* ‘village’, *saulo* ‘jungle’, *p^har* ‘bottom’ followed by the nominalizer *-bim*.

8.2 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.

8.2.1 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 adjektivizer 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 Al/	‘big’	/g ^h Al-sa/	[g ^h Alsa]	‘large’
d.	/teŋ/	‘thickness’	/teŋ-sa/	[teŋsa]	‘thick’
e.	/diŋ/	‘depth’	/diŋ-sa/	[diŋsa]	‘deep’

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

8.2.2 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.	/adʒaka/	‘later on’	/adʒaka-m/	[adʒakam]	‘later one’
e.	/adʒo/	‘long ago’	/adʒo-m/	[adʒom]	‘previous one’

In examples (12a-e), the adjectives *tejom* ‘now one’, *malom* ‘just now one’, *apem* ‘before one’, *adʒakam* ‘later one’, *adʒom* ‘previous one’ consist of the respective time adverbs *tejo* ‘now’, *malo* ‘just now’, *ape* ‘before’, *adʒaka* ‘later on’, *adʒo* ‘long ago’ followed by the adjectivizer *-m*.

8.2.3 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.	/kʰanuksa/	‘good’
	b.	/kʰajiksa/	‘bad’
	c.	/goa kaksə/	‘lovely’
	d.	/tʰakʰama tjarsə/	‘irritating’
	e.	/tʰakʰam paksə/	‘hopeless’

In examples (13a-e), *k^hanuksa* ‘good’, *k^hajiksa* ‘bad’, *goa kaks* ‘lovely’, *t^sak^hama tjarsa* ‘irritating’, *t^sak^ham paks* ‘hopeless’ are the prominent examples of less prototypical adjectives.

8.2.4 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 adjektivizer *-m*.

8.2.5 Physical property

Givón (2001a:82) discusses many of the adjectives under the classes of shape, taste and tactile.² 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^sapsa*/ ‘hard’
 b. /*lonjsa*/ ‘heavy’
 c. /*reksa*/ ‘sharp’
 d. /*sonjsa*/ ‘tall’
 e. /*d^hapsa*/ ‘wide’

² 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).

In examples (15a-e), the adjectives *t^sapsa* ‘hard’, *loṇsa* ‘heavy’, *reksa* ‘sharp’, *soṇsa* ‘tall’, *d^hapsa* ‘wide’ represent physical property.

8.2.6 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.

8.2.7 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’, *d^had^h* ‘steady’, *r^hak^hak^h* ‘rust’ represent speed adjectives.

8.2.8 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. /l^hduksa/ ‘taugh’
- c. /nuduksa/ ‘steep’

(ii) Similarity

- a. /heŋam/ ‘like’
- b. /k^hek^he/ ‘unlike’
- c. /m^hhem/ ‘like’

(iii) Qualification

- a. /t^{sh}uŋa/ ‘true’
- b. /t^{sh}uksa/ ‘probable’
- c. /d^hŋsa/ ‘appropriate’

(iv) Quantification

- a. /k^hat^hl^h/ ‘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. /pΛkka/ 'matured'
- c. /k^hali/ 'empty'
- d. /b^hΛ:ri/ 'full'
- e. /basi/ 'stale'

In examples (19a-e), *naja* ‘new’, *k^hali* ‘empty’, *paḷka* ‘matured’, *basi* ‘stale’ are examples of adjectives as loan words from Nepali.

(b) Antonymic pairs

Dumi presents a number of antonymic adjectives. Table 8.1 presents the polarity of the antonymic pairs of those adjectives.

Table 8.1: Polarity of the antonymic pairs of adjectives

	QUALITY	AFFIRMATIVE		NEGATIVE	
a.	heat	<i>haksa</i>	‘hot’	<i>t^{sh}uksa</i>	‘cold’
b.	length	<i>soṇsa</i>	‘long’	<i>moṇsa</i>	‘short’
c.	weight	<i>loṇsa</i>	‘heavy’	<i>samsa</i>	‘light’
d.	taste	<i>t^sanuksa</i>	‘tasty’	<i>t^sajiksa</i>	‘tasteless’
e.	outlook	<i>k^hanuksa</i>	‘nice’	<i>k^hajiksa</i>	‘ugly’

(c) Gender-based pairs

Dumi presents a number of gender-based adjectives. Table 8.2 presents the polarity of the gender-based pairs of adjectives.

Table 8.2: Polarity of the gender-based pairs of adjectives

	QUALITY	MALE		FEMALE	
a.	attraction	<i>k^hanuksa</i>	‘handsome’	<i>k^hanuwama</i>	‘beautiful’
b.	appearance	<i>ṇajupa</i>	‘smiley (male)’	<i>ṇajuma</i>	‘smiley (female)’
c.	cleverness	<i>t^{sh}etuppa</i>	‘clever (male)’	<i>t^{sh}etupma</i>	‘clever (female)’

8.3 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.

8.3.1 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 soṅsa mota*

mam minu soṅsa mota

that person tall COP

‘That person is tall.’

- c. *amna duwa ŋa hɔlhulim gota*

amna duwa ŋa hɔlhulim 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.

8.3.2 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^hut ſi*
 t^hamum minu k^hut^s-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
 Najem than Ninam beautiful COP.NPST
 ‘Ninam is more beautiful than Najem.’

In examples (22a, b), Dumi employs the adjectives *soŋsa* ‘taller’ and *k^hanuwama* ‘more beautiful’ as the parameter of comparison for comparative construction,

8.3.3 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. *t^sanuksa nAmsa puma put^si*
t^sanuksa nAmsa puma put^si
nice smelling flower bloom-3SG.PST
'The nice smelling flower bloomed.'

In examples (23a, b), the adjectives *g^hAlsa* 'large' in (23a) and *t^sanuksa nAmsa* '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.

8.4 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.

8.4.1 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 numerals³ do not undergo any morphological processes as listed in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3: The basic numerals

a.	<i>tuk</i>	‘one’	b.	<i>sAk</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>sAksi</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’

(b) Derived numerals

Apart from the numerals exemplified in Table 8.3, 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 system⁴. The numeral *tuksA* ‘twelve’, for instance, is formed by the combination of the two

³ Like Bantawa (Rai, 1985:165), some cardinal numbers like five, ten, fifteen, etc., are expressed symbolically as *tuk k^hur* ‘one hand’, *sAk k^hur* ‘two hands’ and *suk k^hur* ‘three hands’, respectively.

⁴ In Dumi, only the cardinal number system is used and not the ordinal system.

digit *tuk* ‘one’ in tens digit and another digit *sak* ‘two’ in ones digit. This is a simple compounding process which is listed as in (24).

- (24)
- | | | | |
|----|-----------|---------|-------------|
| a. | /tuk-tuk/ | [tuktu] | ‘eleven’ |
| b. | /tuk-sak/ | [tuksa] | ‘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’ |

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 *sak-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 rule⁵ as illustrated in (25).

- (25)
- | | | | |
|----|----------|---------|----------|
| a. | /sak-si/ | [saksi] | ‘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

⁵ The lexical item ‘*si*’ in Dumi is used for the *numeral* zero.

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.

8.4.2 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.⁶

8.5 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.

⁶ 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 9

VERB MORPHOLOGY

9.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the verb morphology in Dumi. It comprises eight sections. In section 9.1, we briefly discuss the stems and inflections of the verbs in this language. Section 9.2 presents the verb derivations in Dumi. In section 9.3, we discuss the types of tense in this language. Section 9.4 analyzes the aspect system in the language. Section 9.5 deals with the moods in Dumi. In section 9.6, we look at the modality in this language. Section 9.7 discusses the participant reference in Dumi. Finally, in section 9.8, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

9.1 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).

9.1.1 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 ^h Λ	‘tie’	d ^z Λ	‘graze’	hΛ	‘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 9.1 shows the stems *d^zu* ‘eat’, *t^sΛp* ‘write’, *dok* ‘see’ and *jΛm* ‘beat’ with various tense, aspect, mood and inclusivity/exclusivity.

Table 9.1: 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-Ø	t ^s Λp-ti	dok-ti	jΛm-di
RPST /PRF	d ^z u-Ø-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

Stem→ TAM	<i>dʒu</i> ‘eat’	<i>tʰʌp</i> ‘write’	<i>dok</i> ‘see’	<i>jʌm</i> ‘hit’
SIM	<i>dʒu-so</i>	<i>tʰʌp-so</i>	<i>dok-so</i>	<i>jʌm-so</i>
TSM	<i>dʒu-npo</i>	<i>tʰʌ-mpo</i>	<i>do-npo</i>	<i>jʌm-po</i>
TSM ₂	<i>dʒu-nden</i>	<i>tʰʌp-den</i>	<i>dok-den</i>	<i>jʌm-den</i>
IMP	<i>dʒu-Ø</i>	<i>tʰʌp-ta</i>	<i>dok-ta</i>	<i>jʌm-da</i>
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-Ø</i>	<i>tʰʌp-ti</i>	<i>dok-ti</i>	<i>jʌm-di</i>

From Table 9.1, 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 illustrated 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 root¹, 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.

¹ The infinitive marker in Baksila Dumi is ‘-nu’, for example: *munɪ* ‘do’, *binɪ* ‘give’, *lamtʰɪnɪ* ‘walk’, etc. (van Driem, 1993:150).

9.1.2 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 9.2 presents a brief overview of the affixes that occur in Dumi verbs.

Table 9.2: 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)

Table 9.2 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*². 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.³ 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 9.3.

² 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.

³ The two suffices *-sa* and *-m* indicate the two way distinction: imperfective and perfective aspectual system, respectively.

Table 9.3: 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.

9.1.3 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:

(a) Simple stems

Simple stems consist of only a single root. Most of the simple stems are monosyllabic. The infinitival form ends with *-na*.⁴ Whatever remains after removing these suffixes, is the root and, if it is monomorphous, it is a simple stem. The simple verb stems are listed as in (3).

⁴ In the Baksila variety of Dumi, the infinitival (or citation) form is pronounced as *-ni* (van Driem, 1993:267) e.g., *banⁱ* ‘say’, *pinⁱ* ‘come’, *bulnⁱ* ‘run’, etc.

(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 illustrated 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. mɪn	‘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).

(5)	Noun	Gloss	Verb	Gloss	Compound stem
a.	d ^z a:li	‘hope’	muna	‘do’	d ^z a:li muna ‘to be hopeful’
b.	munt ^{sh} u	‘signal’	hupna	‘fix’	munt ^{sh} u hupna ‘to fix a signal’
c.	lad ^z i	‘shyness’	luna	‘feel’	lad ^z i luna ‘to feel shy’
d.	lam	‘way’	t ^h ina	‘fall’	lam t ^h ina ‘to walk’
e.	t ^s ili	‘anger’	brΛna	‘call’	t ^s ili brΛna ‘to get angry’

9.2 Verb derivations

In Dumi, 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.⁵ There are very few such instances of lexical causative as listed in (6).

- (6) a. t^{sh}Λmna ‘to dance’ t^{sh}Λmmuna ‘to cause to dance’
b. imsina ‘to sleep’ immuna ‘to cause to sleep’
c. kΛlna ‘to chase’ kΛlmuna ‘to cause to chase’
d. kΛmsina ‘to wear’ kΛmmuna ‘to cause to wear’
e. t^sΛrna ‘to pay’ t^sΛrmuna ‘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^sΛpmutni
d^{zh}ara t^su:t^su-mu-lai t^sΛp-mut-ni
everyone child-PL-DAT write-CAUS-3PL.PST
‘They got all the children to write.’

⁵ 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). 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.

9.2.1 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 moʒo maŋgu*
 amna t^sAp-na moʒo ma-ŋ-gu
 today write-NMLZ nothing NEG-m.EXTDR-be
 ‘There is nothing to write today.’
- b. *aŋua soḍ^za dokna gota*
 aŋu-a soḍ^za dok-na gota
 1SG-ERG money get-INF COP.NPST
 ‘I have to get money.’
- c. *uma soḍ^za t^sArna gota*
 um-a soḍ^za t^sAr-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 t^{sh}Am-sa*
 aŋu t^{sh}Am-sa
 1SG dance-PTCP
 ‘I (am) a dancer.’

- b. *um p^hlaksɑ*
- um p^hlaksɑ
- 3SG help-PTCP
- ‘He (is) a helper.’

- c. *ani ʌpsɑ*
- ani ʌp-sɑ
- 2SG sharp shoot-PTCP
- ‘You (are) a sharpshooter.’

In examples (10a-c), the suffix *-sa* nominalizes the verb roots *t^{sh}ʌm* ‘dance’, *p^hlaks* ‘help’ and *ʌp* ‘shot’ and form the respective nouns *t^{sh}ʌmsɑ* ‘dancer’, *p^hlaksɑ* ‘helper’ and *ʌpsɑ* ‘sharpshooter’.

(ii) The suffix *-sa* nominalizes the verb root, which yields a non-finite relative clause interpretation as illustrated in (11).

- (11) a. *sod^ʔɑ k^hiksɑ minu t^sʌnt^s ʃ*
- sod^ʔɑ k^hiksɑ minu t^sʌnt^s-i
- money steal-PTCP person run away-3SG.PST
- ‘The person who stole money (thief) ran away.’

- b. *huksɑ k^hlibɑɑ akaktinʌ*
- huk-sɑ k^hlibɑɑ a-kakt-i-nʌ
- 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 *kʰik* ‘steal’ and *huk* ‘bark’ and forms the respective nouns *kʰiksa* ‘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 sɛː lʌmkubi saulo kʰutʰi*

pʌbi sɛː lʌm-kubi saulo kʰutʰ-i

Pabi fire-wood search-PURP jungle go-3SG.PST

‘Pabi went to the jungle in search of fire-wood.’

- b. *najem mama brʌkubi pakʰa buli*

najem mama brʌ-kubi pakʰa bul-i

Nayem mother call-PURP outside run-3SG.PST

‘Nayem ran outside in order to call her mother.’

In examples (12a, b), the suffix *-kubi* nominalizes the verb roots *lʌm* ‘search’ and *brʌ* ‘call’ and form the respective purposive *lʌmkubi* ‘in search of’ and *brʌkubi* ‘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. *pʌbi saulobi hupatʃika sɛː lumu*

pʌbi saulo-bi hupatʃ-i-ka sɛː 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. *najema mama brʌtika hudi*

najem-a mama brʌt-i-ka hud-i

Nayem-ERG mother call-3SG.PST-AFTER bring-3SG.PST

‘Nayem brought her mother after calling her.’

In examples (13a, b), the suffix *-ka* nominalizes the verb roots *lam* ‘search for’ and *brʌ* ‘call’ and form the respective time adverbials *hupatʃika* ‘reaching’ and *brʌtika* ‘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 toː pu*

ninam-a le lu-so toː pu

Ninam-ERG song sing-SIM loom weave.3SG.PST

‘Ninam weaved her loom while singing.’

- b. *baʌʌsuŋa kim kʰʌsoka dʒa dʒi*

baʌʌsuŋ-a kim kʰʌs-soka dʒa dʒi

Balasung-ERG house go-SEQ rice eat.3SG.PST

‘Balasung ate rice after reaching the house.’

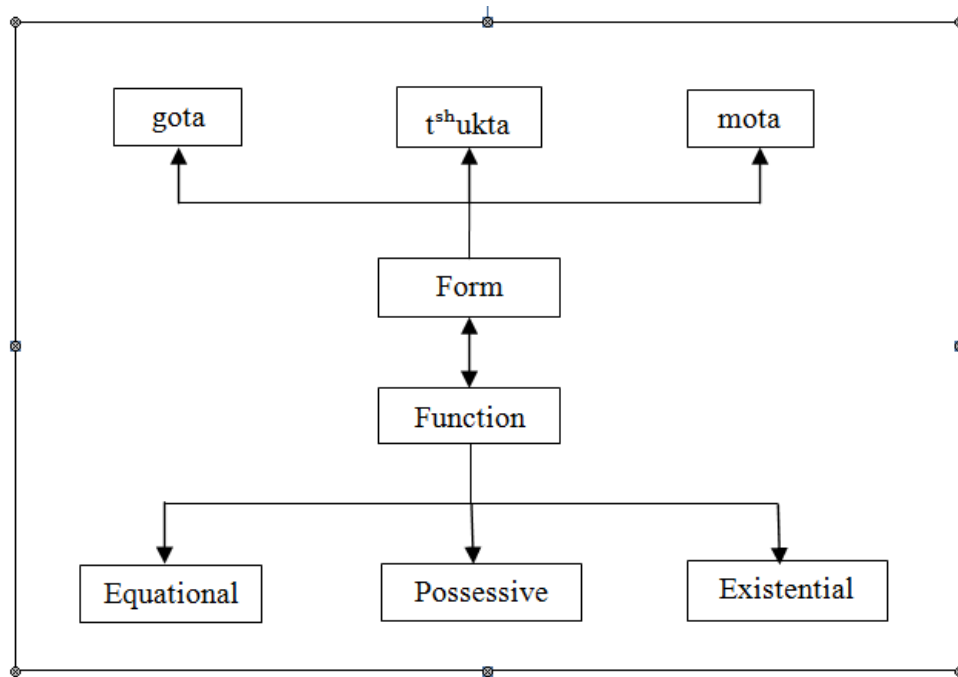
In example (14a), the suffix *-so* codes the simultaneity in the verb root *lu* ‘sing’ and forms simultaneous *le luso* ‘singing’. Similarly, in (14b), the suffix *-soka* codes the sequentiality in the verb root *k^hʌs* ‘go’ and forms sequential *k^hʌssoka* ‘going’.

9.2.2 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.⁶ 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 9.1.

⁶ 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 *manḡu* ‘there does not exist’ whereas their respective past forms are *-mʌ* ‘there existed’ and *-gʌ* ‘there existed’.

Figure 9.1: Form and function of the copula



The copula *mota* performs three functions: equational, possessive and existential functions. They are discussed as follows:

(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^{sh}o*

ganpa nokt^{sh}o

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 Ninam ‘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.⁷ 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 ^h jaksum-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.’ | | |

⁷ van Driem (1993:168) notes the two verbs ‘to be’ as *g^hnɪ* is used exclusively with inanimate referents and *m^hnɪ* exclusively with animate referents, including humans.

- b. *umkajo sodʒa maŋgu*
 um-kajo *sodʒa* 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 *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. *adʒi ne pabi jo tʃutʃu t^{sh}uku*
 adʒi ne pabi jo tʃutʃu 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 *tʃutʃu* ‘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.

9.3 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.

9.3.1 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 participants⁸.

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.’

⁸ 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).

b. (3 → 1)

uma aɲulai ajumo

um-a aɲu-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 *jɔmdu* ‘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).

(22) a. (2DU.INCL → 3)

intʰa umlai jumi

intʰi-a um-lai jum-i

1DU.INCL-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-1DU.INCL.PST

‘We (DU.INCL) beat him.’

b. (2PL.INCL → 3)

iŋkia umlai jΛmki

iŋki-a um-lai jΛm-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 intʰlai ajumi

um-a intʰi-lai a-jum-i

3SG-ERG 1DU.INCL-DAT 3SG-beat-1DU.INCL.PST

‘He beat us (DU).’

b. (3 → 1PL.INCL)

uma iŋkilai ajΛmki

um-a iŋki-lai a-jΛm-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 *jΛm /jum* ‘beat’ while the third person is acting on the first person inclusive.⁹

⁹ 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.

9.3.2 Number marking

Dumi marks three categories of number¹⁰ 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 9.4 presents a synopsis of number marking of the participant.

Table 9.4: 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.’

¹⁰ Number is one of the common pronominal classificatory features, classifying referents as to their individuation and number (singular, dual, plural) (Givón, 2001:402).

b. *intʰi kim k^husti*

int^si kim k^hus-t-i

1DU.INCL home go-NPST-1DU.INCL

‘We (DU.INCL) go home.’

c. *unt^su kim k^hustu*

unt^su 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^hakta*

uŋku kim k^hΛ-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 i 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).

9.4 Tenses

Analogous to other Kirati languages of the Rai group like Thulung (Lahaussais, 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 9.3.1, we deal with the non-past tense. Sub-section 9.3.2 discusses the past tense and its two sub-categories. In the last subsection 9.3.3, 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.

9.4.1 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 sAp^hu t^sAp^thAtto*
 aŋu-a sAp^hu t^sAp-t^hAt-t-o
 1SG-ERG letter write-DUR-NPST-1SG
 ‘I am writing a letter.’
- b. *ania sAp^hu at^sAp^thAtta*
 ani-a sAp^hu a-t^sAp-t^hAt-t-a
 2SG-ERG letter 2SG-write-DUR-NPST-2SG
 ‘You are writing a letter.’
- c. *uma sAp^hu t^sAp^thAtta*
 um-a sAp^hu t^sAp-t^hAt-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 sAp^hu p^hiŋto*
 aŋu-a asala sAp^hu p^hiŋ-t-o
 1SG-ERG tomorrow letter send-NPST-1SG
 ‘I shall send a letter tomorrow.’

b. *ania asala sʌpʰu apʰiŋta*

ani-a asala sʌpʰu a-pʰiŋ-t-a

2SG-ERG tomorrow letter 2SG-send-NPST-2SG

‘You will send a letter tomorrow.’

c. *uma asala sʌpʰu pʰiŋta*

um-a asala sʌpʰu pʰiŋ-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.

9.4.2 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 distance¹¹. 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 9.2.

¹¹ Rai (2015:97) quotes Bybee et al. (1994:82) that past expresses the meaning of occurring before the moment of speech

Figure 9.2: The categories of tense including two sub-categories of past tense

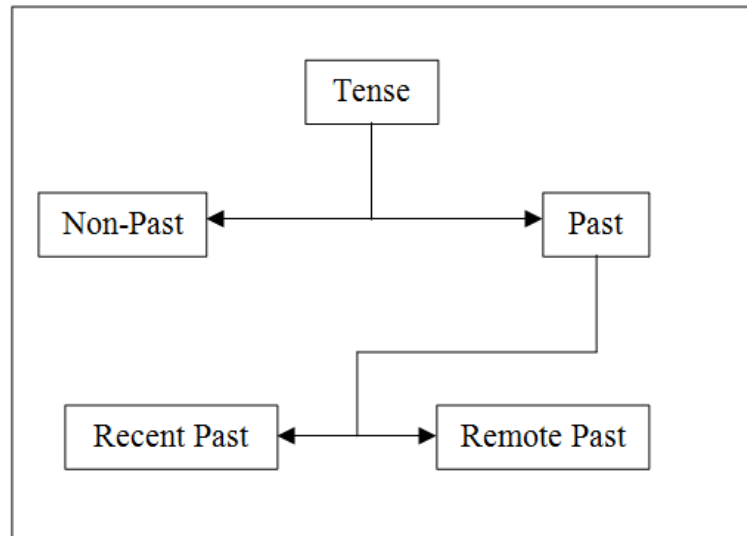


Figure 9.2: Tense categories including two degrees of distance in the past tense. As mentioned in Figure 9.2, there are two past tenses in terms of the two degrees of distance: recent past and remote past, which are discussed as follows:

(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).

- (30) a. *pʌbi del kʰut̪ i̯*
 pʌbi del kʰut̪^s-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 ahapti*

ani-a dudu a-hapt-i

2SG-ERG milk 2SG-drink-2SG.PST

‘You drank milk.’

d. *uma dudu hapti*

um-a dudu hapt-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 9.4 and 9.5, respectively. The evidential function will be discussed in detail in section 9.6. Like non-past tense, this tense also interacts with the verbal sub-category of negation (See § 9.6 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^hΛkpuri*

ad^{zh}o pipi-a pun-im tam t^hΛkpuri
 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*

ad^{zh}o t^sut^su-a t^hok-im tam grolu
 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.

9.5 Aspects

Aspect is partly a property of the lexical semantics of the verb. In Duménil, aspect¹² 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 Duménil aspects is based on Givón (2001a:287-

¹² 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).

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:

9.5.1 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.

(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 9.5.

Table 9.5: 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 9.5 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 9.6: 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 9.6, some examples of the verbs are given in following lexical aspects:

(32) **I. States**

- a. *k^hak^hajuju* 'be upset'
- b. *d^ʒed^ʒɛja* 'be happy'
- c. *bombomja* 'be angry'
- d. *t^ʃukna* 'to know'
- e. *k^hri:na* 'to respect'

II. Achievements

- a. *k^hɪ t^hukna* 'to spit'
- b. *hʃɫna* 'to cough'
- c. *kenna* 'to jump'
- d. *jʌmna* 'to beat/hit'
- e. *napt^ʃo hikna* 'to slap'

III. Accomplishments

- a. *hunlunna* 'to arrive'
- b. *huna* 'to come'
- c. *lonk^hʌnna* 'to leave'
- d. *k^hʌna* '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. *gʌpna* ‘to cross over’
- d. *lamt^hina* ‘to walk’
- e. *t^{sh}ʌmna* ‘to dance’
- f. *dʒuna* ‘to eat’

(c) Lexical aspect and morphosyntactic treatment

In Dumi, 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 aspectuality¹³. 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).

- (33) a. *aŋu jatt^hʌto*
- aŋu jat-t^hʌt-to
- 1SG like-DUR-IPFV
- ‘I like’ (Literally, ‘I am liking’)

¹³ Givón (2001:288) claims that ‘the best way to observe the inherent aspectuality of verb is to combine them with various grammatical aspects’.

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 g^Λ*
 kim luk^hAt-t^hAd-i-m g^Λ
 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^hijom ga*

aŋu lamt^hi-t^hij-o-m ga

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^hijom* ‘as walking’ in (37b) is marked by the grammatical imperfective aspect that yields an ongoing state.

9.5.2 Grammatical aspects

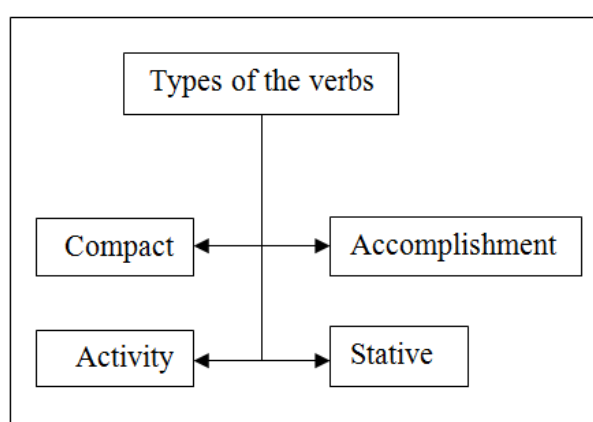
- a. Compact verbs: that depicts temporally compact events of extremely short duration, such as spit, blink, kick, snap, jump, etc.
- b. Accomplishment verbs that code the completion of an event, such as, arrive, come, leave, go, finish, obtain, get, fall, die, etc.
- c. Activity verbs that depict activity 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 9.3.

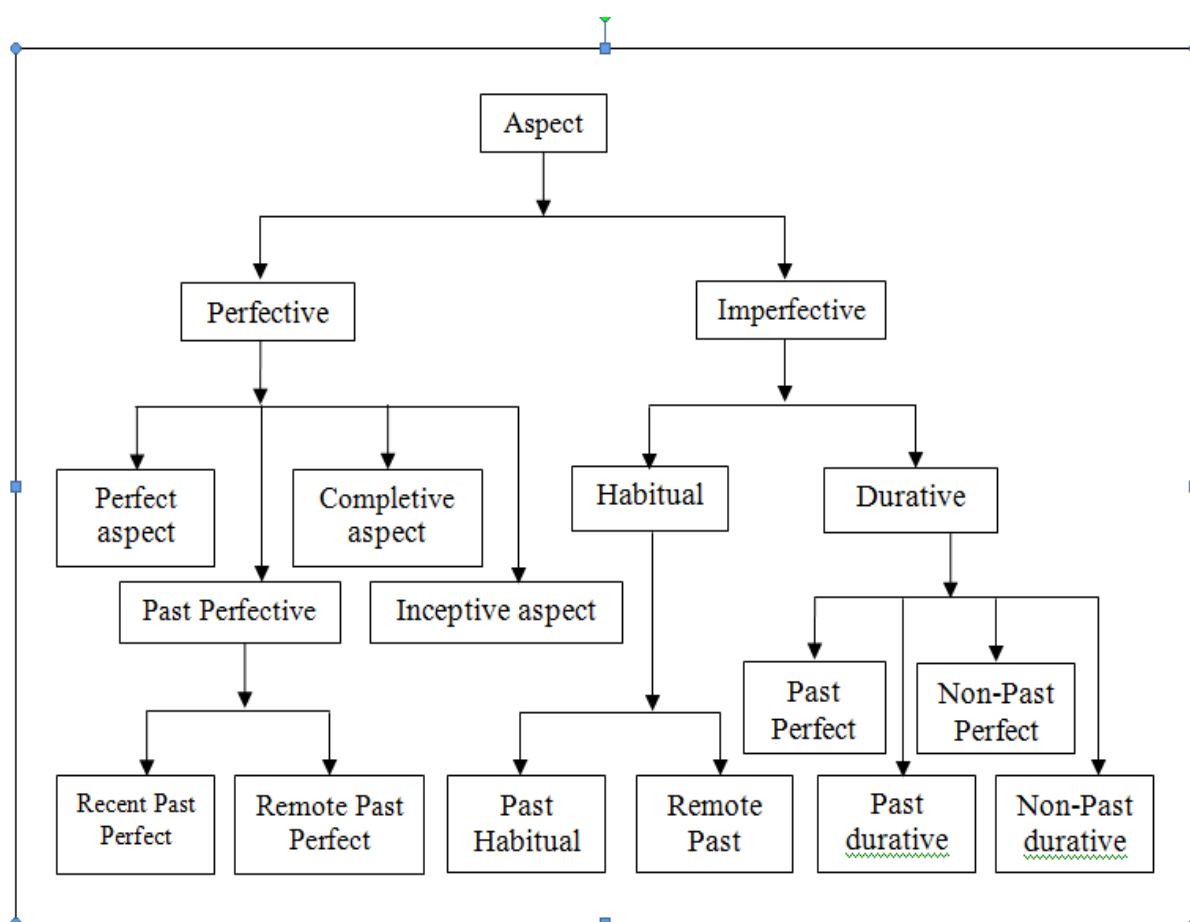
Figure 9.3: Types of verbs according to the grammatical aspects



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 9.4 shows the combinations of aspects and tenses.

Figure 9.4: 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 9.4, perfective aspect is further elaborated into three morphologically distinct subcategories: past-perfective, perfect and complete. 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

9.4, 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 Dumi, events characterized by the properties summarized in (38a-d) may have a perfective interpretation as illustrated in (39).

- (39) a. *aŋu atinΛmka della piŋo*
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 kɔkti*
tʰu:tʰu-a asnΛmka kʰur kɔkt-i
child-ERG yesterday hand cut-3SG.PST
'The child cut his hand yesterday.'
- c. *mambika aŋua mam tʰu:tʰu brΛtu*
mam-bika aŋu-a mam tʰu:tʰu brΛt-u
that-after 1SG-ERG that child call-1SG.PST
'After that I called that child.'

d. *t^su:t^su op^harbi pij^u*

t^su:t^su o-p^har-bi pij-u

child 1POSS-near-LOC come-3SG.PST

‘The child came nearby me.’

e. *m^han^h t^su:t^su po k^har putk^han^hdu*

m^han^h t^su:t^su-po k^har put-k^han^h-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^su:t^su ŋa moŋujo hamt^samum*

pipi ad^{zh}o aŋu t^su:t^su

grandma long time before 1SG child

ŋa moŋ-u-jo ham-t^sam-um

FOC be-1SG.PST-CONV HON-die-3SG.RPST

‘Grandmother died, when I was a child long time before.’

b. *t^sut^su jo pitⁱ j^Λpakaŋa ŋa hamt^samum*

t^sut^su jo pitⁱ j^Λpaka-ŋa ŋa ham-t^sam-um

grandpa also little later-FOC FOC HON-die-3SG.RPST

‘The grandfather died a bit later on.’

c. *mam t^ho ŋa t^sut^su-pipipo nubi puma t^sjamnim*

mam t^ho ŋa pipi-t^sut^su-po

that year FOC grandma-grandpa-GEN

nu-bi puma t^sjam-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 9.6, 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^{sh}o kimbi hΛΛm mota*

<i>nokt^{sh}o</i>	<i>kim-bi</i>	<i>hΛl-Λ-m</i>	<i>mo-t-a</i>
shaman	home-LOC	arrive-NPST-PRF	be-NPST-3SG

‘The shaman has arrived at home.’

b. *aŋua aũli kɔktum gota*

aŋu-a aũli kɔkt-u-m go-t-a
1sg-ERG finger cut-1SG-PRF be-NPST-3SG

‘I have cut the finger.’

c. *aŋua sɿ: t^sumom gota*

aŋu-a sɿ: t^sum-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 mim-nΛm gota*

aŋu-a ani-lai mim-nΛ-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 dʒa dʒʌŋkʰʌtum gʌ*
- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|---------|------|--------------|---------|
| um | hʌlʌ-jo | aŋu-a | dʒa | dʒʌŋ-kʰʌt-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 dʒa dʒuna nirim gota*

um-a	dʒa	dʒu-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 gʌ*

um-a dʒa dʒu-na nir-i-m gʌ
3SG-ERG rice eat-NMLZ finish-3SG.PST-PFV be.PST
‘S/he had finished eating rice.’

b. *aŋu rina nirom gʌ*

aŋu ri-na nir-o-m gʌ
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 gʌ* ‘s/he had finished eating’ in (51a) and *rina nirom gʌ* ‘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

Nayem laugh-NMLZ begin-3SG.PST

‘Nayem 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 9.3, 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 $-t^h\Delta t$ 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).

$$(54) \text{ Base} + (-t^h\Delta t) + (-t) + (-o/-a)$$

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^zΔŋt^hAtto*
 aŋu d^za d^zΔŋ-t^hΔt-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 in (56),

- (56) a. *mam t^su:t^su ret^hiŋta*
 mam t^su:t^su re-t^hiŋ-ta
 that child laugh-DUR-1SG.NPST
 ‘That child is laughing.’

b. *jona ɲukt^hɪŋ-t-a*

jona ɲuk-t^hɪŋ-ta

Yona cry-DUR-3SG.NPST

‘Yona is crying.’

To express planned event as in (57).

(57) a. *aŋu asala del k^hust^hɪŋto*

aŋu asala del k^hus-t^hɪŋ-to

1SG tomorrow village go-DUR-1SG.NPST

‘I am going to the village tomorrow.’

b. *nɔmme adʒaka kim hot^hɪŋ-ta*

nɔmme adʒaka kim ho-t^hɪŋ-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^hɪŋ/-t^hɔd* 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^hɔd*) + (*-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^hŋ-um gΛ*
 najem re-t^hŋ-um gΛ
 Najem 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^hΛt* 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^hΛt*) + (*-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^zusomΛŋt^hΛttom t^{sh}ukto*
 aŋu d^za d^zΛŋ-t^hΛt-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^hɪntam t^{sh}ukta*

najem re-t^hɪŋ-t-am t^{sh}uk-ta

Nayem laugh-DUR-NPST-3SG.PRF be-NPST

‘Nayem will have been laughing.’

Past perfect durative

The past perfect durative is the combination of the durative marker *-t^hAt* /*t^hAd/t^hɪŋ* 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^hAt* /*-t^hAd*) + (*-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^zΛŋt^hAdum gΛ*

aŋu-a d^za d^zΛŋ-t^hAd-um gΛ

1SG-ERG rice eat-DUR-1SG.PST.PRF COP.PST

‘I had been eating rice.’

b. *najema ret^hɪntam t^{sh}ukta*

najem re-t^hɪŋ-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^hAd*) + (*-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^hAdu*

aŋu-a somna dudu tuŋ-t^hAd-u

1SG-ERG evening milk drink-HAB-1SG.PST

‘I had the habit of drinking milk in the evening.’

b. *najem-a disse hiŋjo kAŋku jet^hAdi*

najem-a disse hiŋjo kAŋku jet-t^hAd-i

Najem-ERG morning always water fill-HAB-3SG.PST

‘Najem 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^hAd* 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. *aṇua somna dudu tuṇto*
 aṇu-a somna dudu tuṇ-t-o
 1SG-ERG evening milk drink-NPST-1SG
 ‘I have the habit of drinking milk in the evening.’

- b. *najem-a disse hijojo kaṇku jetta*
 najem-a disse hijojo kaṇku 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 *tuṇ* ‘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*.

9.6 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:

9.6.1 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. *aṇua anamma kim kitto*
 aṇu-a anamma kim kit-t-o
 1SG-ERG next year house purchase-NPST-1SG.IMPRF
 ‘I shall purchase a house next year.’

b. *ania anammΛ kim akitta*

ani-a anammΛ 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. *aṇua ad^{zh}oŋka kim kidu*

aṇu-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.

9.6.2 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. *kΛŋku matʃamda*
 kΛŋku ma-tʃamd-a
 water NEG-spoil-2SG.IMP
 ‘You (SG) don’t spoil the water.’

- b. *kΛŋku matʃimi*
 kΛŋku ma-tʃim-i
 water NEG-spoil-2DU.IMP
 ‘You (DU) don’t spoil the water.’

- c. *kΛŋku matʃimni*
 kΛŋku 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.

9.6.3 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 *-k^hut^ʃ-k^hʌn*. This marker is directly attached to the root verb as illustrated in (72).

(72) a. *bolo ɲa nʌk^hut^ʃʌ*

bolo ɲa nʌ-k^hut^ʃ-a
soon EMPH recover-OPT-2SG
‘May you recover soon!’

b. *umiksi bronk^hʌnnu*

u-miksi bron-k^hʌn-nu
3SG.POSS-eye break-OPT-3SG
‘May his eyes break!’

c. *ani hʌlʌmaksɪ burk^hut^ʃʌ*

ani hʌlʌ-maksi bur-k^hut^ʃ-a
you rapid-ADV grow-OPT-2SG
‘May you grow rapidly!’

In examples (72a-c), the optative mood in *nʌk^hut^ʃʌ* ‘may you recover’ in (72a) and *burk^hut^ʃʌ* ‘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*.

9.6.4 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 kʌŋku sipta*

nam	mu-t-a-k ^h o	kʌŋku	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^hustanʌ*

ani	ma-pi-k-sa-k ^h o	um	k ^h us-ta-nʌ
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) *mahem tumk^ho, anulai sod^za bindenta*

mahem 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), *mahem tumk^ho* ‘If it were so,’ the subjunctive mood in (74) is suffixed by the subjunctive marker *-k^ho*.

9.7 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:

9.7.1 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^hijtajje*
 unimu dusu-kajo ham-ho-t^hijnt-a-je
 3PL friend-COM PL-come-PROG-NPST-PROB
 ‘They are probably coming with their friends.’

- b. *ku:lua rAbΛ del k^hAtim*
 ku:lu-a rAbΛ 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^hɪntaje* ‘They are probably coming’ in (76a) is marked by the verb inflection *-je*. Similarly in *rAbΛ 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 nΛ-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 ɲɪɲuwamk^ho mΛjoŋa binnAwam*
 mam ɲɪɲ-u-wak^ho mΛjo-ŋa bi-nnΛ-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 tambi pijuwak^ho nAwam* ‘it will be better if s/he comes here soon’ in (77a), and, *mΛjo ŋa binnAwam* ‘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 majenΛwamk^ho k^hut^sowam*

hu ma-je-nΛ-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 magΛnΛwamk^ho k^hut^sowam*

hu je-m ma-gΛ-nΛ-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 tuŋa holota*

um namna tuŋa holot-a
 3SG day after tomorrow only arrive-IRR
 ‘S/he might arrive the day after tomorrow only.’

b. *pabi asala kirΛdel k^husta*

pabi asala kirΛdel 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 category¹⁴ 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^{sh}Λ* as illustrated in (80).

- (80) a. *mΛjoŋa tukli ut^su pu:k^hubi t^haŋut^{sh}Λ*
 mΛjo-ŋa tuk-li ut^su puk^hu-bi t^haŋ-u-t^{sh}Λ
 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^hΛisi he:ŋa daulobim su: b^hapk^hΛtit^{sh}Λ*
 moso k^hir-t^hΛis-i he:ŋa
 like that go round-PROG-3SG DUR

 daulo-bi-m su: b^hap-k^hΛt-i-t^{sh}Λ
 hearth-LOC-PRF fire wood strike-AMBL-3SG.PST-MIR
 ‘While he was moving around the hearth, he stumbled on firewood.’
 [NRR-72:15]

¹⁴ Dhakal (2012:78) quotes DeLancey (2001:12) that the mirative marker indicates ‘unexpected information’.

In examples (80a, b), the verb roots *t^huŋ* ‘fall’ and *b^hap* ‘strike’ are affixed by the mirativity marker *-t^{sh}Λ*. It is to be noted that the clauses coding mirativity in a narrative end with the reportative particle *-t^{sh}Λ*.

(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. *pΛbi del k^hut i*
 pΛbi del k^hut^s-i
 Pabi village go-PST/DIRT.EVD
 ‘Pabi went to village (as I directly witnessed).’
- b. *najem kim k^hut im*
 najem kim k^hut^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 *k^hut i* ‘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 *k^hut im* ‘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/-nΛ* attached in the verb indicates negation in non-past tense as illustrated in (83).

- (83) a. *juma kim k^hustanΛ*
 juma kim k^hus-t-a-nΛ
 Yuma home go-NPST-3SG-NEG
 ‘Yuma does not go home.’

- b. *pΛbia t^ʃ tuŋtanΛ*
 pΛbi-a t^ʃi tuŋ-t-a-nΛ
 Pabi-ERG alcohol drink-NPST-3SG-NEG
 ‘Pabi does not drink alcohol.’

In examples (83a, b), the negation in *k^hustanΛ* ‘does not go’ in (83a) and *tuŋtanΛ* ‘does not drink’ in (83b), the negation suffix *-nΛ* is attached to the verbs *k^husta* ‘goes’ and *tuŋta* ‘drinks’. In past tense, the circumflex of *ma-* and *-nΛ* in any verb indicates negation as illustrated in (84) (See Appendix 4 (b) for details).

- (84) a. *juma kim ma^hut^ʃinΛ*
 juma kim ma-k^hut^ʃ-i-nΛ
 Yuma home NEG-go-3SG.PST-NEG
 ‘Yuma did not go home.’

- b. *pΛbia t^ʃ matuŋunΛ*
 pΛbi-a t^ʃi ma-tuŋ-u-nΛ
 Pabi-ERG alcohol NEG-drink-3SG.PST-NEG
 ‘Pabi did not drink alcohol.’

In examples (84a, b), the circumflex of *ma-* and *-nΛ* in the verb *ma^hut^ʃinΛ* ‘did not go’ in (84a) and *matuŋunΛ* ‘did not drink’ in (84b) indicate the negation.

9.7.2 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^sap-* as illustrated in (85).

- (85) a. *aŋua noksu se:na t^sapto*
aŋu-a noksu se:-na t^sap-t-o
1SG-ERG monkey kill-INF ABLT-NPST-1SG
'I can kill the monkey.'
- b. *ania kawa gaɸna at^sapta*
ani-a kawa gaɸ-na a-t^sap-t-a
2SG-ERG river cross-INF 2SG-ABLT-NPST-2SG
'You (SG) can cross the river.'
- c. *uma dapdou d^zanna t^sapta*
um-a dapdou d^zan-na t^sap-t-a
3SG-ERG ox plough-INF ABLT-NPST-3SG
'S/he can plough the oxen.'

In examples (85a-c), the suffix *-t^sap* in *t^sapto* 'I can' in (85a), *at^sapta* 'you can' in (85b) and *t^sapta* '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 Dumi, obligation is indicated by the verbal suffix *-t^{sh}uk* as illustrated in (86).

- (86) a. *ania do kripna t^{sh}ukta*

ani-a do krip-na t^{sh}uk-t-a
2SG-ERG hair cut-INF OBLG-NPST-3SG

‘You (SG) have to cut hair.’

- b. *duspia hamastam repna t^{sh}ukta*

duspi-a ham-as-t-am repna t^{sh}uk-t-a
elder-ERG PL-say-NPST-PFV respect OBLG-NPST-3SG

‘We ought to obey the elders’ saying.’

- c. *d^{zh}araa sod^{za} p^hukna t^{sh}ukta*

d^{zh}ara-a sod^{za} p^huk-na t^{sh}uk-t-a
everyone-ERG money collect-INF OBLG-NPST-3SG

‘Everyone has to collect money.’

In examples (86a-c), the suffix *t^{sh}ukta* ‘have to’ in *kripna t^{sh}ukta* ‘have to cut’ in (86a), *repna t^{sh}ukta* ‘have to obey’ in (86b), *p^hukna t^{sh}ukta* ‘have to collect’ in (86c) indicate obligation.

9.8 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 10

ADVERBS AND POSTPOSITIONS

10.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the adverbs and the postpositions. It consists of five sections. In section 10.1, we discuss the formation of the adverbs. Section 10.2 classifies the Dumi adverbs semantically. In section 10.3, we deal with the distribution of adverbs in the language. Section 10.4 presents the postpositions in Dumi. Finally, in section 10.5, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

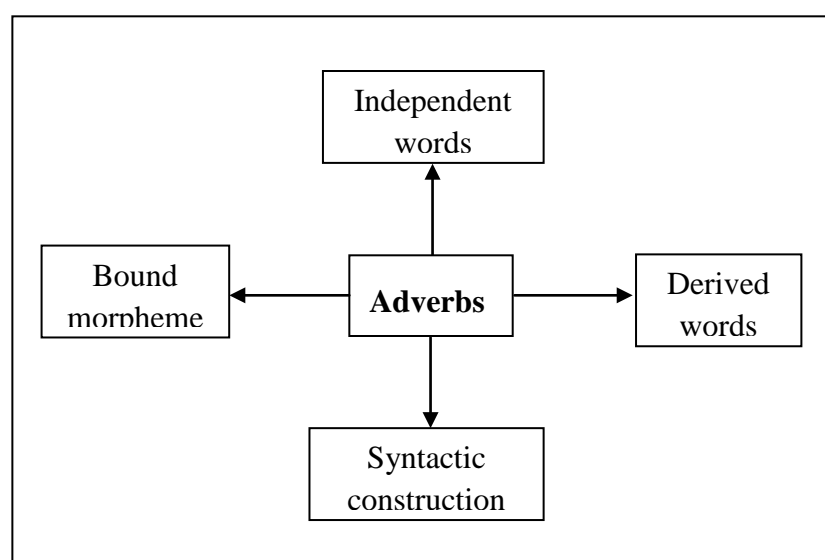
10.1 Formation of adverbs

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 10.1.

Figure 10.1: Formation of the adverbs in Dumi



They are discussed as follows:

10.1.1 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 lɔmsoka hutdetto*
aŋu-a lokk^hu lɔm-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 asnΛm kijim

unt^si asnΛm 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 i* ‘go’ and in (2b), indirect evidentiality is encoded by the remote past tense marker *-im* in the verb root *ki* ‘quarrel’.

10.1.2 Independent words

There are a number of adverbs having the status of independent words (i.e., lexical) as listed in (3).

- (3) a. *atembī* ‘this year’
b. *ad^{zh}oŋka* ‘last year’
c. *dumo* ‘much’
d. *asnΛm* ‘yesterday’
e. *amna* ‘today’
f. *somna* ‘evening’

In examples (3a-f), all the adverbs have the status of independent words or lexical items.

10.1.3 Derived adverbs

Other adverbs are mainly derived from third person pronouns, nouns and verbs, etc. as listed in (4).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| (4) | a. | <i>tambi</i> | tam-bi | this-LOC | ‘here’ |
| | b. | <i>mambi</i> | mam-bi | that-LOC | ‘there (distal)’ |
| | c. | <i>takambi</i> | takam-bi | this (unseen)-LOC | ‘there (remote)’ |
| | d. | <i>kimbi</i> | kim-bi | house-LOC | ‘at home’ |
| | e. | <i>k^hurbi</i> | k ^h ur-bi | hand-LOC | ‘on the hand’ |
| | f. | <i>saulobi</i> | saulo-bi | jungle-LOC | ‘in the jungle’ |
| | g. | <i>tAlso</i> | tAl-so | push-SIM | ‘push-MAN’ |
| | h. | <i>t^husso</i> | t ^h us-so | pull-SIM | ‘pull-MAN’ |
| | i. | <i>kAlso</i> | 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*.

10.1.4 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. | <i>kArtuppa sessoka kim Aisu</i> | | | |
| | | kArtuppa | se-s-soka | kim | Ais-u |
| | | jackle | kill-M.EXTDR-SEQ | home | return-1SG.PST |
| | | ‘After killing the jackle, I returned at home.’ | | | |

- b. *kArtuppa kAlso saulohu huŋu*

kArtuppa kAl-so saulo-hu huŋ-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 *sɛs* ‘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.

10.2 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^hipti-i

youngest sister-ERG hurriedly food cook-3SG.PST

‘The youngest sister cooked the food hurriedly.’

- b. *ninam d^zak^ha remg^Λ*

ninam d^zak^ha re-m-g^Λ

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

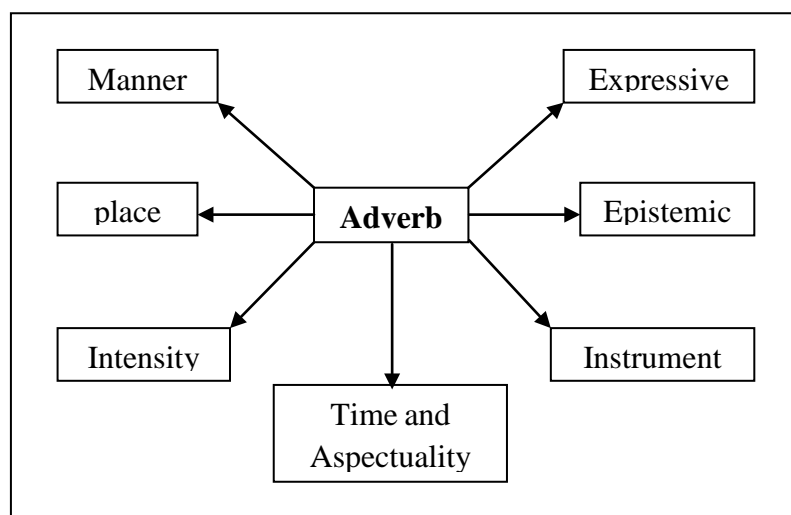
‘S/he writes very nicely.’

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 10.2.

Figure 10.2: Sub-categories of adverbs



The sub-categorized adverbs are discussed in the following subsections:

10.2.1 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. *kʌl-so* chase-MAN
 b. *t^hus-so* pull-MAN
 c. *jʌm-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^si mu 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^si*
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*.

10.2.2 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*

10.2.3 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.

10.2.4 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 hΛηkΛbu jem gota*
kawa-bi p^heri hΛηkΛbu je-m gota
river-LOC again flood come down-PRF COP.NPST
‘The river flooded again.’
- b. *p^hitikoua sΛd^hΛi ηa sud^zita*
p^hitikou-a sΛd^hΛi ηa 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^hʌi* ‘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^hʌi* ‘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. *sinʌm daulobi mi grasso*

<i>sinʌm</i>	<i>daulo-bi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>gra-so</i>
night time	hearth-LOC	fire	burn-SIM

sale polauni munt^hʌnpo

<i>sale</i>	<i>polauni</i>	<i>mun-t^hʌn-po</i>
thread	roll	do-HAB-PERT

‘We used to roll thread at night time by burning fire on the hearth.’

[DPT.NMR-45 :043]

- b. *baʌʌsuŋ gurd^zum k^hʌsso t^si tuŋt^hʌdi*

<i>baʌʌsuŋ</i>	<i>gurd^zum</i>	<i>k^hʌ-s-so</i>	<i>hent^si</i>	<i>tuŋ-t^hʌd-i</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^hʌs* ‘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. adʒika 'later on (short period of time)'
- d. adʒaka 'later on (long period of time)'
- e. lamlu 'early'
- f. jʌpaka '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) *aŋu kim hupat ʃojo d^{zh}ara hamipd^zʌm gʌ*

aŋu kim hupa-t^ʃojo d^{zh}ara ham-ipd^z-ʌm gʌ

1SG home reach-COND everyone PL-sleep-PRF COP.PST

'When I reached home, everyone had slept.'

In example (16), the time adverb clause *aŋu hupat ʃojo* 'when I reached,' is an adverbial subordinate clause depicting more fully the event that serves as a temporal reference point.

10.2.5 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 sidi*
 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 pɿa uk^hur suri*
 nakima-a pɿ-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 *ŋimu-lip^hua* ‘with bow-arrow’ in (17a) and *pɿa* ‘with ash’ in (17b) are constructed as noun phrases with instrumental/ergative case inflection *-a*.

10.2.6 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. *aŋua anilai adʒika bindenta*
 aŋu-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.

10.2.7 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. | <i>d^hawa</i> | ‘hurriedly’ |
| b. | <i>d^zak^ha</i> | ‘slowly’ |
| c. | <i>sumu-sumu</i> | ‘quietly’ |
| d. | <i>pispit^ʃ</i> | ‘little by little’ |
| e. | <i>wajewaje</i> | ‘patiently’ |
| f. | <i>hAlAmaksi</i> | ‘growing rapidly’ |
| g. | <i>d^zed^zeja</i> | ‘smiley’ |
| h. | <i>gragraja</i> | ‘shiningly’ |
| i. | <i>d^zod^zo-bobo</i> | ‘in a great hurry’ |
| j. | <i>sjakjakja</i> | ‘walking fast in group’ |
| k. | <i>ljaptjarni</i> | ‘suddenly’ |
| l. | <i>hinini</i> | ‘growing nicely’ |
| m. | <i>d^hiriri</i> | ‘way of shouting’ |
| n. | <i>hunumaksi</i> | ‘way of shooting with arrows’ |
| o. | <i>rAkAmaksi</i> | ‘moving actively’ |

In examples (19g, h), the adverbs like *d^zed^zeja* ‘smiley’ and *gragraja* ‘shiningly’ are derived from the verb roots *d^ze* ‘talk’ and *gra* ‘burn’, respectively.

Likewise, in examples (19m, n), adverbs like *d^hiriri* ‘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.

10.3 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 d^hawa d^za k^hipni*
 mama-a d^hawa d^za k^hip-ni
 mother-ERG quickly rice cook-HON.3SG.PST
 ‘Mother cooked rice quickly.’
- b. *papa disse dumo lamlu ham^huku*
 papa disse dumo lamlu ham-p^huk-u
 father morning too early HON-get up-3SG.PST
 ‘Father woke up too early in the morning.’
- c. *pepe t^{sh}ote soṅsa hammota*
 pepe t^{sh}ote soṅsa ham-mota
 brother very tall HON-COP.NPST
 ‘Brother is very tall.’

The adverb *d^hawa* ‘quickly’ in example (20a), *dumo* ‘too’ in (20b), *t^{sh}ote* ‘very’ in (20c) precede the verb *k^hipni* ‘cooked’, the adverb *lamlu* ‘early’ and the adjective *soṅsa* ‘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 *t^{sh}ote* ‘very’ modifies the adjective *soysa* ‘tall’.

10.4 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) *tʃino* ‘down’

The postposition *-tʃino* ‘down’ points to the location below something as illustrated in (21).

- (21) *mam kim lam tʃinobi gota*
 mam kim lam-tʃino-bi gota
 that house footpath-below-LOC COP.NPST
 ‘That house is below the footpath.’

In example (21), the postposition *-tʃino* ‘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 *taja* ‘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 *maja* ‘that side’ points to the position of the thing or any entity as illustrated in (26).

- (26) *maja k^hΛksa minu*
- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| <i>maja</i> | <i>k^hΛk-sa</i> | <i>minu</i> |
| 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*
- | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>o-p^har-bi</i> | <i>muk-sa</i> | <i>minu</i> |
| 1SG.POSS-nearby-LOC | stay-NMLZ | person |
| ‘the person who stays nearby me’ | | |

- a. *k^hΛmp^harbi dumsa maka*
- | | | |
|---|---------------|-------------|
| <i>k^hΛm-p^har-bi</i> | <i>dum-sa</i> | <i>maka</i> |
| 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’¹ in *kawagobi* ‘inside the river’ and *saulogobi* ‘inside the jungle’ point to the location of the thing or entity.

10.5 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

¹ van Driem (1993:78) presents the postposition *gobi* ‘inside’ as *‘hoy*’ ‘inside’ in accordance with the pronunciation from Baksila Dumi.

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 11

SIMPLE CLAUSES

11.0 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 11.1, we describe the types of clause with non-verbal predicates. Section 11.2 discusses the various types of simple clauses with verbal predicates. In section 11.3, we deal with the types of clauses in terms of speech act distinctions in the language. Finally, section 11.4 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

11.1 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:

11.1.1 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 soŋsa gota*

mam kim soŋsa gota
 that house tall COP.NPST
 ‘That house is tall.’

In example (1a) *k^hanuwama* ‘beautiful’ and in example (1b) *soŋsa* ‘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.

11.1.2 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.

11.1.3 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^hambi gota*

a-po	kim	k ^h ambi	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 11.1.

Figure 11.1: The phrase structure of the copular clause

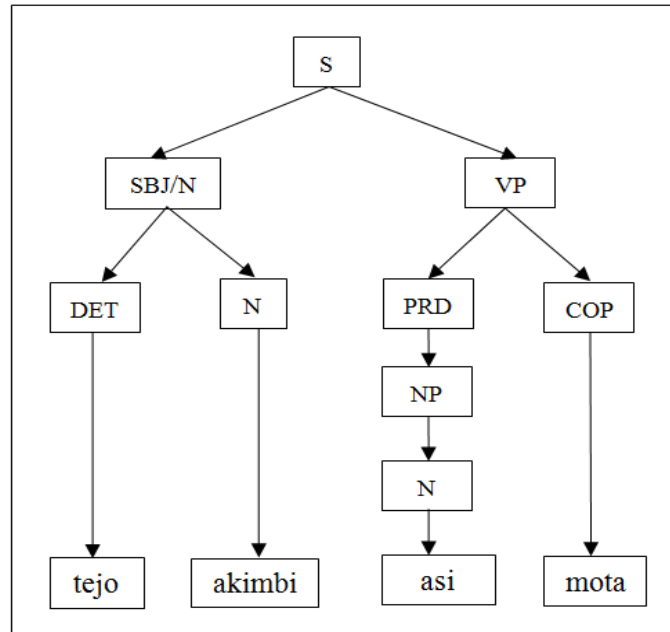


Figure 11.1 presents the constituents and their hierarchical relations of the copular clause in (3a). In the tree diagram, the nominal predicate is a constituent of the verb phrase (VP), the other being the copula (COP). Such a predicate occurs following the subject directly dominated by S and precedes the copula.

11.1.4 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. *um-po kim kawa p^har-bi 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 mΛ*
- saulo-bi sumu mΛ*
- 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 11.2 presents the phrase structure (PS) tree diagram for the syntactic characterization of the copular clause in (4a).

Figure 11.2: The phrase structure (PS) tree diagram

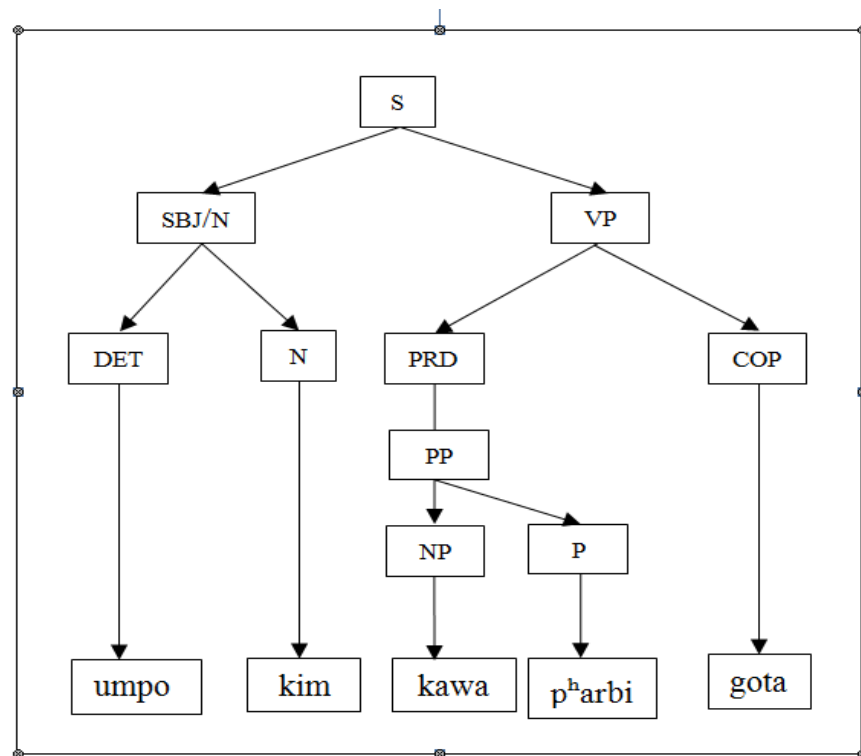


Figure 11.2 presents the constituents and their hierarchical relations of the copular clause in (4a). In this tree diagram, the locative predicate, structurally the postpositional phrase (PP) in which the head is the postposition, occurs preverbally (i.e., copula verb).

11.2 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 Dumi, 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, Dumi presents four types of verbal predicate clauses.

Table 11.1 presents the types of verbal predicate clauses in terms of the argument structure of the verbs.

Table 11.1: 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 11.1 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:

11.2.1 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. *t^ʰu:t^ʰu uhopu ŋa t^ʃamsi*
 t^ʰu:t^ʰu uhopu ŋa t^ʃjams-i
 child alone EMPH play-3SG.PST
 ‘The child played alone.’
- c. *ŋjaldun t^ʰu:t^ʰu umu doksoka re*
 ŋjaldun t^ʰu:t^ʰu 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’, *t^ʃamsi* ‘played’, *re* ‘laughed’, respectively, are intransitive. These predicates take, respectively, the single argument *mam* in 5(a), *t^ʰu:t^ʰu* in 5(b) and *ŋjaldun t^ʰu:t^ʰu* in 5(c) as the subjects in the absolutive case (i.e., zero-marked).

11.2.2 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^su 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^su* ‘bamboo basket’ in 6(c) are zero-marked.

11.2.3 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^obi 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. *iŋki lamdup^harbi rjaptinΛ*

[iŋki]_{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^hΛk-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^obi* ‘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.

11.2.4 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. *tʰutʰua aŋulai dudu abenu*
- | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------|------------------|
| [tʰutʰu-a] _{SUB} | [aŋu-lai] _{IO} | [dudu] | a-ben-u |
| | | DO | |
| grandpa-ERG | 1SG-DAT | milk | 1SG-give-3SG.PST |
- ‘Grandfather gave me milk.’

- b. *kʰitʰia pukʰubi sodʒa sul-i*
- | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| [kʰitʰi-a] _{SUB} | [pukʰu-bi] _{IO} | [sodʒa] _{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 (IO) *aŋu* ‘I’ is coded by the dative case -*lai*. In (8b), the indirect object *pukʰu* ‘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).

11.3 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:

11.3.1 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^s ĭ*

pepe duwa-bi ham-k^hut^s-i
 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^s ĭ* ‘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.

11.3.2 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 hΛm↑*

um u-hopu ŋa hΛ-m

3SG 3SG-alone PRT arrive-PST.PTCP

‘Did he arrive alone?’

c. *ani jo k^hΛksa 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^hΛksa*

ani k^hΛk-sa je ma-k^hΛk-sa

2SG go-IMPV or NEG-go-IMPV

‘Do you go or not?’

b. *uma sɿ dʒuta je dʒutanΛ*

um-a sɿ 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 *kʰaksa* ‘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 kʰustanΛm ↑*

um kim kʰus-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 *ad^hita* ‘(you) eat’ in 12(a), *ak^husta* ‘(you) go’ in 12(b) and *at^sumti* ‘(you two) chop’ in 12(c) are succeeded by the negative particle *-nΛ* 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 brΛtim*

um-lai asi-a brΛt-i-m

3SG-DAT who-ERG call-3SG.PST-NMLZ

‘Who called him?’

b. *ania asilai abrΛtim*

ani-a asi-lai a-brΛt-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 b_Λndi*

um-a mo b_Λnd-i
3SG-ERG what touch-3SG.PST
‘What did she touch?’

b. *malo ania mo ad^ɿ*

malo ani-a mo a-d^ɿi-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^ʒa abi*

ani-a asi-lai sod^ʒa a-bi-ø
2SG-ERG who-DAT money 2SG-give-PRST.PFV
‘Who did you give the money to?’

b. *uma asilai d^ʒetim*

um-a asi-lai d^ʒet-i-m
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^ʔa ahudim*
- | | | | |
|---------|-----------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| ani-a | asi-lamka | sod ^ʔ a | 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-ø |
| 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’, *hinam* ‘when’¹ or *k^hamu* ‘where’ are used, respectively as illustrated in (18).

(18) a. *dusu hijo hAlA*

dusu hijo hAlA-Ø
 friend when arrive-3SG.PST
 ‘When did your friend arrive?’

b. *ani hinam ak^husta*

ani hinam a-k^hus-t-a
 2SG when 2SG-go-NPST-2SG.NPST
 ‘When do/will you go?’

¹ In Makpa Dumi, the time adverb *hijo* ‘when’ is used to signify the past tense whereas *hinam* ‘when’ is used to signify the non-past (present and future) tense.

- c. *k^hliba k^hΛmu k^hutʃ*
k^hliba k^hΛmu k^hutʃ-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.

11.4 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 12

NOMINALIZATIONS

12.0 Outline

This chapter deals with nominalization. It consists of five sections. In section 12.1, we deal with the forms and distributional properties of nominalizers. Section 12.2 presents the semantic characterization of nominalizers *-na* and *-m*. In section 12.3, we briefly deal with derivational (or lexical) nominalization at the morphological level. Section 12.4 highlights clausal nominalization realized in attributive phrases, nominal-complement clauses, relative clauses, verbal-complement clauses, adverbial clauses and free-standing independent clauses. In section 12.5, we present the verb-phrase nominalized clauses in this language. Finally, section 12.6 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

12.1 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.

12.1.1 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*

brΛ-(n)¹-po-m minu hΛΛ
 invite-M.EXTDR-PRFT-NMLZ person arrive.PST
 ‘The invited person arrived.’

- b. *t^ʃunpom tummu bantunna t^{sh}ukta*

t^ʃun-po-m tum-mu ban-tun-na t^{sh}ukta
 know idea-PRFV-NMLZ thing-PL tell-BEN-NMLZ must
 ‘There must be transferred the ideas to others.’

- c. *lamdubi lΛmpom sumu birk^hut^ʃ*

lamdu-bi lΛm-po-m sumu bir-k^hut^ʃ-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 *brΛnpom* ‘the invited’ in (1a), *t^ʃunpom* ‘known’ in (1b) and *lΛmpom* ‘caught’ are formed by suffixing the perfective marker *-po* to the respective verb roots *brΛ* ‘invite’, *t^ʃu* ‘know’ and *lΛm* (*lΛp) ‘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).

¹ 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.

(2) a. *uma t^saptim sAp^hu*

um-a t^sapt-i-m sAp^hu

3SG-ERG write-3SG.PST-NMLZ letter

‘the letter that he wrote’

b. *aŋua k^hiptum d^za*

aŋu-a k^hipt-u-m d^za

1SG-ERG cook-1SG.PST-NMLZ rice

‘the rice that I cooked’

c. *aŋua tulom g^hiru*

aŋu-a tul-o-m g^hiru

1SG-ERG tame-1SG.PST-NMLZ parrot

‘the parrot that I tamed’

In examples (2a-c), the nominals *t^saptim* ‘that he wrote’ in (2a), *k^hiptum* ‘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^sap* ‘write’, the first person singular marker *-u* to the verb root *k^hip* ‘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 tAki*

um-a pu-t-a-m tAki

3SG-ERG weave-NPST-3SG-NMLZ cap

‘the cap that she weaves’

b. *ania at^sAp^hu*

ani-a a-t^sAp-t-a-m sAp^hu

2SG-ERG 2SG-write-NPST-2SG-NMLZ letter

‘the letter that you write’

c. *aṇua tultom silpu*

aṇu-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^sAp^hu* ‘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^sAp* ‘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 d^zuksa tuŋa p^heksa je*

hopu-a d^zuk-sa tuŋa p^hek-sa je
self-ERG eat-NMLZ only serve-NMLZ PRT
‘Better you serve only as much as you eat.’

b. *huksa k^hlibaa akaktinΛ*

huk-sa k^hliba-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 *d^huksa* ‘eating’ and *p^heksa* ‘serving’ in (6a) and *huksa* ‘barking’ in (6b) are formed by suffixing the nominalizer *-sa* to the respective verb roots *d^huk* ‘eat’, *p^hek* ‘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. *p^hiksalai asia wo k^hritta ka*

p^hi-k-sa-lai asi-a
 beg-M.EXTDR-NMLZ-DAT who-ERG

 wo k^hrit-t-a ka
 PRT respect-NPST-IMPRF EMPH
 ‘Nobody respects the beggar.’

b. *t^si tuŋsa wari k^hanuksa mono*

t^si tuŋ-sa wari k^hanuksa 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 *p^hik* ‘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^hΛpdΛm tidu*
 aŋu-a k^hΛp-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^hrAp* ‘cover’ and *t^{sh}Λm* ‘dance with chant’ are nominalized by the suffix *-dΛm* to form the respective nouns *k^hrApdΛm* ‘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 *tʃam* ‘play’ to form the deverbalized word (i.e., noun) *tʃamdo* ‘playing’. Similarly, in (10b), the nominalizer *-du* as the allomorph of *-do* is suffixed to the root of the verb *sam* ‘chant’ to form the deverbalized word (i.e., noun) *samdu* ‘chanting’.

(g) The nominalizer *-k^hom*

The nominalizer *-k^hom*² may be affixed to the noun as illustrated in (11).

- (11) a. *mʌjo pwatelbi haldenpom to:k^hom omiksibi ʌisbakta*
 mʌjo pwatel-bi hal-den-po-m
 that time yard-LOC **spread-DUR-PRFT-NMLZ**

 to:k^hom o-miksi-bi **ʌis-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. *adʒo jelʌk^hombi tʃu:pi hamma e*
 adʒo jelʌ-k^hom-bi tʃu:pi ham-mʌ 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^hom* ‘certain place’ in *to:k^hom* ‘loom-place’ in (11a) and *jelʌk^hom* ‘the King-place (i.e., capital)’ in (11b) are formed by

² The locative nominal that follows a noun has the allomorph ‘*-k^hop*’ like *d^heŋk^hop* ‘the place where the monkey stays’, *sʌŋk^hop* ‘the place where the cuckoo stays’, etc.

suffixing the nominalizer *-k^hom* to the nouns *to*: ‘loom’ and *jelΛ* ‘the King’, respectively.

12.1.2 Distribution of nominalizers

Table 12.1 presents the distributional properties of the following nominalizers: *-m*, *-si*, *-sa*, *-na*, *-dΛm*, *-do*, *-k^hom*.

Table 12.1: 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^hom</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	√

12.2 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 (IMPF) *-na* and perfective (PFV) *-m* and modally, into irrealis *-na* and realis *-m*.

Figure 12.1: Distributional properties of the nominalizers

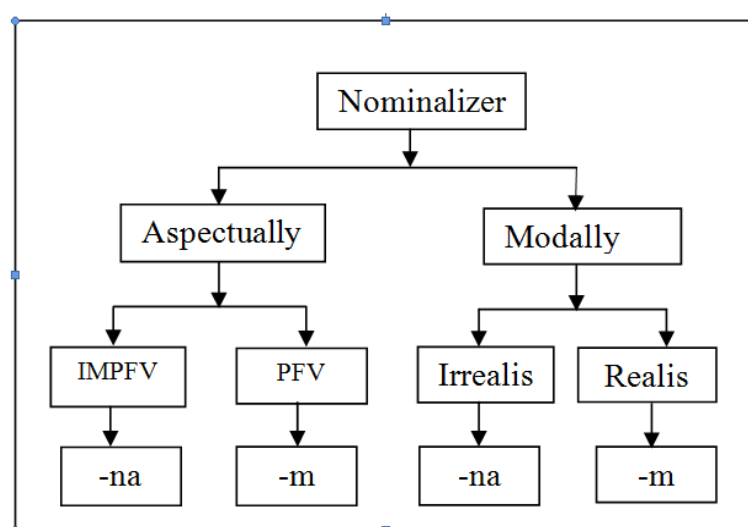


Figure 12.1 presents the classification of these nominalizing suffixes in terms of the semantic concepts of tense-aspect and modality. There are other nominalizers that derive a noun as illustrated in (12).

- (12) a. *mambika uma bolo ŋa t^sumsina at^si*

mambika um-a bolo ŋa
 then 3SG-ERG soon EMPH

t^sumsi-na at^s-i
 get ready-NMLZ say-3SG.PST

‘Then she said, ‘You get ready soon.’

- b. *mANA mamla kaAna t^{sh}ukta*

mANA mam-la kaAna t^{sh}ukta
 then there-ABL chase-NMLZ must

‘Then, it must be chased from there.’

In example (12a), the root of the verb *t^sumsi* ‘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 *kaɪ* ‘chase’, marked by the nominalizer *-na*, may be interpreted as being in irrealis modality and in imperfective aspect.

12.3 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*³, *-si*, *-sa*, *-na*, *-dɔm*, *-do* and *-k^hom*. Dumi derives both lexical adjectives and lexical nouns. We discuss them as follows:

12.3.1 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).

(13)	Root	Meaning	[V-PRFV-NMLZ]	Lexical Adjective	Gloss
a.	t ^s ɔp	‘write’	/t ^s ɔm-po-m/	/t ^s ɔmpom/	‘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 ɔ	‘take’	/k ^h ɔn-po-m/	/k ^h ɔnpom/	‘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.	jɔm	‘beat’	/jɔm-po-m/	/jɔmpom/	‘beaten’

³ We notice that before affixing the nominalizer *-m*, a suffix *-po* or *-bi* is attached to the verb root in Dumi.

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 ɪ	‘know’	/t ^s ɪk-sa/	/t ^s ɪksa/	‘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/	/gulsɑ/	‘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.	bAr	‘grow’	/bAr-na/	/bArna/	‘(a person) to be grown’
b.	di:	‘follow’	/di:-na/	/di:na/	‘(a person) to be followed’
c.	p ^h lA	‘help’	/p ^h lA-na/	/p ^h lAna/	‘(a person) to be helped’
d.	kAl	‘chase’	/kAl-na/	/kAlna/	‘(a person) to be chased’
e.	buk	‘bear’	/buk-na/	/bukna/	‘(a woman) to bear kids’
f.	kAmsi	‘wear’	/kAmsi-na/	/kAmsina/	‘(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.

12.3.2 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. *d^zuna na tuna(*tuŋna) totoja muna*
- | | | | | |
|--|------|------------|-------------------|-----------|
| d ^z u-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 aj_Λnd_Λna kajo*
- | | | | | |
|--|------|---------|--|------|
| djar-na | na | mu-na | a-j _Λ n-d _Λ n-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 *d^zuna* ‘eating’, **tuŋna* ‘drinking’, *muna* ‘staying’ are derived by affixing the nominalizer *-na* to the respective verb roots *d^zu* ‘eat’, *tuŋ* ‘drink’, and *mu* ‘stay’. Likewise, in example (18b) the nouns *djarna* ‘suiting’, *muna* ‘staying’, and *j_Λnd_Λna* ‘appearing’ are derived by affixing the nominalizer *-na* to the respective verb roots *djar* ‘suit’, *mu* ‘stay’, and *j_Λnd_Λn* ‘appear’.

12.4 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:

12.4.1 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.

12.4.2 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. *biʔ buk^hum ɲiɲujo aɲu t^{sh}ote ɲa jank^hΛisu*

biʔ buk^h-u-m ɲi-ɲujo
cow give birth-3SG.PST-NMLZ hear-CONV

t^{sh}ote ɲa aɲu jank^hΛis-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 ɲika um k^hak^hajuju t^{sh}uku*

k^hliba t^sam-u-m ɲi-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*.⁴

⁴ 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.

12.4.3 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. *asnΛmka t^{sh}wara d^zΛisim d^hamro*

asnΛmka 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^s i*

kim kid (t*)⁵-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^ziksai jar-sΛŋu*

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.

⁵ 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’.

Likewise, in (21c), the nominalized marker *-sa* is suffixed to the verb root *dʒ* ‘talk’ is coded as the imperfective aspect.

12.4.4 Verbal-complement clauses

Nominalized clauses also function as the complement of the verb as illustrated in (22).

- (22) a. *um uhopulai ɲa tuɲna malatnʌ*
 um uhopu-lai ɲa tuɲ-na ma-lat-nʌ
 3SG him only-DAT EMPH drink-NMLZ NEG-be sufficient-NEG
 ‘It was not enough to drink for her/him only.’

- b. *mʌjo owa kori baksa mʌ*
 mʌjo o-wa koriba-k-sa mʌ-ø
 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 *tuɲ* ‘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.

12.4.5 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. *atʰjoma tam okʰur dʒʰumsum*
 a-tʰi-(j)o-m-a tam
 1SG-fall down-PST-NMLZ-ERG this

 o-kʰur dʒʰums-u-m
 1SG.POSS-hand get hurt-1SG.PST-NMLZ
 ‘This my hand got hurt when I fell down.’

b. *hu jema duwa manirna*

hu je-m-a duwa ma-nir-i*-na
 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 *tʰi* ‘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^{shotam}*

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 datt-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.

12.4.6 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. *ajua kim kidum gota*

aju-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.

12.5 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^ʒuna ita*

mo dok-t-i mam ŋa d^ʒu-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^ʒu* ‘eat’ are marked by the nominalizer *-na* to form the respective verb-phrases *se:na* ‘killing’ in (26a) and *d^ʒuna* ‘eating’ in (26b), respectively.

12.6 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 13

CLAUSE COMBINING

13.0 Outline

This chapter about clause combining comprises three sections. In section 13.1, we deal with subordination in complex expressions: complement, adverbial, relative and converbial clauses in Dumi. Section 13.2 discusses coordination in complex expressions: conjunction, disjunction, adversative coordination and exclusion. Finally, in section 13.3, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

13.1 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 Dumi clauses, the verb is marked for person and number, and unlike the Athpare language (Ebert, 2001:149), Dumi marks TAM as well. In this regards, Kirati languages, in terms of the degree of integration, Dumi 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 converbial clauses. We discuss each of these clauses in turn as follows.

13.1.1 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 Dumi, 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 Dumi. Non-reduced nominalized clauses can be a complement to a verb of cognition (or sensation) as illustrated in (2).

(2) *aŋua dusumua ki d^ht^hΛtnim doktu*

aŋu-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^ht^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 aṇulai lΔm gota*

amna hi: kil-t-a

today wind blow-NPST-3SG

ak-sa aṇu-lai lΔm gota

say-NMLZ 1SG-DAT aware COP.NPST

‘I am sure that it will be windy today.’

- b. *t^hampu k^hirsti aksa d^{zh}araa t^suknim gota*

t^hampu k^hirs-t-i ak-sa

earth go round-NPST-3SG say-NMLZ

d^{zh}ara-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 *lam 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^suknim* ‘known’ in (4b).

13.1.2 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).

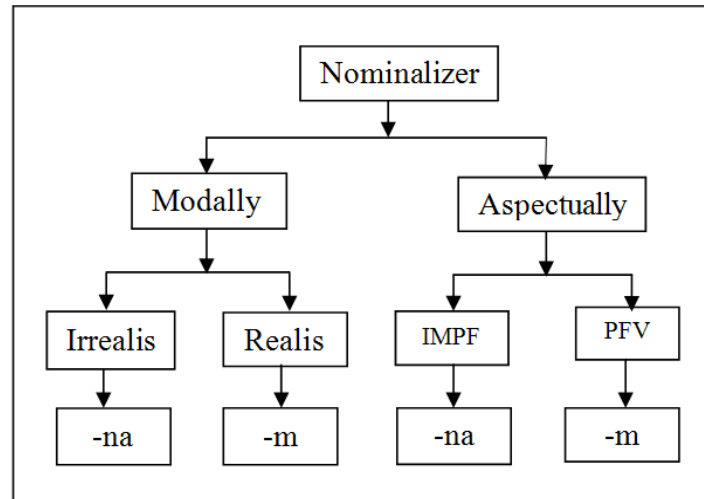
- (5) a. *ani hopubrΛ k^hanot^he ad^zeta*
 ani hopu-brΛ k^hano-t^he a-d^ze-t-a
 2SG own-language well-MAN 2SG-speak-NPST-2SG
 ‘You speak your own language (i.e., mother tongue) well.’

- 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 13.1 presents the seven types of complex expressions categorized as adverbial clauses in Dumi:

Figure 13.1: 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. *jelAk^hom pinalamlu aŋu luklabi moŋu*
 jelAk^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 Dumi.

(b) Location adverbial clauses

In Dumi, 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^hAmbi mota mambi ŋa aŋu jo huŋto*

um k^hAmbi 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^hAmu* ‘where’ or *k^hAmbi* ‘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 ^ʃ i-a	se-k ^h e	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 tʰa:tʰa hʌʌ*
 pipi dum-kubi tʰa:tʰa 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).

- (11) a. *krumdima t^su:t^sua d^hawa dudu tuŋu*
krumd-i-m-a t^su:t^su-a
be hungry-3SG.PST-NMLZ-ERG child-ERG
d^hawa dudu tuŋ-u
fast milk drink-3SG.PST
‘The child drank milk fast as s/he was hungry.’

In examples (11a, b), the non-finite forms of the reason clauses consist of the root of the verb *krumd* ‘be hungry’ in (11a) and *je* ‘fall’ in (11b) affixed by the nominalizer *-m* followed by the ergative case marker *-a*. Hence, the adverbial clauses of reason are formed by the use of a cluster of the subordinating morphemes *-m*, *-a*.

The concessive adverbial clause is a clause that ‘makes a concession against which the proposition in the main clause is contrasted’ and is classified into two types: definite and indefinite (Thompson, Longacre and Hwang, 2007:262). In Dumi, the root of the verb is suffixed by the concessive adverbial marker *-kʰojo* ‘although’ in order to reflect a contrast of some sort between the main and the subordinate clause as illustrated in (12).

k^hojo samp^harsa mota
 although courageous COP.NPST
 ‘Although he looks thin, he is courageous.’

- b. *pabia nat^sur muta k^hojo d^{zh}araa umlai ŋa jattani*
- pabi-a nat^sur mut-a k^hojo
 Pabi-ERG jealous do-3SG.NPST although
- d^{zh}ara-a um-lai ŋa 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^haksak^ho aŋu jo k^husto*
- ani k^hΛ-k-sa-k^ho aŋu 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 untⁱ pitin^Δ*

nam g^hrim-t-a-k^ho untⁱ hulu-t-i-n^Δ

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^hΛksak^ho* ‘if you go’ and *nam grimtak^ho* ‘if it becomes dark’, respectively show the conditional markers in Dumì.

13.1.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are subordinate clauses that modify an NP in the matrix clause¹. 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 Dumì, 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 Dumì. Here we analyze them within the three typological parameters².

We discuss each of these relative clauses as follows:

(a) Externally headed relative clauses

In Dumì, 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

¹ 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.

² 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.

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.'

- b. **Nominalizer followed by the dative marker <-sa-lai>**

[hentʃa sek-lɔŋsalai] dʒektinɔ

[hentʃi-a sek-lɔŋ-sa-lai]
alcohol-ERG get drink-AMBL-NMLZ-DAT

dʒe-k-t-i-nɔ

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 *damp* (**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 Dumi, a 'null (or covert) operator' in the subject position can be relativized as illustrated in (15).

- (15) [tam t^{sh}eŋsa] minua bana t^sapta
 [tam t^{sh}eŋ-sa] min-u-a ba-na t^sapta
 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^{sh}endum minu] madoktunΛ
 [aŋu-a t^{sh}end-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 open-minded 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. *aŋua pΛŋum kakal*
 aŋu-a pΛŋ-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. *aŋua sodʒa biŋum minu*
- | | | | |
|---------|-------|-------------------|--------|
| aŋu-a | sodʒa | biŋ-u-m | minu |
| 1SG-ERG | money | give-1SG.PST-NMLZ | person |
- ‘The person whom I gave the money’
- b. *aŋulai sodʒa biksa minu*
- | | | | |
|---------|-------|-------------------|--------|
| aŋu-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. *bAsbi hoŋsa tikAt*
- | | | |
|---------|-------------|--------|
| bAs-bi | hoŋ-sa | tikAt |
| bus-LOC | travel-NMLZ | ticket |
- ‘the ticket that is used to travel by bus’

b. *aŋu lamt^hijom jʌpaka um hʌʌ*

aŋu lamt^hi-(j)o-m jʌpaka um hʌʌ

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.

13.1.4 Converbal clauses

Converbal 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^haisi*

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 Dumi 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^ʃu:t^ʃu lemso lemso ipti*

u-mu-a t^ʃu:t^ʃu 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}Amso t^{sh}Amso ukim hupat^si*

nokt^{sh}o t^{sh}Am-so t^{sh}Am-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}Amso* ‘dancing’ connote continuity in Dumi.

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 sɿ: hudum*
 aŋu-a saulo k^hΛ-s-soka
 1SG-ERG jungle go-M.EXTDR-SEQ
 sɿ: hud-u-m
 firewood bring-1SG.PST-NMLZ
 ‘After going to the jungle, I brought firewood.’

- b. *gulai piʔkajo lumsoka daptik^ho nuksa*
 gu-lai piʔ-kajo lum-soka dap-t^hΛnpɔ
 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^si*

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]

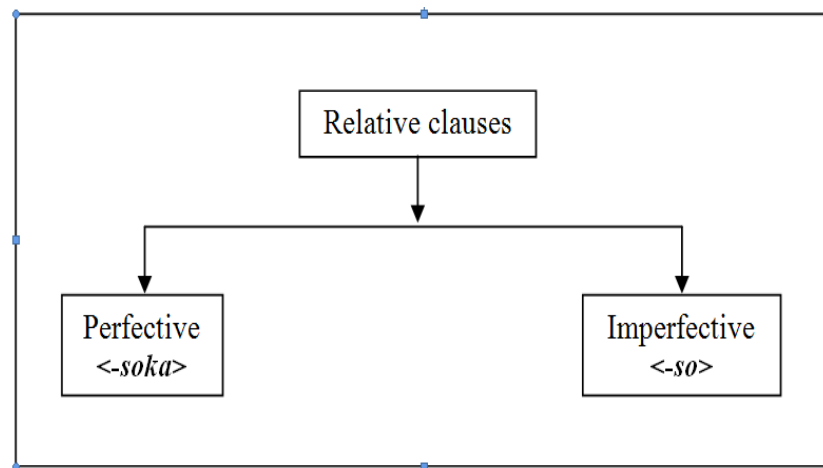
In examples (27a, b), the sequential converbal constructions *k^hAssoka* ‘having reached’ in 27(a) and *t^sensoka* ‘having taught’ in 27(b) express the activities which are the major function of the sequential converb that encode the events which are assumed to have occurred prior to the event coded 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 13.2 presents the typology of relative clauses in Dumi from a semantic point of view.

Figure 13.2: 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 ʌisi

mojo dʒu-na ma-dok-nʌ-ka

anything eat-INF NEG-get-NEG-SEQ

um kim ʌis-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 k^hut^sim

um ja-s-soka ŋa k^hut^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 ŋokso ukim k^hut^sĩ*

t^su:t^su ŋok-so u-kim k^hut^s-i

child cry-SIM 3SG.POSS-home go-3SG.PST

‘The child went to her/his home crying.’

b. *senna madoksoka um bolo ŋa aisi*

sen-na ma-dok-soka um

look-INF NEG-see-SEQ 3SG

bolo ŋa ʌis-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 *ŋokso* ‘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.

13.2 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:

13.2.1 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 kʰo nuk-kʰʌksa*

si: kajo pabu-a

wood and bamboo-ERG

kʰo nuk-kʰʌ-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., *sɛ* ‘wood’ and *pabu* ‘bamboo’ and in example (30b) *nana* ‘elder sister’ and *pepe* ‘elder brother’ have been coordinated by the coordinator *kajo* ‘and’.

13.2.2 Disjunctive coordination

Dumi does not have any native coordinator for disjunction³. 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 disjunction⁴, 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^{sho} tambi hamhota je papa ŋa mambi hamk^hustam*
 nokt^{sho} 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?’
- b. *sakli je sukli latta*
 sak-li je suk-li-a lat-t-a
 two-CLF or three-CLF-ERG enough-NPST-3SG
 ‘Will two or three be enough?’

³ Disjunctive coordination is also known as alternative coordination or ‘or’ coordination.

⁴ Interrogative disjunction occurs in alternative questions.

c. *tambi t^su:t^su je duspi hΛm gΛ*

tambi t^su:t^su je duspi hΛ-m gΛ
 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.

13.2.3 Adversative coordination

Dumi has its own native lexical adversative coordinator *k^hoyo* ‘but’, which means an expression by a concessive subordinate. It is also used for purpose in Dumi as illustrated in (32).

(32) a. *nana hamhΛΛ k^hoyo pepe mahuna ηa*

nana ham-hΛΛ k^hoyo
 elder sister HON-arrive.PRF but

 pepe ma-hu-na ηa
 elder brother NEG-arrive-NEG EMPH
 ‘Elder sister arrived, but elder brother did not arrive.’

b. *hito ηa at^sent^so k^hoyo makuk^hono*

hito ηa a-t^sent^s-o
 many times EMPH 3SG-teach-1SG.PST

 k^hoyo 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^hoyo asala muna mangʉ*

amna mu-na t^{sh}ukta k^hoyo

today do-INF has to but

asala mu-na mangʉ

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^hoyo* ‘but’, which means it is an expression of a concessive subordinate in Dumi. The negative adversative is indicated by *nAk^ho* ‘otherwise’ as illustrated in (33).

(33) a. *salu k^hant^he kamtinAk^ho arwakti*

salu k^hant^he kam-t-i-nAk^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, abultanAk^ho atittanΛ mei*

bul-so k^hut^s-a a-bul-t-a-nAk^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 *nAk^ho* ‘otherwise’, is expressed by concessive subordinate clauses and is also used for purpose in Dumi.

13.2.4 Exclusion

In Dumi, exclusion is indicated by *bika* ‘except’ as illustrated in (34).

- (34) a. *tam bika opo mojo mangu*

tam bika o-po mojo mangu
 this except 1SG-GEN anything not
 ‘I have nothing except this.’

- b. *kʌŋku tuŋom bika mojo kwambi bjaktum mangu*

kʌŋku tuŋ-o-m bika mojo
 water drink-1SG.PST-PRF except anything

 kwam-bi bjakt-u-m mangu
 mouth-LOC put-1SG.PST-PRF not
 ‘I have not put anything in my mouth except drinking water.’

- c. *ania sodʒa p^hina bika mojo akuk^hum mangu*

ani-a sodʒa p^hi-na bika
 you-ERG money ask-NMLZ except

 mojo a-kuk^h-u-m mangu
 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.

13.3 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 14

DISCOURSE

14.0 Outline

This chapter about discourse is organized into three sections. Section 14.1 gives a general description and background information on discourse and how it relates to Dumi. In section 14.2, we investigate multi-propositional discourse found in the language, followed by section 14.3 which summarizes the findings of the chapter.

14.1 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.

14.2 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).

14.2.1 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. *dʊŋkʊlubi ganpa aksa rʌdu mʌ*

dʊŋkʊlʊ-bi ganpa a-k-sa rʌdu mʌ

Dungkulu-LOC Ganpa say-M.EXTDR-NMLZ Rai COP.PST

‘In Dungkulu, there was a Rai called Ganpa.’

- b. *ʊmpo tukli maki aksa kʰliba jo mʌ*

ʊm-po tuk-li maki a-k-sa

3SG-GEN one-CLF Maki say-M.EXTDR-NMLZ

kʰliba jo mʌ

dog also COP.PST

‘He also had a dog named Maki.’

- c. *mam kʰliba tuk din sebar lʌmso sumandu saulobi hupatʰi*

mam kʰliba tuk din sebar

that dog one day animal

lʌm-so sumandu saulo-bi hupatʰ-i

search-SIM humid jungle-LOC reach-3SG.PST

‘Maki reached in the humid forest searching for wild animals.’

- d. *mambi hupat^ska mama tukli t^soktim biru kaldi 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

kaldi-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 ŋa disso atasabam makpabi piju ka mΛ*

asalapaka ganpa-a mam-lai
next day Ganpa-ERG that-DAT

ŋa 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

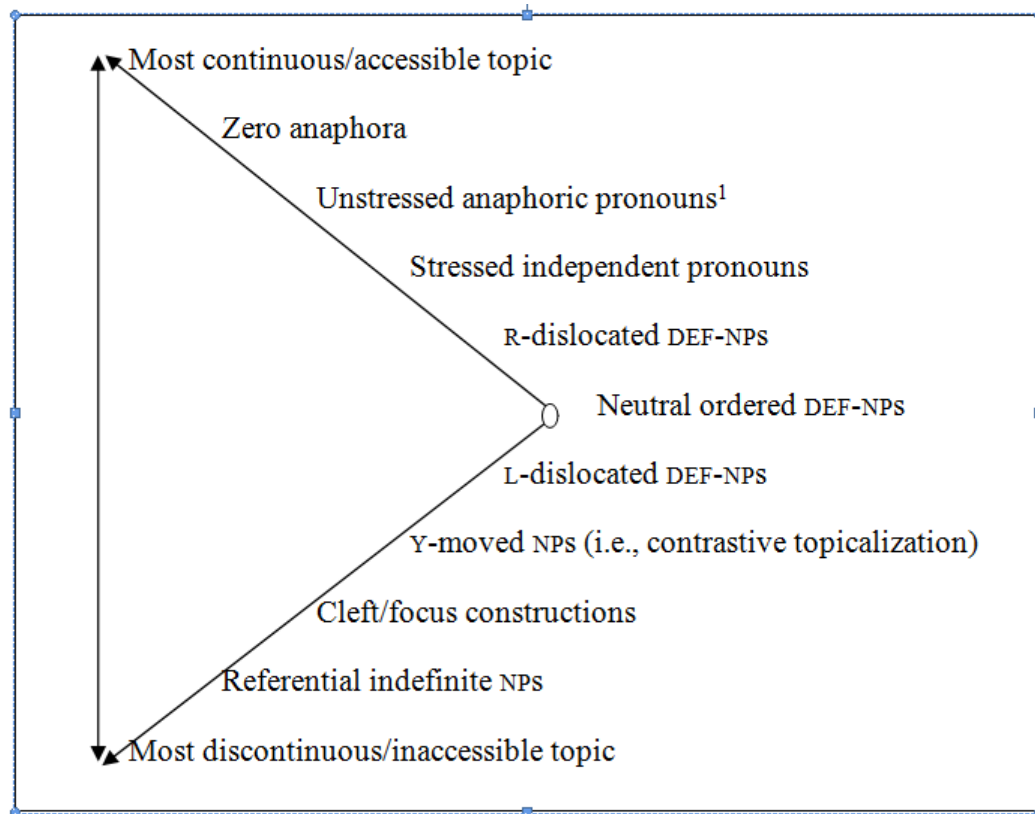
‘The next day, Ganpa came to Makpa following the dog and settled there.’

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 *lamso* ‘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 *t^hoktim* ‘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 14.1.

Figure14.1: 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 ga e*
 lamlu tambi ganpa pi-(j)u-m ga 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. *maṇṇka ratepa jo disso pijum ga e*
 maṇṇ-ka ratepa 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^hΛAbika 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^{sh}o opo dusulai brɔti*

nokt^{sh}o-a o-po dusu-lai brɔt-i
 shaman-ERG 1SG-GEN friend-DAT call-3SG.PST
 ‘The shaman called my friend.’

- b. *mɔnɔ um siŋkubi k^hut i*

mɔnɔ 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^{sh}o* ‘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 14.1 shows the permutation of the constituents and its semantic and pragmatic effects:

Table 14.1: Permutation of the constituents of the clauses

(9)	Permutations of the constituents	Functional elements	Pragmatic effects
a.	<i>pʌbia dʒa dʒi</i>	(SOV)	‘Pabi ate rice.’
b.	<i>pʌbia dʒi dʒa</i>	(SVO)	As for Pabi, he certainly ate rice.
c.	<i>dʒa dʒi pʌbia</i>	(OVS)	As for rice, Pabi ate it; he did not do anything else.
d.	<i>dʒa pʌbia dʒi</i>	(OSV)	As for rice, it was Pabi, who ate it.
e.	<i>dʒi dʒa pʌbia</i>	(VOS)	It was rice, as for eating, which Pabi ate.
f.	<i>dʒi pʌbia dʒa</i>	(VSO)	It was Pabi, as for eating, he did it.

Table 14.1 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^hakt^silipakajo mupu mamΛnΛ e*
 mΛnΛ k^hakt^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 Dumi.

(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 Dumi, such noun phrases code the most discontinuous topics in the language as illustrated in (15).

(15) a. *pispit̚i t^hupsoka t^hampu kidi*

pispit̚i 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 Dumi.

14.2.2 Action (event) continuity

Among the three major aspects of discourse continuity¹ 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 14.2.

¹ 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.

Table 14.2: Organizational parameters of discourse

	Accomplished time or time not focal	Projected time
(+)	NARRATIVE DISCOURSE	PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE
Sequence in time	1/3 person oriented (i.e., person important)	1/2/3 person oriented (i.e., person unimportant)
(-)	EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE	HORTATORY DISCOURSE
Sequence in time	theme oriented	two person oriented

Table 14.2 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.

(a) Narrative discourse

A narrative discourse² 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 parameters³: 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 sɿabikku*

dibumi-a kim-bi hΛ-ka
 hunter-ERG house-LOC come.3SG.PST-after

 sɿ a-bik-ku

 meat 3SG-give-1PL.PST

 ‘The hunter coming to the house gave us meat.’

- b. *tukli poktʰu lamlu kʰustʰijum gΛ*

tuk-li poktʰu lamlu kʰus-tʰij-u-m gΛ
 one-CLF piglet ahead go-PROG-3SG.PST-PRF COP.PST

 ‘One piglet was going ahead.’

² 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).

³ 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).

c. *mambika nokt^{sh}oa unimulai siŋni e*

mam-bika nokt^{sh}o-a unimu-lai siŋ-ni e
 that-AFTER shaman-ERG 3PL-DAT ask-3PL.PST REP
 ‘After that, the shaman asked them, it is said.’

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_Λl_{ni}*

t^su:t^su-mu-lai t^hamsure-a k_Λl-ni
 child-PL-DAT lunatic-ERG chase-3PL.PST
 ‘The lunatic chased the children.’

h. *mΛnΛ delt ʃumu hamjiri*

mΛnΛ 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 discourse⁴ 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

⁴ A hortatory discourse (i.e., the text of command forms and models 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).

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. *mΛjo unt ŋpo waa aŋulai hopu ŋa maluk^hossu lussi e*

mΛjo unt^si-po wa-a

at that time 2DU-GEN younger brother-ERG

aŋu-lai hopu tuŋa

1SG-DAT self alone

ma-luk^h-o-s-su lus-si e

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]

- 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.’ [ISI.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.’ [ISI.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^hilikpa* ‘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 discourse⁵ 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

⁵ Expository discourse may also have a notional segmentation like problem, solution, supporting argumentation and evaluation (Longacre and Hwang, 2012:190).

conflict, climax, denouement and final 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^{sh}ukta*

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 b_Δpme^hama birmet^sulai sulam-duwa t^sentani*

kim-bi b_Δpme-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. *bʌrsoka mundʒunalai k^hur-p^hʌlu pʌisina t^{sh}ukta*

bʌr-soka mun-dʒu-na-lai k^hur-p^hʌlu

grow-SEQ do-eat-INF-DAT hand-leg

pʌisi-na t^{sh}uk-t-a

tie up-INF be-NPST-3PL

‘While growing, a life partner is needed for her to
continue the life process.’

- e. *mʌkak^hi goa kaksɑ dʌni-po kimbi mukdʒukubi hamhupasta*

mʌkak^hi 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 *hamt^{shukta}* ‘3PL-be-NPST-3PL’ in (18a), *t^{sentani}* ‘teach-NPST-3PL’ in (18b), *hamburta* ‘3PL-grow-NPST-3PL’ in (18c), *t^{shukta}* ‘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 discourse⁶ 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).

⁶ 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.

(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]

c. *mambika luŋk^ha jukna ka mampo p^hurkua 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. *mΛmΛka ape hampom 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.’ [CHL.RM-69:18]

e. *tesoka tʃi k^hipsa mukti*

tesoka tʃi 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.’ [CHL.RM-69:31]

Examples (20a-e) present a glimpse of the procedural discourse in Dumi. 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 *tʃi* ‘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 Dumi 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.’

14.2.3 Thematic continuity

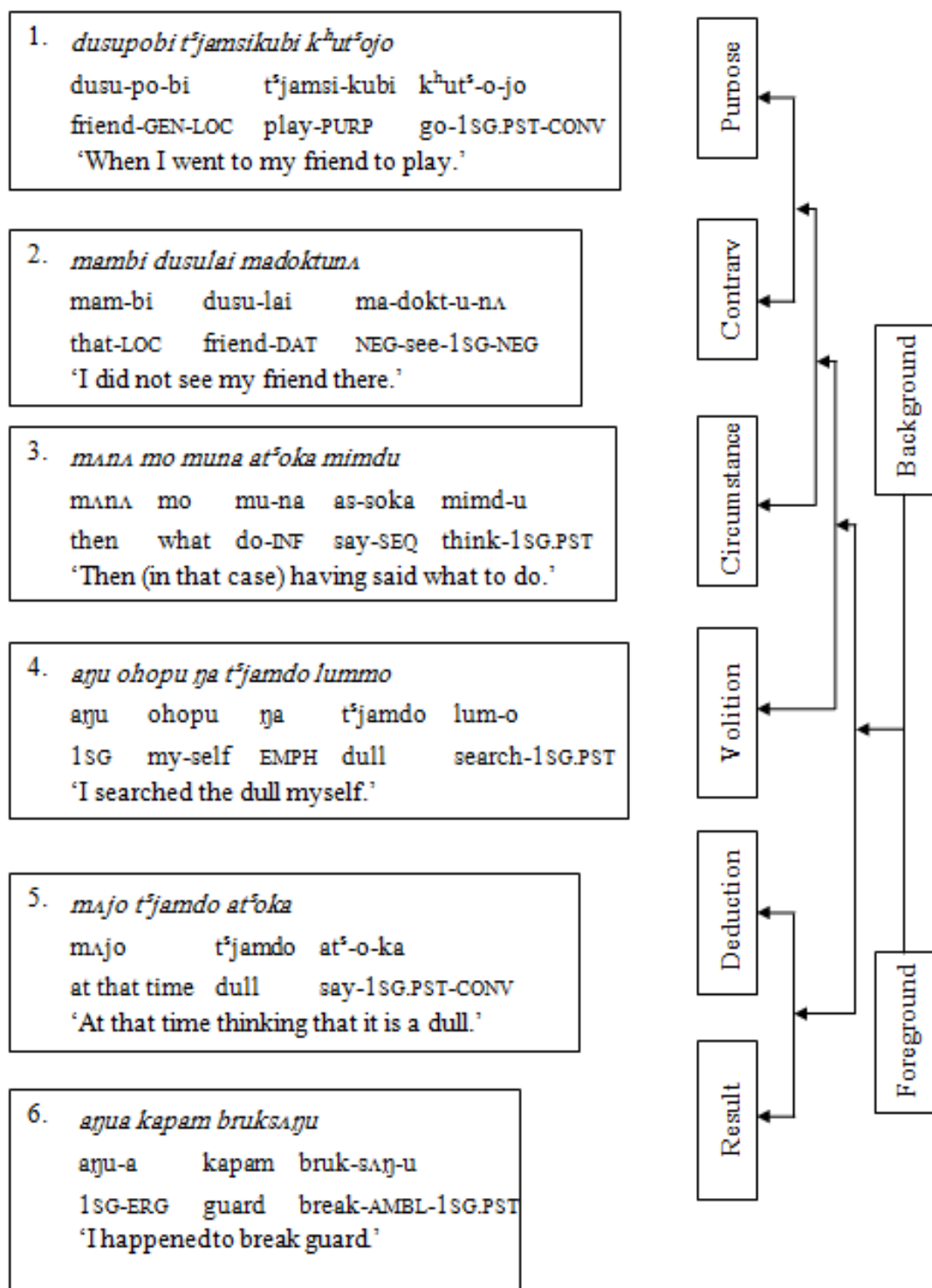
In this sub-section, we make a preliminary attempt to analyze the morphosyntactic devices which function in the domain of thematic continuity in Dumi discourse. Unlike topic or action continuity, thematic continuity may not be expressed

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 14.2: Rhetorical structure analysis of an expository text in Dumi



In Figure 14.2, 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 converbal clause in hierarchical order.

14.3 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 15

SUMMARY AND TYPOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

15.0 Outline

This chapter comprises three sections. In section 15.1, we present a summary of the major findings of the study. Section 15.2 deals with the typological implications of the study. In section 15.3, we discuss the concluding remarks highlighting the prominent structural features in the Dumri language.

15.1 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.

15.1.1 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.

15.1.2 Phonological features

There are 26 consonant phonemes in Dumi. 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 Dumi: stops, nasals, affricates, fricatives, trills, laterals and approximants. Dumi 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 Dumi. 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. Dumi shows both heavy and light syllable structures.

In Dumi, stress is not a distinctive feature, but intonation is distinctive. Dumi 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.

15.1.3 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.

15.1.4 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.

15.1.5 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.

15.2 Typological implications

In this section, we first make an attempt to compare the common characteristic structural features of the Dumi 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 Dumi. 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 Dumi 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.

15.2.1 Phonological comparison

Dumi shares a number of common phonological features which are characteristic of the T-B languages¹. However, Dumi 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, Dumi has two more vowel phonemes: unrounded high central /ɨ/ and low-mid back /ʌ/, resulting in a seven vowel system (i, ɨ, u, o, ʌ, a, e). In terms of the size of the set of vowels used in the languages of the world, Dumi may be referred to as being an above average vowel inventory (i.e., maximum 5-6 vowels) language (Maddieson, 2008b).

(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

¹ 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.

general lack this phonological feature. However, Dumi shows the feature of breathy voice.²

(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 15.1 summarizes the phonological comparison between Dumi and other Kirati languages (like Khaling, Koyee, etc.) under the east Himalayish group.

² Breathiness appears only in word-initial and word-medial position but not in word final position in Dumi.

Table 15.1: Phonological comparison between Dumi and the Tibeto-Burman
(Dumi, Kirati and Himalayish) [√=presence and x=absence]

	Phonological features	Dumi	Kirati	Himalayish
1.	Mono-syllabicity	√	√	√
2.	Breathiness	√	√	√
3.	Phonemic voicing contrasts	√	√	√
4.	Voicing opposition in liquids and nasals	x	x	√
5.	Retroflex series	x	x	√
6.	Fricatives			
	a. Two fricative [alveolar and glottal]	√	√	x
	b. One fricative [alveolar/palato-alveolar]	√	√	x
7.	Affricates			
	a. Alveolar series only	√	√	x
	b. Palatal alveolar series	√	√	x
8.	Distinct alveolar & palato-alveolar	x	x	√
9.	Phonemic nasalized vowels	x	x	√
10.	Stress: relatively weak and on word boundary	√	√	√

[Table 15.1 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 15.1 shows that Dumi maintains much more features of the Himalayish group of the T-B branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family.

15.2.2 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.³ Himalayish languages express reflexives as 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.⁴ 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.

³ All Bodish languages lack person/number agreement and they have conjunct/disjunct systems in the languages like Kathmandu Newar (Regmi, 2013:213).

⁴ 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.

(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) Converbal 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 15.2.

Table 15.2: Morphosyntactic comparison between Dumi and other Kirati languages
(Dumi, Kirati and Himalayish) [√=presence and x=absence]

	Morphosyntactic features	Dumi	Kirati	Himalayish
1.	Prefixation	√	√	√
2.	Person marking	√	√	√
3.	Multiple person marking	√	√	√
4.	Number marking	√	√	√
5.	Inflectional reflexive	√	√	√
6.	(a) Order of adjective-noun (ADJ N)	√	√	√
	(b) Order of demonstrative-noun (DEM N)	√	√	√
	(c) Numeral-noun	√	√	√
7.	Ergativity	√	√	√
8.	Compound case	√	√	√
9.	‘Vertical’ verbs	√	√	√
10.	Morphological/lexical increasing strategies causative:	√	√	√
11.	Honorific verb & noun stems	√	√	√
12.	Verbal with nominal and adjectival functions	√	√	√
13.	Numeral classifiers	√	√	√
14.	Finite subordinate clauses	√	√	√

[Table 15.2 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].

15.3 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.

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.	Sakalakehhi 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 Dumi

I. Consonant phonemes

		Bilabial VL VD	Dental VL VD	Alveolar VL VD	Palatal VL VD	Velar VL VD	Glottal 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			Λ/Λ:
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>pusaĩ</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>tʃu</i>	‘child’
<i>dʒoŋle</i>	‘twin’
<i>lastʃu</i>	‘son’
<i>mistʃu</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^ʃut^ʃu</i>	‘grandfather’	<i>pipi</i>	‘grandmother’
<i>nuru-t^ʃut^ʃu</i>	‘great-grandfather’	<i>nuru-pipi</i>	‘great-grandmother’
<i>t^ʃu:pi</i>	‘grandparents’	<i>t^ʃa:t^ʃa</i>	‘grand-child (male/female)’

Source: Field study of Dumi (2013)

(viii) The ordinal kinship terms

English	Male	Nepali	Female	Nepali
first born	<i>tonduse</i>	जेठा	<i>toma</i>	जेठी
second born	<i>lumduse</i>	माहिला	<i>lumduma</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 district

	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)

(ii) District-wise Dumi population

S. N.	Districts	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
	Rai			

* 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 Λl	‘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	tΛl	‘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]

U L 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 Λp	t ^s Λp	‘write’	t ^s Λp-ta	t ^s Λp-ta-si	t ^s Λp-ta-ni	t ^s Λp-ti	t ^s Λp-si	t ^s Λp-ni
hΛp	hΛp	‘drink’	hΛp-ta	hΛp-ta-si	hΛp-ta-ni	hΛp-ti	hΛp-si	hΛp-ni
dap	dap	‘taste’	dap-ta	dap-ta-si	dap-ta-ni	dap-ti	dap-si	dap-ni
k ^h rΛp	k ^h rΛp	‘cover’	k ^h rΛp-ta	k ^h rΛp-ta-si	k ^h rΛp-ta-ni	k ^h rΛp-ti	k ^h rΛp-si	k ^h rΛp-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		PST			NPST		
	FORM	ROOT	GLOSS	3SG	3DU	3P`L	3SG	3DU	3PL
Transitive	bi	bi	‘give’	bi-ø	bi-si	bi-ni	bi-ta	bi-ta-si	bi-ta-ni
	p ^{hi}	p ^{hi}	‘beg’	p ^{hi} -ø	p ^{hi} -si	p ^{hi} -ni	p ^{hi} -ta	p ^{hi} -ta-si	p ^{hi} -ta-ni
	k ^{hi}	k ^{hi}	‘steal’	k ^{hi} -ø	k ^{hi} -si	k ^{hi} -ni	k ^{hi} -ta	k ^{hi} -ta-si	k ^{hi} -ta-ni
				Σ-ø	Σ-si	Σ-ni	Σ-ta	Σ-ta-si	Σ-ta-ni
Intransitive	i	i	‘excrete’	e-ø	i-ji	ham-e-ø	e-ta	i-ti	ham-e-ta
	ji	ji	‘come down’	je-ø	ji-ji	ham-je-ø	je-ta	ji-ti	ham-je-ta
	ri	ri	‘laugh’	re-ø	ri-ji	ham-re-ø	re-ta	ri-ti	ham-re-ta
	d ^{zi}	d ^{zi}	‘speak’	d ^{ze} -ø	d ^{zi} -ji	ham-d ^{ze} -ø	d ^{ze} -ta	d ^{zi} -ti	ham-d ^{ze} -ta
				Σ-ø	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 ‘-ʌ’ ending]

	UL FORM	VERB ROOT	GLOSS	PST			NPST		
				3SG	3DU	3P`L	3SG	3DU	3PL
Transitive	ʌt	ʌ	‘return’	ʌ-ti	ʌS-si	ʌt-ni	ʌt-ta	ʌt-ta-si	ʌt-ta-ni
	k ^h ʌt	k ^h ʌ	‘take’	k ^h ʌ-ti	k ^h ʌS-si	k ^h ʌt-ni	k ^h ʌt-ta	k ^h ʌt-ta-si	k ^h ʌt-ta-ni
	hʌt	hʌ	‘snatch’	hʌ-ti	hʌS-si	hʌt-ni	hʌt-ta	hʌt-ta-si	hʌt-ta-ni
				Σ-ti	Σ-si	Σ-ni	Σ-ta	Σ-ta-si	Σ-ta-ni
Intransitive	p ^h lʌt	p ^h lʌ	‘help’	p ^h lʌ-ti	p ^h lʌS-si	p ^h lʌt-ni	p ^h lʌt-ta	p ^h lʌt-ta-si	p ^h lʌt-ta-ni
	d ^z ʌt	d ^z ʌ	‘graze’	d ^z ʌ-ti	d ^z ʌS-si	d ^z ʌt-ni	d ^z ʌt-ta	d ^z ʌt-ta-si	d ^z ʌt-ta-ni
	t ^s ʌt	t ^s ʌ	‘tease’	t ^s ʌ-ti	t ^s ʌS-si	t ^s ʌt-ni	t ^s ʌt-ta	t ^s ʌt-ta-si	t ^s ʌt-ta-ni
	brʌt	brʌ	‘call’	brʌ-ti	brʌS-si	brʌt-ni	brʌt-ta	brʌt-ta-si	brʌt-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-ø	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-ø	t ^{sh} a-(j)i	ham-t ^{sh} a	t ^s a-ta	t ^s a-ti	ham-t ^s a-ta
				Σ-ti-ø	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	Σ-ta-ni

(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-Ø	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-Ø	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-Ø	pu-si	pu-ni	pu-ta	pu-ta-si	pu-ta-ni
	tu	tu	‘keep’	tu-Ø	tu-si	tu-ni	tu-ta	tu-ta-si	tu-ta-ni
				Σ-Ø	Σ-si	Σ-ni	Σ-ta	Σ-ta-si	Σ-ta-ni
Intransitive	hu	hu	‘come’	hΛ-Ø	hu-(j)i	ham-hΛ	ho-ta	hu-ti	ham-ho-ta
	nu	nu	‘recover’	nΛ-Ø	nu-(j)i	ham-nΛ	no-ta	nu-ti	ham-no-ta
	mu	mu	‘stay’	mΛ-Ø	mu-(j)i	ham-mΛ	mo-ta	mu-ti	ham-mo-ta
				Σ-Ø	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-Ø
	3DL	untʰi-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-Ø
	2DL	antʰi-a	dʒa	a-dʒu:-ti	a-dʒu:i
	2PL	animu-a	dʒa	a-dʒo:-ta-ni	a-dʒo:-ni
	1SG	aŋu-a	dʒa	dʒʌŋ-t-o	dʒʌŋ-u
	1DL.i	intʰi-a	dʒa	dʒu:-t-i	dʒu:-(j)i
	1DL.e	intʰi-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-nʌ	ma-dʒu-nʌ
	3DL	un tʰi-a	dʒa	dʒu-ta-si-nʌ	ma-dʒu-si-nʌ
	3PL	unimu-a	dʒa	dʒu-ta-ni-nʌ	ma-dʒu-ni-nʌ
	2SG	ani-a	dʒa	a-dʒu-ta-nʌ	a-dʒu/i-nʌ
	2DL	antʰi-a	dʒa	a-dʒu:-ti-nʌ	a-dʒu:(j)i-nʌ
	2PL	animu-a	dʒa	a-dʒo:-ta-ni-nʌ	a-dʒo-ni-nʌ
	1SG	aŋu-a	dʒa	dʒʌŋ-to-no	ma-dʒʌŋ-u-nʌ
	1SG	intʰi-a	dʒa	dʒu:-ti-nʌ	ma-dʒu:-(j)i-nʌ
	1DLi	intʰi-a	dʒa	dʒu:-ti-nʌ	ma-dʒu:-(j)i-nʌ
	1DL.e	iŋki-a	dʒa	dʒuk-ti-nʌ	ma-dʒukk-i-nʌ
	1PLi	iŋki-a	dʒa	dʒuk-ta-nʌ	ma-dʒukk-u-nʌ

Table 3: Inflections of the verb *t^sAp* ‘write’ (Affirmative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	um-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta	t ^s Ap-ti
	3DL	unt ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta-si	t ^s Ap-si
	3PL	unimu-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta-ni	t ^s Ap-ni
	2SG	ani-a	sAp ^h u	a-t ^s Ap-ta	a-t ^s up-ti
	2DL	ant ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ti	a-t ^s u:p ^h -i
	2PL	animu-a	sAp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ta-ni	a-t ^s u:p-ni
	1SG	aŋu-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-to	t ^s Ap-tu
	1DLi	int ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti	t ^s u:p ^h -i
	1DLe	int ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti	t ^s u:p ^h -i
	1PLi	iŋki-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ti	t ^s Apk-i
	1PLe	iŋki-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta	t ^s Apk-u

Table 4: Inflections of the verb *t^sAp-t* ‘write’ (Negative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	im-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta-nΛ	ma-t ^s Ap-ti-nΛ
	3DL	unt ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta-si-nΛ	ma-t ^s Ap-si-nΛ
	3PL	unimu-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta-ni-nΛ	ma-t ^s Ap-ni-nΛ
	2SG	ani-a	sAp ^h u	a-t ^s Ap-ta-nΛ	a-t ^s Ap-ti-nΛ
	2DL	ant ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ti-nΛ	a-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nΛ
	2PL	animu-a	sAp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ta-ni-nΛ	a-t ^s u:p-ni-nΛ
	1SG	aŋu-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-to-no	ma-t ^s Ap-tu-nΛ
	1SG	int ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti-nΛ	ma-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nΛ
	1DLi	int ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti-nΛ	ma-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nΛ
	1DLe	iŋki-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ti-nΛ	ma-t ^s Apk-i-nΛ
	1PLi	iŋki-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta-nΛ	ma-t ^s Apk-u-nΛ

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 ^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	unt ^s u-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 ^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	iɲki-a	ɲilo	a:l-ti-nΛ	ma-a:l-ki-nΛ
	1 PLe	uɲku-a	ɲilo	a:l-ta-nΛ	ma-a:l-ku-nΛ

D. Verb paradigm

Table A: Transitive verb

(i) *jΛm-na* ‘hit’ (tr.) and *tʰi-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	
			agu	unt ^s u	uŋku	int ^s i	iŋki	ana	ant ^s i	animu	um	unt ^s i	unimu	
1.	1SG	agu						jΛmnΛ	jΛmnΛsi	jΛmnΛni	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) *jɔm-na* ‘hit’ (tr.) and *tʰ-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.)
			agu	unt ^s u	uŋku	int ^s i	iŋki	ana	ant ^s i	animu	um	unt ^s i	unimu	
1.	1SG	agu						-Σ-na	-Σ-na ^s i	Σ-na ^s 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	uŋku						-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	iŋki									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	aɲu	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	inqi	tuj-kim-go-t-a	tuj-kim-gΛ	tuj-t ^h Λɲk-im-gΛ
11.	1PLe	uɲku	tuj-kum-go-t-a	tuj-kum-gΛ	tuj-t ^h Λɲk-kum-gΛ

(iv) Inflections of the verb *dʒut*-‘eat’ (Affirmative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	um-a	dʒa	dʒu-t-a	dʒu-Ø
	3DL	unt ^s i-a	dʒa	dʒu-t-a-si	dʒu-si
	3PL	unimu-a	dʒa	dʒu-t-a-ni	dʒu-ni
	2SG	ani-a	dʒa	a-dʒu-t-a	a-dʒu/i-Ø
	2DL	ant ^s i-a	dʒa	a-dʒu:t-i	a-dʒu:i
	2PL	animu-a	dʒa	a-dʒo:-t-a-ni	a-dʒo:-ni
	1SG	aŋu-a	dʒa	dʒʌ-ŋ-t-o	dʒʌŋ-u
	1DLi	int ^s i-a	dʒa	dʒu:-t-i	dʒu:-(j)i
	1DLe	unt ^s u-a	dʒa	dʒu:-t-u	dʒu:-(j)u
	1PLi	iŋki-a	dʒa	dʒuk-t-i	dʒukk-i
	1PLE	uŋku-a	dʒa	dʒukt-a	dʒukk-u

(v) Inflections of the verb *dʒu*-‘eat’ (Negative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	um-a	dʒa	dʒut-a-nΛ	ma-dʒu-nΛ
	3DL	un t ^{si} -a	dʒa	dʒut-a-si-nΛ	ma-dʒu-si-nΛ
	3PL	unimu-a	dʒa	dʒut-a-ni-nΛ	ma-dʒu-ni-nΛ
	2SG	ani-a	dʒa	a-dʒut-a-nΛ	a-dʒu/i-nΛ
	2DL	ant ^{si} -a	dʒa	a-dʒu:t-i-nΛ	a-dʒu:(j)i-nΛ
	2PL	animu-a	dʒa	a-dʒo:t-a-ni-nΛ	a-dʒo-ni-nΛ
	1SG	aŋu-a	dʒa	dʒΛŋt-o-no	ma-dʒΛŋ-u-nΛ
	1SG	int ^{si} -a	dʒa	dʒu:t-i-nΛ	ma-dʒu:-(j)i-nΛ
	1DLi	unt ^s -a	dʒa	dʒu:t-u-nΛ	ma-dʒu:-(j)u-nΛ
	1DLe	iŋki-a	dʒa	dʒukt-i-nΛ	ma-dʒukk-i-nΛ
	1PLi	uŋku-a	dʒa	dʒukt-a-nΛ	ma-dʒukk-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^sApt*-‘write’ (Negative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	um-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Apt-a-nΛ	ma-t ^s Apt-i-nΛ
	3DL	un t ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Apt-a-si-nΛ	ma-t ^s Ap-si-nΛ
	3PL	unimu-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Apt-a-ni-nΛ	ma-t ^s Ap-ni-nΛ
	2SG	ani-a	sAp ^h u	a-t ^s Apt-a-nΛ	a-t ^s Apt-i-nΛ
	2DL	ant ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	a-t ^s u:pt-i-nΛ	a-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nΛ
	2PL	animu-a	sAp ^h u	a-t ^s u:pt-a-ni-nΛ	a-t ^s u:p-ni-nΛ
	1SG	aŋu-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Apt-o-no	ma-t ^s Apt-u-nΛ
	1SG	int ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s u:pt-i-nΛ	ma-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nΛ
	1DLi	unt ^s u-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s u:pt-i-nΛ	ma-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nΛ
	1DLe	iŋki-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Apt-i-nΛ	ma-t ^s Apk-i-nΛ
	1PLi	uŋku-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Apt-a-nΛ	ma-t ^s Apk-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^hktu</i>	<i>lamt^hkku</i>
		‘We (PL.EXCL) walk.’	‘We (PL.EXCL) walked.’

(ix) *lamt*^h*ina* ‘to walk’ (Negative form)

1.	3SG	<i>lamt</i> ^h <i>itan</i> Δ	<i>malamt</i> ^h <i>ijun</i> Δ	<i>malamt</i> ^h <i>in</i> Δ
		‘S/he walks.’	‘S/he walked.’	‘S/he walked.’
2.	3PL	<i>hamlamt</i> ^h <i>itan</i> Δ	<i>hamlamt</i> ^h <i>ijun</i> Δ	<i>hamlamt</i> ^h <i>in</i> Δ
		‘They (PL) walk.’	‘They (PL) walked.’	‘They (PL) walked.’
3.	3DU	<i>lamt</i> ^h <i>itin</i> Δ	<i>malamt</i> ^h <i>ijin</i> Δ	<i>malamt</i> ^h <i>in</i> Δ
		‘They (DU) walk.’	‘They (DU) walked.’	‘They (DU) walked.’
4.	2SG	<i>alamt</i> ^h <i>itan</i> Δ	<i>alamt</i> ^h <i>ijun</i> Δ	<i>alamt</i> ^h <i>in</i> Δ
		‘You walk.’	‘You walked.’	‘You walked.’
5.	2PL	<i>alamt</i> ^h <i>itanin</i> Δ	<i>alamt</i> ^h <i>inin</i> Δ	<i>alamt</i> ^h <i>inin</i> Δ
		‘You (PL) walk.’	‘You (PL) walked.’	‘You (PL) walked.’
6.	2DU	<i>alamt</i> ^h <i>itin</i> Δ	<i>alamt</i> ^h <i>ijin</i> Δ	<i>alamt</i> ^h <i>ijin</i> Δ
		‘You (DU) walk.’	‘You (DU) walked.’	‘You (DU) walked.’
7.	1SG	<i>lamt</i> ^h <i>itono</i>	<i>malamt</i> ^h <i>ijono</i>	<i>malamt</i> ^h <i>ijono</i>
		‘I walk.’	‘I walked.’	‘I walked.’
8.	1DU.INCL	<i>lamt</i> ^h <i>itin</i> Δ	<i>malamt</i> ^h <i>ijin</i> Δ	<i>malamt</i> ^h <i>ijin</i> Δ
		‘We (DU.INCL) walk.’	‘We (DU.INCL) walked.’	‘We (DU.INCL) walked.’
9.	1DU.EXCL	<i>lamt</i> ^h <i>itun</i> Δ	<i>malamt</i> ^h <i>ijun</i> Δ	<i>malamt</i> ^h <i>ijun</i> Δ
		‘We (DU.EXCL) walk.’	‘We (DU.EXCL) walked.’	‘We (DU.EXCL) walked.’
10.	3PL.INCL	<i>lamt</i> ^h <i>iktin</i> Δ	<i>malamt</i> ^h <i>ikkin</i> Δ	<i>malamt</i> ^h <i>ikkin</i> Δ
		‘We (PL.INCL) walk.’	‘We (PL.INCL) walked.’	‘We (PL.INCL) walked.’
11.	3PL.EXCL	<i>lamt</i> ^h <i>iktan</i> Δ	<i>malamt</i> ^h <i>ikkun</i> Δ	<i>malamt</i> ^h <i>ikkun</i> Δ
		‘We (PL.EXCL) walk.’	‘We (PL.EXCL) walked.’	‘We (PL.EXCL) walked.’

E. Bauman (1975)

(i) *bint* ‘give’ [past/past root form]

	UL form		NPST	ROOT	PST	ROOT
01.	bint	1s→3s	bi-ŋt-o	Σ-o	biŋ-u	Σ-u
02.	bint	1s→3d	bi-ŋt-o-su	Σ-o-su	biŋ-o-su	Σ-o-su
03.	bint	1s→3p	bi-ŋt-o-nu	Σ-o-nu	biŋ-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.	$1 \rightarrow 2s$	bi-nt-a	Σ -a	bi-n-n Λ	Σ -n-n Λ
02.	$1 \rightarrow 2d$	bi-nt-a-si	Σ -a-si	bi-n-n Λ -si	Σ -n-n Λ -si
03.	$1 \rightarrow 2p$	bi-nt-a-ni	Σ -a-ni	bi-n-n Λ -ni	Σ -n-n Λ -ni
04.	$1s \rightarrow 3s$	bi- η t-o	Σ -o	bi- η u	Σ - η u
05.	$1s \rightarrow 3d$	bi- η t-o-su	Σ -o-su	bi- η o-su	Σ - η o-su
06.	$1s \rightarrow 3p$	bi- η t-o-nu	Σ -o-nu	bi- η o-nu	Σ - η o-nu
07.	$1di \rightarrow 3$	bi-t-i	Σ -i	bi:-ji	Σ -ji
08.	$1de \rightarrow 3$	bi-t-u	Σ -u	bi:-ju	Σ -ju
09.	$1pi \rightarrow 3$	bi-kt-i	Σ -k-i	bi-k-ki	Σ -k-ki
10.	$1pe \rightarrow 3$	bi-kt-a	Σ -k-a	bi-k-ku	Σ -k-ku
11.	$2 \rightarrow 1s$	a-be-t-o	a- Σ -o	a-be- η u	a- Σ - η u
12.	$2 \rightarrow 1d$	a-bi-t-i	a- Σ -i	a-bi-ju	a- Σ -ju
13.	$2 \rightarrow 1p$	a-bi-kt-i	a- Σ -i	a-bi-k-ku	a- Σ -k-ku
14.	$2s \rightarrow 3$	a-bi-t-a	Σ -i	a-bi- \emptyset	a- Σ - \emptyset
15.	$2d \rightarrow 3$	a-bi-t-i	Σ -i	a-bi-ji	a- Σ -ji
16.	$2p \rightarrow 3$	a-be-t-a-ni	Σ -i-ni	a-be:-ni	a- Σ -ni
17.	$3 \rightarrow 1s$	a-be-t-o	a- Σ -o	a-be- η u	a- Σ - η u
18.	$3 \rightarrow 1di$	a-bi-t-i	a- Σ -i	a-bi-ji	a- Σ -ji
19.	$3 \rightarrow 1de$	a-bi-t-u	a- Σ -u	a-bi-ju	a- Σ -ju
20.	$3 \rightarrow 1pi$	a-bik-t-i	a- Σ -i	a-bi-k-ki	a- Σ -k-ki
21.	$3 \rightarrow 1pe$	a-bik-t-a	a- Σ -a	a-bi-k-ku	a- Σ -k-ku
22.	$3 \rightarrow 2s$	a-bi-t-a	a- Σ -i	a-be- \emptyset	a- Σ - \emptyset
23.	$3 \rightarrow 2d$	a-bi-t-i	a- Σ -i	a-bi-ji	a- Σ -ji
24.	$3 \rightarrow 2p$	a-bi-t-a-ni	a- Σ -a-ni	a-be-ni	a- Σ -ni
25.	$3s \rightarrow 3s$	bi-t-a	Σ -a	bi- \emptyset	Σ - \emptyset
26.	$3s \rightarrow 3d$	bi-t-a-si	Σ -a-si	bi-si	Σ -si
27.	$3s \rightarrow 3p$	bi-t-a-ni	Σ -a-ni	bi-ni	Σ -ni
28.	$3ns \rightarrow 3$	bi-t-a-ni	Σ -a-ni	bi-ni	Σ -ni

(a) Inflections of the verb *t^sAp-t* ‘write’ (Affirmative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	um-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta	t ^s Ap-ti
	3DL	unt ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta-si	t ^s Ap-si
	3PL	unimu-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta-ni	t ^s Ap-ni
	2SG	ani-a	sAp ^h u	a-t ^s Ap-ta	a-t ^s up-ti
	2DL	ant ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ti	a-t ^s u:p ^h -i
	2PL	animu-a	sAp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ta-ni	a-t ^s u:p-ni
	1SG	aŋu-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-to	t ^s Ap-tu
	1DLi	int ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti	t ^s u:p ^h -i
	1DLe	unt ^s u-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti	t ^s u:p ^h -i
	1PLi	iŋki-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ti	t ^s Apk-i
	1PLe	uŋku-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta	t ^s Apk-u

(b): Inflections of the verb *t^sAp-t* ‘write’ (Negative form)

	PRONOUN		PATIENT	NPST	PST
AGENT	3SG	im-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta-nΛ	ma-t ^s Ap-ti-nΛ
	3DL	un t ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta-si-nΛ	ma-t ^s Ap-si-nΛ
	3PL	unimu-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta-ni-nΛ	ma-t ^s Ap-ni-nΛ
	2SG	ani-a	sAp ^h u	a-t ^s Ap-ta-nΛ	a-t ^s Ap-ti-nΛ
	2DL	ant ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ti-nΛ	a-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nΛ
	2PL	animu-a	sAp ^h u	a-t ^s u:p-ta-ni-nΛ	a-t ^s u:p-ni-nΛ
	1SG	aŋu-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-to-no	ma-t ^s Ap-tu-nΛ
	1SG	int ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti-nΛ	ma-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nΛ
	1DLi	int ^s i-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s u:p-ti-nΛ	ma-t ^s u:p ^h -i-nΛ
	1DLe	iŋki-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ti-nΛ	ma-t ^s Apk-i-nΛ
	1PLi	iŋki-a	sAp ^h u	t ^s Ap-ta-nΛ	ma-t ^s Apk-u-nΛ

(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 ^{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	int ^{si} -a	ɲilo	a:l-ti	a:l-ti
		PLi	iɲki-a	ɲilo	a:l-ti	a:l-ti
		PLe	iɲki-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 ^{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 ^{si} -a	ɲilo	a:l-tu-nΛ	ma-a:l-u-nΛ
	1 PLi	iɲki-a	ɲilo	a:l-ti-nΛ	ma-a:l-ki-nΛ
	1 PLe	uɲku-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	namph ^h oksi
13.	belly	पेट	mupu
14.	hand	हात	k ^h ur
15.	elbow	कुइनो	k ^h urungk ^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	songer
46.	rain	वर्षा	hu
47.	water	पानी	kΛŋku
48.	river	नदी	kawa
49.	cloud	बादल	mΛ:mi
50.	sun-shadow	घाम-छायाँ	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	pi
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	kΛ
80.	bean	सिमी	sībi
81.	soybean	भटमास	gjaksi
82.	asparagus	कुरिलो	prΛkpɾΛ

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} ΛdΛwa
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	सिङ्ग	gro
95.	tail	पुच्छर	mi:ri
96.	goat	बाख्रो	t ^{sh} wara/t ^{sh} Λra
97.	dog	कुकुर	k ^h liba
98.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	swalembi/b ^h i
99.	monkey	बाँदर	noksu
100.	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	lɒst ^s u
114.	daughter	छोरी	mist ^s u
115.	husband	लोग्ने (श्रीमान)	dumbu
116.	wife	स्वासनी (श्रीमती)	meʔe
117.	boy	केटो	lɒsba
118.	girl	केटी	misma
119.	day	दिन	ma
120.	night	रात	sinɒm
121.	morning	विहान	disse
122.	noon	मध्यान्ह	nulu
123.	evening	साँझ	somna
124.	yesterday	हिजो	asnɒm
125.	today	आज	amna
126.	tomorrow	भोलि	asala
127.	week	हप्ता (साता)	hɒptɒ
128.	month	महिना	lo
129.	year	वर्ष	t ^h o
130.	old	पुरानो	t ^{sh} iŋa
131.	new	नयाँ	nija
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	pjΛ
142.	left	देब्रे	d ^z Λ
143.	near	नजिक	p ^h arbi
144.	far	टाढा	mambi
145.	big	ठूलो	g ^h Λsa
146.	small	सानो	tilsa
147.	heavy	गह्रौँ	lonjsa
148.	light	हलुका	pelonj
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 ΛtlΛ/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 ΛtlΛ
185.	to eat	खानु	d ^z una
186.	to bite	टोक्नु	ka:na
187.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	krumna
188.	to drink	पिउनु	tujna
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	हिँडनु	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	हेर्नु	senna
205.	I	म	aŋu
206.	you (informal)	तँ	anu/ani
207.	you (formal)	तपाईँ	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 ^s u
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] <i>delbi to: pusi</i> ‘loom weaving in the village’	Reference no.
1. Text A ₁	Narrated by Mr. Netra Mani Rai (Makpa-6, Norung, Khotang)	[DTP.NMR-45:01-55]
2. Text A ₂ (a)	<i>tʃi kʰɪptijo</i> ‘While preparing local beer’ Oral narrative; Speaker: Mrs. Ratna Maya Rai (Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)	[CHLRM-69:01-26]
3. Text A ₂ (b)	<i>hent ʃi muktijo</i> ‘While preparing alcohol’ Oral narrative; Speaker: Mrs. Masini Rai (Dharan-8, Bhotepul, Sunsari)	[HEN.MR-67:01-17]
4. Text A ₂ (c)	<i>tʰɛlmu puktijo</i> ‘Weaving straw mat’ Oral narrative; Speaker: Mr. Chatur Man Rai (Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)	[CHEL.CM-67:01-11]
5. Text A ₃	<i>gʰrupo tʃu</i> ‘A baby parrot’ Oral narrative; Speaker: Mrs. Harka Shova Rai (Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)	[GPC.HSR-36:01-43]
6. Text A ₄	<i>susu dapsi</i> ‘worshipping the hearth’ Written narrative; Author: Mr. Netra Mani Rai (Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)	[ISL.NM-45:01-31]
7. Text A ₅	<i>makipa del</i> ‘Makpa village’ Oral narrative; Speaker: Mr. Lakh Dhan Rai (Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)	[MAK.LD-70:01-29]
8. Text A ₆	<i>toma-kʰema</i> ‘Toma-Khema’ Oral narrative; Speaker: Mr. Nanda Raj Rai (Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)	[TK.NRR-72:01-26]
9. Text A ₇	<i>suptulu</i> ‘Hearth’ 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^ʃi k^hiptijo* ‘While preparing local beer’ and *hent^ʃi muktijo* ‘While preparing alcohol’; give the glimpses of the Dumi rituals and culture in Kirat tradition. In addition, the story *g^hirupo t^ʃu* ‘A baby parrot’ shows the additional linguistic features of the Dumi language, which should give a feeling for the vivid language that story-teller 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^halbim tum*

tam	ad ^{zh} o	del-gob ^h al-bim	tum	Ø
this	in past	village-towards-GEN	matter	COP
‘This is the matter of the village in past.’				

(03) *majo aŋu malokt^ʃum ŋa moŋu*

majo	aŋu	malokt ^ʃ um	ŋa	mo-ŋ-u
at that time	1SG	too young	EMPH	be-1SG-PST
‘At that time, I was too young.’				

(04) *majo hopua munhΛnpom tum*

majo hopu-a mu-n-hΛ-n-po-m tum Ø
 at that time self-ERG do-pl-bring-pl-PFVT matter COP
 ‘It is the matter of doing ourselves.’

(05) *majo delgob^{hal} atasabam heŋa p^hjarhΛnpom desi gumu magΛthiŋnΛ*

majo 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 gΛt^hiŋu*

atasaba sen-soka ad^{zh}o t^{sh}ote
 nowadays see-SEQ long ago more

ŋa b^hukto jo g_Λ-t^hiŋ-u

FOC pain also be-HAB-PST

‘There was much more suffering compare to these days.’

(08) *hiũdobi t^{sh}ote ŋa d^ʒu l_Λt^hiŋu*

hiũdo-bi t^{sh}ote ŋa d^ʒu l_Λ-t^hiŋ-u

winter-LOC extremely FOC cold feel-HAB-PST

‘We used to feel extremely cold in the winter.’

(09) *ak^he gu k_Λmsina ŋa madont^hΛisi_Λ*

ak^he gu k_Λmsi-na ŋa ma-don-t^hΛisi-n_Λ

sufficiently clothes wear-INF FOC NEG-get-HAB-PRF

‘We used to get no sufficient clothes.’

(10) *te tuk p^her gu tuŋa k_Λm-t^hΛisi-npo*

tuk p^her gu tuŋa k_Λm-t^hΛisi-npo

one set cloth only wear-HAB-1PL

‘We used wear just one set of clothes.’

(11) *mambika duwa ŋa d^ʒu l_Λk^ho mi huŋna t^{sh}ukt^hiŋu*

mam-bika duwa ŋa d^ʒu l_Λ-k^ho

that-ABL extremely EMPH cold feel-if

mi huŋ-na t^{sh}uk-t^hiŋ-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^hiŋu*
 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 mΛjoŋa to: puna jo t^saisinpom*
 mΛkak^hi mΛjo-ŋa to:
 so that that time-FOC loom

 pu-na jo t^saisin-pom
 weave-INF also learn-PFV
 ‘So that we learned to weave the loom at that time.’
- (15) *kingobim sulam duwabi jo mamalai p^hlana t^{sh}ukt^hiŋu*
 kim-go-bi-m sulam jo
 house-inside-LOC-PRF works also

 mama-lai p^hlΛ-na t^{sh}uk-t^hiŋ-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 sal-Λne hiũdo hotajo ad^{zh}o t^su:t^su moŋujom tummu nubi k^hirsti*

tesoŋa sal-Λne 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) *mΛjo pwatelbi haldenpom tokk^hom omiksibi lΛisbakta*

mΛjo pwatel-bi halden-po-m
that-time yard-LOC spread-PRF-NMLZ

tokk^hom o-miksi-bi lΛis-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 hamt^samum tuk t^ho t^{sh}ukt^hŋta*

mama ham-t^sam-u-m tuk t^ho t^{sh}uk-t^hŋ-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) *mΔjo delgob^hal kim-kimbi to: put^hAtni*

mΔjo 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 munhΔisim tummu t^samusso k^hΔisi*

ad^{zh}o-bika mu-n-hΔis-i-m

long time ago-ABL do-M.EXTDR-HAB-1PL.INCL-PRF

tum-mu t^samu-ssu k^hΔis-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-hΛdum jo t^samt^hinta ŋa*

hopu-po ridum hΛdum 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^samnΛ wak^ho hito nusi t^{sh}ukuwa*

ma-t^sam-nΛ 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 must be cautious about the skills in weaving loom and mother tongue.’

(28) *tam sakli tumnua ŋa iŋki rɔdu t^sumu t^{sh}en^halukti*

tam sak-li tum-nu-a ŋa
 this two-CLF thing-DU-ERG EMPH

iŋki rɔdu t^su-mu t^{sh}en^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 rɔdu bika k^hem sua muhutnim doisim mangu*

to: puk-sa rewos rɔdu 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^haksa*

su: kajo pabu-a k^ho nuk-k^hak-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^hak^sa*

kim pwatel-bi ŋa to k^hom
house yard-LOC EMPH loom place

hal-t-i-jo nuk-k^hak-sa
spread-NPST-1PL.INCL-CONV be-AMBL-NMLZ
'The loom can be made in the yard of the house.'

- (32) *lasba misma asisia k^hojo pu-na djar-sa.*

lasba 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 nuk^sa*

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^hak-sa
boil-SEQ beat-NPST.1PL.INCL COND be-AMBL-NMLZ
'The cloth weaved in loom can be washed by boiling with ash.'

- (34) *maka k^hi ad^{zh}o radu delbi zharaa kim-kimbi pusoka hammunt^haisi*

maka k^hi ad^{zh}o radu del-bi zhara-a
so that PRT long time ago Rai village-LOC everyone-ERG

kim kim-bi pu-soka ham-mun-t^hais-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 aɲua to: pusi kajo k^hãdipo dubi t^suri t^sʌpt^hʌtto*

tejo aɲu-a to: pu-si kajo
now 1SG-ERG loom weave-NMLZ COM

k^hãdi-po dubi t^suri t^sʌp-t^hʌt-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 aɲu ohopua ŋa jo t^sapso mat^sapso to: pʌŋt^hʌdu*

ad^{zh}o aɲu o-hopu-a ŋa jo

in past 1SG 1SG-self-ERG EMPH also

t^sap-so ma-t^sap-so to: pʌ-ŋ-t^hʌd-u

can-SIM NEG-can-SIM loom weave-1SG-DUR-1SG.PST

‘In the past, myself used to working hard to weave loom.’

- (37) *mʌjo delgob^hal duspihama kokkoxi alunt^hʌnpo*

mʌjo del-gob^hal duspi-ham-a kokkoxi a-lun-t^hʌn-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 must know the skills in weaving loom.’

- (38) *asia k^hojo sikipari t^sentʌisina t^{sh}ukta mei*

asi-a k^hojo sikipari

anyone-ERG else skills

t^sen-tʰis-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^{ʔi} ak^huptani mei*

monok^{ho} aplo lad^{ʔi} 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) *mʌkak^{hi} aɲua jo malokt^{sum} moɲum bika ɲa to: puna t^seisum*

mʌkak^{hi} aɲu-a jo malokt^{sum} mo-ɲ-u-m

so that 1SG-ERG also childhood be-1SG-PST-PRF

bika ɲa 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^ʃut^ʃukajo meisi dzʌsso k^{ho}jo somna disse mamalai to: puna p^hlʌtthʌtnu*

nulu t^ʃut^ʃu-kajo meisi dzʌs-so k^{ho}jo

day grandfather-COM buffalo graze-SIM else

somna-disse mama-lai to:

evening-morning mother-DAT loom

pu-na p^hlʌt-thʌt-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) *mΛjo hiũdobi t^homale ŋa duspiham mΛdes hamk^hust^hɪŋu*

mΛjo hiũdo-bi t^homale ŋa
at that time winter-LOC every year EMPH

duspi-ham mΛdes ham-k^hus-t^hɪŋ-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^hotthΛtni*

mam-la hopu t^sap-si
there-ABL as far as can-NMLZ

sale-kajo rum k^hot-thΛt-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 sinΛm daulobi mi grasso sale polauni munt^hΛnpo*

hut-k^hot-ni-ka sinΛm 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^ʔa bjakna ka p^hunt^hΛnpo*

mam njar-soka pãd^ʔa
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.’

- (46) *mam bika ηeηe suηsoka rasi pjarso samadzuwa k^hja^hant^hΛnpo*

mam bika ηeηe suη-soka rasi

that COM leading thread pick up-SEQ separator

pjar-so samadzuwa k^hja-n-t^hΛn-po

press-SEQ weaving tool hang-M.EXTDR-HAB-1PL.INCL

‘After that, picking up the leading thread, there must be hung the weaving tool by pressing the separator.’

- (47) *mΛnΛ t^{sh}em t^{sh}ema kaηkua punduwa d^{zh}isso to: p^hunt^hΛnpo*

mΛnΛ t^{sh}em t^{sh}em-a kaηku-a punduwa

then time time-ERG water-ERG weaving way

d^{zh}i-s-so to: pu-n-t^hΛn-po

make wet-M.EXTDR-SEQ loom weave-M.EXTDR-HAB-1PL.INCL

‘Then, making wet frequently with water, we used to weave the loom.’

- (48) *mΛjo dumbu meηa dΛmΛnu kaλ kursoka kim kimbi gu p^hjarkubi hut^hηi*

mΛjo dumbu me-ηa dΛmΛ-nu kaλ kur-soka

at that time husband wife-FOC tailor-DU machine carry-SEQ

kim kim-bi gu p^hjar-kubi hu-t^hηi-i

house house-LOC clothes sew-PURP come-HAB-3DU

‘At that time, both husband wife tailors used to come in the houses for sewing clothes.’

- (49) *gu p^hjarna njarsoka s_Λk suk din j_Λpaka unt^ʃi anth_Λisi:*
 gu p^hjar-na njar-soka s_Λk suk din
 clothes sew-INF finish-SEQ two three day
 j_Λpaka unt^ʃi kim-hu a-n-th_Λis-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) *m_Λjo duspihama t^hakpuri jo k^haŋipo ŋa hammunt^hisi*
 m_Λjo duspi-ham-a thakpuri jo
 at that time adult-PL-ERG girdle also
 k^haŋi-po ŋa ham-mun-th_Λis-i
 k^hadi-GEN EMPH 3PL-wear-HAB-3PL
 ‘At that time, the elders used to wear girdle made from weaving clothes.’

- (51) *aŋu ohopu 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^haŋipo ugu got^hŋta*
 kim-bi adzijo ad^{zh}o-m
 house-LOC still long time before-GEN

k^hañi-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*

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 sale-po lare-la t^{sh}uknu je k^hausipo piurila
 hopua muisiksa gu hopua ŋa t^{sh}uŋt^hanpo*

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 ŋa t^{sh}uŋ-t^han-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) *makak^hi t^{sh}upihamla ad^{zh}om dumo tummu t^{sh}eisina t^{sh}ukta maka*

makak^hi ad^{zh}o-m t^{sh}upi-ham-la
 so that long time before-GEN ancestral-pl-sor

dumo tum-mu t^{sh}eisi-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): *tʃi kʰiptijo* ‘While preparing local beer’

Oral narrative; Speaker: Mrs. Ratna Maya Rai [CHI.RM-69]

(Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)

(01) *tʃi kʰiptijo*

tʃi 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 danjonmabi p^he:na t^{sh}ukta*

rimtaka danjonma-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 lun^khaa rukna t^{sh}ukta*

mambika lun^kha-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^halso 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) *manA toubi rupsoka samna t^{sh}ukta*

manA tou-bi rup-soka k^hant^he sam-na t^{sh}ukta

then bamboo basket-LOC collect-SEQ nicely formant-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
at that time local beer-DAT immediately

lupi-bi bjak-na t^{sh}ukta

clay pot-LOC put-INF must

‘At that time, the local beer must be put in a clay pot.’

- (17) *surtam tʰi lamlu ɲa tʰanuksa numta*

surtam tʰi lamlu ɲa tʰanuksa 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 tʰi tʰirta*

monok^ho tʰi tʰir-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 tʰukta*

lupi-po kwam-bi gamsa
 clay pot-GEN mouth-LOC tight

 sa:na bʌk-na tʰukta
 lid put-INF must
 ‘There must be put the tight lid in the mouth of clay pot.’

- (20) *lupilai mipo p^harbi tuna tʰukta*

lupi-lai mi-po p^har-bi tu-na tʰukta
 clay pot-DAT fire-GEN nearby-LOC keep-INF must
 ‘The clay pot must be put nearby the fire.’

- (21) *teso lupibi bjaktim tʰi hito tukti modu tʰokta*

teso lupibi bjak-t-i-m tʰi
 in this way day-LOC put-NPST-1PL.INCL-NMLZ local beer

hito tuk-t-i modu t^sokt-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 namt^supo kimbi hijojo t^si tukdeksa mutani*

rΛdu nam-t^su-po kim-bi hijojo
 Rai sun-child-GEN house-LOC whenever

t^si 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 t^si manguk^ho k^holo t^{sh}ukta aksa jo gota*

kim-bi t^si mangu-k^ho k^holo
 house-LOC local beer not-in case inauspicious

t^{sh}uk-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 namt^supo buktika miktim tumbu t^si proŋna t^{sh}ukta*

rΛdu nam-t^su-po buk-t-i-m-bika
 Rai sun-child-GEN born-NPST-PL.INCL-NMLZ-ABL

mik-t-i-m tumbu t^si proŋ-na t^{sh}ukta

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^ʔa jo t^siŋa tuŋtani*

kim-bi duspi-ham-a k^had^ʔa

house-LOC adult-PL-ERG snack

jo t^si-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^siŋa tuŋsa mutani*

duwa-bi kumina lota-jo jo

field-LOC thirsty feel-conv also

t^si-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 ĩ muktijo* ‘While preparing alcohol’

Oral narrative; Speaker: Mrs. Masini Rai (HEN.MR-67)

(Dharan-8, Bhotepul, Sunsari)

(01) *hent ĩ muktijo*

hent^{si} muk-t-i-jo

alcohol do-NPST-1PL.INCL-CONV

‘While preparing alcohol.’

(02) *t^soktim t ĩbi kʌŋku t^{sh}okna t^{sh}ukta*

t^sokt-i-m t^{si}-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 ĩ lenna t^{sh}ukta*

t^hoho-bi apekam t^{si} 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 pɿini ŋanna t^{sh}ukta*

p^huŋga go-bi pɿini ŋan-na t^{sh}ukta

condenser tip-LOC reservoir put-INF must

‘There must be put reservoir inside the condenser.’

(07) *pɿini gobi luŋk^ha jo tuna t^{sh}ukta*

pɿini 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) *mΛnΛ daulobi mi d^humna t^{sh}ukta*

mΛnΛ 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 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^silai dumi brΛbi samki jo akti*

hent^si-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) *mΛnΛka b^hatabim haksΛ kΛŋku lana ka t^{sh}uksΛ kΛŋku bjakna t^{sh}ukta*

mΛnΛ-ka b^hata-bi-m haksΛ kΛŋku la-na

then-and cooler-LOC-PRF hot water take out-INF

ka t^{sh}uksa kʌŋku bjak-na t^{sh}ukta

and cold water pour on-INF must

‘And then, there must be replaced hot water with cold water.’

(17) *tesoka suk k^hep kʌŋku kripsoka laktim hent^si t^sanuksa t^{sh}ukta*

tesoka suk k^hep kʌŋku krip-soka

like this three times water replace-SEQ

lak-t-i-m hent^si t^sanuksa t^{sh}uk-t-a

take out-NPST-1PL.INCL-PRF alcohol tasty be-NPST-3SG

‘The alcohol prepared with replacing the water three times is tasty.’

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 dΛŋsa musoka kripna t^{sh}ukta*

mam-bika *hito* *dΛŋ-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) *mΛnΛ pabu broknaka tjar kwakna t^{sh}ukta*

mΛnΛ *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 kɔŋkubi d^{zh}ina t^{sh}ukta*

tjar kwak-na njar-soka mam-lai

strip plait-INF finish-SEQ that-DAT

kɔŋku-bi d^{zh}i-na t^{sh}ukta

water-LOC get wet-INF must

‘After the completion of plaiting the strips, it must be got wet in water.’

(06) *mɔnɔ ka tjarlai kɔŋkula lassoka kaŋna t^{sh}ukta*

mɔnɔ ka tjar-lai kɔŋku-la

then and strip-DAT water-ABL

las-soka kaŋ-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) *pu-na 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 dʒiŋta jo*

tesoka tuk-t-i-m t^{sh}elmu dʒiŋ-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) *rʌdu t^supo k^hamak^haserbi t^{sh}elmu t^sahẽ t^{sh}ukdʒota*

rʌdu t^su-po k^hamak^haser-bi
Rai offspring-GEN ritual-LOC

t^{sh}elmu t^sahẽ t^{sh}uk-dʒo-t-a
straw mat require be-HAB-NPST-3SG

‘The straw mat is urgently required in Kirat Rai rituals.’

5. Text A₃: *g^hrupo t^su* ‘A baby parrot’

Oral narrative; Speaker: Mrs. Harka Shova Rai [GPC.HSR-36]

(Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)

(01) *ad^{zh}o tukli saulobi g^hrua j^Λ b^Λktim g^Λ*

ad^{zh}o tuk-li saulo-bi g^hiru-a j^Λ b^Λkt-im g^Λ
long ago one-NCLF jungle-LOC parrot-ERG nest make-PRF COP
‘Long ago, there was a parrot nest in the jungle.’

(02) *j^Λbi s^Λkli ut^su burt^hijim g^Λ*

j^Λ-bi s^Λk-li ut^su bur-t^hij-im g^Λ
nest-LOC two-NCLF baby grow-PROG-DUL.IMPRF COP
‘There were two babies growing in the nest.’

(03) *tuk din hi: kilso g^hAlsa hu je*

tuk din g^hAlsa hu je
one day heavy rain fall-PST
‘One day it rained heavily.’

(04) *m^Λjoŋa tukli ut^su pu:k^hubi t^haŋt^{sh}Λ*

m^Λjo-ŋa tuk-li ut^su puk^hu-bi t^haŋ-u-t^{sh}Λ
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^hηum 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 ditach-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 ɲa dʒuna bi*

mam-a jak-sa k^hAtlΛ ɲa dʒu-na bi-Ø

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 ɲa buri jo*

mam-a a-k^he dʒu-na dok-tim-a

that-ERG say-like eat-INF get-PRF-ERG

bolo ɲa 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 bjarlɔŋsa wo maka*

tam silpu ne namparu-bi bjar-lɔŋ-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}uktanɔ je*

tesoka t^swak-des-soka ne
 like this trap-keep-CONV PRT

 u-nusi t^{sh}ukt-a-nɔ je
 3SG.POSS-happiness be-3SG.NPST-NEG PRT
 ‘It may not feel happy while keeping in the trap.’

(20) *adʒine lensunna wo je atʃka mimpadi*

adʒi ne le-nsun-na
 now PRT release-AMB-INF

 woje atʃi-ka mim-pad-i
 PRT say-CONV think-AMB-3SG.PST
 ‘He thought to release it from the trap.’

(21) *leksuktika jo ak^he d^zuna doktan^Λ k^ho*

lek-sukt-ika jo a-k^he
 release-SEND-CONV also say-like

d^zu-na dokt-a-n^Λ k^ho

eat-INF get-3SG.NPST-NEG FOC

‘If it won’t get anything to eat after releasing from here.’

(22) *tambi heŋa tamlai asia d^zuna bitaka*

tambi heŋa tam-lai asi-a d^zu-na bit-a ka

here like this-DAT who-ERG eat-INF give-3SG.NPST PRT

‘Who will feed it like here?’

(23) *d^zuna tuŋna doktan^Λ k^hone mand^za ŋa t^{sh}ukta*

d^zu-na tuŋ-na dok-t-a-n^Λ

eat-INF drink-INF get-NPST-3SG-NEG

k^hone mand^za 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) *mand^za ŋa bjarl^Λna ne tama mo t^sapta ka*

mand^za ŋa bjar-l^Λn-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 dʒuna bitaka*

mΛjo asi-a wo dʒu-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 lΛmdʒunna kuk^hum ɲa mangu*

tejo tumbu lΛm-dʒun-na

now till search-AMB-INF

kuk^h-um ɲa ma-ɲg-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) *d^zunalam patta k^hojo mam d^zukubi mak^hana*

d^zuna-lam pat-t-a k^hojo

eating-source manage-NPST-3SG however

mam d^zu-kubi ma-k^hana

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^hAlΛ ηa kuk^hu jo*

hito minu-a t^send-i-m

whatever person-ERG teach-PST-PRF

k^hAlΛ 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^haisiso kawabi biri*

mam jo jank^haisi-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) *senlΛdi k^hΛmbi jo moja madokna*

sen-lΛd-i k^hΛmbi jo moja ma-dok-nΛ

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 dʒuna tum dokt-i*

k^hant^he send-ijo juku puk^hu-bi
nicely look-CONV below ground-LOC

dʒu-na tum dokt-i
eat-INF thing see-3SG.PST

‘While looking nicely, it could see eating thing.’

(41) *unu hursiso taisika dʒuna lumu*

u-nu hursi-so
3SG.POSS-mind feel happy-SIM

tais-i-ka dʒu-na lum-u
come down-CONV eat-INF try-3SG. PST

‘Landing on the ground, it tried to eat that thing.’

(42) *dʒuna madona ŋa minupo p^ha:ribi kilpaisi*

dʒu-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^hΔisiso k^hΔatika kΛ k^hipḍĩ*

mambika dibumi-a jo jan-k^hΔisi-so

then hunter-ERG also being happy-SIM

k^hΔt-i ka sid-i

take-3SG.PST CONJ kill-3SG.PST

‘Then the hunter took it and killed.’

6. Text A₄: *susu dʌpsi* ‘worshipping the hearth’

Written narrative; Author: Mr. Netra Mani Rai [ISI.NM-45]

(Makpa-6, Norodel, Khotang)

(01) *susu dʌpsi*

susu dʌp-si
ancestral worship-NMLZ
‘Ancestral worshipping’

(02) *e apu! taja ɲeni maka*

dear apu! taja ɲeni 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 gʌ*

jakkam kim-bi nana-a tuk-li
that house-LOC sister-ERG one-CLF

tum mu-ni-m gʌ
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 asabalika 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 ɲiamusnim*

asi-a wo ɲi-amus-ni-m
who-ERG PRT tell-BEN-3SG.PST-NMLZ
'Who told you?'

(09) *tukkum kimbim delmea at̤im*

tukkum kim-bim delme-a at̤^s-i-m

upper house-GEN daughter-ERG say-3SG.PST-NMLZ

‘The sister in law from upper house said.’

(10) *b̤i̤ka wo majuksa e maŋa*

b̤^hi̤ka wo ma-juk-sa e maŋa

why PRT NEG-get free-NMLZ PRT then

‘Why will he not be available?’

(11) *ad̤a somna ŋa Jukkum del tai:sikksa e*

ad̤a somna ŋa 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) *mok̤o ne k̤^hard̤^zam t̤^huŋtunna t̤^{sh}ukta*

mok̤^ho ne k̤^hard̤^zam t̤^huŋ-tun-na t̤^{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^hɨŋna c^hukta k^hi*

t^su:t^su-mu lukubi p^hɨŋ-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 mangu*

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 sAp^hu ŋa mangu wone*

d^hapsa sAp^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) *atembī ne pokk^hil bjanpoma burim gota*

atembī 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}onkam ŋa nota je*

topsu kajo p^hipsu

bamboo vessel COM pipe

ad^{zh}onka-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 tuŋa je asisi hammota*
 uni-hopu tuŋa 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^huŋt^hiŋta*
 sak suk-li tum mu-so ham-k^huŋ-t^hiŋ-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_{ΛΛ} mei delt^sumu*
 e lu ham-h_Λ-l_Λ mei delt^su-mu
 oh yes PL-arrive-3PL.PST PRT villager-PL
 ‘Oh yes, the villagers have arrived.’
- (25) *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.’
- (26) *mamgob^hal ŋa ŋaisikti mei kubi kajo delt^sumu*
 mamgob^hal ŋa ŋaisi-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 maka*

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) *maka k^{hi} k^hAtlΛ mambi t^suŋom gota*

maka k^{hi} k^hAtlΛ

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) *aɲune proisu mei watto t^{sh}aruham*

aɲu-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^{hi}pa hamast^{hi}ju e*

makpa del-lai ad^{zh}o

Makpa village-DAT long time ago

makipa ham-as-t^{hi}ŋ-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^hAlAbika lamlu tam k^hombi sAkli rAdu t^sunu hujim gΛ e*

k^hAlΛ-bika lamlu tam k^hom-bi sAkli

all-ABL at first here place-LOC two

rAdu 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) *untⁱpo nu t^sAl^ĩ ganpa kajo rAtepa gΛ e*

untⁱ-po nu t^sAl^ĩ ganpa kajo rAtepa gΛ e

3DU Dumĩ FOC Rai CONJ Ratepa COP.PST REP

‘Their (two) name were Ganpa and Ratepa.’

(06) *untⁱ dumi rAdu t^sunu muji*

untⁱ dumi rAdu t^su-nu mu-(j)i

3DU Dumĩ Rai offspring-DU be-2DU.PST

‘They (two) were Dumĩ 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 rʌdu t̪umu tedu sʌrpom hamasta*

mam-bika ŋa makpa-bi iŋki dumi rʌdu

that-AFTER FOC Makpa-LOC 1PL.INCL Dumi Rai

t̪u-mu tedu sʌr-po-m ham-as-t-a

offspring-PL this much grow-GEN-PRF 3PL-say-NPST-3PL

‘After that, it is believed that Dumi people have grown up in Makpa.’

(09) *unt̪i jo tambi tuhe pi-(j)i-m t̪ʌĩ mono e*

unt̪i jo tambi tuhe pi-(j)i-m t̪ʌĩ 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 gʌ e*

lamlu tambi ganpa pi-(j)u-m gʌ e

at first here Ganpa come-3SG.PST-PRF COP REP

‘Initially, Ganpa had come here, it is said.’

(11) *mʌnʌka rʌtepa jo disso pijum gʌ e*

mʌnʌ ka rʌtepa jo dis-so pi-(j)u-m gʌ 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 h^hijum g^h e*

u-pe lamt^hi-(j)u-m sulam tim-so

3SG.POSS-elder brother walk-PST-PRF way follow-SIM

tambi h^hapi-(j)u-m g^h 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 hamman^h e*

mam lamlu tam k^hom-bi minu ham-m^h-n^h e

that earlier this place-LOC people PL-live-NEG REP

‘Earlier than that, nobody was living in that place, it is said.’

(14) *m^hajo tambi sumandu saulo g^h e*

m^hajo tambi sumandu saulo g^h e

at that time here humid jungle COP REP

‘At that time, there was a humid forest, it is said.’

(15) *m^hajo unt^h i dunkululamka pijim g^h e*

m^hajo dunkulu-lamka

at that time Dungkulu-ABL

pi-(j)i-m g^h e

come-3DU.PST-PRF COP REP

‘At that time they (two) had come from Dungkulu, it is said.’

- (16) *unt^si kajo maki aksa kukli k^hliba jo m^Λ e*

unt^si kajo maki ak-sa kuk-li

3DU COM maki say-NMLZ one-CLF

k^hliba jo m^Λ e

dog also COP REP

‘There was also a dog named Maki with them, it is said.’

- (17) *t^sΛa tam k^hom makia ŋa lamlu tumdim g^Λ jo hamasta*

t^sΛ-a tam k^hom maki-a ŋa

someone-ERG this place Maki-ERG FOC

lamlu tumd-i-m g^Λ 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 k^hlibapo nulamka ŋa makpa nu d^ʒinh^Λnpom aksa jo gota*

mam k^hliba-po nu-lamka ŋa makpa

that dog-GEN name-ABL FOC Makpa

d^ʒin-h^Λn-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^hAlsa dibumi k^hliba mΛ e*

maki g^hAl-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 tukli 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^hAs-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) *kimgo pak^ha sulam duwabi rua ŋa p^hlaks a mut^hadi e*
 kim go-pak^ha sulam duwa-bi ru-a
 house in-out work field-LOC helper-ERG
 ŋa p^hlaks-a mu-t^had-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^ʃi swakli ŋa kubi mu-(j)i e*
 unt^ʃi 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^ʃa t^homale t^{sh}amdΔm jo mut^hAssi e*
 unt^ʃi-a t^homale t^{sh}amdΔm
 3DU-ERG annually chant
 jo mu-t^has-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^hAssi e*
 hijojo t^{sh}irijamlo ka d^hirijamlo-bi
 every autumn and spring-LOC
 mu-t^has-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 balukli pat^{sha} dumi mukti*

atasaba tam saptel-bi baluk-li

nowadays this area-LOC four-CLF

dumi pat^{sha} 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^h rΛdu jo hamt^hin^hta*

dumi bika t^hulu ka nat^{sh}irin^h

Dumi besides Thulung and Nachhiring

rΛdu jo ham-mo-t^hin^h-t-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-po 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 ham-mΛliŋu 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^sipo 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

lΛm-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 lʌmdʒʌm lʌmsoka hussi e*

tuk k^hep u-nana-nu-a lʌmdʒʌm

one time 3SG.POSS-elder sister-DU-ERG

lʌm-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) *mʌnʌ ka daulobi dʒa kapi k^hrapsim gʌ e*

mʌnʌ ka daulo-bi dʒa kapi

then and hearth-loc rice cooking pot

k^hrap-s-i-m gʌ e

position-3DU.PST-PRF be-3SG.PST REP

‘And then, they positioned the pot on hearth for cooking rice, it is said.’

- (14) *mʌjo ŋa k^hwakt^silikpaa unu hurk^hʌisika kenso daulo k^hirdi e*

mʌjo 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^hΛisi he:ŋa daulobim su: b^hapk^hΛtit^sΛ*

moso k^hir-t^hΛis-i he:ŋa

like that go round-PROG-3SG DUR

daulo-bi-m su: b^hap-k^hΛt-i-t^sΛ

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 ŋuk^hu*
 mam-bika k^hwakt^silikpa p^hΛm-dei-sika ŋuk^h-u
 that-ABL Khwakchilikpa knee down-DUR-CONV cry-3SG.PST
 ‘After that, Khwakchilikpa cried kneeling down.’

- (21) *d^zuna madoknΛjo uk^hana jo pat^si*
 d^zu-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 mapʰuknʌ*

u-na-nu-a hito

3SG.POSS-elder sister-DU-ERG what ever

dʒes-s-i jo ma-pʰuk-nʌ

call-DU-PST also NEG-get up-NEG

‘Whatever his elder sisters called him, he didn’t get up.’

(24) *unanua hito dʒessi jo mapʰuknʌ*

u-na-nu-a hito

3SG.POSS-elder sister-DU-ERG what ever

dʒes-s-i jo ma-pʰuk-nʌ

call-DU-PST also NEG-get up-NEG

‘Whatever his elder sisters called him, he didn’t get up.’

(25) *um swaa meŋkololo tʰibakʰu*

um swa-a meŋkololo tʰi-bakʰ-u

3SG hungriness-ERG inactively lie-AMBL-3SG.PST

‘He lied down inactively.’

(26) *hikmela mitʰi atʰika unanua uhopu ŋa lukʰussi*

hikmel-a mitʰ-i atʰi-ka

appetite-ERG die-3SG.PST say-CONV

u-na-nu-a uhopu ŋa lukʰus-s-i

3SG.POSS-elder sister-DU-ERG alone EMPH leave-du-pst

‘Thinking that he died due to appetite, his elder sisters left him alone.’

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^{adu} t^upo kim-kimbi suptulu k^huŋsa mutani*

del gob^{hal} d^{zh}ara r^{adu} t^u-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 d^zenalai susu d_Λpsi jo hamasta*

suptulu d^zena-lai susu d_Λpsi jo ham-as-ta

hearth call-DAT susu dapsi also 3pl-say-NPST-3PL

‘Worshipping the hearth is also called susu dapsi.’

(05) *t^sΛa daulo _Λpna jo hamastam ηikti*

t^sΛ-a daulo _Λp-na

someone-ERG fireplace worship-INF

jo ham-as-t-a-m ηi-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 d_Λp^tijo ubu kajom p^hiru proηna t^{sh}ukta*

susu d_Λp-t-ijo u-bu

hearth worship-NPST-CONV 3SG.POSS-plant

kajo-m p^hiru proη-na t^{sh}ukta

com-PRF zinger offer-INF must

‘While worshipping the hearth there must be offered zinger with plant.’

(07) *mosoka ηa m_Λjo nigum suru jo t^huηna t^{sh}ukta*

mosoka ηa m_Λjo 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^si jo t^suŋna t^{sh}ukta*

t^sok^ho t^si 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^si maguksaa t^sok^ho luŋk^ha kajo rɒbusi kɒŋkubi t^suŋna t^{sh}ukta*

t^sok^ho t^si 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^silai tobabi bjaksoka p^hipsu kajo proŋna t^{sh}ukta*

t^si-lai toba-bi bjak-soka

local beer-DAT vertical pot-LOC put-seq

p^hipsu kajo prɔŋ-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^{sh}u p^hitani*

mΛjo ham-a suptulu kajo pat^{sh}u 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^{sh}u p^hitani*

mΛjo ham-a suptulu kajo pat^{sh}u 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^hili 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^h-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 lupō 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 bΛpmelu 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^hamalu-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 heŋam rΛdu hampo t^hamalu mandum suptulu jo t^{sh}ukta*

tiluŋ heŋam 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}eq-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}eqti*

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}eq-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 daniḷu aktim birmt^humu assoka t^{sh}eqti*

mosoka ŋa daniḷu ak-t-i-m

likewise emph danilu say-NPST-1PL.INCL-PRF

birmt^su-mu as-soka t^{sh}eq-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 pit^si k^he ŋa battani*

t^sΛ-a dΛpsi-bi suk-li lu-po
 someone-ERG chant-LOC three-CLF stone-GEN

tum pit^si 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^hik^hojo suptulua rΛdu t^supo t^supilai miŋsa sulam duwa abikti*

b^hik^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

‘What so ever, the hearth provides us the way to remember the ancestral.’

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