

A Grammar of Baram

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Foreward

Linguistic and Ethnographic Documentation of the Baram Language (LEDBL) team is pleased to bring out *A Grammar of Baram* in consonance with one of the objectives of the LEDBL project.

We are grateful to the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP) for providing us with the major grants for the documentation of the Baram language. We hope we have brought it to a successful completion. We hope this will be a useful work for the study of Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal in general and Baram in particular.

We also hope this will serve as a reference grammar for those who wish to study the Baram language. The data that can be obtained from the most fluent speakers are included for presentation and analysis in this grammar. The circumstances of the data collection are mentioned in the first part of the grammar. When we began the documentation work, we suspected whether we would be able to present the linguistic systems in the Baram language. However, when we had data of considerable amount, we have tried to undertake full analyses of the Baram language.

Linguistic and Ethnographic Documentation of the Baram Language (LEDBL) has been supported by Endangered Languages Documentation Programme, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. We are grateful to ELDP for approving the grant to carry out the major documentation programme.

We have envisaged that LEDBL project will be a part of ongoing the ongoing Linguistic Survey of Nepal.

LEDBL Team
February, 2011

Acknowledgements

We received support from a number of people in completing the works of the *Linguistic and Ethnographic Documentation of the Baram Language* (LEDBL, MDP 0158) for its successful completion.

First of all we would like to thank Endangered Languages Documentation Programme, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London for supporting the documentation of the Baram language. The documentation would not have been possible without the financial support of ELDP. We are also grateful to ELDP, SOAS for constant support during the documentation period (March 2007-October31,2010).

Secondly, we would like to thank the Nepal Baram Association for assisting us in the documentation process. They acquainted us with the Baram community, and assisted in the field work and in overall documentation process. The language consultants Mr. Tok Man Baram and Mr. Dammar Bahadur Baram deserve special thanks for constant interactions with us during the project period. They were always with us in answering a number of questions related to their language.

At this point we would like to remember late David E. Watters and late Michael Noonan. They encouraged us to do some documentation work in Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. Their help in the initial phase of the project planning is really memorable. They only live with us in our memories. We now would like to express our heartfelt condolences to their families.

We were happy to work with the members of the Baram community when we were at our field site in Dandagaun and when we were in the rigorous processes of data collection in Gorkha bazaar. Finally, we thank the Central Department of Linguistics for their assistance and logistic support during our documentation work.

Finally, the Baram Research Team would like to express our sincere appreciation to the academic and financial staff of the Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University for their constant support and co-operation during the entire research project.

List of abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb(ial)
ADVZ	adjectivizer
ANDA	andative
APPOX	approximate
AUX	auxiliary
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
CNFT	counterfactual participle
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COMPR	comparative
CONC	concessive
COND	conditional
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DESID	desiderative
DET	determiner
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic
EXCLAM	exclamative
F	feminine
G	glide
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
HOR	hortative
HS	hearsay
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INST	instrumental
INTR	intransitive
IPA	international phonetic alphabet
LIT	literally
LOC	locative

N-	non- (e.g. NPST non-past)
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
NOMN	nominalized noun
NP	noun phrase
NUM	numeral
O	object
ONO	onomatopoic
OPT	optative
PART	particle
PASS	passive
PVF	perfect
PTB	proto Tibeto-Burman
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PROB	probability
PROG	progressive
PROH	phrohibitive
PROX	proximal/proximate
PST	past
PURP	purposive
QUANT	quantifier
QUOT	quotative
R	recepient
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
S	subject
SG	singular
TAM	tense, aspect, mood
TB	Tibeto-Burman
V	Vowel (with reference to syllable structure)
V	Verb
Vd	voiced
VI	voiceless
VP	verb phrase
VS	Vikram Saambat (era)
VOC	vocative
*	unacceptable expressions

1 Introduction

1.1 The Baram people

Baram people belong to the Sinitic community. The alternative terms *Baram* and *Baramu* are used as both ethnonyms and glossonyms. Other terms are also found to have been used to refer to Baram in the past. Hodgson (1847) and Grierson (1909) used *Bhramu* while Bista (1980) used *Bhra:mu* and *Ba:rhmu* alternatively to refer to the people. Baram people, however, prefer to call themselves as *Balbang*¹, which means 'people' or 'human kind' in their language.

In their physical appearance, they resemble the Gurungs and Magars but linguistically and culturally they are very different from any of the neighboring Tibeto-Burman communities. According to Thapa (1996:7-8), their clan and subclan names are similar to those of Sunuwars.

The Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) report of Nepal, 2001 shows that the Central-Southern part of Gorkha district, along Daraundi and Budhigandaki rivers and their tributaries in the Western-Nepal, is the main area where Baram people live. A very small number of these people live in Dhading, Lalitpur, Lamjung, Tanahun and Syanja districts.



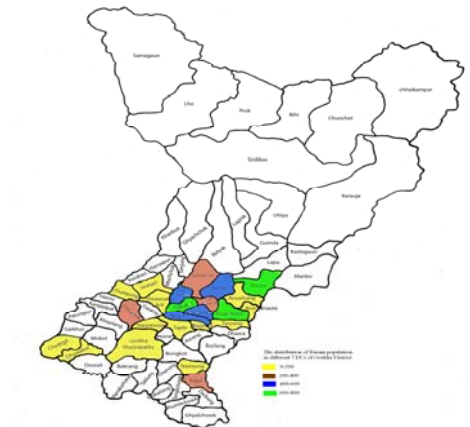
Map 1.1 Gorkha district in the map of Nepal

According to the report, the total population of Baram is 7383 which is 0.01% of the total population of Nepal. Of the total population of Baram 6709 (90.9%) live in the Gorkha district and the rest live in the other parts of Nepal.

Baram people consider themselves to be indigenous to the areas where they have been living, but Thapa (1996) argues that their differences from any of

¹ It is a compound form in which *bal* means 'human' and *bang* means 'group' or class. It is used in the villages where people still speak the Baram language. The villages where people gave up speaking the language use the term Baram.

the neighboring TB communities show that Baram migrated to the present location after wandering through several places and is thus a dislocated group from its ancestral community. He has tried to explain how Barams came to the present places from the eastern part of Nepal where Sunuwars are settled now.



Map 1.2: The distribution of the Baram people in Gorkha district

There are several controversies about the precise location of the Baram people in the past. According to Hodgson (1840), the habitat of Baram was the region called 'Gharga', east of the river 'Kali'. He mentioned that they lived in the lower regions infested with malaria, and seemed immune to the disease. The word 'Gharga' phonetically sounds similar to 'Gorkha' and, in fact, Gorkha lies east of the Kali Gandaki River. It shows that probably Hodgson was correct in his statement, but because of misspelling or mispronunciation he used the word 'Gharga'. His saying "... they lived in the lower regions²..." also can be justified with the help of a Baram myth which states that previously Baram people used to live in the river valleys, but later when Brahmins and/or Kshetris migrated there, they deserted them and moved up the mountains. There are still several Baram settlements in the river valleys³.

Grierson and Konow (1909), however, argue that Baram was one of the tribes from Nepal Terai⁴.

² The river valleys in the areas are the lower regions, which are hot and malarious.

³ The Baram settlements like Mailung, Jarang, some part of Chhoprak, etc. are still in the river valleys.

⁴ Baram settlements are not found in the Terai but in the river valleys at present and there is no evidence that shows they lived in the Terai in the past. As stated in Grierson (1909), the source of information for Grierson and Konow (1903) was Hodgson (1840) in which he states '...they lived in the lower regions infested with malaria...' Grierson and Konow may have generalized that the lower region infested with malaria was Terai but they did not conjuncture that the river valleys in the mountainous regions might also be hot and malarious.

According to Bista (1980), Baram people inhabited the Terai and inner-valleys, living in the hot, humid and very malarious areas⁵.

Lewis (2009) assumes the habitat of Baram to be North of Gorkha district, Gandaki Zone, along the Daraundi Khola and its tributaries.

Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFIN) press-release (January 03, 2005) states, “Baramu peoples are known as the aboriginal inhabitants of mid-hill regions of Nepal. Today they are found mostly in Gorkha and Tanahun districts. They are also found in Dhading, Makwanpur and Lalitpur districts. Their popular myth of origin connects them with the Sunuwars, Surel, Jirel, Rais and Limbus, and the other indigenous nationalities of eastern Nepal”⁶.

1.2 Genetic affiliation

Baram is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the Gorkha district of western part of Nepal. According to the CBS report of Nepal (2001) only 342 out of 7383 (about 4.6 %) people speak their language and 95.4% of them have shifted to Nepali completely. Our fieldwork could not, however, justify the facts about the speakers presented in the CBS report. According to the CBS report, there were 147 speakers in Chhoprak VDC, 163 speakers in Swara VDC and 18 speakers in Rautahat district, but no speakers have so far been reported in Chhoprak and Swara. The claim that there are some Baram speakers in Rautahat is false because there is no Baram population in the district. We found some aged Baram speakers in Dandagaun, Takukot-8 and Mailung, Takukot-5 in Gorkha District of which Dandagaun is the only place where the language is still spoken in day-to-day life. (See 2.2)

The Baram language has been mentioned in different classifications of Tibeto-Burman languages. The closest genetic relation of Baram is regarded to be with the Thami language which is mainly spoken in the Dolakha district. Grierson and Konow (1909) classified Baram into Eastern Subgroup of Complex Pronominalized group of Himalayan Languages under T-B Language Family (Figure 1.1).

Voegelin and Voegelin (1964, 1965) group Baram and Thami together in 'Western Pronominalized Group' (Figure 1.2). This classification is based on morphological structure rather than lexical similarity. Pronominalization is thus an important criterion of classification (Hale, 1973).

Although this classification includes Thami and Baram in the complex pronominalized group, Thami is a pronominalized language but Baram is not. We have so far found no trace of pronominalization in Baram and it is not found even in the data supplied by Hodgson presented in Grierson (1909). There is no agreement system but it has a grammatical system more or less similar to the conjunct-disjunct system in the Newar language. It is, therefore, untenable to include this language in the pronominalized group.

⁵ Bista also seems to rely on the information provided by Grierson and Konow (1909).

⁶ The statement by NEFIN is based on Gautam and Thapa-Magar (1994).

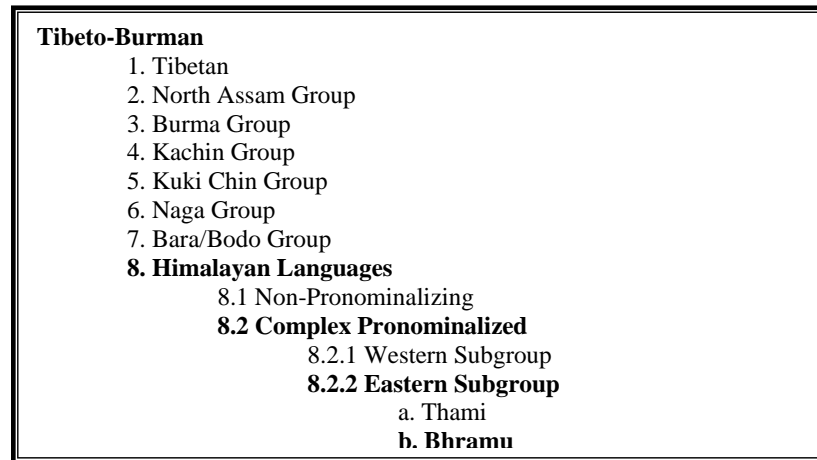


Figure 1.1 Genetic Classification of Baram: Grierson-Konow (1909) [in Hale 1973]



Figure 1.2 Genetic Classification of Baram:
Voegelin and Voegelin (1964-65) [in Hale 1973]

Shater (1966) asserts that Baram and Thami belong to the same group. He places them under 'West Himalayish Section' of Bodic Division. This classification relies on lexical similarity rather than morphological similarity (Hale, 1973).

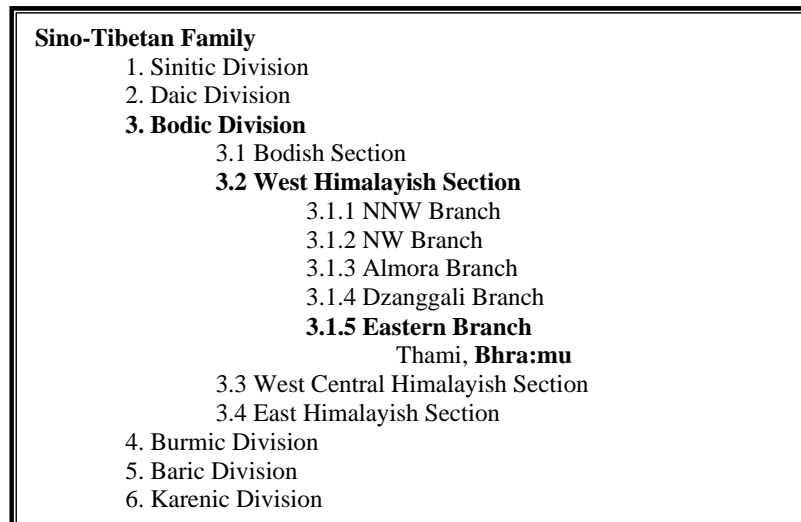


Figure 1.3 Genetic Classification of Baram: Shafer (1966) [in Hale 1973]

According to van Driem (2003), Baram, Thami and Newar together make-up a group within the Mahakiranti branch of Tibeto-Burman languages. This conclusion was based on several Baram grammatical morphemes that have evident cognates in the morphology and inflexional systems of other Tibeto-Burman languages, both within Mahakiranti as well as elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman. van Driem later, however, abandoned the Mahakiranti hypothesis as untenable and subject to further investigations.

Similarly, Matisoff (2003) has classified Baram into West Himalayish

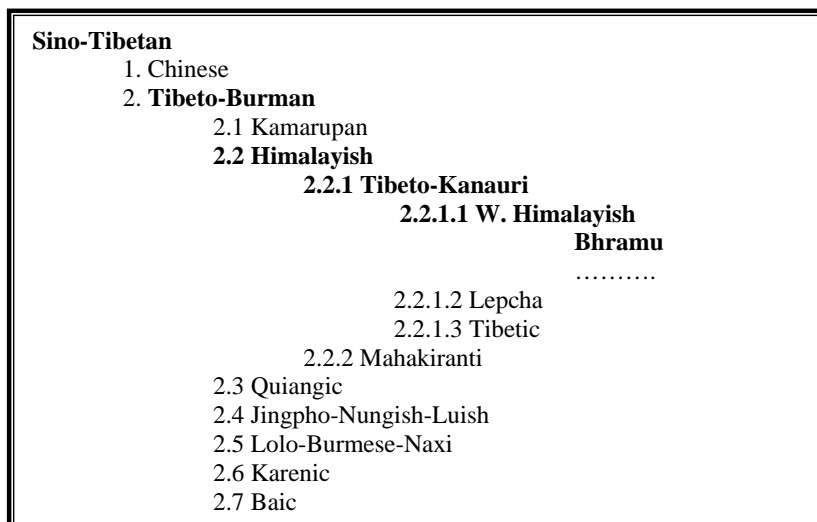


Figure 1.4 Genetic Classification of Baram: Matisoff (2003)

Similarly, Turin (2006) says that Baram, Thami and Dolakha Newar are linguistically close and make a sub-group under 'Mahakiranti' group of Tibeto-Burman languages.

Lexical and grammatical similarities between Baram and Thami justify that they are genetically closest members of TB languages. Our preliminary lexical comparison of Baram with Thami, Chepang, and Newar using Swadesh 100 word list shows that Baram has 45-50% lexical similarity with Thami, 30-35 % with Chepang and 25-30 % with Newar.

1.3 Culture, religion and education

Barams, who practice their traditional culture, are also found to be highly influenced by Hindu culture and practices. Consequently, there are two patterns of cultural practices in Baram community: the native practices and the adopted Hindu practices. Originally they seem to be worshippers of nature. As their native practices they worship Chandi. During the worship of Chandi, they also worship Kul (family God), Bhume (land God), Vayu (wind God), Van Jhankri (jungle God), etc. The worship of Chandi is a major ritual worship among the Baram cultural practices. It is the worship of the Goddess, the symbol of natural power⁷.

Apart from their native practices, they also follow most of the Hindu rites and rituals, and celebrate the Hindu festivals. They have not only adopted cultural practices from Hindus but also from other neighboring communities. The Barams in Takukot take part in Gai Jatra (cow festival), which is celebrated by Newar communities. But the most important fact is that they have nativized the adopted practices and follow them in their own way. At present agriculture is the basic profession of the Baram people. The fact that they had been granted Kipat⁸ in the past also supports that they were traditionally farmers. Farming and animal husbandry are the complementary parts of their agriculture. Because of the expansion of the family and other factors their ownership of land has been decreasing and the economic situation is gradually degrading. Apart from agriculture, they are also found to be involved in other occupations such as government services (especially army and police), business, labor, etc.

The achievement of Baram in education does not seem to be satisfactory according to the survey conducted by Nepal Baram Association in 10 VDCs of Gorkha district in 2065 VS to identify the educational situation of the Baram people (Baramu et al. 2009). The report presents rather a disappointing picture of the educational situation in Baram community as shown in Table 1.1.

⁷ This practice is also a major ritual among the Kirati people.

⁸ In Kipat system the government lends the land of its ownership to individuals or group(s) under certain conditions. This system was popular in Nepal before 1938. But in 1938 this system was abolished and all Kipat land was converted into private properties.

S. N.	Level passed	Number of people	Percentage out of total Baram population
1.	Illiterate	10812	51.3
2.	Literate	7110	33
3.	Primary	2116	9
4.	Lower secondary	810	3
5.	Secondary	308	0.13
6.	SLC	189	0.08
7.	Intermediate	38	0.01
8.	Bachelor's degree	9	0.003
9.	Master's degree	1	0.00042

TABLE 1.1 Educational situation of the Baram people

1.4 Previous studies

There are a few studies on the Baram language. Hodgson (1857:321-327; 1880:164-170) recorded the first word list of this language.

The latest work on Baram is the *Basic Dictionary of Baram* prepared at the Central Department of Linguistics in collaboration with the National Foundation for the Development of Indigenous Nationalities and Nepal Baram Association. It is a trilingual dictionary with nearly 2500 entries, each of which contains fields such as lexeme, pronunciation (using IPA symbols), pronunciation (in Devanagari), part of speech, definitions (in Nepali and English), example sentences, context, etc.

van Driem (2001:766-733) presents ethnolinguistic comments on the Baram people and language. He discusses its relation to Thami although this study lacks comparison based on grammatical features. Bradley (1997:15) notes that it is a poorly described language.

1.5 Circumstances of data collection

When we met the Baram speakers for the first time the language was no longer used in natural discourse. We identified the most fluent speakers among the Baram speaking people at the field site.

Most of the data for the documentation were recorded in the field office in the Gorkha bazaar, the headquarters of the Gorkha district. As all of them were the speakers of the Baram language, they loved talking in their own tongue which they would use in their childhood when they were together during their stay in Gorkha. Thus, although they were merely the 'rememberers', and enjoyed talking in their own tongue, and spent weeks talking in their own language.

Grinevald (2003:64) presents the spectrum of language speakers and classifies the speakers of endangered languages into four categories.⁹

- a. Native fluent speakers
- b. Semi-speakers
- c. Terminal speakers
- d. Rememberers

Baram communities do not consist of the speakers of the first category. We do not have speakers who are monolingual in the language, and whose dominant language is Baram. We therefore have to rely on the semi-speakers. The language consultants we have been working with are bilingual whose dominant language is Nepali although they are fluent in Baram. They do not use the language regularly and naturally. However, they are capable of producing 'the best texts' ever existed in the language, which otherwise are likely to go to oblivion.

We have the speakers of the third and the fourth categories as well, namely terminal speakers and rememberers. On the basis of their mastery of the language, and mastery of the different genres, we rely heavily on the texts produced by the speakers of the second category. The usefulness of semi-speakers in language documentation is mentioned by Grinevald (2003:67):

But they are generally essential to projects of documentation, because of their knowledge of the language, even if it turns out to be more limited than professed at first when time comes to actually do linguistic analysis, and their being fully bilingual and generally the best trained people in community. Although old fluent speakers seem to be the obvious speakers to seek out, and ultimately are the source of the major recordings of the language, they may or may not make good linguistic informants, depending on their age and sophistication, and their analytical and linguistic talents.

1.5.1 Types of data

The data corpus contains thirty hours of oral texts transcribed in EUDICO Linguistic Annotator (ELAN) and interlinearized in Toolbox, computer software programs. We have tried to gather the corpora from nearly all possible speech genres as listed below.

- a. Directives
- b. Conversations
- c. Monological texts
- d. Rituals
- e. Grammars
- f. Others

In fact, it is difficult to determine the nature of corpus because one speech corpus overlaps with other categories of speech genres. Following Himmelmann, (1998:22) we collected the data related to directives which occupy only a small percentage of the total corpus. Although recording real

⁹ The fact that Baram language is in a dormant state is illustrated by this case.

conversation is not possible, we gathered the corpus by means of role play. Monological texts (mainly narratives) comprise major parts of our corpus. A large number of recorded texts were narratives which also include personal memories. Despite the fact that ritual texts do not exist in Baram, the language consultants were requested to report or describe the ritual processes. We thought that some topics in grammar hardly occur in the texts and therefore some sessions related to grammar were recorded. The last category, e.g. 'others' includes diverse topics such as description, letter, play etc. It occupies large number of texts such as description of processes, etc.

1.5.2 Speakers

Data of good quality depends upon the fluent language consultants of particular languages. We have considered ideal language speakers (Newell, 1995:29), talk about good speakers of a language to be chosen for a particular kind of work. However, in a speech community with a handful of language consultants, we did not have manifold options regarding the selection of the language consultants. At the beginning of the field work, we were not sure whether we would be fortunate to have fluent speakers who could speak for an hour. An excerpt of a field note is mentioned below:¹⁰

In the first week of our recordings we recorded the texts which were in fact very short. We were struggling to make good recordings. In our field office, one day, my friends Krishna Prasad Chalise and Krishna Paudel were with Mina Baram to record a text. I was out of our studio. As they came out of the room, they were so delighted that they were fortunate to have a fluent speaker who could speak very fluently for half an hour. At this point we were very hopeful about collecting data. The days following this were full of excitements and we were very delighted to have diverse texts and representative corpus.

Here is a paragraph about language speakers of the Baram language:

- (1) Mr. Dambar Bahadur Baram-55, a fluent speaker, is bilingual and found to be the youngest speaker in our documentation program. However, most of the texts he produces are fragmentary, and the texts he produces lack coherence. (see Photograph 1.1).
- (2) Mina Baram is the most fluent female speaker we found during our fieldwork with strong narrative skills. She contributed very good texts relating to narratives, personal narratives, and role play. (see Photograph 1.2).
- (3) Mr. Tok Man Baram-66 possesses good retention of the language ever possessed by the Baram speakers. Although he speaks relatively for a short period, his texts contain coherence. He also possesses some texts related to myths, folk tales, and procedural texts. (see Photograph 1.3.)

¹⁰ This is an excerpt from Dubi Nanda Dhakal's footnote.

In addition to these language consultants, some other language consultants are shown in Photograph 1.1-1-4.



PHOTOGRAPH 1.1
Dambar Bahadur Baram



PHOTOGRAPH 1.2
Mina Baram



PHOTOGRAPH 1.3 Tok Man Baram



PHOTOGRAPH 1.4: Dauri Baram, Kamala Baram, Mina Baram, Shankha Man Baram, Tokman Baram (2nd row from the left) Dil Bahadur Baram, Sabbal Singh Baram, Dammar Baram (1st row from the left)

1.6 Overview of the grammar

In addition to two appendices, the grammar is organized into thirteen chapters. Chapter 1 outlines Baram people and their language. It includes the genetic classification, previous studies and methods of data collection. Chapter 2 presents the summary of the sociolinguistic survey of the Baram language. The language is not used in natural discourse and has thus shrunk from its natural use. Chapter 3 discusses the phonology of the Baram language. Chapter 4 discusses some regular morphophonological processes of the Baram language. Chapter 5 presents nominal morphology. Chapter 6 presents the adjectival category of Baram. Chapter 7 deals with verb morphology in Baram. Adverbs are presented in Chapter 8 and closed word classes in Chapter 9. The structure of the noun phrases is analyzed in Chapter 10. Simple sentences and their modifications are presented in Chapter 11. In Chapter 12, clause combining in Baram is analyzed. Finally the grammar is summarized in Chapter 13.

We have tried to use the examples from the corpus as far as possible. However, there are some examples which have been elicited from Baram native speakers for some specific grammatical features. Those elicited examples are indicated as 'Eli' within the parentheses.

2 *Sociolinguistic situation*

2.0 Outline

This study is an outcome of the sociolinguistic study carried out as a part of Linguistic and Ethnographic Documentation of the Baram Language (LEDBL) project in different Baram speaking areas in Gorkha District, Western Nepal. It is based on the findings of a number of field trips made by the LEDBL team at different times during the project period, May, 2007-April, 2010, employing tools such as the sociolinguistic questionnaires¹, the Swadesh wordlist, the interactions and conversations with the community people and the language consultants.

The main objectives of the sociolinguistic study were:

- To identify the areas of the Baram settlements;
- To gather information about Baram speakers;
- To collect details about the various sociolinguistic aspects of the language such as its name, language variation, knowledge and use of the language, language attitude, vitality and maintenance and the level of language endangerment.

2.1 Methodology

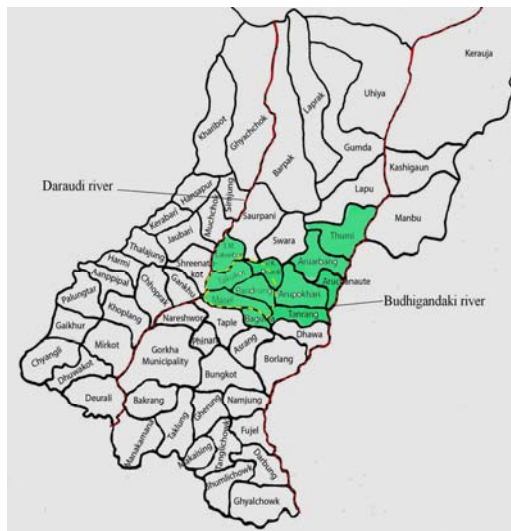
2.1.1 Survey location and sampling

The survey made by LEDBL in 2006 showed that Takukot VDC in Gorkha District is the only place where Baram language is still in use. Similarly, in the beginning of the LEDBL Project the project team along with Nepal Baram Association carried out a pilot survey to select the field site of the project and it also justified the finding of the previous survey. We thus selected Takukot VDC as the field site of LEDBL Project.

Takukot has thus been adopted as the survey centre and the VDCs around Takukot with higher population of Baram have been selected as the survey locations. For the purpose of the survey a total of 51 respondents were selected from 11 VDCs in the Gorkha District. Of them 50 were Baram and 1 non-Baram (but who speaks the Baram Language²). The number of representation is high from Takukot (the survey centre) and its adjacent VDCs: Pandrung, Masel and Panckhuwa Deurali. Map 2.1 shows the survey area and Table 2.1 alongside shows the number of respondents selected from each of the VDCs.

¹ See Appendix I.

² We met some non-Baram people who could speak the Baram language. Man Bahadur Bishwakarma of Dandagaun, Takukot-8 can speak Baram language but he is not a fluent speaker. People reported that in the past, non-Baram people around Dandagaun used the language to communicate with the Baram people. People in Mailung, Dandagaun-5 reported that Newar people living nearby the Baram communities used to speak Baram. We were able to meet two old Newar people who could speak the Baram language.



MAP 2.1 The VDCs selected for survey

SN	VDCs	No of sample
1	Masel	8
2	Baguwa	1
3	Pandrung	16
4	Panchkhuwa Deurali	5
5	Takukot	15
6	Tandrang	1
7	Aru Arbang	1
8	Thumi	1
9	Aruchanaute	1
10	Arupokhari	1
11	Takumajh Lakuribot	1
	Total	51

TABLE 2.1 VDC wise selection of the respondents

The selection of the sample was made on the basis of the following parameters:

Age and sex: The respondents were selected to represent different age and sex groups. The age range is 16-80 and there are 27 females and 24 males. Figure 2.2 shows the distribution of the respondents by age and sex.

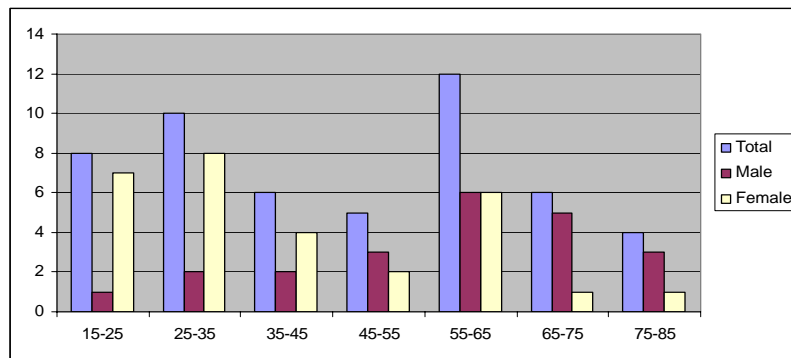


FIGURE 2.1 The sampling of the respondents by age and sex

Education: Among the respondents selected 24 were preliterate, 19 literate and 8 educated.

Speaker vs. nonspeaker: Of the selected respondents 17 were speakers and 34 nonspeakers of the Baram language. The sample has been organized to make it balanced and representative as far as possible.

2.1.2 Methods of gathering information

Questionnaires: The primary research tools for eliciting information in this survey were the two sets of questionnaires: 'Set I' for the language speakers and 'Set II' for the non-speakers. They contained interviews using a prepared list of questions to gather information regarding specific sociolinguistic issues.

Set I: It contained a set of questions divided into 8 sections. It was written in both English and Nepali. The researchers used Nepali to seek opinions from the informants. Its main focus was to:

- i. find out the linguistic background and language proficiency of the language speakers;
- ii. explore the distribution, language variation and multilingual situation of the Baram language;
- iii. evaluate the language vitality and the pattern of language endangerment; and
- iv. assess the language attitude of the speakers.

Set II: It contained a set of questions divided into 7 sections. Its main focus was to:

- i. understand the sociolinguistic situation of the Baram language;
- ii. investigate places where the language is spoken;
- iii. evaluate the pattern of language loss in the Baram communities where the language is not spoken; and
- iv. assess the language attitude of the non-speakers.³

Informal conversations⁴: During the field trips we had informal conversations with the people about the different aspects of the language and collected additional information about the sociolinguistic situation of the Baram language. Generally we had conversation in the Baram language.

Observation⁵: In the field we also observed different sociolinguistic aspects of the language like use of the language, attitude of the people towards the language, etc. and collected such information. Besides, observation is important because it is possible that sometimes the responses of the people may vary from reality.

³ Questionnaires are given in Appendix I.

⁴ Up to the second year of the project, we (Krishna Chalise, Balaram Prasain, Dubi Nanda Dhakal and Krishna Poudel) had learnt the language and could communicate in the language. Because of fluency in Baram, in the last field trip, some speakers in Mailung could not guess that we were not Baram people. They said that we were Baram people but with quite different appearance. It helped us to have personal communications with the speakers of the language and get more information. Because of the fact we had very good relation with the community and they were very helpful and cooperative.

⁵ Observation was one very useful method of gathering information. Our stay in the field for more than 8 months helped us understand the linguistic and cultural situations of the Baram community.

2.2 Findings

2.2.1 The name

The terms *Baram* and *Baramu* are popular among the Baram communities and the people use the terms as their surnames as well. The native speakers of the language use the terms *Balbang* and *Baram* alternatively, but the non-speakers call themselves *Baram*. *Baram* is used as their authentic name by about 90% of the people. The people from other communities also call them *Baram*. The term *Baramu* is used as their authentic name by about 10% of the people. It is so far unknown from which language the terms *Baram* and *Baramu* have been derived and what they mean⁶.

The heteroglotonym is *Baram* and autoglotonym of the language is *Balkura*. *Bal* is a Baram word meaning 'people' and *Kura* is from Nepali language which means 'language'. The meaning of the term *Balkura* is thus 'human language'. The survey showed that Baram people preferred autoglotonym to heteroglotonym. Out of the total 50 Baram respondents, 47 (92%) preferred autoglotonym (*Balkura*) and only 4 (8%) liked heteroglotonym (*Baram*).

From our personal communication we found that the people from other language communities living in Baram speaking areas, Takukot-8 and Takukot-5, also use autoglotonym whereas other communities living in the areas far from Baram speaking areas use heteroglotonym.

2.2.2 Baram speaking areas

Baram language is spoken in Takukot-5, Mailung and Takukot-8 Dandagaun in the Gorkha district. These two villages are about 4 km apart situated on two opposite slopes of the same mountain, the first facing the South and the second facing the North. The way to the district headquarters runs along the top of the mountain; so the people of the villages come up this way from their villages and go to their destinations. As a result the people living in the villages, as they reported, are in less contact with each other. In Mailung, we could find only 9 speakers older than 60 years⁷. Of them, only two speakers, an old couple, use Baram at home in daily communication. And the rest don't use it because they are the single speakers at their homes.

Dandagaun is the only place where the language is still spoken. 129 people identified themselves as the native speakers of Baram. In some of the villages, as we were reported, there are handfuls of speakers either married from the two villages or learnt the language from the villages in various ways.⁸

⁶ During our research we tried to extract information about the words but we could not find them in the Baram language. They are not Baram native words. The words are not available in Nepali and other languages of Nepal. In an inscription found in Gork during the period of Aditya Malla (1378 VS) there is a use of the word *Baram*. The language used in the inscription seems to be some form of old Nepali but the meaning of the word is still unknown.

⁷ But now there are only 8 speakers as one of them passed away last month.

⁸ We noted that if a person knew a few words and sentences of Baram, people called him/her a speaker of Baram.



Photograph 2.1 The Dandagaun village, Takukot-8



Photograph 2.2 The Mailung village, Takukot-5

We carried out the detailed sociolinguistic study of Dandagaun village at the survey centre. For this purpose we visited and collected data from every household. There are four major Toles in the village: Gaira Tole, Mukhiya Tole, Danda Tole and Pallogaun Tole. There are all together 684 people living in 114 households of which 357 are male and 327 are female. Out of the total population only 18% (129 out of 684) people identified themselves as the speakers of the language. Of them 39.53% (51 out of 129) are fluent speakers who use it in daily life in a limited number of domains of language use, 34.10% (44 out of 129) are the semi-speakers and 26.35% (34 out of 129) are really not speakers but have tacit knowledge of the language up to a certain limit. All of them are bilingual and aged. Most of the fluent speakers are above 60 in age. The youngest fluent speaker we have found is 48 years old now. Every year the

number of the speakers is decreasing. Within the last three years of the project, 6 fluent speakers have passed away.

Some enthusiastic children have been using Baram-Nepali-English dictionary compiled by Yadava et al. (2005) as a reference material to learn Baram words. It is reported that three people from the Nepali speaking community can speak Baram as the second language. In our personal communication they reported that Baram was widely used in the past both in the Baram and non-Baram communities. Non-Baram people used to speak it as a second language.

2.2.3 Language variation

As Baram is spoken only in two small villages within a distance of 4 km, viz. Dandagaun and Mailung, there are no distinct regional dialects although there are a few variations in pronunciation and vocabulary between the forms of language used in the two villages. Out of 1251 basic Baram native words extracted from the LEDBL Corpus, there is slight pronunciation variation in 49 words and 15 words found in Mailung variety are not available in Dandagaun variety.

<u>Dandagaun variety</u>	<u>Mailung variety</u>	
<i>cun̥kja</i>	<i>cun̥ke</i>	'the day before yesterday'
<i>nəmpue</i>	<i>nəmpui</i>	'next year'
<i>poŋsun̥</i>	<i>pəŋsun̥</i>	'a kind of tree'
<i>bindzjun̥</i>	<i>bəndzjun̥</i>	'flea'
<i>akphorgo</i>	<i>akphərgo</i>	'to jump'

As Baram is spoken by a single ethnic group with no social stratification, it obviously has no social variations.

2.2.4 Bilingualism/multilingualism

Baram, Brahmins, Kshetries, so-called Hindu lower castes, Gurungs and Magars inhabit the vicinity of Dandagaun, and Brahmins, Barams and Newars inhabit the vicinity of Mailung. The Brahmins, Kshetries and so-called Hindu lower castes speak Nepali as their first language, and communicate with Barams in Nepali. In the past Gurung, Newar and Magar languages were also spoken in the adjacent villages but now the use of the languages has drastically reduced and the use of Nepali is increasing. The Newars, Magars and Gurungs have shifted heavily into Nepali, and only a few of them, especially old people and the women married from the areas where their ethnic languages are still spoken, are bilingual in their ethnic language and Nepali but the rest of them are monolingual in Nepali. So they communicate with the Baram people in Nepali.

For the speakers of Baram it is a somewhat bilingual setting. Nepali is used widely and Baram is used in limited domains of language use in particular situations. Both Baram and non-Baram people have been living there for a long time in social and cultural harmony. The relationship among them is very

friendly and they are in contact with one another in their everyday life⁹. As a result, the Baram language has converged much with it in both vocabulary and structure. The number of Nepali loan words, 2478 out of the 3729 (66.45%) included in the dictionary of Baram (2011), justifies this fact.

A. Knowledge of the language

For this study we included the responses of 17 people who identified themselves as the speakers of Baram, 16 from Baram community and one from non-Baram community. Table 2.2 shows their responses about their knowledge of the Baram language.

Number of speakers	Which language(s) do you speak?	Which language(s) do you speak better?	How did you learn the language(s)	Are you always able to understand heated arguments in?	Are you always able to understand jokes and proverbs?	Can you always find right words to express your thoughts in?	Are there any people who speak only Baram?
17	B=0	B=4	Home/com munity =17	B=0	B=0	B=1	Yes=0
	BN=17	BN=7		BN=11	BN=11	BN=11	No=17
	N=0	N=6		N=5	N=5	N=5	

Note: B=Baram, N=Nepali, BN=Baram and Nepali

TABLE 2.2 Responses about the knowledge of the language

There is not a single monolingual speaker of Baram; all are bilingual in Nepali and Baram. While talking about the relative speech proficiency in Baram and Nepali, out of 17 only 4 (23.5%) are better in Baram, 41.17% are equal in both the languages and 35.29% are better in Nepali. At the level of comprehension 64.70% have equal level of comprehension in both languages, 5.88% have better comprehension in Baram and 29.41% have better comprehension in Nepali. It shows that the level of proficiency of Baram language among the Baram speakers is decreasing.

They said they all had learned the languages from home and the society. This indicates that both of the languages have long been in use in the Baram societies. This has been further supported by Hodgson (1980) in which out of 165 basic words collected there are some Nepali loan words.

B. The domains of language use

In daily life the people use Baram only in limited domains. The following anecdote will give the real situation about the use of the Baram language in the community.

⁹ This statement is based on the personal communication with both the Baram and non-Baram people in Dandagaun and Mailung.

On the 16th January, 2008 we recorded the first session with Mina Baram. We were very happy to meet her because she was the most fluent speaker we had ever met. After the session Mina expressed her excitement saying, “I am speaking Baram after a gap of a full 6 years”.

The statement made by Mina¹⁰ is really very meaningful because it gives us a vivid picture of the situation of the use of Baram in the community. To find out the domains of use of the Baram language, we selected two basic parameters of language use:

- interpersonal communication (communication with family members, relatives, etc.);
- basic and most frequent domains of language use. For the first purpose we selected 15 speakers. The responses of the people were valued as B=2, BN=1 and N=0.

Table 2.3 shows their responses and the values of their responses.

Which language do you use with the following people?											
Number of respondents	Grandparents	Parents	Elder brother	Elder sister	Younger brother	Younger sister	Spouse	Children	Relatives	Pets	Servants
15	B=0	B=0	B=3	B=6	B=1	B=1	B=0	B=0	B=3	B=5	B=2
	BN=1	BN=3	BN=3	BN=3	BN=4	BN=4	BN=5	BN=2	BN=7	BN=2	BN=1
	N=4	N=4	N=5	N=4	N=10	N=10	N=8	N=13	N=5	N=8	N=4
	Nr=10	Nr=8	Nr=4	Nr=2	Nr=0	Nr=1	Nr=2	Nr=0	Nr=0	Nr=0	Nr=8
Total values	2	3	9	15	6	6	5	2	13	12	5

Note: B=Generally Baram, N=Generally Nepali, BN=Both Baram and Nepali, Nr=No response/ absence of addressee

TABLE 2.3 Use of Baram in interpersonal communication

The interpersonal use of the language can be presented as: elder sisters>relatives>pets>elder brothers>younger brothers, younger sisters>spouse, servants>parents>grandparents, children. As most of the speakers are aged they don't have grandparents and parents. Only 5 of the speakers have grandparents and 7 have parents. The speakers with grandparents and parents are obviously junior in age so the use of Baram with them is automatically very low.

The use of Baram with the elder sister is higher than its use with the elder brother. They think that the use of native tongue indicates the higher degree of intimacy between the speaker and the listener. It shows that brother-sister relation is closer than brother-brother relation. The sisters have to go to

¹⁰ Mina Baram is a 70 year old woman who is a fluent speaker of the Baram language and it was her first language. She was married out of Dandagaun village but after the death of her husband she has been living in the village with her family.

live in their husbands' houses after marriage, and when they come to their maternal houses they use Baram rather than Nepali because it gives them the feeling of greater intimacy. On the other hand the relation between the brothers is rather formal or less intimate because of the facts that they live at the same place, have to share the parental properties and also share the common borders of their land. In comparison with the use of Baram with the elder brother and the sister, it is relatively very low with the younger brother and sister. It indicates that the use of Baram has been decreasing from generation to generation, and from elder to younger within the same generation.

The use of Baram between spouses is lower because of the fact that 7 (out of 15) of the speakers are married to non-speakers of Baram and spouses of some of them have very low proficiency in Baram. The use of the language with the relatives is relatively high as most of the speakers of Baram have marital relations in one way or the other. Most of the speakers are married within Dandagaun and the married elder and younger sisters are also treated as relatives in the Baram culture.

Pets/cattle are very close to the pet keepers; so the speakers use Baram with them. During our fieldworks we observed that the speakers of Baram mostly addressed the pets/cattle in Baram.

The lowest use of the language is with children. It indicates the complete discontinuation of intergenerational transmission of the language. Two very old speakers said they use Baram and Nepali with their children. By children here we mean sons and daughters who are aged, not small kids.

None of the Baram people employ servants. Those who have given responses in the column of servant are the people who work on daily wages as servants.

Which language(s) do you use for the following activities?											
The number of respondents	To think	To play	To curse	To joke	To scold	To sing	To count	To dream	To abuse	To perform rituals	To pray
15	B=5	B=1	B=1	B=1	B=3	B=0	B=6	B=1	B=1	B=1	B=4
	BN=4	BN=5	BN=9	BN=7	BN=6	BN=4	BN=4	BN=7	BN=6	BN=6	B N=3
	N=6	N=5	N=5	N=7	N=6	N=11	N=5	N=7	N=8	N=8	N=8
	Nr=0	Nr=4	Nr=0	Nr=0	Nr=0	Nr=0	Nr=0	Nr=0	Nr=0	Nr=0	Nr=0
Total values	14	7	11	9	12	4	16	9	8	8	11

Note: B=Generally Baram, N=Generally Nepali, BN=both Baram and Nepali, Nr=No response

TABLE 2.4 Use of Baram in different domains of language use

To find out the use of Baram language according to the most common domains of language use, we selected 15 speakers. The responses of the people

were valued as B=2, BN=1 and N=0. Table 2.4 shows their responses and the values of their responses.

The hierarchy of language use in different domains of language use can be presented as: to count>to think¹¹>to scold>to curse, to pray>to joke, to dream>to abuse, to perform rituals>to play>to sing. It shows that the use of Baram in counting is the highest. Baram has a very interesting matter related to the numeral system. At the present it has native numerals from 1 to 3 (*de, nis, swom*) and the rest are in Nepali. If they include the native numerals in the counting they think it is the Baram system. The use of the language in domains such as to think, to scold, to curse and to pray is relative high and the uses in domains such as to joke, to dream, to abuse, to perform rituals and to play is relatively low. The domain with the least use of Baram is to sing as there is not a single traditional original Baram song.

C. Language attitude

In our personal communications with the Baram people in different villages in Gorkha, they reported that they used to hesitate to speak in their own language in front of other language-speaking people and identify themselves as Barams. Hence, several of the Baram people have identified themselves as Gurungs and Magars for higher prestige and upward mobility and avail to opportunities to join the army¹². But at present, because of the democratic movements and growing awareness among the ethnic communities, they are happy to use their language and identify themselves as Baram. Some organizations have been established to promote their language and culture. 'Nepal Baram Association', the national level organization and 'Gorkha Baram Association', a district level organization have been actively operating for the promotion of their language, culture and identity.

To assess language attitude we selected 50 respondents, both speakers and non-speakers, from 11 Village Development Committees (VDCs) in different parts of Gorkha District. There were 22 speakers and 28 non-speakers. Table 2.5 shows the results.

The result shows that 74% of the respondents preferred Baram¹³, 24% preferred Nepali and 2% were neutral. It is striking to note that all the respondents from Baram speaking areas preferred Baram, and some of the respondents from out of the Baram speaking area (6 from Pandrung, 4 from Masel, 1 from Baguwa and 1 from Deurali) preferred Nepali. We asked the respondents why they preferred Nepali. Their response was that Nepali was the language that they knew well. It indicates that language loyalty is stronger in the speakers than in the non-speakers and the decline of language loyalty begins along with the decay of the language.

¹¹ It means to think about something or someone.

¹² In the past the Kshetries, Gurungs, Magars, Rais, Limbus, and some other limited groups were permitted to join the Nepal Army, Indian Army and British Army. So it was a common trend among the people who were not permitted to join army to change their identity for this purpose.

¹³ The figure of preference and the reality of the language seem contradictory. It raises a question that if ¾ of the population prefer the language why it is dying. Here we have a classic example of how perception can be at odds with reality.

Number	Lg. of preference	Read and write in Baram	Children learn Baram	Baram in primary education	Feeling when speaking Baram	Lg. you like most	Any problem to speak Baram?	Baram speaking other lg.	Encourage to use Baram	Son/daughter marry non-speaker of Baram
50	B=37	love=40	yes=46	Love=48	prestigious=23	B=15	no=19	good=4	yes=19	like=2
	B N=1	don't mind=7	no=1	don't mind=2	neutral=27	BN=3		neutral=7	no=3	sad=14
	N=12	hate=1				N=2		bad=11		don't mind=6
		Nr=2	Nr=3			Nr=1	Nr=3			

Note: B=Baram, N=Nepali, BN=Both Baram and Nepali, Nr=No response or absence of addressee

TABLE 2.5 Attitude of the speakers towards Baram language

80% of the respondents loved, 18% of them were neutral and 2% hated to read and write in Baram. It means most of the Baram people like to read and write in Baram if they get opportunities to do so¹⁴. 92% loved, 6% didn't mind and 2% hated to make their children read and write in Baram apart from Nepali. 96% loved to introduce Baram language in primary education and 4% didn't object to it. It indicates that almost all Baram people desire for the survival of their language in the future, so they want to revive and revitalize their language¹⁵.

46% of them feel proud to speak Baram and 54% were neutral about it. All except one speaker replied that they feel it is a prestige to speak Baram. For the non-speakers it was a hypothetical question. 9 of the non-speakers replied they would feel it is a prestige, and the rest were neutral about the issue. Most of the speakers as well as non-speakers were worried about the fact that Baram people are speaking other language(s) rather than their own language.

All the responses show that the vast majority of the Baram people, both speakers and non-speakers, have high level of affection and respect towards their language and they are committed to work for the promotion and revitalization of their language¹⁶.

¹⁴ It was just a hypothetical question. Yadava et al. (2005) have proposed orthography based on Devanagari script for the Baram language. The orthography is in use nowadays.

¹⁵ The high level of language loyalty among the Baram people might be a result of the growing ethnic consciousness in the minority ethnic groups after the new political changes in Nepal.

¹⁶ This high level of language loyalty, in fact, is the result of the political awareness in the ethnic communities after the restoration of democratic system of politics in the country. In the past, during the Panchayat System of politics the ethnic communities seemed to be rather non-committal about their language and ethnic identity.

D. Vitality and endangerment

The results from discussion prove that Baram is a seriously endangered language. The research team carried out an assessment of the vitality of the Baram language in 2007. For the purpose, we adopted the criteria as set in UNESCO (2003) incorporating several relevant sociolinguistic elements. The results also support the fact that the language is seriously endangered, nearly driven to extinction. James A. Matisoff, on the basis of the analysis of 210 basic words of Baram, asserted that Baram is an extremely endangered language (personal communication to T. R. Kansakar).

To illicit information about the intergenerational transmission of the language the questionnaire was administered to 16 speakers. Table 2.6 shows the results.

Number	First language	Language in childhood	Language between father and mother	Language between husband and wife	Language between you and friend	Language between you and children	Language between your children and other children	Do young people speak well?	Is Nepali used more than Baram?	Is the use of Baram decreasing?
16	B=9	B=4	B=3	B=4	B=1	B=0	B=0	Yes=0	Yes=16	Yes=16
	BN=1	BN=8	BN=8	BN=1	BN=9	BN=2	BN=0	No=16	No=0	No=0
	N=6	N=4	N=5	N=11	N=6	N=14	N=16			

Note: B=Baram, N=Nepali, BN=Both Baram and Nepali

TABLE 2.6 The state of vitality and endangerment of Baram

Baram was the first language of 56.25% of the speakers, Nepali was the first language of 37.5% of the speakers and 6.25% were bilingual¹⁷. During their childhood the number of monolingual speakers of Baram was reduced to 25% and the number of bilingual speakers was increased to 50%. This indicates the rate of language shift to have been very high during their childhood. The trend suggests that there was high level of orientation towards bilingualism in the Baram community. The case is not only with Baram but also with Nepali. The number of the children monolingual in Nepali also reduced during their childhood but ratio is very low in comparison with the number of the Baram children. Up to their youth all became bilingual.

50% of the parents (of the speakers who are 48-76 years old now) used both Baram and Nepali, only 18.75% used Baram and 31.25% used Nepali at home. It indicates that there was high degree of language shift and orientation towards bilingualism in Baram communities more than 70 years ago. It also

¹⁷ A child can be bilingual from the beginning if the family members, especially parents, are bilingual.

means that loss of the Baram language in Dandagaun began in the earlier generations.

Nepali is the language of communication between husband and wife of 68.75% of the speakers. Most of the speakers of Baram were married to non-speakers or one of the spouses with low proficiency in Baram. Those couples who use Baram or both Baram and Nepali are from Dandagaun and spoke Baram since their childhood. The low percentage of Baram-using couples indicates a vast decline in language transfer to the future generations.

Only 6.25% of the speakers use Baram, 56.25% use Baram and Nepali and 37.5% use Nepali with their friends. It is also an indication of decrease in the use of the Baram language.

The use of Baram with the children gives a dismal situation of the Baram language. 87.5% of the speakers use Nepali; 12.5% use Baram and Nepali and none uses only Baram. For the speakers 'the children' means their sons and daughters who are adults, not small children. So the use of Baram with small kids is null. The language of communication between Baram children and the children of other language communities is Nepali. The situations presented prove that inter-generational transmission of the Baram language has been discontinued.

All the respondents asserted that the use of Nepali is more than that of Baram and the use of Nepali is increasing. All the above presented facts indicate that a heavy shift to Nepali is taking place, and Baram, as a result, has been reduced to a seriously endangered language.

3 Phonology

3.0 Outline

This chapter is an outline of Baram phonology. It deals with the phonemic inventory (viz. vowels and consonants) and the syllable structure of the language. It may, however, be noted that despite being a Tibeto-Burman language its phonology has converged with that of an Indo-Aryan language, viz. Nepali, a lingua franca to which Barams have heavily shifted from their own native language Baram.

3.1 Phonemes

3.1.1 Vowel

Baram language has a 6 vowel system. In terms of vowel height, there are two high vowels /i/ and /u/, two mid vowels /e/ and /o/, and two low vowels /ə/ and /a/. The high and mid vowels contrast in terms of backness: high front vowel /i/ and high back vowel /u/ and mid front vowel /e/ and mid back vowels /o/ while the low vowels /ə/ and /a/ are both roughly central. These vowels are shown in Figure 3.1 according to the cardinal vowel system. The nasalization is contrastive in some places but the distribution is not even. The length feature in vowels is not contrastive even though it occurs phonetically.

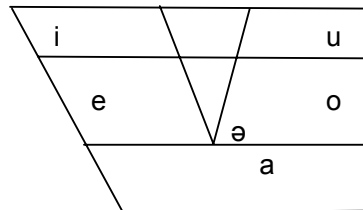


FIGURE 3.1 Baram vowels

Minimal pairs

(1)	/i/ vs. /e/	<i>si-go</i>	'to die'
		<i>se-go</i>	'to pluck out'
	/i/ vs. /u/	<i>min-go</i>	'to be cooked'
		<i>mun-go</i>	'to cover the body'
	/i/ vs. /o/	<i>pi-go</i>	'to give'
		<i>po-go</i>	'to break'
	/i/ vs. /ə/	<i>pi-go</i>	'to give'
		<i>pə-gu</i>	'raw'

	/i/ vs. /a/	<i>ci-go</i>	'to recognize'
		<i>ca-go</i>	'to eat'
2.	/e/ vs. /u/	<i>bel-go</i>	'to twist'
		<i>bul-go</i>	'to mix together'
	/e/ vs. /o/	<i>use-go</i>	'to bear fruit'
		<i>uso-go</i>	'to rise'
	/e/ vs. /ə/	<i>bel-go</i>	'to twist'
		<i>bəl-waŋ</i>	'soap nut'
	/e/ vs. /a/	<i>bel-go</i>	'to twist'
		<i>bal</i>	'man'
3.	/ə/ vs. /u/	<i>bel-go</i>	'to twist'
		<i>bul-go</i>	'to mix together'
	/ə/ vs. /o/	<i>pə-gu</i>	'raw'
		<i>po-go</i>	'to break'
	/ə/ vs. /a/	<i>pənuŋ</i>	'needle'
		<i>pango</i>	'to fit'
4.	/a/ vs. /u/	<i>aso-go</i>	'to be hot (of chili)'
		<i>uso-go</i>	'to rise'
	/a/ vs. /o/	<i>pak-ko</i>	'to break'
		<i>pok-ko</i>	'to uproot'
5.	/u/ vs. /o/	<i>aku-go</i>	'to steal'
		<i>ako</i>	'father-in-law'

3.1.2 Consonants

Baram language has 21 consonants in their native words. They are bilabial, dental and velar stops, alveolar and glottal fricatives, alveolar affricates, bilabial, alveolar and velar nasals, alveolar lateral, alveolar trill and bilabial and palatal glides. Aspiration is contrastive in stops and affricates. Unaspirated voiceless stops and affricates have their voiced counterparts whereas aspirated voiceless stops and affricates lack their voiced counterparts. Alveolar fricative is voiceless whereas glottal fricative is voiced. And nasals, lateral, trill and glides are voiced. All the consonant phonemes are presented in Table 3.1. The consonants provided in parentheses are not productive and are found in a few native words and in Nepal loans.

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p b ph (bh)	t d th (dh)	ʈ ɖ ʈh ɖh		k g kh (gh)	
Affricates			c dz ch (dzh)			
Fricatives			s			h
Nasals	m		n		ŋ	
Lateral			l			
Trill			r			
Glides	w			j		

TABLE 3.1 Baram consonants

Minimal pairs

1.	/p/ vs. /b/	<i>po-go</i>	'to break'
		<i>bo-go</i>	'to give birth'
	/b/ vs. /ph/	<i>bəlen-go</i>	'to gather'
		<i>phəlen-go</i>	'to slide'
2.	/t/ vs. /d/	<i>ta-go</i>	'to keep'
		<i>da-go</i>	'to say'
	/t/ vs. /th/	<i>təja-go</i>	'to arrive'
		<i>thəja-go</i>	'to return'
3.	/k/ vs. /kh/	<i>kat-ko</i>	'to get mix'
		<i>khat-ko</i>	'to jump over'
	/k/ vs. /g/	<i>kok-ko</i>	'to steam'
		<i>go-go</i>	'to pluck'
4.	/c/ vs. /ch/	<i>ca-go</i>	'to eat'
		<i>cha</i>	'salt'
	/c/ vs. /dz/	<i>cen-go</i>	'to send'
		<i>dzen-go</i>	'to tear'
5.	/s/ vs. /h/	<i>siŋ</i>	'firewood'
		<i>hiŋ-go</i>	'to buy'
6.	/m/ vs. /n/	<i>mui</i>	'fire'
		<i>nui-go</i>	'to laugh'
	/m/ vs. /ŋ/	<i>nam</i>	'house'
		<i>naŋ</i>	'you'

7.	/l/ vs. /r/	<i>lak-ko</i>	'to cut'
		<i>ra-go</i>	'to know'
8.	/w/ vs. /j/	<i>wa</i>	'hen'
		<i>ja-go</i>	'to go'

There are some sounds such as bilabial, dental and velar voiced aspirated stops (bh, dh, gh) and voiceless, voiced and aspirated alveolar series (t, d, th, dh) and alveolar voiced affricate (dzh) which are the residual sounds in Baram language.¹ These sounds are found mostly in loan words but also in a few Baram words as well. Therefore, these sounds are either the innovations due to the influence of other languages or the residual sounds due to the process of sound change.

The above mentioned sounds are illustrated in the following examples.

/bh/	<i>bhərwa</i>	'chestnut'
/dh/	<i>dhum</i>	'nest of a bird'
	<i>dheŋ</i>	'one.CLF'
/gh/	<i>ghue-go</i>	'to plough'
	<i>ghunok-ko</i>	'to dig up'
/dzh/	<i>dzhuŋ</i>	'bamboo'
/t/	<i>tiŋa</i>	'clitoris'
/th/	<i>tiŋba</i>	'wood log'
/d/	<i>diŋna</i>	'stick, handle'
/dh/	<i>djak-ko</i>	'to press'

3.2 Syllable structure

The phonemes combine to form a larger phonological unit called syllable. The six types of syllable found in Baram language are V, CV, VC, CVC, CCV, and CCVC. The vowel is the obligatory element whereas the consonants are optional. The nucleus is always occupied by the vowel or vowel sequence whereas onset and coda positions are occupied by the consonants. The coda position can have only one consonant but the onset position can have upto two consonants and the second element in the onset is always a glide. The syllable structure and examples are illustrated in Table 3.2.

¹ Several Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal lack voiced aspirated sounds (Genetti 2003:356; Watters (2003:686). Among the sounds mentioned in parentheses, the aspirated voiced alveolar stop [dh] is almost non-existent. This can be alternatively used with its non-aspirated sound d.

1	V	<i>u</i>	's/he'
2	CV	<i>cha</i>	'salt'
3	VC	<i>ak</i>	'cough'
4	CVC	<i>mik</i>	'eye'
5	CCV	<i>swa</i>	'tooth'
6	CCVC	<i>sjam</i>	'hair'

TABLE 3.2 Syllable structures

The syllable structure can be represented as in Figure 3.2.

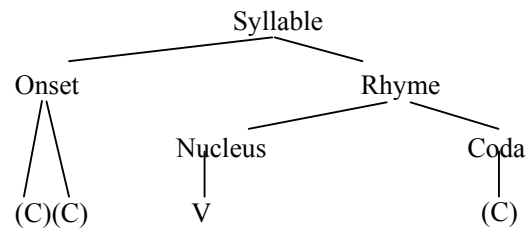


FIGURE 3.2 Syllable tree

3.3 Vowel sequences

Two or more vowels can occur in the sequence and some of them fall under the same syllable but in some cases, they split into neighboring syllables.² The examples are illustrated in Table 3.3.

1	<i>əi</i>	<i>a.bəi</i>	'father'
		<i>səi.go</i>	'to hear'
2	<i>oi</i>	<i>koi</i>	'yam'
		<i>koi.nep.ko</i>	'to twist'
3	<i>ui</i>	<i>ci.hui</i>	'blood'
		<i>gui.go</i>	'to chase'
4	<i>ai</i>	<i>hai</i>	'what'
		<i>ai.go</i>	'to cry'
5	<i>ei</i>	<i>cei.cel.go</i>	'to make reach'
		<i>hei.cel.go</i>	'to reach'
6	<i>ou</i>	<i>oun.go</i>	'to tremble'

² Some of the vowel sequences can be diphthongs, but requires further investigation.

7	<i>ae</i>	<i>ae.go</i>	'to look'
8	<i>ue</i>	<i>pue.go</i>	'to get boiled'
9	<i>au</i>	<i>hjaug</i>	'to go for begging'

TABLE 3.3 Vowel sequences

3.4 Distributions of phonemes

3.4.1 Distribution of vowels

The distributions of the vowels within the words are found to be uniform, i.e., they are found in all positions, initial, medial and final. The examples are illustrated in Table 3.4.

	Vowels	Initial	Medial	Final
1	i	<i>ibi</i> 'self'	<i>ədzit</i> 'squeeze'	<i>abi</i> 'sister'
2	u	<i>ukəi</i> 'husband'	<i>uduk</i> 'oven'	<i>isku</i> 'smoke'
3	e	<i>ekci</i> 'tiny rice-grains'	<i>nep</i> 'phlegm'	<i>ləkce</i> 'leaf cup'
4	o	<i>okhon</i> 'daughter-in-law'	<i>asok</i> 'chilly'	<i>ako</i> 'father-in-law'
5	ə	<i>əkca</i> 'aching'	<i>kəkhe</i> 'crab'	<i>səibə</i> 'hail'
6	a	<i>ak</i> 'cough'	<i>anap</i> 'ant'	<i>uŋma</i> 'path'

TABLE 3.4 Distribution of vowels within the word

3.4.2 Distribution of consonants

The distribution of the consonants is also even like that of the vowels. All the consonants including residual sounds are found in the word initial position, except the residual sounds which are also found in medial position but in the final position the distribution is not even. The residual sounds are not found in the final position. Table 3.5 lists the distribution of consonant phonemes.

		Initial	Medial	Final
1	p	<i>pəito</i> 'lentil'	<i>apak</i> 'half'	<i>anap</i> 'ant'
2	ph	<i>pham</i> 'wooden vessel'	<i>amphəl</i> 'guava'	<i>baph*</i> 'steam'
3	b	<i>baŋ</i> 'human'	<i>abu</i> 'insect'	<i>lob*</i> 'greed'
4	t	<i>tuy</i> 'liquor'	<i>hətku</i> 'bird's excreta'	<i>wat</i> 'wasp'
5	th	<i>thorno</i> 'tongs'	<i>ləkthun</i> 'thread'	-
6	d	<i>dəba</i> 'other'	<i>uduk</i> 'oven'	-
7	dh	<i>dhum</i> 'nest'	-	-

8	k	<i>kəm</i> 'axe'	<i>cun̄kja</i> 'day before yesterday'	<i>mik</i> 'eye'
9	kh	<i>khəle</i> 'thigh'	<i>təŋkhu</i> 'tobacco'	<i>əkhrahk</i> 'penis'
10	g	<i>gudəŋ</i> 'hole'	<i>cəŋgur</i> 'corn flower'	<i>bhag*</i> 'share'
11	c	<i>cəŋpa</i> 'old'	<i>ləkce</i> 'leaf-cup'	<i>bhodz*</i> 'feast'
12	ch	<i>cha</i> 'salt'	<i>achu</i> 'thorn'	-
13	dz	<i>dzənna</i> 'spider'	<i>ləgdziŋ</i> 'nail'	<i>dzəhadz*</i> 'aeroplane'
14	dzh	<i>džuŋ</i> 'bamboo'	-	-
15	m	<i>mik</i> 'eye'	<i>lome</i> 'winnow'	<i>dhum</i> 'nest'
16	n	<i>nənu</i> 'milk'	<i>anap</i> 'ant'	<i>umen</i>
17	ŋ	<i>ŋa</i> 'I'	<i>njaŋla</i> 'millet'	<i>pəkəŋ</i> 'food item from flour'
18	s	<i>səibə</i> 'hailstone'	<i>asən</i> 'anus'	<i>mədus*</i> 'wooden box'
19	h	<i>hai</i> 'what'	<i>ahak</i> 'saliva'	-
20	l	<i>ləmba</i> 'snake'	<i>hola</i> 'raw leaf'	<i>nal*</i> 'pipe'
21	r	<i>rəŋguŋ</i> 'langur'	<i>arni</i> 'tiffin'	<i>cəŋgur</i> 'corn flower'
22	w	<i>wa</i> 'hen'	<i>awa</i> 'water'	-
23	j	<i>jakpa</i> 'leaf of arum'	<i>gujuŋ</i> 'kind of insect'	-

TABLE 3.5 Distributions of consonants

3.4.3 Consonant clusters

The consonant clusters found in Baram language are of only two types: word initial clusters and word medial clusters. Word final clusters have not yet been reported. In both cases the cluster consists of a consonant followed by the glide *j* or *w*. The distribution of the consonant cluster is shown in Table 3.6. Consonant cluster is not found in word-final and syllable final positions.

Initial,	Medial
<i>kjaku</i> 'thief'	<i>əkchjakko</i> 'to stuck'
<i>kjuse</i> 'tasty'	<i>əgjar</i> 'before'
<i>kwa</i> 'how much'	<i>akdjaŋgo</i> 'to beat animals'
<i>khjogo</i> 'to come out'	<i>akja</i> 'dog'
<i>gjabo</i> 'white'	<i>aksjolgo</i> 'to tease'
<i>ghwag</i> 'banana's fiber'	<i>aljak</i> 'laddle'
<i>ŋjakko</i> 'to grind'	<i>ucjo</i> 'edge'
<i>pjakuna</i> 'wild yam'	

TABLE 3.6 Consonant clusters

3.4.4 Vowel sequences

Vowel sequences distributed in Baram language are of three types: word initial, word medial and word final. Word initial vowel sequences are *ai*, *ae*, *uĩ*, *ou*, *əi* and *əu*. Word medial vowel sequences are *əi*, *ui*, *eu*, *oi*, *əe*, *əi*, *eo*, *ei*, *ue*, *au* and *ae*. And word final vowel sequences are *oi*, *ui*, *əi* and *ai*. Table 3.7 illustrates the examples of vowel sequences.

Initial	Medial	Final
<i>aigo</i> 'to shout'	<i>təigo</i> 'to come'	<i>koi</i> 'yam'
<i>aego</i> 'to see'	<i>guigo</i> 'to chase'	<i>cihui</i> 'blood'
<i>uĩta</i> 'a device to separate cotton'	<i>keuwak</i> 'sour'	<i>nəi</i> 'black gram'
<i>ei</i> 'this'	<i>koisigo</i> 'to scratch'	<i>hai</i> 'what'
<i>oungo</i> 'to shiver with cold'	<i>khəego</i> 'to divide'	-
<i>əisaŋ</i> 'berry'	<i>pəitok</i> 'lentil'	-
<i>əusəti</i> 'medicine'	<i>geobak</i> 'bitter'	-
-	<i>heicelgo</i> 'to reach'	-
-	<i>hjaugo</i> 'to go to beg'	-
-	<i>puego</i> 'to get boiled'	-

TABLE 3.7 Distribution of vowel sequences

4 Morphophonology

4.0 Outline

This section deals with some common morphophonemic processes in Baram. They include: palatalization, vowel reduction, and vowel deletion. We describe palatalization in (4.1), vowel deletion in (4.2), vowel change and deletion in (4.3), vowel shortening and sequencing in (4.4), epenthesis and resyllabification in (4.5) and deaffrication in (4.6). They are described below.

4.1 Palatalization

Palatalization occurs with the verb stems which begin with the back vowels, i.e. /u/, /o/ or /a/. The first vowel of these stems is deleted upon the prefixation of any category (such as tense, aspect, causative, and negative). They are illustrated in examples (1) and presented in Table (4.1-4.4).

- (1) a. *ŋa kjoja*
ŋa ki-oja
I PST-bathe
'I bathed.' (Eli)
- b. *ŋago ghāti kjaci ho*
ŋa-go ghāti ki-aci ho
I-GEN throat PST-itch COP.NPST
'My throat has itched.'
- c. *cuŋkja cin kjose*
cuŋkja cin ki-use
yesterday EMPH PST-bear fruit
'Yesterday, (it) bore fruit.'

Verb stems which begin with the vowels /u/, /o/ or /a/ trigger the palatalization of the second segment of the prefix *ki-*. Thus the sound /i/ gets palatalized when tense suffix *ki-* and *ŋi-* (past and non-past tense markers respectively) change into the consonant cluster *kj-*, *ŋj-* as in (2a) and (2b) respectively.

- (2) a. *am cəiŋ kja*
am ca-iŋ ki-ja
rice eat-SEQ PST-go
'(He) went after eating.'
- b. *kica kuro məŋ ŋjadaŋ na*
ki-ca kuro məŋ ŋi-adaŋ na
NML-eat matter also NPST-search HS
'(He) also looks for something to eat.'

This process applies to the causative prefix as in (3a) or habitual prefix as in (3b).

- (3) a. *kəile bəndisko dəiŋ niɕjajo*
 kəile bən-dis-ko da-iŋ ni-ci-ajo
 when make-NTVZ-INF say-SEQ NPST-CAUS-look
 'Asking when to make (the house) for others.'
- b. *ibaŋ məŋ khamungo cja hola ni*
 I baŋ məŋ khamun-go ci-ja
 this man also fight-INF HAB-go
 'They used to go to fight.'

For the sake of convenience, we have categorized the verb stems into two types which begin with *-a* or *-u*. The verb stems which begin with *-a* are provided in Table 4.1 and those with *-u* are in Table 4.2.

		Past	Non-past	Habitual
		<i>ki-</i>	<i>ŋi-</i>	<i>ci-</i>
<i>-a</i>	<i>akho</i> 'call'	<i>kjakho</i>	<i>ŋjakho</i>	<i>cjakhoa</i>
	<i>aci</i> 'itch'	<i>kjaci</i>	<i>ŋjaci</i>	<i>cjacia</i>
	<i>adzip</i> 'suck'	<i>gjadzip</i>	<i>ŋjadzip</i>	<i>dzjadzipa</i>
	<i>aŋ</i> 'weed'	<i>kjaŋ</i>	<i>ŋjaŋ</i>	<i>cjaŋa</i>
	<i>achiŋ</i> 'sneeze'	<i>kjkchiŋ</i>	<i>ŋjakchiŋ</i>	<i>cjakchiŋa</i>
	<i>atpat</i> 'to be satisfied'	<i>kjakpat</i>	<i>ŋjakpat</i>	<i>cjakpata</i>
	<i>ap</i> 'hit'	<i>kjap</i>	<i>ŋjap</i>	<i>cjapa</i>
	<i>aban</i> 'wait'	<i>gjaban</i>	<i>ŋjaban</i>	<i>cjabana</i>
	<i>ada</i> 'search'	<i>gjadaŋ</i>	<i>ŋjadaŋ</i>	<i>dzjadaŋa</i>
	<i>ajo</i> 'look'	<i>kjajo</i>	<i>ŋjajo</i>	<i>cjajo</i>
	<i>asak</i> 'taste pungent'	<i>kjasak</i>	<i>ŋjasak</i>	<i>cjasaka</i>
	<i>ahit</i> 'ask'	<i>kjahit</i>	<i>ŋjahit</i>	<i>cjahita</i>

Table 4.1 *-a* initial verb stems

		Past	Non-past	causative
		<i>ki-</i>	<i>ŋi-</i>	<i>ci-</i>
<i>-u</i>	<i>uble</i> 'fly'	<i>gjoble</i>	<i>ŋjoble</i>	<i>dzjoble</i>
	<i>ucho</i> 'become fat'	<i>kjocho</i>	<i>ŋjocho</i>	<i>chjochoa</i>
	<i>udzjo</i> 'uphold'	<i>gjodzjo</i>	<i>ŋjodzjo</i>	<i>dzjodzjo</i>
	<i>udum</i> 'be hot/warm'	<i>gjodum</i>	<i>ŋjodum</i>	<i>dzjoduma</i>
	<i>upəŋ</i> 'sell'	<i>kjopoŋ</i>	<i>ŋjopoŋ</i>	<i>cjopoŋa</i>
	<i>uble</i> 'fly'	<i>gjoble</i>	<i>ŋjoble</i>	<i>dzjoble</i>
	<i>uja</i> 'bathe'	<i>kjoja</i>	<i>ŋjoja</i>	<i>cjoja</i>
	<i>ulu</i> 'shoot out'	<i>kjolu</i>	<i>ŋjolu</i>	<i>cjolua</i>
	<i>use</i> 'bear fruit'	<i>kjose</i>	<i>ŋjose</i>	<i>cjose</i>

	<i>uŋ</i> 'feel sleepy'	<i>kjouŋ</i>	<i>ŋjouŋ</i>	<i>cjouŋa</i>
	<i>ukhe</i> 'cock'	<i>kjokhe</i>	<i>ŋjoke</i>	<i>cjokhea</i>
	<i>ukti</i> 'move'	<i>kjokti</i>	<i>ŋjokti</i>	<i>cjoktia</i>

Table 4.2 -*u* initial verb stems

Similarly, palatalization is also found in the -*o* initial verb stems. Examples in Table 4.3 show this.

		<i>Past</i>	<i>Non-past</i>	<i>Habitual</i>
		<i>ki-</i>	<i>ŋi-</i>	<i>ci-</i>
- <i>o</i>	<i>ohon</i> 'to be hot'	<i>kjeohon</i>	<i>ŋjeohon</i>	<i>cjohona</i>
	<i>ohun</i> 'shiver'	<i>kjeuhun</i>	<i>ŋjeuhun</i>	<i>cjohuna</i>
	<i>osun</i> 'to be cold'	<i>kjeusun</i>	<i>ŋjeusun</i>	<i>cjosuna</i>
	<i>oja</i> 'to bathe'	<i>kjoja</i>	<i>ŋjoja</i>	<i>cjoja</i>

Table 4.3 -*o* initial verb stems

However, verbs other than those mentioned above, or the verbs which begin with /i/ do not trigger this morphophonemic alternation. We have only one native verb stem which begins with /i/. The words *kiik* 'burnt', *ŋiik* 'burns', and *ciika* 'used to burn' are such examples.

The verb stems which begin with /ə/ are illustrated in Table below. (see Table 4.4).

4.2 Vowel deletion

Some verb stems have CVCV(C) structure, always in the disyllabic structure, in which /ə/, /i/ or /u/ occurs as the first vowel. The vowel which occurs in the first position is deleted when the prefixes are attached to these verb stems. More examples are found in (4-5) and further exemplified in Table 4.4.

- (4) a. *ŋa kephma*
 ŋa ki-phəma
 I PST-forget
 'I forgot.'
- b. *nis məina car dinga gegdum*
 nis məina car dinga gi-gədum
 two month four day-LOC PST-meet
 '(We) found (it) after two months and four days.'
- (5) a. *bal təigo məŋ gidzbun*
 bal təi-go məŋ gi-dzibun
 man come-INF also PST-leave
 'People stopped coming.'

- b. *məkəi kəhile nidzbun rə*
 məkəi kəhile ni-dzibun rə
 maize when NPST-leave PART
 'When will the maize leave ?'
- c. *khampəchi əbə dzəgsəg nekto*
 kham pəchi əbə dzəg səg ni-kuto
 say later now base ECHO NPST-dig
 'Saying this they dig the place for a foundation and the like.'

		<i>Past</i>	<i>Non-past</i>	<i>Habitual</i>
		<i>ki-</i>	<i>ŋi-</i>	<i>ci-</i>
ə	<i>pəthul</i> 'keep rear'	<i>kep̥thul</i>	<i>ŋep̥thul</i>	<i>cep̥thula</i>
	<i>phəma</i> 'forget'	<i>kep̥hma</i>	<i>ŋep̥hma</i>	<i>cep̥hma</i>
	<i>bəne</i> 'play'	<i>geb̥ne</i>	<i>ŋeb̥ne</i>	<i>dzeb̥nea</i>
	<i>kəci</i> 'crush'	<i>kek̥ci</i>	<i>ŋek̥ci</i>	<i>cek̥cia</i>
	<i>khəla</i> 'speak'	<i>kek̥hla</i>	<i>ŋek̥hla</i>	<i>cek̥hla</i>
	<i>gədum</i> 'meet'	<i>geg̥dum</i>	<i>ŋeg̥dum</i>	<i>dzeg̥duma</i>
	<i>cəpu</i> 'carry'	<i>kis̥pu</i>	<i>ŋis̥pu</i>	<i>cis̥pua</i>
	<i>dzələŋ</i> 'to lift up'	<i>gid̥zələŋ</i>	<i>ŋid̥zələŋ</i>	<i>gid̥zələŋa</i>
	<i>ləllum</i> 'lie down'	<i>kellum</i>	<i>ŋellum</i>	<i>celluma</i>
i	<i>dzibun</i> 'leave'	<i>gid̥zbun</i>	<i>ŋid̥zbun</i>	<i>gid̥zbun</i>
	<i>cikat</i> 'mix'	<i>kiskat</i>	<i>ŋicikat</i>	<i>cicikat</i>
u	<i>cukhon</i> 'light'	<i>kiskhon</i>	<i>ŋiskhon</i>	<i>ciskhona</i>
	<i>kuʔo</i> 'dig'	<i>kjok̥ʔo</i>	<i>ŋjok̥ʔo</i>	<i>cjok̥ʔowa</i>
	<i>ghujo</i> 'plough'	<i>gjog̥jo</i>	<i>ŋjog̥hjo</i>	<i>dzjog̥hjo</i>
	<i>koicjuk</i> 'pinch'	<i>kjok̥cjuk</i>	<i>ŋjoic̥hjuk</i>	<i>choic̥juka</i>
	<i>ghuno</i> 'plough'	<i>gjogh̥no</i>	<i>ŋjogh̥no</i>	<i>gjogh̥no</i>
	<i>khulin</i> 'entwine'	<i>kjok̥hlin</i>	<i>ŋjok̥hlin</i>	<i>chjok̥hlina</i>

Table 4.4 Verb stems with CVCV (C) template

- (6) a. *thəi bhəkkər ŋa kipokce*
 thəi bhəkkər ŋa ki-pokce
 Baram load I PST-carry
 'I just woke up.'
- b. *ŋago bat gidat*
 ŋa-go bat gi-dat
 I-GEN talk PST-finish
 'My saying is finished.'

However, such changes do not take place if the syllable structure is not the one mentioned above. For example, the structure of the verb is CVCCV, as mentioned in Table 4.5. They do not trigger such alternation. Some further examples are given in (6) and in Table 4.5.

		<i>Past</i>	<i>Non-past</i>	<i>Habitual</i>
		<i>ki-</i>	<i>ŋi-</i>	<i>ci-</i>
o	<i>pokce</i> 'wake'	<i>kipokce</i>	<i>ŋipokce</i>	<i>cipokcea</i>
	<i>popha</i> 'spread hand'	<i>kipopha</i>	<i>ŋipopha</i>	<i>ciphopha</i>
	<i>koklek</i> 'feel tickled'	<i>kjoklek</i>	<i>ŋikokle</i>	<i>cikokle</i>
	<i>poɬok</i> 'explode'	<i>kjoɬok</i>	<i>ŋjokɬok</i>	<i>cjuɬoka</i>
a	<i>datko</i> 'finish'	<i>gidat</i>	<i>ŋidat</i>	<i>cidata</i>
	<i>cjache</i> 'peel'	<i>kicjache</i>	<i>ŋicjache</i>	<i>cicjache</i>
	<i>dzabo</i> 'dry'	<i>gidzabo</i>	<i>ŋidzabo</i>	<i>dzidzabo</i>

Table 4.5 Verb stems with CVCCV template

Similarly, the verb stems, which have CVCV template but the first vowel position is occupied by vowel sequences such as mentioned in Table 4.6 do not trigger such morphophonemic alternations. Some examples are enumerated in Table 4.6 and in examples (11).

		<i>Past</i>	<i>Non-past</i>	<i>Habitual</i>
		<i>ki-</i>	<i>ŋi-</i>	<i>ci-</i>
	<i>heisa</i> 'to go deliver'	<i>keisa</i>	<i>neisa</i>	<i>ceisa</i>
	<i>koisi</i> 'excavate'	<i>kikoisi</i>	<i>ŋikoisi</i>	<i>cikoisia</i>
	<i>koichjuk</i> 'comb'	<i>kikoichjuk</i>	<i>ŋikoichjuk</i>	<i>cikoisia</i>
	<i>koinep</i> 'twist'	<i>kikoinep</i>	<i>ŋikoinep</i>	<i>cikoinepa</i>
	<i>heicel</i> 'reach'	<i>keicel</i>	<i>ŋeicel</i>	<i>ceicela</i>
	<i>heisa</i> 'to go deliver'	<i>keisa</i>	<i>neisa</i>	<i>ceisa</i>

Table 4.6 Verb stems with CVCV template with vowel sequences

- (7) a. *bagluŋ bæspark keisa*
 bagluŋ bæspark ki-heisa
 Baglung buspark PST-go to deliver
 '(It) made us reach Baglung bus park.'
- b. *maca ni ugun keicel*

maca ni ugun ki-heicel
 tree also there PST-reach
 '(Flower) plant also reached there (after growing).'

4.3 Vowel change and deletion

The vowel /ə/ when it occurs as the first segment in a vowel stem, and the prefixes are attached to these stems, the vowel in the verb stem is deleted. More examples are found in Table 4.7.

- (8) a. *caca mən kelma*
 caca mən ki-əlma
 child also PST-grow up
 'The child also grew up.'
- b. *awa ŋiska*
 awa ŋi-əska
 water NPST-be thirsty
 '(They) grow thirsty.'
- c. *rəs cin mənŋa*
 rəs cin mən-ənŋa
 juice also NEG-fall
 '(The juice) did not spill (lit. fall).'
- d. *səbəi kicelma ŋə*
 səbəi ki-ci-əlma ŋa-e
 all PST-CAUS-grow I-ERG
 'I have brought them up.'

		<i>Past</i>	<i>Non-past</i>	<i>Negative</i>	<i>Habitual</i>
		<i>gi-</i>	<i>ŋi-</i>	<i>mə-</i>	<i>ci-</i>
-ə	<i>ənŋa</i> 'fall'	<i>gənŋa</i>	<i>ŋənŋa</i>	<i>mənŋa</i>	<i>dzenŋa</i>
	<i>əbun</i> 'to be free /untie'	<i>gebbun</i>	<i>ŋebun</i>	<i>məbbun</i>	<i>dzebbuna</i>
	<i>əlma</i> 'grow up'	<i>kelma</i>	<i>ŋelma</i>	<i>məlma</i>	<i>celma</i>
	<i>əska</i> 'be thirsty'	<i>keska</i>	<i>ŋiska</i>	<i>məska</i>	<i>ciska</i>
	<i>əkchja</i> 'throw'	<i>kekchja</i>	<i>ŋjakchja</i>	<i>makchja</i>	<i>cjakchja</i>
	<i>əkchjak</i> 'get stuck'	<i>keichjak</i>	<i>ŋeichjak</i>	<i>məichjak</i>	<i>ceichjaka</i>
	<i>əkhnjaŋ</i> 'entangle'	<i>kjakhnjaŋ</i>	<i>ŋjakhnjaŋ</i>	<i>məkhnjaŋ</i>	<i>cjakhnjaŋa</i>

Table 4.7 Verb stems with VCCV template

4.4 Vowel shortening and vowel sequencing

When a verb stem or a nominal stem ends in *-a* and the sequential suffix *-iŋ* is suffixed to the verb stem, the vowel of the verb stems are shortened to /ə/. When the suffixes are attached to them, they also trigger diphthongization as

shown in (10a). Similarly, when the the ergative suffix *-e* is attached to the nominal stem, the same process takes place as shown in (10b).

- (10) a. ja- 'go' + -iŋ = *jəiŋ* 'after going'
 da- 'say' + -iŋ = *dəiŋ* 'after saying'
 akchja- 'throw' + -iŋ = *akchjəiŋ* 'after saying'
 aska- 'feel thirsty' + -iŋ = *akchjəiŋ* 'after feeling thirsty'
- b. ŋa- 'I' + -e = *ŋəe* 'I-ERG'
 aba- 'father' + -e = *abəe* 'father-ERG'

These processes are further illustrated through examples (11-12).

- (11) a. *ochjan latkuŋ nəiŋ kihuk ŋiŋa*
 ochjan latk-uŋ na-iŋ ki-huk
 bed spread-SEQ sleep-SEQ PFV-stay
 ŋi-ŋa
 NPST-AUX
 '(They) are sleeping (there) after spreading a mattress.'
- b. *phəməiŋ hukkəŋ ŋepna dao pheri*
 phəma-iŋ huk-ko-m ŋi-pəna
 forget-SEQ stay-INF-NPST1SG NPST-should
 da-o pheri
 say-3 again
 '(People) tell (us) ay to take shelter under (the shed) again.'
- c. *rəiŋ hon likiŋ athikiŋ*
 ra-iŋ hon lik-iŋ athik-iŋ
 know-SEQ like that become-SEQ learn-SEQ
 'Knowing the matters (and) teaching them,'
- d. *adza ceprəiŋ*
 adza ci-pəra-iŋ
 paddy CAUS-grow-SEQ
 'Growing the paddy,'

The vowel *-a* changes into schwa when it is attached to a converbal suffix *-iŋ* ~ *-uŋ*. Similar is the process when an ergative suffix is attached to a noun which ends in *-a*.

- (12) a. *ucwəe sjagəi kjap*
 ucwa-e sja-gəi ki-ap
 child-ERG cow-DAT PST-hit
 'My son hit the cow.' (Eli)
- b. *michjəe ucwagəi kicihap*

michja-e	ucwa-gəi	ki-ci-hap
goat-ERG	child-DAT	PST-CAUS-weep
'The goat made the child weep.' (Eli)		

4.5 Epenthesis and resyllabification

Two morphophonemic processes (i.e. insertion of schwa and resyllabification) take place when a converb *-iŋ ~ -uŋ* is attached to verb stems with bisyllabic which have a verb stems with a consonant segment at the stem-final position. In such cases the final consonant of the verb stem is generally a nasals or a lateral. Examples are provided in (13-14).

- (13) a. *hjaŋəiŋ pəchi pheri*
 hjaŋ-iŋ pəchi pheri
 take over-SEQ later again
 'When the wall is high enough,'
- b. *de pəltə lə khamunəiŋ*
 de pəltə lə khamun-iŋ
 one time PART fight-SEQ
 'Falling down once,'
- c. *hudi gəbanəiŋ*
 hudi gəban-iŋ
 there run-SEQ
 'Running to the other side,'
- (14) a. *cokhəiŋ cacə*
 ci-cukol-iŋ ca-cə
 CAUS- peel off-SEQ eat-INFR
 '(They) peeled off and ate.'
- b. *pəthuləiŋ ŋibo*
 pəthul-iŋ ŋi-bo
 keep-SEQ NPST-bear
 'Looking after them, they give birth to (it).'

In example (13a) the verb stem has the verb stem which has CVCV. Previously the syllable structure is CV.CVC, and following the addition of schwa and upon suffixation the word structure is CV.CV.CV instead of simple CVC.VC. Thus when a monosyllabic suffix is added to the bisyllabic stems; the words consist of four syllables instead of three. The following are examples (All verbs in examples 15-16 are from examples 13-14):¹

- (15) a. gəban-iŋ \longrightarrow gəbanəiŋ

¹ It needs further investigation whether the vowel sequences could be explained as diphthongs. Generally, the vowel sequencing in open syllable seems like the diphthongs rather than mere sequencing. This needs further investigation.

- (16) a. CV.CVC-VC → CV.CV.CV.VC
 b. khamun-iŋ → khamunəiŋ
 CV.CVC-VC → CV.CV.CV.VC
 c. hjaŋ-iŋ → hjaŋəiŋ
 CCV.CVC-VC → CCV.CV.CV
 a. pəthul-iŋ → pəthuləiŋ
 CV.CVC-VC → CV.CV.CV.VC
 b. cukol-iŋ → cukoləiŋ
 CV.CVC-VC → CV.CV.CV.VC

4.6 Deaffrication

This phenomenon is restricted to a few words which begin with the affricate alveolar /c/. When a prefix is added to the stem, the alveolar affricate /c/ changes into alveolar fricative /s/. In Baram an alveolar fricative becomes a fricative in the same place of articulation resulting in deaffrication. The following are the verbs in which deaffrication occur.

	<i>Past</i>	<i>Non-past</i>	<i>Negative</i>	<i>Habitual</i>	<i>Andative</i>
	<i>gi-</i>	<i>ŋi-</i>	<i>mə-</i>	<i>dzi-</i>	<i>he-</i>
<i>cəpu</i> 'carry'	<i>kispu</i>	<i>ŋispu</i>	<i>məspu</i>	<i>cispua</i>	<i>hespu</i>
<i>cikat</i> 'mix'	<i>kiskat</i>	<i>ŋisikat</i>	<i>məskat</i>	<i>ciskata</i>	<i>heskat</i>
<i>cukhon</i> 'light'	<i>kiskhon</i>	<i>ŋiskhon</i>	<i>məskhon</i>	<i>ciskhona</i>	<i>heskhon</i>
<i>cikhjo</i> 'take out'	<i>kiskhjo</i>	<i>ŋiskhjo</i>	<i>məskhjo</i>	<i>ciskhowa</i>	<i>heskhjo</i>

Table 4.8 Stems which participate in deaffrication

Following are some examples to illustrate the deaffrication in Baram:

- (17) a. *bhari kispu*
 bhari ki-cəpur
 load PST-carry
 '(They) carried the loads.'
- b. *kiskhon kura agbut ŋi-pəna*
 ki-cikhon kura agbut ŋi-pəna
 PST-light thing pull NPST-should
 '(They) should pull the things which was lighted.'

5 Nominal morphology

5.0 Outline

Nouns in Baram are the words which prototypically express concrete entities, e.g. *kumba* 'stone' *gudul* 'stream' and *michja* 'goat'.

Baram nouns exhibit both derivational and inflectional morphology. Their derivational morphology comprising nominalization, compounding and reduplication is analyzed in section 5.1.¹ The inflectional morphology of Baram nouns which consists of number, gender, case markings and classifier is presented in section 5.2. Section 5.3 deals with Baram pronouns and their related morphosyntactic properties.

5.1 Derivational morphology

5.1.1 Nominalization

The morpheme *gi-* ~ *ki-* also used as the past tense or perfect aspect marker, functions as a lexical nominalizer (henceforth, NML) in Baram². It changes a verb into an object noun. Comrie and Thompson (2007:340) note that the process where the object that results from the action may be termed object nominalization. Consider the examples (1-4) in this connection.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------|
| (1) | a. | <i>pənaŋo</i> | 'to stink' | <i>kepna</i> | 'rubbish' |
| | | <i>sego</i> | 'to pick/pluck' | <i>kjose</i> | 'note' |
| | | <i>dzidzikko</i> | 'to become dark' | <i>gidzidzik</i> | 'dark' |
| | | <i>dumgo</i> | 'to give birth' | <i>gidum</i> | 'birth' |
| | | <i>cago</i> | 'to eat' | <i>kica</i> | 'food' |
| | | <i>gədzigo</i> | 'to quarrel' | <i>gegdzi</i> | 'quarrel' |
| | | <i>bənego</i> | 'to play' | <i>gebnei</i> | 'game' |
| | b. | <i>akugo</i> | 'to steal' | <i>kjaku</i> | 'thief' |
| | | <i>upoŋgo</i> | 'to sell' | <i>upoŋbal</i> | 'seller' |
| (2) | a. | <i>uəmæi gidzjo</i> | | | |
| | | <i>uəmæi</i> | <i>gi-dzjo</i> | | |
| | | daughter | PST-walk | | |
| | | 'Daughter walked.' (Eli) | | | |

¹ Regarding TB morphology Benedict (1872:92) mentions, "At least four categories of words (roots) can be set up for Tibeto-Burman, viz. verbs, nouns, pronouns, numerals. The derivation of nouns from verbs, through prefixation or suffixation, is a characteristic process of TB morphology, whereas the reverse type of derivation is exceedingly rare. The 'verb-adjective' and noun categories are formally those differentiated only to a minimum degree". Baram is also characterized by these features.

² The morphemes *ki-* ~ *gi-* are discussed in the chapter on verb morphology (See section 7.1 for further details).

- b. *ucmæi gidzjo kisen mähã*
 ucmæi gi-dzjo ki-sen
 daughter NML-walk ADJV-match
 mähã
 NEG-COP
 ‘The way daughter walk is not good.’ (Eli)
- c. *khəlagə məθaŋ*
 khəla-go mə-θaŋ
 speak-INF NEG-be able
 ‘(They) can not speak.’
- d. *naŋgo kekhlə məsen ŋiŋa*
 naŋ-go kekhlə mə-sen ŋi-ŋa
 you-GEN PST-talk NEG-match NPST-COP
 ‘The way you speak is not good.’ (Eli)
- (3) a. *kica lə səppəi cipia*
 ki-ca lə səppəi ci-pi-a
 NML-eat PART all CAUS-give-CAUS
 ‘All used to give me foodstuff.’
- b. *kipu kəstak ŋiŋa*
 ki-pu kəstak ŋi-ŋa
 NML-wear of what kind NPST-COP
 ‘How is the cloth ?’
- c. *kipu mahale hiŋiŋ pugo*
 ki-pu maha-le hiŋ-iŋ
 NML-wear COP.NEG-COND buy-SEQ
 pu-go
 wear-INF
 ‘Wear the clothes after buying, if you do not have them.’
- d. *kəpugo kipu mami*
 kəpu-go ki-pu mami
 head-GEN NML-wear NEG.COP.NPST
 ‘It's not a head wear.’
- Some further examples of object nominalization can be found in (4).³
- (4) a. *kica bəndisə*
 ki-ca bən-dis-ə
 NML-eat make-NTVZ-IMP
 ‘Prepare the food.’

³ Lahaussais (2003:51-55) discusses various kinds of nominalization (such as agent nominalization, instrumental nominalization, and locative nominal in Thulung Rai.

- b. *kisjaŋ gidum dəiŋ dherei sjaŋgo məlik*
 ki-sjaŋ gi-dum da-iŋ dherei
 NML-drink PVF-find say-SEQ much
 sjaŋ-go mə-lik
 drink-INF NEG-become
 'If (you) get drunk, (you) should not drink more.'
- c. *pheri kica gidat*
 pheri ki-ca gi-dat
 again NML-eat PST-finish
 'Then, the food is finished.'

The examples show that there is no distinct nominalizer in Baram. Instead, the past tense/perfect marker turns a verb into an object noun. Nominalization is very distinct in (3a) where *kica* 'food' has nominal properties. Similarly, in examples (3b-d) the noun *kipu* 'clothes' is derived from the verb *pugo* 'to wear'.

As can be seen in (5b) *kjaku* 'thief' is an agent nominalization, or the noun which refers to the agent (Comrie and Thompson, 2007:336). We have some instances in the corpus where we find the agent nominalization. Consider the following examples:

- (5) a. *naŋ cin kjaku nilik ni tigi lə*
 naŋ cin ki-aku ŋi-lik ni
 you also NML-steal NPST-become PART
 tigi lə
 there PART
 'You became a thief there.'
- b. *ba kjaku ho*
 ba ki-aku ho
 maybe NML-steal COP.NPST
 '(I don't know) whether (he) is a thief.'

Although nominalization (agent and object) is evident in restricted places, it does not seem to be very productive. Thus, the language is gradually shifting from agent nominalization to compounding. In example (6) we see that although the noun *kjaku* 'thief' is itself an agent noun, it is also followed by *bal* 'man'. Similar is the case with example (6b).

- (6) a. *kjaku bal ho*
 ki-aku bal ho
 NML-steal man COP.NPST
 'This is a thief (lit. this is a thief man).'
- b. *kisu bal akhhoiŋ*
 ki-su bal akho-iŋ
 NML-sew man call-SEQ
 'Calling the tailor (lit. calling the tailor man)...

5.1.2 Compounding

Two nouns form a compound in Baram. Generally the compounding is coordinate where two nouns are juxtaposed and refer to a unitary concept (Aikhenvald, 2008:30). Nominal compounds involve nominal constituents which are free nominal stems as shown in (7-8).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|--------------|-------------|----------|---|
| (7) | <i>handuŋ</i> | ‘village’ | <i>bal</i> | ‘man’ | : <i>handuŋbal</i>
‘villager’ |
| | <i>kusja</i> | ‘meat’ | <i>kok</i> | ‘curry’ | : <i>kusjakok</i>
‘cooked meat’ |
| | <i>jak</i> | ‘yam’ | <i>kok</i> | ‘curry’ | : <i>jakkok</i>
‘yam curry’ |
| | <i>cjapu</i> | ‘chin’ | <i>sjaŋ</i> | ‘hair’ | : <i>cjapusjaŋ</i>
‘beard’ |
| (8) | <i>maca</i> | ‘mother’ | <i>paca</i> | ‘father’ | : <i>macapaca</i>
‘parents’ |
| | <i>ukəi</i> | ‘man’ | <i>uməi</i> | ‘woman’ | : <i>ukəiuməi</i>
‘spouses’ |
| | <i>akhrak</i> | ‘penis’ | <i>sjaŋ</i> | ‘hair’ | : <i>akhraksjaŋ</i>
‘pubic hair’ |
| | <i>kuchim</i> | ‘vegina’ | <i>sjaŋ</i> | ‘hair’ | : <i>akhraksjaŋ</i>
‘pubic hair’ |
| | <i>cha</i> | ‘salt’ | <i>asok</i> | ‘chilli’ | : <i>chaasok</i>
‘salty’ |
| | <i>ibi</i> | ‘one (self)’ | <i>bal</i> | ‘man’ | : <i>ibibal</i>
‘relation by blood
/ kins relation’ |

Some examples of coordinate compounds are formed metaphorically with *maca* ‘mother’ as the second member mentioned in (9). Further examples are given in (9) and illustrated in (10).

- (9)
- keŋma* ‘a kind of tree’ *maca* ‘mother’ :
keŋmamaca ‘the main/old tree of Chilaune’
 - məuri* ‘bee’ *maca* ‘mother’ :
məurimaca ‘mother bee’
 - āikok* ‘khanijo’ *maca* ‘mother’ :
āikokmaca ‘khanijo tree (fully grown Khaniyo tree)’
 - pipəl* ‘pipal’ *maca* ‘mother’ :
pipəlmaca ‘peeple tree (fully grown Peeple tree)’
 - buŋi* ‘creeper’ *maca* ‘mother’ :
buŋimaca ‘creeper (grown up creeper)’

- f. *tĩndu* ‘a tree’ *maca* ‘mother’ :
tĩndumaca ‘peeple tree (grown up peeple tree)’
(10) *ubaŋgo maca paca ucwaucm̐i*
ubaŋ-go maca paca ucwaucm̐i
they-GEN mother father children
‘their parents and children’

5.1.3 Reduplication

There is a well developed reduplication in Baram. Reduplication has distributive meaning in Baram as can be seen in (11a-b).

- (11) a. *balbaŋe nam namg̐i tuŋ ŋituk*
balbaŋ-e nam nam-g̐i tuŋ
Baram-ERG house house-LOC home made beer
ŋi-tuk
NPST-make
‘Barams make beer in each and every house.’ (Eli)
b. *əni ubaŋgo nam namg̐i kja*
əni ubaŋ-go nam nam-g̐i
after that they-GEN house REDU-LOC
ki-ja
PST-go
‘After that (they) went to (their) own houses.’

5.2 Inflectional morphology

Inflectional markings in Baram nouns include number, gender, case and classifier markings.

5.2.1 Number

Baram countable nouns take the plural suffix *-ru* or *-h̐ru*.⁴ The suffix *-h̐ru* is similar to several Himalayan languages including Nepali (Watters, 2003: 55).⁵ Both of these alternating plural markers can occur in native and borrowed nouns as well.

⁴ Pronominal plural for the third person and demonstrative is *-baŋ* (see section 5.3.1).

⁵ This plural marker is similar to the Nepali language but it is difficult to say precisely whether it has been borrowed from Nepali. For instance, the suffix *-ru* is fully grammaticalized in Baram grammar. For instance, the second person plural pronoun is *nuŋ/nayru*. The language informants from two villages, Dandagaun and Mailung claim that the second person pronoun can be both of these forms. Grierson (1909) mentions that *du* might be a native plural suffix in Baram.

- (12) a. *sjaŋmahəru kini nja*
 sjaŋma-həru ki-ni ŋi-ŋa
 tree-PL PFV-see NPST-COP
 ‘Trees were also seen.’
- a. *tigi kumbahəru ni niŋa*
 tigi kumbahəru ni ŋi-ŋa
 there stone-PL PART NPST-COP
 ‘There are also stones.’
- (13) a. *səmanhəru tukko khetala ŋitəi*
 səman-həru tuk-ko khetala ŋi-təi
 thing-PL do-INF labourer NPST-come
 ‘Workers come to do several things.’
- b. *cəŋparue nikham*
 cəŋpa-ru-e ni-kham
 old man-PL-ERG NPST-say
 ‘Old men say (this).’

However, it is used sparingly in the discourse. Whenever it can be discovered from the context, it is omitted. For example in (14a) the noun *sja* ‘cow’ does not code the plural suffix. Similarly, *michja* ‘goat’ in (14b) does not code the plural suffix either.

- (14) a. *pācota ki chəota sja*
 pāc-ota ki chə-ota sja
 five-CLF or six-CLF cow
 ‘(There) might be five or six cows.’
- a. *michja mən njajo*
 michja mən ŋi-alo
 ‘goat also NPST-look
 ‘(You) also graze goats.’

Besides countable nouns, uncountable nouns in Baram also take the plural marker to mean ‘this’ and some other things, i.e.

- (15) a. *ghāshəru gərahəru ni kini nja*
 ghās-həru gəra-həru ni
 grass-PL field-PL PART
 ki-ni ŋi-ŋa
 PFV-see NPST-COP
 ‘Grass (bushes) and other things and the fields were also seen.’

5.2.2. Gender

Gender markings in Baram are masculine suffix *-pa* and masculine suffix *-ma* and are attached to a small closed set of human nouns and particular phrasal expressions.⁶

- (16) *cəŋ-pa* ‘old man’ *cəŋ-ma* ‘old woman’
 papaca ‘young boy’ *mamaca* ‘young girl’

Apart from the restricted cases of morphological gender markings, Baram has lexical gender as shown in (17).

- (17) *ukəi* ‘husband’ *uməi* ‘old woman’
 akkja ‘dog’ *koima* ‘female dog’
 balbaŋ ‘Baram’ *balbaŋ mama* ‘Baram woman’
 papa ‘boy’ *cuməi* ‘daughter’
 gəlbo ‘bull’ *sja* ‘cow’
 badze ‘grandfather’ *adzi* ‘grandmother’
 abeilam ‘father’s elder brother’
 ameilam ‘father’s elder brother’s wife’
 ucwa ‘brother’s son’ *ucməi* ‘father’s brother’s daughter’
 bhale ‘cock’ *homa* ‘hen’

We also encounter the influence of the Nepali language in deriving feminine nouns from masculine nouns. Consider the examples in (18).

- (18) *sala* ‘wife’s younger brother’ *sali* ‘wife’s younger sister’
 sjaŋmi ‘Gurung man’ *sjaŋmini* ‘Gurung woman’
 bahun ‘Brahmin’ *bahuni* ‘Brahmin woman’

Some nouns express the same neutral form for both males and females. Their examples are given in (19).

- (19) *məndzi* ‘cat’
 dzəmbo ‘jackal’
 pəiuk ‘monkey’
 michja ‘goat’
 misma ‘young she-goat’

⁶ Matisoff (2003:105) notes that the prefixes *-pa* and *-ma* appears throughout TB kinship terms. Benedict (1972:96) also mentions that these can be regarded as the gender suffixes.

* *-la* often comes with animals. In Baram *gəlbo* ‘ox’ a few nouns which have the suffix

* *-la*.

5.2.3 Case marking

In Baram cases are encoded in three ways: zero marking, case markers and postpositions, which are discussed in the following subsections:

a. Zero marking

The single argument of an intransitive clause is not marked and is in the nominative case. Consider example (20a-b) where the subject of an intransitive clause is not marked (20).

- (20) a. *naŋ cəŋma məŋ so pəna*
 naŋ-Ø cəŋma məŋ so pəna
 you old woman also stand OBL
 ‘Wife, you should get up.’
- b. *cəŋparu si gidat*
 cəŋpa-ru-Ø si gi-dat
 old man-PL die PST-finish
 ‘Old men have already died.’

b. Case markers

Most case markers are morphological. Case markers in Baram are used for making nouns in the genitive, dative-genitive, locative, ablative, comitative, and vocative cases.

I. Dative-accusative

The marker for the dative and accusative is *-gəi*.⁷ The indirect object of the ditransitive clause is marked with *-gəi* if it is definite, or if it is human and animate nouns. The inanimate and non-human nouns normally do not code dative-accusative case. Examples (21a-c) are in the accusative case. On the other hand the same noun ‘goat’ is marked with the accusative in (21a) but (21b) lacks this. We checked all occurrences of ‘bamboo’ in our entire corpus but none had coded a single occurrence of the accusative case. Unless a noun is definite and animate, it does not code an accusative case.

- (21) a. *tigaŋ ŋəi kjahit cəŋpahərugəi*
 tigaŋ ŋa-i ki-ahit
 then I-ERG PST-ask
 cəŋpa-həru-gəi
 old man-PL-DAT
 ‘Then after, we should ask the old people.’
- b. *nigəi baləe məpi*
 ni-gəi bal-i mə-ʔi
 we-DAT man-ERG NEG-give
 ‘(People) don’t give us.’

⁷ The patient marking in Thangmi is *-kəi* ~ *-gəi* (Turin, 2006:240).

- c. *cənpacəŋmagəi lə jagon pəna ni*
 cənpacəŋma-gəi lə
 old parents-ACC PART
 ja-go-n pəna ni
 go-INF-EMPH should PART
 ‘(I) should go for the sake of old persons.’
- (22) a. *michjahəru məpəthule hai tukko*
 michja-həru mə-pəthul-le hai tuk-ko
 goat-PL NEG-tame-COND what do-INF
 ‘If you do not tame goats, what will you do?’
- b. *michjagəi ŋica*
 michja-gəi ŋi-ca
 goat-ACC NPST-eat
 ‘(It) eats the goat.’
- c. *heləŋ dzhuŋ lakle lə*
 heləŋ dzhuŋ lak-le lə
 like this bamboo cut-COND PART
 ‘If you cut the bamboo like this,’

Pronouns which occur in the object position are encoded the accusative case (22). The indirect or second object of the ditransitive clause is marked with -*gəi* if it is definite. For example in (23) experiencer subject is also marked with -*gəi*.

- (23) a. *ŋagəi tha məlik*
 ŋa-gəi tha mə-lik
 I-DAT knowledge NEG-become.
 ‘I don’t know that also.’
- b. *əni kəstak kəstak ŋiləgdi ŋagəi*
 əni kəstak kəstak ŋi-ləg-di
 then of what kind of what kind NPST-seem-NTVZ
 ‘What are your feelings?’

II. Locative

The location marks it time and place. It is coded by -*gəi* (allomorphs -*ge*) ‘on/at/vicinity’. Examples (24a-b) show the location of place and example (25) illustrate the location in place.

- (24) a. *golbhēḍa niŋa tokərigəi*
 golbhēḍa ni-ŋa tokəri-gəi
 tomato NPST-COP.NPST basket-LOC
 ‘There are tomatoes in the basket.’

- b. *hai muŋ məha namgəi*
 hai muŋ məha nam-gəi
 what also NEG house-LOC
 ‘There is nothing at home.’
- (25) a. jo belagəi naŋ holəŋ dzjo pəchi
 jo bela-gəi naŋ holəŋ
 this time-LOC you that way
 dzjo pəchi
 walk later
 ‘After going with you this time...’
- b. estan ho bərkəgəi
 estan ho bərkəgəi
 this COP.NPST rainy season-LOC
 ‘It is like this in the rainy season.’

III. Genitive

Genitive case is coded by *-ko ~ -go* which links the possessor with its head. The selection of *-ko ~ -go* based on voicing is not precise.⁸ For example, the final segment of the noun in (26b) is a voiced one but takes the genitive marker *-ko*, but the voicing segment in (26c) takes the genitive marker *-go*. Therefore, unlike in the infinitive markers where the infinitive marker *-ko ~ -go* is based on voicing, this is not exact by a genitive construction.⁹ The former of these is attached to the nominal stems which have voiced-final stems, and the later with those stems which end in voiceless. The genitive suffixes appear between the possessor and the possessed as can be seen in examples (26).

- (26) a. *umesko seula*
 umes-ko seula
 banana-GEN leaf
 ‘The leaf of banana’
- b. *majuko nis dəlla*
 maju-ko nis dəlla
 ashes-GEN two ball
 ‘Two balls of ashes’
- c. *ubaŋgo palo kja*
 ubaŋ-go palo ki-ja
 they-GEN turn PST-go
 ‘Their time (lit. generation) passed.’

⁸ Genitive is *-ko ~ -go* in Thangmi (Turin, 2006:221).

⁹ Most of the pronouns except the third person singular take the genitive suffix *-ko*.

- d. *dhərmə radzako paloko khisahəru*
 dhərmə radza-ko paloko khisa-həru
 Dharma king-GEN turn tale-PL
 'The stories of the time of Dharma Raja'

However, in some examples the possessor and the possessed are simply juxtaposed without any marker between them as can be seen in (27).¹⁰

- (27) a. *poksja khor niŋa*
 poksja khor ni-ŋa
 pig pen NPST-COP
 'There is a pig's pen.'
- b. *ŋa namge*
 ŋa nam-ge
 I house-LOC
 'In my house'

It seems that the native way of forming genitive is simply by juxtaposing the possessor noun and the possessed noun. The genitive suffixes seem to be a recent innovation.

IV. Ablative

Ablative is marked with *-gaŋ*.¹¹ It refers to any kind of source from which something originates, or comes from as in (28).

- (28) a. *uhi sibədzi namgaŋ kikhjo*
 uhi sibədzi nam-gaŋ ki-khjo
 same Lord Shiva house-ABL PST-come out
 '(It originated) from the house of Lord Shiva.'
- b. *malḍhungagaŋ khuŋ beni heicelgo*
 malḍhunga-gaŋ khuŋ beni heicel-go
 Maldhunga-ABL above Beni reach-INF
 'To reach above Beni from Maldhunga.'
- c. *pəila namgaŋ tuŋ teno*
 pəila nam-gaŋ tuŋ te-no
 first house-ABL wine bring-IMP
 'First bring wine from home.'

V. Comitative

Comitative is marked with the suffix *-saŋ*. Examples in (26) show that this case marker has the meaning of accompaniment.¹²

¹⁰ This will be further discussed in noun phrase (in Chapter 10).

¹¹ Ablative in Thangmi is *-yiŋ ~-yiniŋ* (Turin, 2006:248).

¹² It is seems to be a Nepali loan.

- (26) a. *balsəŋ gədziŋ ho ki*
 bal-səŋ gadzi-iŋ ho ki
man-COM quarrel-SEQ COP.NPST PART
 ‘May be due to quarrelling with me ?’
- b. *ukhonsəŋ thəja pəchi*
 ukhon-səŋ thəja pəchi
 daughter-in-law-COM arrive later
 ‘Having come with the daughter-in-law...’
- c. *michjasəŋ ghās lə lakkon pəna*
 michjasəŋ ghās lə lakkon pəna
 goat-COM grass PART cut-INF-EMPH OBL
 ‘Then, the grass should be cut while looking after (grazing) the goats.’

VI. Ergative/Instrumental

Ergativity is marked with *-e ~ -i*. We find the instrumental case being coded in *-ce* with only interrogative pronouns, *hai* ‘what’ and *hai-ce* ‘what-INST’.¹³ In other cases we do not find any difference between the instrumental and ergative case. As can be seen in examples (30a-b) the subjects of the transitive clause are marked with the ergative marker.

- (30) a. *tjo cəŋpahəruə kikham*
 tjo cəŋpa-həru-**e** kikham
 that old man-PL-ERG PST-say
 ‘That old man said (it).’
- b. *nie mətə ni*
 ni-**e** mətə-**ta** ni
 we-ERG NEG-keep PART
 ‘We did not keep (it).’
- c. *git mərə nie*
 git mərə-**ra** ni-**e**
 song NEG-know we-ERG
 ‘We do know the songs.’

The same suffixes *-e ~ -i* is bound to the animate nouns. Examples are given in (31).

- (31) a. *ḍorie chi dat pəchi*
 ḍori-**e** chi dat pəchi
 rope-INST tie finish later
 ‘After tying with the ropes...’

¹³ Instrumental and ergative is *-e ~ -ye* in Thangmi (Turin, 2006:212-215).

- b. *bhərjaŋe ɬewa kildi niŋa*
 bhərjaŋ-e ɬewa ki-ləi-di
 ladder-INS support PST-feel-NTVZ
 ni-ŋa
 NPST-COP
 ‘(Banana tree) is supported with the ladder.’
- c. *bhāḍie ɬosdiŋ milaidi nepna*
 bhāḍi-e ɬos-diŋ milai-di nepna
 hammer-INS poke-SEQ make-NTVZ OBL
 ‘It has to be levelled by hitting with a hammer.’

VII. Vocative

The vocative is expressed by *e* in direct speech.

- (32) a. *e nani təjo təjo*
 e nani təjo təj-o
 VOC daughter come-IMP come-IMP
 ‘Daughter, come, come.’ (Eli)

b. Postpositions

In addition to the morphological case markings, Baram nouns also employ a few postpositions. They are presented in detail below.¹⁴

The postposition *lagi* ‘for’ is used to refer to the meaning of undergoer of an action.¹⁵ It is seemingly a Nepali loan. Examples are given in (33).

- (33) a. *ibigo lagi pokhəra kja*
 ibi-go lagi pokhəra ki-ja
 self-GEN for Pokhara PST-go
 ‘(He) went to Pokhara for his own purpose.’
- b. *ŋəe lə nango lagi kitəi*
 ŋa-e lə naŋ-go lagi ki-təi
 I-ERG PART you-GEN for PST-come
 ‘I came for you.’

The postposition *tuku* ‘in’ has the spatial sense as in (34). It also has its adverbial use.

- (34) a. *khortuku wa ŋiŋa*
 khor-tuku wa ŋi-ŋa
 cage-in hen NPST-COP
 ‘The hen is in the cage.’ (Eli)

¹⁴ See section (8) for discussion of adverbs.

¹⁵ The postposition *lagi* ‘for’ is obviously a Nepali loan.

- b. *tjotuku*
 tjo-tuku
 that-in
 ‘inside that’

The postposition *əgjar* ‘in front of’ has the spatial sense as in (35).

- (35) a. *nam əgjar sjaŋma ŋiŋa*
 nam əgjar sjaŋma ŋi-ŋa
 house in front of tree NPST-COP
 ‘The tree is in front of the house.’ (Eli.)
- b. *ni bhənda əgjar əgjar bumaŋ kiŋa*
 ni bhənda əgjar bumaŋ ki-ŋa
 we than in front of tiger PST-COP
 ‘The tiger was there in front of us.’

The postposition *əgjar* ‘in front of’ has the spatial and temporal use.

Spatial use is given in (36) and temporal in (37).

- (36) a. *huməi gərapəta*
 huməi gərapəta
 below field-towards
 ‘down towards the farm,’
- b. *undzikpəta gibel*
 undzik-pəta gi-bel
 leg-towards PST-twist
 ‘(It) was twisted around (towards) the leg.’
- (37) a. *məŋsir puspəta*
 məŋsir puspəta
 Mangsir Poush-towards
 ‘Towards the months of Mangsir or Poush,’
- b. *hogəi hamdzaŋpəta təja*
 hogəi hamdzaŋ-pəta təi-a
 tomorrow morning-towards come-IMP
 ‘Come towards (around) tomorrow morning.’

The case markers and/or postpositions may also be followed by the emphatic marker as shown in (38).¹⁶

- (38) a. *məθaŋ le namgəin ŋihuk*
 mə-θaŋ-le nam-gəi-n ŋi-huk
 NEG-be able-COND house-LOC-EMPH NPST-stay
 ‘If I cannot (go), I will stay at home.’

¹⁶ Emphatic markers will be discussed in Chapter 9.

- b. *ṇagon tei niṣṭa ho*
 ṇa-go-n tei nis-ṭa ho
 I-GEN-EMPH that two-CLF COP.NPST
 'I have two (daughters).'
- c. *ubaṇgon jago*
 ubaṇ-go-n ja-go
 they-GEN-EMPH go-INF
 'They shall go.'

5.2.4 Classifiers

Baram employs two native classifiers *-wa* and *-eṇ* suffixed to numerals preceding the head nouns, e.g.

- (39) a. *dheṇ michja*
 de-eṇ michja
 one-CLF goat
 'A goat'
- b. *niṣwa mama*
 niṣ-wa mama
 two-CLF woman
 'Two women'

In Baram, the classifier *-wa* 'CLF' is generally restricted to the three numerals *de* 'one' *niṣ* 'two' and *som* 'three'.¹⁷ Note that Baram retains the numbers from one to three.¹⁸ The remaining numerals are borrowed from Nepali. When the classifier *-wa* 'CLF' occurs with the numeral *de* 'one' its form is *dzewa* 'one-CLF' as in (40a). They cannot be separated. However, when it occurs with the numeral *niṣ* 'two' or *som* 'three' its form is distinct.

- (40) a. *tjo de dzəna kjajo*
 tjo de dzəna ki-ajo ṇi-ṇa
 that one CLF PST-look
 'A man grazed the cows.'
- b. *hai som dzəna hukuṇ hai hai kita niṇa*
 hai som dzəna huk-uṇ hai hai
 what three CLF sit-SEQ what what

¹⁷ It is interesting to note that only one numeral except one, two and three is *pəccis* 'twenty five' as in example (43c). In fact, this is a numeral from Nepali. This indicates two things. Firstly, the classifier might have been in use long ago in the past. Secondly, the native suffixes can also attach to the borrowed stem thereby resulting in calquing.

¹⁸ Hodgson also reports the numerals from one to five. He mentions that the Baram words for four and five are *bi* 'four' and *bəṇa* 'five' (See Grierson 1909:405).

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| | ki-ta | ni-ŋa | |
| | PFV-keepat | NPST-AUX.NPST | |
| | ‘What have the three of them done ?’ | | |
| c. | <i>dzewae səppeɪ ci-sjaŋa</i> | | |
| | de-wa-e | səppeɪ | ci-sjaŋ-a |
| | one-CLF-ERG | all | HAB-drink-PFV |
| | ‘One would eat all the things.’ | | |

When the classifier *-eŋ* occurs with the numeral *de* ‘one’, it changes into *dheŋ* ‘one.CLF’. The suffix is not separable from the stem in this case either. Thus the classifier occurs only with the numeral *de* ‘one’, but not with any other nouns. Examples (40-41) show that the classifier occurs with the human nouns. The classifier *-wa* occurs only once in our entire corpus.

- (41) a. *dheŋ bal*
dheŋ bal
 one-CLF man
 ‘One man.’ (Eli)
- *b. *dzeŋ kumba*
dheŋ kumba
 one-CLF stone
 ‘A stone.’ (Eli)

Although the classifiers may be like emphatic marking in some TB language, it is not the case in Baram. In example (42), for instance, the classifiers are followed by the emphatic markers. In (42a) the classifier is followed by the emphatic marker *-n*. Similarly in (42b) the classifier is followed by the emphatic particle (42b).

- (42) a. *dzewan bal*
 de-wa-n bal
 one-CLF-EMPH man
 ‘Only one man.’ (Eli)
- b. *dheŋ cin kumba*
 dheŋ cin kumba
 one.CLF EMPH stone
 ‘Only one stone.’ (Eli)

The element following the numeral in (43a) is presumed to be a classifier, or some kind of erstwhile classifier. However, it occurs only with the numeral *de* ‘one’. The classifier *-wa* is exemplified in (43).

- (43) a. *dzewa bal*
 de-wa bal
 one-CLF man
 ‘One man.’ (Eli)

- b. *niswa likiŋ gudul kja*
 nis-wa lik-iŋ gudul ki-ja
 two-CLF become-SEQ steam PST-go
 '(We) two gathered and went to the stream.'
- c. *pəcciswa de de pəisa tukiŋ bəṭṭa ciṭuka*
 pəccis-wa de de pəisa tuk-iŋ
 twenty five-CLF one one paisa do-SEQ
 bəṭṭa ci-tuk-a
 box HAB-do-HAB
 'For collecting (lit. doing) 25 one Paisa coins a box used to be made (lit. done).'
- *d. *dzewa kumba*
dewa bal
 one-CLF man
 'A stone.' (Eli)
- (44) a. *dheŋ āṭho gidzjo*
 dheŋ āṭho gi-dzjo
 one-CLF border PST-walk
 '(They) walked on (along) the border (of the field).'
- b. *likiŋ dzidzjo ləpagəim dheŋ āṭho*
 lik-iŋ dzi-dzjo ləpa-gəi-m
 become-SEQ PST-walk work-LOCEMPH
 dheŋ āṭho
 one-CLF border
 '(They) walked on (along) the border (of the field).'

In addition to the use of these two native classifiers, Baram speakers also borrow classifiers from Nepali. They also equally use *-dzəna* and *-ṭa* as classifiers to refer to the persons and things respectively. They are obviously Nepali loans. The borrowed classifiers are used more frequently than the native classifiers in our database owing to the heavy influence of Nepali and language shift. Some more examples are given in (45).

- (45) a. *gjaban bal de nis dzəna ŋa chə*
 gi-aban bal de nis dzəna
 PFV-wait man one two CLF
 ŋa chə
 COP.NPST EPIS
 'One or two persons were waiting there.'
- b. *tigaŋ pheri somṭa sempu*
 tigaŋ pheri som-ṭa sempu
 then again two-CLF piece of burning firewood
 'Thenafter, (there were) three burning firewood.'

We notice that the native classifiers do not occur with the question word *kwa* 'how many' but occurs *kwaṭa* 'how many-CLF'. This is the indicative of the fact that the native classifiers have been declined in their use with the numerals discussed above.

In addition to these classifiers, there are some classifiers in Baram which have resemblances with the Nepali quasi-classifiers. They are listed in example (46).

- (46) *de thopa awa* 'a drop of water'
de muṭi sem 'a handful of hair'
de chiṭi sem 'a drop of water sprinkled for getting purified'
de gas ca 'a mouthful of rice'
de cāli ca 'a ladleful of rice'
de pājā one strand of rope (that is twisted with other strands to form a rope)
de sita ca 'a boiled grain of rice'
de hāl gəra 'a farm that is cultivated by a couple of oxen in one day'
de ghəri umsi 'a clustered bunch of bananas'
de ghənu dzhum 'a bamboo'
de pakha chana 'one side of a roof'
de cana kākra 'a piece of a cucumber'

5.3 Pronouns

There are four categories of pronouns in Baram: personal, demonstrative, reflexive, and interrogative pronouns. Their details are given below.

5.3.1 Personal pronouns

Baram differentiates two numbers: singular and plural. Gender distinction is not seen in the pronouns (compare 5.2.2). Table (5.1) lists personal pronouns in Baram.

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	ŋa	ni
2 nd	naŋ	nuŋ/naŋru
3 rd	i/u	i/ubaŋ

TABLE 5.1 Personal Pronouns in Baram¹⁹

¹⁹ Thangmi is closely affiliated to Baram. In Thangmi, the second person singular pronoun is *naŋ* 'you', second person plural is *niŋ* 'you.PL', third person singular is *to*

The first person singular nominal reflects the original proto Tibeto-Burman (PTB) pronouns *ŋa*.²⁰ Similarly the first person plural and second person singular pronoun have also PTB roots.²¹ The second person plural pronoun also has the plural suffix *-ru*. The third person pronouns and the demonstratives are identical. Personal pronouns can be seen in examples (47).

- (47) a. *ŋa hidaŋ kjakhom mami*
 ŋa hidaŋ ki-akho-m
 I this side PFV-call-EMPH
 mami
 NEG.COP.NPST
 ‘I am not called from here.’
- b. *ni lə kihuk*
 ni lə ki-huk
 we PART PST-stay
 ‘As for me, I stayed (there).’
- c. *hare nuŋ kwa dago*
 hare nuŋ kwa da-go
 how you how much say-INF
 ‘How much (should I) say to you ?’
- d. *naŋ cin nira*
 naŋ cin ni-ra
 you EMPH NPST-know
 ‘You only know this.’
- e. *nuŋru kini ŋiŋa*
 nuŋ-ru ki-ni ŋi-ŋa
 you-PL PFV-see NPST-AUX.NPST
 ‘You have seen.’

The third person pronouns are similar to demonstratives. The third person singular pronouns are *i/u* ‘he/she (this/that)’ and plural is *ibaŋ/tigaŋ* ‘these/those’ respectively. Examples are given in (48). These forms are related to Nepali (or Indo-Aryan languages).

- (48) a. *ibaŋəi ugəi pəḍdiŋ kihuk*
 ibaŋ-i ugəi pəḍ-di-iŋ ki-huk
 they-ERG there read-NTVZ-PROG PST-sit
 ‘They have been reading.’

‘he’ and the second person plural is *tobaŋ* ‘they’ (see Turin, 1998:478). Thangmi first person singular pronoun is *gai* and first person plural is *gi*.

²⁰ See Thursgood and LaPolla, 2003:30; Benedict, 1972:96.

²¹ See Benedict, 1972:96.

- b. *tibaŋəi cin awa ŋipju*
 tibaŋ-i cin awa ŋi-pi
 they-ERG EMPH water NPST-give
 ‘Do they give you water?’

Baram pronouns are also inflected for different cases: ergative, genitive, accusative, and dative. Dative and accusative case forms are identical. Among the case forms, the ergative and instrumental cause flexional change in the pronouns. This is presented in Table 5.2.

PRONOUNS		CASES			
		ERG	DAT/ACC	GEN	ABL
1SG	ŋa	ŋəe	ŋagəi	ŋago	ŋagaŋ
1PL	ni	nie	nigəi	nigo	nigaŋ
2SG	naŋ	nəe	naŋgəi	naŋgo	naŋgaŋ
2PL	nuŋru/ naŋru	nue	nuŋgəi	nuŋgo/ naŋrugo	nuŋgaŋ /naŋrugaŋ
3SG	u	usei	usgəi	usko	ugaŋ
3PL	ubaŋ	ubəẽ	nuŋgəi	ubaŋgo	ubaŋgaŋ

TABLE 5.2 Inflection of personal pronouns

- (49) *nigo ucwa ucum ucuməi ŋiŋa*
 ni-go ucwaucuməi ŋi-ŋa
 we-GEN children NPST-COP
 ‘We have children.’

5.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Baram makes a two way distinction in demonstrative pronouns.²² It is presented in Table 5.3. Proximal singular is *i* ‘this’ and *u* ‘that’. Proximal plural form is *ibaŋ* ‘these’ and plural distal forms are *ubaŋ* ‘these’ or *tibaŋ* ‘those’. There is no difference in the nuances of meanings in these two forms. Some examples of demonstrative pronouns are given in (49).

²² Thangmi also shows proximal and distal contrast in demonstrative pronouns (Turin, 2006:269). On the other hand, Newar (Hale and Shrestha, 2006:41-42) exhibits four-way contrast of demonstratives (i.e. near speaker, near hearer, distal and remote). Contrast are also seen across inanimate, and animate plural demonstratives in Newar. Benedict (1972:93) mentions that no general 3rd person pronouns can be established. Thus the third personal pronouns (including demonstratives) resemble Nepali.

DEMONSTRATIVES		CASES			
		ERG	DAT/ACC	GEN	ABL
Proximal singular	i 'this'	esəi	esgəi	esko	esgaŋ
Distal singular	u 'that'	usei	usgəi	usko	ugaŋ
Proximal singular	ibaŋ 'these'	ibəẽ	ibaŋgəi	ibaŋgo	ibaŋgaŋ
Distal plural	ubaŋ 'those'	ubəẽ	ubaŋgəi	ubaŋgo	ubaŋgaŋ
Distal plural	tibaŋ 'those'	tibəẽ	tibaŋgəi	tibaŋgo	tibaŋgaŋ

TABLE 5.3 Baram demonstratives

- (50) a. *tigaŋgo ucwa ucuməi mǎhǎ*
 tigaŋ-go ucwa ucuməi maha
 they-GEN child child NEG.COP.NPST
 ‘They have no children.’
- b. *esko lə ukəi kisi*
 i-ko lə ukəi ki-si
 this-GEN PART husband PST-die
 ‘Her husband died.’

Forms of the demonstrative pronouns are related to Nepali or Indo-Aryan sources.

5.3.3 Anaphoric pronouns

There are two kinds of anaphoric pronouns: reflexive and reciprocal. Reflexive pronouns also inflect for different cases. They are presented in (51) and illustrated in (52). The reduplication of reflexive pronouns show plurality as in (52b). Reflexives are coreferential with subjects bound within the same clause.

- (51) *ibi* 'self'
 ibiəi 'self-ERG'
 ibigaŋ 'self-ABL'
 ibigəi 'self-DAT'
- (52) a. *ibigo bari maha*
 ibi-go bari maha
 self-GEN field NEG.COP
 ‘I do not have my own farm (field).’
- b. *ucməihəru lə abə ibibi namgəi kja*
 ucməi-həru lə abə ibi-bi
 daughter-PL PART self-REDU

nam-gəi ki-ja
house-LOC PST-go
'Daughters have gone to their own houses.'

Reciprocal pronouns as a distinct category do not occur in Baram. However, they are constructions where the reciprocals are borrowed from Nepali.

- (53) a. *cacaru deampəsgəi kjakhmun*
caca-ru de-ampəs-gəi ki-akhmun
child-PL one-RECP-DAT PST-fight
'The children fought with each other.'
- b. *ukhonəi dedəbagəi kini*
ukhon-i de-dəba-gəi ki-ni
daughter-in-law-ERG one-another-DAT PST-see
'The daughter-in-law saw each other.'

Reciprocal structures are not very productive in Baram and literally match with the Nepali structures.

5.3.4 Interrogative pronouns

There are two interrogative pronouns.²³ They also inflect for different cases as can be seen in Table 5.4.

	CASES			
	ERG	DAT/ACC	GEN	ABL
<i>hai</i> 'what'	haice	haigəi	haigo	haigaŋ
<i>su</i> 'who'	sui	sugəi	sugo	sugaŋ

TABLE 5.4 Baram interrogative pronouns

It is interesting to note that the instrumental with interrogative pronoun is *-ce*. Thus the instrumental form is *haice* 'what-INST' as in (54d). The form *-ce* neither occurs with instrumental nor as ergative cases with any other pronouns.

- (54) a. *haigo məndir ho jo*
hai-go məndir ho jo
what-GEN temple COP.NPST this
'What temple is this ?'
- b. *kisen sugo ŋiŋa*
kisen su-go ŋi-ŋa
good who-GEN NPST-COP
'Whose (status) is good ?'

²³ Thangmi also has the interrogatives *su* 'who'.

- c. *isgəi sui sato*
 jo-gəi su-i sat-o
 this-DAT who-ERG kill-IRR
 ‘Who killed this (animal)?’
- d. *isgəi haice sato*
 jo-gəi hai-ce sat-o
 this-DAT who-INST kill-IRR
 ‘What killed this (animal)?’

5.3.5 Relative pronouns

There are relative pronouns such as *dze* ‘what’ and *dzo* ‘who’ in Baram. Some examples to illustrate them are given in (55).

- (55) a. *dze dale məŋ pim*
 dze da-le məŋ pi-m
 what say-COND also give-CJ
 ‘I give (you) whatever is asked.’
- b. *dze cunlem ŋilik*
 dze cun-le-m ŋi-lik
 what put-COND-EMPH NPST-become
 ‘You may put anything.’
- c. *dzo gādza nisjaŋ*
 dzo gādza ni-sjaŋ
 who hemp NPST-take
 ‘Whoever takes the help,’

5.3.6 Reduplication of pronouns

Reflexive and interrogative pronouns are reduplicated in Baram as in (56a) and interrogative pronouns are also reduplicated as in (56b). When the interrogative pronouns are reduplicated they presuppose a plural answer.

- (56) a. *koi caĩ ibibi namgəi ŋeijã*
 koi caĩ ibi-bi
 some PART self-REDU
 nam-gəi ŋi-he-ja
 house-LOC NPST-ANDA-go
 ‘Some people go to each of their houses.’
- b. *su sue hai khama*
 su su-e hai kham-a
 who who-ERG what say-IRR
 ‘Different people said different things.’

6 *Adjectives*

6.0 Outline

This chapter describes the adjectives in Baram. It deals specifically with the morphological features of adjectives in (6.1). Their semantic classification and syntactic features are presented in (6.2) and (6.3) respectively.

6.1 Adjectives in Baram

Adjectives as a natural word class exist in Baram, thus forming a distinct class, though a small one. In addition to free lexical adjectives, the majority of Baram adjectives are derived from verbal sources, mainly from descriptive verbs. There are thus at least three categories of adjectives used in Baram corpus (a) native simple adjectives (b) borrowed adjectives and (c) derived adjectives. All of these adjectives share universal features of modification. Their details are given below.¹

6.1.1 Native simple adjectives

The native simple adjectives are limited in number in Baram. They do not share morphological properties with verbs and nouns. The concept of size, mostly big used with and the vowel *a-* (e.g. big, long etc.) as well as the concept of small with vowel *i-* (i.e. short, small, only this much etc) are related as presented in (1a) and (1b) respectively.²

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---------------------|---------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>alam</i> | 'big' |
| | | <i>alok</i> | 'long' |
| | b. | <i>ikuni</i> | 'small' |
| | | <i>ikurse</i> | 'short' |
| | | <i>ijarse/jurse</i> | 'only this much' |
| (2) | | <i>phəija</i> | 'red' |
| | | <i>cjapsu</i> | 'thin (animal/man)' |
| | | <i>ciliŋ</i> | 'black' |
| | | <i>kaui</i> | 'new/bright' |
| | | <i>gədə</i> | 'good/fine' |
| | | <i>bəŋgu</i> | 'empty' |

¹ Several TB languages have a small number of simple native adjectives and rest of them are derived from other categories. Watters (2003:699) mentions that the category 'adjective' is almost non-existent in Kham. Bickel (2003:550) also mentions that Belhare has a small set of adjectives. Turin (2006) notes that Thangmi, a closest neighbour of Baram, has only three adjectives which express three colours: black, white and red.

² Grierson (1909:405) mentions that nouns and adjectives are prefixed by *-a* in Baram.

<i>kəlum</i>	'whole'
<i>pəgu</i>	'raw/unripe'

6.1.2 Borrowed simple adjectives

In the Baram corpus a large number of adjectives of Nepali vocabulary are widely used if their equivalents are absent. Examples in (3) are borrowed adjectives which occur frequently in the corpus. In addition, examples in (4) used by Baram speakers are obtained through elicitation.

- | | | |
|-----|----------------|------------------|
| (3) | <i>dəllo</i> | 'round' |
| | <i>dhəni</i> | 'rich' |
| | <i>nəulo</i> | 'new' |
| | <i>nɪθure</i> | 'cruel' |
| | <i>phərak</i> | 'wide' |
| | <i>bəljo</i> | 'strong' |
| | <i>baklo</i> | 'thick' |
| | <i>baŋgo</i> | 'curved' |
| | <i>bādzho</i> | 'barren' |
| | <i>baṭho</i> | 'clever' |
| | <i>birami</i> | 'sick' |
| | <i>rəmailo</i> | 'pleasing' |
| | <i>laṭa</i> | 'dumb' |
| | <i>lobi</i> | 'greedy' |
| | <i>sədzilo</i> | 'easy' |
| | <i>səncə</i> | 'healthy' |
| | <i>səŋro</i> | 'narrow' |
| | <i>sadzha</i> | 'common' |
| | <i>sipalo</i> | 'skilled' |
| | <i>sukhkha</i> | 'dry' |
| | <i>sunəula</i> | 'golden' |
| | <i>sodzo</i> | 'straight' |
| | <i>hərijo</i> | 'green' |
| | <i>həlunɡo</i> | 'light' |
| (4) | <i>terso</i> | 'straight' terso |
| | <i>əlko</i> | 'tall' |
| | <i>thotro</i> | 'old/threadbare' |
| | <i>nilo</i> | 'blue' |
| | <i>kupro</i> | 'stoop' |

<i>patlo</i>	'thin (object)'
<i>ciso</i>	'cold'
<i>ukalo</i>	'steep'

6.1.3 Derived adjectives

Some adjectives in Baram are derived from verbs. This is a very robust process in Baram. Adjectives are normally derived from verbs with past tense suffixes *ki-* ~ *gi-* (and their allomorphs) are thus verb-like.³ The adjectives derived by this process are mentioned in (5).⁴

(5)	<i>wakko</i>	'to become sour'	<i>keuwak</i>	'sour'
	<i>uchogo</i>	'to become fat'	<i>kjocho</i>	'fat'
	<i>osungo</i>	'to become cold'	<i>kjosun</i>	'cold'
	<i>ohongo</i>	'to become hot'	<i>kjohon</i>	'hot'
	<i>əwuogo</i>	'to become yellow'	<i>keuwo</i>	'yellow'
	<i>khəjago</i>	'to become bitter'	<i>kekhja</i>	'bitter'
	<i>chjutko</i>	'to like'	<i>kichjut</i>	'happy'
	<i>pungo</i>	'to fill up'	<i>kipuŋ</i>	'sufficient'
	<i>sango</i>	'to tear'	<i>kisan</i>	'old'
	<i>dzjakko</i>	'to be tasty'	<i>gidzjak</i>	'tasty'
	<i>abogo</i>	'to be white'	<i>gjabo</i>	'white'
	<i>adumbo</i>	'to be warm'	<i>gjadum</i>	'warm'
	<i>obakko</i>	'to be bitter'	<i>gjobak</i>	'bitter'

Adjectives are not directly derived from nouns. The nouns are verbalized and the verb again becomes like an adjective. An example is given in (6). This process is identical to Kham (see Watters, 2003: 113).⁵

(6)	a.	<i>asok</i>	→	<i>asokko</i>	→	<i>kjasok</i>
		'chili'		'to become chili hot'		'chilly hot'
	b.	<i>amu</i>	→	<i>amugo</i>	→	<i>kjamu</i>
		'fog/cloud'		'to be foggy/cloudy'		'foggy/cloudy'
	c.	<i>isku</i>	→	<i>iskugo</i>	→	<i>kisku</i>
		'smoke'		'to be smoky'		'smoky'

Some adjectives are derived by adding the negative prefix *mə-* to the derived adjectives. Examples in (7) provide some examples.

³ Benedict (1972:92) notes that the 'verb-adjective' and 'noun' categories are formally differentiated to a minimum degree in some TB languages.

⁴ Benedict (1972:113) mentions that **g-* ~ *k-* as an adjectival prefixes are found in other languages as well although the precise function they serve may vary. He notes that this suffix is found in Gyarung, Kachin, Bodo-Garo, and Mikir.

⁵ We don't have instances where the adjectives are derived directly from nouns.

(7)	<i>kisen</i>	'good'	<i>mæsen</i>	'bad/not good'
	<i>kjocho</i>	'fat'	<i>mæcho</i>	'thin/not fat'
	<i>gidzjak</i>	'tasty'	<i>mædzjak</i>	'not tasty'
	<i>gjadum</i>	'warm'	<i>mædum</i>	'not warm/cold'

6.2 Semantic categories

Dixon (2004:3) classifies the adjectives into about twelve categories. There are four core semantic types which are typically associated with both large and small adjective classes. We discuss the adjectives in Baram in typological perspective following Dixon (2004).

6.2.1 Dimension

Dimension adjectives comprise a few native Baram adjectives, which are derived and borrowed adjectives. Adjectives associated to demonstratives are dealt with in (6.2.7). The borrowed adjectives also occupy the major position.

(8)	<i>alam</i>	'big'
	<i>ikuni/ikune/ikine</i>	'small'
	<i>ikuri</i>	'short'
	<i>kjocho</i>	'fat'
	<i>cjapsu</i>	'thin'
(9)	<i>dəllo</i>	'round'
	<i>terso</i>	'straight'
	<i>əlko</i>	'tall'

6.2.2 Age

There is only one adjective related to age, viz. *kauī* 'new'. Only one derived adjective falls in the category of derived adjective, viz. *kisan* 'old'. All other adjectives are borrowed adjectives from Nepali, i.e. *thotro* 'old/threadbare', etc. It is a small category of adjectives.

6.2.3 Value

Value adjectives are mostly derived from verbs and are thus verb-like as in (10). Not a single native Baram adjective of this category exists. The speakers also use the borrowed adjective for this category as well.

(10)	a.	<i>kisen</i>	'good'
		<i>mæsen</i>	'bad'
		<i>kjosja</i>	'sweet'
		<i>kjokhja</i>	'not sweet/opposite of sweet'
		<i>kekhja</i>	'sour'
		<i>nərəm</i>	'soft'

	<i>kjasok</i>	‘chilly hot’
	<i>keuwak</i>	‘sour’
	<i>gidzjak</i>	‘sweet’
	<i>mədzjak</i>	‘not sweet’
b.	<i>rəsilo</i>	‘full of juice’

6.2.4 Colour

Simple native Baram adjectives are found for 'red' and 'black', and the rest of the adjectives are derived ones (11). The derived colour terms are mentioned in (12). Remaining colour terms are borrowed from Nepali as in (13).

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|------------|
| (11) | <i>phəija</i> | 'red' |
| | <i>ciliŋ</i> | 'black' |
| (12) | <i>gidzikdzik</i> | 'dim/dark' |
| | <i>kjocho</i> | 'fat' |
| | <i>məcho</i> | 'thin' |
| | <i>gjabo</i> | 'white' |
| | <i>keuo</i> | 'yellow' |
| (13) | <i>hərijo</i> | 'green' |
| | <i>nilo</i> | 'blue' |

6.2.5 Physical property

This class consists of derived adjectives and borrowed adjectives. However, native simple adjectives of this category are not found. The adjectives are derived mostly from verbs and are thus verb-like as in (14a), and the rest of the adjectives are borrowed ones (14b). Some of them are illustrated in (15).

- | | | | |
|------|----|-----------------|------------------|
| (14) | a. | <i>gjobak</i> | ‘sour’ |
| | | <i>mik məni</i> | 'blind' |
| | | <i>kjocho</i> | 'thick' |
| | | <i>kephlin</i> | 'slippery' |
| | | <i>kjosun</i> | 'cold' |
| | | <i>kjeprak</i> | 'sloppy' |
| | | <i>kjohuk</i> | 'heavy' |
| | | <i>kepcak</i> | 'hard' |
| | | <i>bəŋgu</i> | 'empty/naked' |
| | | <i>kjosak</i> | 'chilly hot' |
| | | <i>kekha</i> | 'bitter' |
| | | <i>məcho</i> | 'thin (not fat)' |

- b. *kupro* 'stoop'
 patlo 'thin (object)'
 ciso 'cold'
- (15) a. *ṇago kekhja kurahəru*
 ṇa-go ki-khəja kura-həru
 I-GEN ADJV-become bitter matter-PL
 'My bitter matters'
- b. *kephlin abugo om*
 ki-phəlin abu-go om
 ADJV-become slippery insect-GEN testicle
 'Snail's larva (lit. slippery insect's egg)'

6.2.6 Quantifiers

a. Numeral quantifiers

This section includes the numeral and non-numeral quantifiers in Baram. Only the native numerals *de* 'one', *nīs* 'two', and *som* 'three' exist in Baram (16).⁶ The rest of the numerals are similar to Nepali as listed in (17). The numerals often come with the quantifiers (5.2.4).⁷

- (16) *de* 'one'
 nīs 'two'
 som 'three'
- (17) *car* 'four'
 pāc 'five'
 chə 'six'
 sat 'seven'
 aṭh 'eight'
 nəu 'nine'
 dəs 'ten'

b. Non-numeral quantifiers

Lexical quantifiers are listed in (18). Some quantifiers related to pronominal pronouns are included in (6.2.7). They are illustrated in (19).

⁶ Grierson (1909:405) reports the numerals upto five, i.e. *bi* 'four', *baṇa* 'five'. Thus during this period, the native words for four and five have gone into oblivion.

⁷ Thangmi also has the numerals such as *de* 'one', *nīs* 'two', *sum* 'three' (Turin 2006:290). Matisoff (2003:135) also reconstructs the PTB form **g-nīs* 'two' and **g-sum* 'three'.

- (18) *səppəi* 'all'
koi 'some'
kəti 'some (amount)'
jurse 'little'
- (19) a. *əbə səppəi thok*
 əbə səppəi thok
 now all things
 'All things now'
- b. *koi okhətim ɲiləgdi*
 koi okhəti-m ɲi-lik
 some medicine-EMPH NPST-become
 'Some become medicine.'
- c. *kətim məlik*
 kəti-m mə-lik
 some-EMPH NEG-become
 'Not a bit will be left.'
- d. *jurse lə pim ni*
 jurse lə pi-m ni
 less EMPH give-NPST PART
 '(We) can give you a little bit.'
- e. *səbei sərdzam gidat*
 səbei sərdzam gi-dat
 all thing PST-finish
 'All things (were) finished.'
- f. *koi okhətim nilik*
 koi okhəti-m ɲi-lik
 someone medicine-EMPH NPST-become
 'Some can be a medicine also.'

6.2.7 Pronominal adjectives

In addition to Dixon's semantic category of adjectives, a category of adjectives is found in the Himalayan region. Some adjectives in Baram are demonstrative-based. They make a difference between proximal and distal to show size, amount, and type. They are listed in Table 6.1, and illustrated in (20-21).

- (20) a. *ekkane ghoco chetəŋ nidzjo*
 ekkane ghoco chet-əŋ ni-dzjo
 of this size stick carry-SEQ NPST-walk
 '(She) keeps on walking with a stick.'

- b. *jarse adza məkəi niŋla*
 jarse adza məkəi niŋla
 this much paddy maize millet
 '(There is) paddy, maize and millet.'
- (21) a. *estak uŋma ni mahã*
 estak uŋma ni mahã
 like this path PART NEG.COP
 'There is not a way like this.'
- c. *testak ucwa*
 testak ucwa
 of that kind child
 'a child like that'

	Demonstrative		Question	Relatives
	Proximate	Distal	Proximate	Distal
Size	<i>ekkane</i> 'of this size'	<i>tekkane</i> 'of that size'	<i>kəkkane</i> 'of which size'	<i>dzəkkane</i> 'of which size'
Amount	<i>jarse</i> 'of this amount'	<i>tjarse</i> 'of that amount'	<i>kwarse</i> 'of what amount'	<i>dzwarse</i> 'of what amount'
Type	<i>estak</i> 'of this kind'	<i>testak</i> 'of that kind'	<i>kəstak</i> 'of what kind'	<i>dzəstak</i> 'of which kind'

TABLE 6.1 Pronominal adjectives

6.2.8 Residuals

There is not a single native adjective of human propensity. The only adjective which seems to be native like is *kjalchi* 'lazy' which seems to have been derived from *əlchi* 'lazy' in Nepali. It is identical to the derived adjective from a Nepali base. Another adjective which happens to be in this category is *de sure* 'obstinate' which also seems to be derived from a Nepali loan.

6.3 Syntax of adjective

Adjectives are used in attributive and predicative positions in Baram.

6.3.1 Attributive

Almost all adjectives, simple native adjectives, simple borrowed adjectives, and derived adjectives occur in the attributive position. Consider the following examples:

- (23) a. *alam dzat ikini dzat*
alam dzat ikini dzat
big caste small caste
'High caste, low caste.'
- b. *gjabo mu thəjo*
gjabo mu thəja-o
white clothes bring-IMP
'Bring the white clothes.'
- c. *ikinse hāga lakuŋ gidzən*
ikinse hāga lakuŋ gidzən
small branch cut-SEQ PST-split
'A small branch (of a tree) was cut and splitted.'

6.3.2 Predicative

Baram adjectives occur in predicative position in N ADJ COP structure. Some examples are given in (24).

- (24) a. *tjo pərak alam ŋiŋa*
tjo pərak alam ŋi-ŋa
that cliff big NPST-COP
'That cliff is big.'
- b. *səbəi bhənda ŋa cin ikini niŋa*
səbəi bhənda ŋa cin ikini ŋi-ŋa
all than I EMPH small NPST-COP
'I appear to be the youngest (in age, status).'
- c. *terson niŋa*
terso-n niŋa
straight COP.NPST
'(It) is straight.'

It is interesting to note that only two kinship terms are found in Baram in which the modifier follows the modified. The word *abəilam* 'father's elder brother' is composed of two words *alam* 'big' and *abəi* 'father'. They are *abəilam* 'father's elder brother' where the modifier *alam* 'big' follow the head noun *abəi* 'father'. Similarly *aməilam* 'father's brother's wife' consist of two words *alam* 'big' and *aməi* 'mother'. When we analyze the case this tendency hardly occurs with other constructions.

6.3.3 Comparative and superlative

There is no distinct native morphology for expressing comparisons of equality and differences. Therefore, the comparative degree of an adjective is

made by *bhānda* 'than', a borrowing from Nepali, as a comparative marker.⁸ Only a handful of lexical adjectives function as a distinct category. The majority of adjectives are derived from verbal sources, and thus verb-like, as shown in (25).

- (25) a. *macan bhānda pāni alam nilik*
 maca-n bhānda pāni alam ni-lik
 tree-EMPH than also big NPST-become
 '(This tree) is more valuable (lit. bigger) than (Simal) tree.'
- b. *ni bhānda dheren kancho*
 ni bhānda dheren kancho
 we than more young
 '(She is) younger than us.'

The superlative construction makes use of *səbəi bhānda* 'all of', again a borrowing from Nepali. This is again a construction identical to the Nepali language, e.g.

- (26) a. *ḡago nam səbəibhanda alam ḡiḡa*
 ḡa-go nam səbəibhanda alam
 you-GEN house of all big
 ḡi-ḡa
 NPST-COP
 'Your house is the biggest (of all).'
- b. *ciliḡ michja səbəibhanda alam ḡiḡa*
 ciliḡ michja səbəibhanda alam ḡi-ḡa
 black goat of all big NPST-COP
 '(My) black goat is the biggest (of all).' (Eli.)

6.3.4 Reduplication of adjectives

Adjectives in Baram are reduplicated for emphasis and distribution reading as can be seen in (27a). Example (27a) differs from (27b) in that we do not have an emphatic reading in (27b). Similarly the reduplicated adjectives are illustrated in (28b). Some reduplicated adjectives are mentioned in (29).

- (27) *thalgo alam alam ni-cəi-di*
 thal-go alam alam ni-cəi-di
 cook-INF big big NPST-need-NTVZ
 '(You) need a big pot to cook the fodders.'
- (28) a. *koi ikine ikine nam kã*
 koi ikine ikine nam kã
 some small small house COP.PST
 '(Some people) had small houses.'

⁸ This is obviously a Nepali loan (literally meaning 'while saying').

- b. *usko ikine nam kã*
 u-ko ikine nam kã
 he-GEN small house COP.PST
 '(He) had a small house.'
- (29) a. *əni alam alam pərak niŋa tigi*
 əni alam alam pərak
 after that big big cliff
 ni-ŋa tigi
 NPST-COP there
 'And there are quite huge cliffs.'
- b. *sjaŋma alam alam ŋi-ŋa*
 sjaŋma alam alam ŋi-ŋa
 tree big big NPST-COP
 'There were big (emphasis) trees.'
- c. *naŋgo bhənda ŋago nĩŋa bəljo ŋi-ŋa*
 naŋ-go bhənda ŋa-go nĩŋa-n
 you-GEN than I-GEN two-EMPH
 bəljo ŋi-ŋa
 strong NPST-COP
 'My (my sons) are stronger than yours.'
- d. *cəndipurnimagəi nam namgəi b^hale ŋilak*
 cəndipurnima-gəi nam nam-gəi
 Chandipurniima-LOC house house-LOC
 b^hale ŋi-lak
 cock NPST-cut
 '(Barams) cut the cocks in each and every house during the
 Chandipurnima (festival).' (Eli)

6.4 Adjectives and verbs

It is interesting to note that some derived adjectives are found more frequently than verbs. We like to present some statistical evidences how often the derived adjectives and the verbs from which they are derived occur in the texts. On the basis of these evidences such derived adjectives can be grouped into two categories. The first category includes the adjectives which often occur as adjectives and verbs. The following are the derived adjectives which often occur not only as derived adjectives but also as verbs. The examples are also given in (30) and illustrated in (31).

- (30) *kjocho* 'fat'
kichjut 'happy'
kisan 'old'

- (31) a. *əni hai cəiŋ kjocho hola*
 əni hai ca-iŋ ki-ucho hola
 then what eat-SEQPST-become fat may be
 'Then, how did he get fat (by eating what things) ?'
- b. *kjocho ŋiŋa ni*
 ki-ucho ŋi-ŋa ni
 ADJZ-become fat NPST-COP PART
 'He was fat, you know ? '
- c. *ŋjosun*
 ni-osun
 NPST-become cold
 'It becomes cold.'
- (32) a. *kjocho niŋa ni bəllə na*
 ki-ucho ni-ŋa ni
 ADJV-become fat NPST-COP PART
 bəllə na
 now you
 'You have become fat now.'
- b. *kjocho pəchi*
 ki-ucho pəchi
 ADJV-become later
 'After getting fat, '
- (33) a. *tigaŋ lə kichjut*
 tigaŋ lə ki-chjut
 then PART PST-become
 'Then (she) became happy.'
- b. *kichjut kura ho jo*
 ki-chjut kura ho jo
 ADJZ-become matter COP.NPST this
 'This is a matter of happiness.'
- (34) a. *kisan bal ŋa lə*
 ki-san bal ŋa lə
 ADJZ-become old man I PART
 'I (am) an old man.'
- b. *kisan mu*
 ki-san mu
 ADJZ-become old cloth
 'threadbare cloth'

- (35) a. *kisen gumba golo kumba*
 ki-sen kumba golo kumba
 ADVZ-to fit stone round stone
 'Nice round stone.'
- b. *sengo nepna*
 sen-go ṇi-pəna
 match-INF NPST-must
 'It should match.'

6.4 Adjectives and nouns

Some adjectives function as nouns. Consider the following examples:

- (36) a. *ciliṇ rə gjabo kha lika*
 ciliṇ rə gi-abogo
 black and ADJV-become white
 kha lik-a
 how become-IRR
 'How did it become black and white ? '
- b. *gidzjak kica*
 gi-dzjak ki-ca
 ADVZ-become sweet PST-eat
 'I ate sweets (sweet thing).'
- c. *keuwak pəsdi hola*
 ki-wak pəs-di hola
 ADVZ-become sour enter-NTVZ may be
 'Fruit might be sour (sour enters in the fruit).'

We find some derived adjectives from verbs but they do not appear as verbs in our corpus. The following are derived adjectives which do not appear in the verb forms in our entire corpus.

- (37) a. *kjohon kjohon calem ṇilik*
 ki-ohon ki-ohon
 ADJV-become hot ADVJ-become hot
 ca-le-m ṇi-lik
 eat-COND-EMPH NPST-become
 '(You) may eat the hot ones.'
- b. *keuwo nilik*
 ki-auwo ni-lik
 ADJV-become yellow NPST-become
 'It becomes yellow.'
- c. *ṇago kekḥjam məkhja kurahəru*
 ṇa-go ki-akhja mə-khja
 I-GEN ADVZ-become bitter NEG-become bitter

kura-həru
thing-PL
'My sweet and bitter matters...'

- d. *gidzjak gundruk*
gi-dzjak *gundruk*
ADVZ-become sweet fermented spinach
'Tasty (sweet) fermented spinach.'
- e. *gidzjak ŋilik*
gi-dzjak ŋi-lik
ADVZ-become sweet NPST-become
'It becomes tasty.'

7 *Verb morphology*

7.0 Outline

This chapter deals with Baram verb morphology including verb stems, tenses, aspects, moods, directional markers, modality, non-finite forms and functions, copula and auxiliary verbs.

7.1 Verb stems

Structurally, verb stems in Baram can be grouped into two main categories: native stems and borrowed stems. All borrowed stems take the nativizing suffix *-di* before they are borrowed from non-Baram source, particularly from Nepali. When a verb from Nepali (or other Indo-Aryan languages) is used in Baram the nativizing suffix *-di-* is added before it encodes the infinitive marker. In all the examples in (1) we see the verb stems with the suffix *-di*. Voicing does not cause any alternation in the nativizing suffix.

- (1) a. *tar-di-go*
'take across-NTVZ-INF'
'to take across'
- b. *thun-di-go*
'imprison-NTVZ-INF'
'to imprison'
- c. *reŋ-di-go*
'cut the throat-NTVZ-INF'
'to cut the throat'
- d. *bən-dis-go*
'make-NTVZ-INF'
'to make'

However, the only verb which takes a nativizing suffix *-dis* is 'make' as mentioned in (2).

- (2) a. *nibəndis ni*
ni-bən-dis ni
NPST-make-NTVZ PART
'(They) make (it), you know.'
- b. *cəŋpa cəŋmae gibəndis*
cəŋpa cəŋma-e gi-bən-dis
old manold woman-ERG PST-make-NTVZ
'Our parents made (it).'

The suffix *-dis* is thus lexically conditioned and is not productive. Verb stems which undergo morphophonemic changes are discussed in Chapter 4.

The majority of native Baram verb stems are monosyllabic as can be seen in (4a) but a few of them are bisyllabic as in (4b). Some further native stems can be seen in Chapter (4).

Verbs in Baram can be directly derived from nouns as shown in (3) although the derivations of such nouns are fairly limited.

- (3)
- | | | | |
|----|-------------|---|-----------------------|
| a. | <i>asok</i> | → | <i>asokko</i> |
| | 'chili' | | 'to become chili hot' |
| b. | <i>amu</i> | → | <i>amugo</i> |
| | 'fog/cloud' | | 'to be foggy/cloudy' |
| c. | <i>isku</i> | → | <i>iskugo</i> |
| | 'smoke' | | 'to be smoky' |

7.2 Prefixes *k-* ~ *g-*, *c-* ~ *dzə*

It is significant to discuss the suffixes *k-* ~ *g-*, *c-* ~ *dzə* before entering into other aspects of Baram verbal morphology. The prefix *k-* (its allomorph *g-*) functions as nominalizer, adjectivizer, past tense and perfect aspect marker. Similarly, the morpheme *c-* and its allomorph *dzə-* are used for marking habitual aspect and causativization. They are very productive prefixes in Baram verb morphology. Therefore, the following two phonological conditions will be useful in analyzing the tense, and aspect markers in Baram grammar.

7.2.1 Prefixes *k-*, *c-*

The prefixes *k-*, and *c-* occur with the verb stems which begin with unaspirated voiced stops and affricates, viz. *b*, *d*, *ɖ*, *g*, *dz*. Details of inflection can be seen in.¹ Consider these examples.

- (3)
- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|------------|----------------|
| a. | <i>caoɖa ucməi gidum</i> | | |
| | ca-ɖa | ucməi | gi-dum |
| | four-CLF | daughter | PST-give birth |
| | '(I) gave birth to four daughters.' | | |
| b. | <i>khəla gjadaŋ na</i> | | |
| | khəla | gi-adaŋ | na |
| | speak | PST-search | HS |
| | 'He attempted to speak.' | | |

As can be seen in (4), we see the morpheme *g-* although its actual form may differ from one stem to other as in (4a-c). For example in (4a) the past tense prefix is *ki-* but the past tense prefix is *gj-* as in (4b). The allomorphs of the morpheme *g-* due to the phonological shape of the verb stems are discussed in morphophonemics (see Chapter 4).

¹ See chapter 4.

		<i>Past</i>	<i>Non-past</i>	<i>Habitual/ causative</i>
		<i>ki-</i>	<i>ŋi-</i>	<i>ci-</i>
-p	<i>pik</i> 'ripe'	<i>kipik</i>	<i>ŋipik</i>	<i>cipika</i>
	<i>phə</i> 'get free'	<i>kekphəi</i>	<i>ŋephphəi</i>	<i>cephphəja</i>
-k	<i>kal</i> 'knead'	<i>kikal</i>	<i>ŋikal</i>	<i>cikala</i>
	<i>kham</i> 'say'	<i>kikham</i>	<i>ŋikham</i>	<i>cikhama</i>
-c	<i>cen</i> 'send'	<i>kicen</i>	<i>ŋicen</i>	<i>cicena</i>
-ch	<i>chet</i> 'take'	<i>kichet</i>	<i>ŋichet</i>	<i>cicheta</i>
-s	<i>si</i> 'die'	<i>kisi</i>	<i>ŋisi</i>	<i>cisia</i>
-h	<i>hui</i> 'wash'	<i>kihui</i>	<i>ŋihui</i>	<i>cihuia</i>
-m	<i>min</i> 'ripe'	<i>kimin</i>	<i>ŋimin</i>	<i>cimina</i>
-n	<i>na</i> 'sleep'	<i>kina</i>	<i>ŋina</i>	<i>cina</i>
-ŋ				
-l	<i>lik</i> 'become'	<i>kilik</i>	<i>ŋilik</i>	<i>cilika</i>
-w	<i>wak</i> 'become sour'	<i>keuwak</i>	<i>ŋeuwak</i>	<i>ciwaka</i>
-j	<i>ja</i> 'go'	<i>kja</i>	<i>ŋja</i>	<i>cija</i>

TABLE 7.1 Verb stems which take the prefix *k-*.

7.2.2 Prefixes *g-*, *dz-*

The prefixes *g-* and *dz-* occur elsewhere except the verb stems which begin with unaspirated voiced stops and affricates, viz. *b*, *d*, *ɟ*, *g*, *dz*.² Some illustrations can be seen in (5).

- (5) a. *u lə bəŋgun kitəi*
 u lə bəŋgun ki-təi
 he PART naked PST-come
 'He came empty-handed.'
- b. *ukəi kisi*
 ukəi ki-si
 husband PST-die
 'The husband died.'

² See chapter 4.

		<i>Past</i>	<i>Non-past</i>	<i>Habitual/ causative</i>
		<i>ki-</i>	<i>ŋi-</i>	<i>ci-</i>
<i>-b</i>	<i>buk</i> 'cover'	<i>gibuk</i>	<i>ŋibuk</i>	<i>dzibuka</i>
	<i>basi</i> 'cool'	<i>gibasi</i>	<i>ŋibasi</i>	<i>dzibasi</i>
<i>-d</i>	<i>da</i> 'tell/say'	<i>gida</i>	<i>ŋida</i>	<i>dzida</i>
	<i>dat</i> 'finish'	<i>gidat</i>	<i>ŋidat</i>	<i>dzidat</i>
<i>-ḍ</i>	<i>ḍuldi</i> 'tell/say'	<i>giḍuldi</i>	<i>ŋiḍuldi</i>	<i>dziḍuldi</i>
	<i>ḍubdi</i> 'dive'	<i>giḍubdi</i>	<i>ŋiḍubdi</i>	<i>dziḍubdi</i>
<i>-g</i>	<i>gadzi</i> 'quarrel'	<i>geddzi</i>	<i>negdzi</i>	<i>dzjagdzia</i>
	<i>gajo</i> 'exchange'	<i>gigajo</i>	<i>ŋigajo</i>	<i>dzjagajo</i>
<i>-dz</i>	<i>dzabo</i> 'dry'	<i>gidzabo</i>	<i>ŋidzabo</i>	<i>dzidzabo</i>
	<i>dzigu</i> 'pierce'	<i>gidzigu</i>	<i>ŋidzigu</i>	<i>dzidzigu</i>

If a verb stem begins with vowels, the prefixes are not determined by the vowels, instead they are determined by the consonants which follow the vowels. In this case, the rule mentioned in (7.2) above works. Thus, on the basis of the phonological environment (conditions) mentioned above, we have two sets of prefixes as given in (6) and further illustrated in Table 7.3.

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|-------------------------|
| (5) | <u>Set 1 prefixes</u> | <u>Set 2 prefixes</u> |
| | <i>ci</i> - 'CAUS/HAB' | <i>dzi</i> - 'CAUS/HAB' |
| | <i>ki</i> - 'PST' | <i>gi</i> - 'PST' |

Basic prefix	Allomorphs	Alternate forms
<i>ki-</i> 'PST'	<i>ki-</i> 'PST'	<i>ke-</i> ~ <i>kja-</i>
	<i>gi-</i> 'PST'	<i>ge-</i> ~ <i>gja-</i>
	<i>ŋi-</i> 'NPST'	<i>ŋe-</i> ~ <i>ŋja-</i>
<i>ci-</i> 'HAB/CAUS'	<i>ci-</i> 'HAB/CAUS'	<i>ce-</i> ~ <i>cja-</i>
	<i>dzi-</i> 'HAB/CAUS'	<i>dze-</i> ~ <i>dzja-</i>

TABLE 7.3 Prefixes *k-* ~*g-* and their allomorphs

7.3 Tenses

Tense in Baram has two categories: past and non-past.

7.3.1 Past tense

Past tense in Baram encodes the events which occur in the past tense. It is expressed morphologically in Baram. The past tense suffix in Baram is *ki-* ~ *gi-* (and their allomorphs). The actual form surfaced in the past tense is dependent on the basis of the phonological structure of the stems. Therefore, they may take any form mentioned in Table 7.3. Person and number agreement features are not found in the verbs. Here are some examples:

- (7) a. *məuri asiŋgo dəiŋ kja*
 məuri asiŋ-go da-iŋ ki-ja
 bee take out -INF say-SEQ PST-walk
 '(They) went to take out the honeybees.'
- b. *am məŋ kica*
 am məŋ ki-ca
 rice also PST-eat
 '(He) also ate rice.'
- c. *ŋa kephma*
 ŋa ki-phəma
 I PST-forget
 'I forgot.'
- d. *dzəsta kekhlə testan kilik*
 dzəsta ki-khəla testan ki-lik
 like PST-speak like that PST-happen
 'It happened as he said.'

It is significant to note that the events which shade the meaning of 'indefiniteness' or 'irrealis' is encoded by the indefinite suffix *-a* , *-o*. It is somehow related to 'irrealis events'. Therefore, we have used the term 'irrealis' to refer to the marking. It is discussed in (7.5).

7.3.2 Non-past tense

Non-past tense marker is *ŋi-* ~ *ni-*.³ The speakers use them interchangeably. It is used to describe non-past events (present) conditions. It indicates that the action takes place in the present as in (8a-b) or in the future. The adverbs may be used along with the verb to show whether the time referred to is the present or the future as in (8c-d). It is also used to denote a habitual action as in (7a) or an action of universal character as in (8e).

³ Baram shares a high percentage of cognates with Thangmi. Additionally, Baram also shares nominal morphology with Thangmi. By contrast, they differ drastically in verb morphology. For example, Turin (1998:479) presents six suffixal slots in Thangmi. It is markedly different from Baram which does not cross-reference actor and actant on the verb morphology at the same time. The non-past tense marker *ni-* is the first person agreement marker in several TB languages (see Bauman, 1975; DeLancey, 1989; van Driem, 1993; LaPolla, 1992)

- (7) a. *tjo sjāku lakko nikham*
 tjo sjāku lak-ko ni-kham
 that saal cut-INF NPST-say
 'They say to cut down the saal trees.'
- b. *kumba niceplo*
 kumba ni-ce-uplo
 stone NPST-CAUS-be turned over
 'They make them take out stones.'
- c. *ucwa hogəi nitəi*
 ucwa hogəi ni-təi
 son tomorrow NPST-come
 'Son will come tomorrow.'
- d. *təja aṇmət niḷu*
 təja aṇmət ni-ju
 today rain water NPST-come
 'It will rain today.'
- e. *əṣəudzəi aṇphəl ḡimin*
 əṣəudz-gəi aṇphəl ḡi-min
 Ashwin-LOC guavas NPST-ripen
 'Guavas ripen in Ashwin (October).'

As in (9b) the speech time and action time coincides in the non-past tense. The actions take place at the time of speaking.

- (9) a. *ḡəṣə ṣədhəin handzəṇge am nica*
 ḡə-e ṣədhəin handzəṇ-ge am ni-ca
 I-ERG always morning-LOC rice NPST-eat
 'I always eat rice in the morning.'
- b. *ḡəṣə cəṇḍipudzagəi ṣədhəin bhale ḡilak*
 ḡə-e cəṇḍipudza-gəi ṣədhəin
 I-ERG Chandipudza-LOC always
 bhale ḡi-lak
 male-chicken NPST-cut
 'I always sacrifice (lit. cut) the male chicken (cock) in Chandipuja.'

7.4 Aspects

Some morphologically marked aspects are described below.

7.4.1 Progressive

Progressive is encoded with *-iḡ*. It expresses an activity in progress as in (9). It is also used to express the progressive meaning by the combination of the progressive suffix with the verb *huk-* 'sit' as exemplified in (10).

- (9) a. *nisṭa cin bəneṭṭi kihuk*
 nis-ṭa cin bəne-iṭ ki-huk
 two-CLF EMPH play-PROG PST-sit
 'Two babies were playing.'
- b. *nisṭa cin bəneṭṭi kihuk*
 nis-ṭa cin bəne-iṭ ki-huk
 two-CLF EMPH play-PROG PST-sit
 'Two babies were playing.'

Unlike in the past progressive, where the verb *huk* 'sit' serves as an auxiliary after the main verb in progressive form, the present progressive is expressed by the progressive aspect followed by *ṭiṭa* or *ṭihuk*. Examples are given in (10).⁴

- (10) a. *thesis pəḍḍiṭ ṭiṭa*
 thesis pəḍ-diṭ ṭi-ṭa
 thesis read-PROG NPST-COP
 '(He) is reading a thesis.'
- b. *maca paca ja-iṭ ni-huk*
 maca paca ja-iṭ ni-huk
 mother father go-PROG NPST-sit
 'The parents keep going.'
- c. *āṭkok dzəra dhər-di-iṭ ni-huk*
 āṭkok dzəra dhər-di-iṭ ni-huk
 Khanayo root drop-NPST-PROG NPST-sit
 'Roots of Khanyo tree are hanging there.'

Progression (the progressive action) is also referred to by the type of construction mentioned in examples (12).

- (12) a. *ucwahəru jacəi kituk*
 ucwa-həru ja-cəi ki-tuk
 son-PL go-DUR PST-do
 'Sons kept going.' (Eli.)
- b. *ṭa jacəi jacəi gudulgəi keicel*
 ṭa ja-cəi ja-cəi gudul-gəi
 I go-DUR go-DUR stream-LOC
 ki-heicel
 PST-reach
 'I reached the stream as I kept going.'

⁴ In several Indo-Aryan languages such as Nepali, Maithili, Darai, the verb *rəhə* 'remain' exhibits almost a similar function.

7.4.2 Perfect

Perfect is identical with the past tense suffixes, viz. *ki-~gi-*. The finite morphology is seen only in the auxiliary verbs. Perfect aspect occurs in past and non-past constructions.

- (13) a. *əbə pəijue məŋ kipak kã*
 əbə pəiju-e məŋ ki-pak kã
 now monkey-ERG also PRF-break AUX.PST
 '(The monkey) had broken (it).'
- b. *khətri chetri keūhuk kã*
 khətri chetri ki-hjuŋ-huk kã
 Khatri Chetri PFV-come-stay COP.PST
 'Khatri and Chetri had come to stay there.'
- c. *mu kisu ŋiŋa*
 mu ki-su ŋi-ŋa
 clothes PFV-sew NPST-AUX
 '(They) have stitched the clothes.'
- d. *əbə pəijue məŋ kipak ŋiŋa*
 əbə pəiju-e məŋ ki-pak
 now monkey-ERG also PRF-break
 ŋi-ŋa
 NPST-AUX
 '(The monkey) has broken (it).' (Eli)

As can be seen in (13a-b) the verb in the perfect marker *ki-* is followed by auxiliary verb *kã* to refer to the actions in the past tense whereas in example (13c-d) the verbs with perfect markers are followed by the auxiliary *ŋiŋa* to refer to the present perfect. Thus tense distinction in perfect aspect is determined by the auxiliary following the main verb.

7.4.3 Habitual

Habitual is formed by the prefix *ci-* explained in (7.1).⁵ It is used to indicate the habitual action in the past tense. Examples are presented in (14).

- (14) a. *əbə kəməi mətəi cjakphego*
 əbə kəmə-i mətəi ci-akphe-go
 now axe-INST only CAUS-separate-INF
 'Only the axe split (the wood).'
- b. *bhaŋa lə bəŋgəi dzidumo*
 bhaŋa lə bən-gəi dzi-dum-o
 purlin PART forest-LOC HAB-find-HAB
 'We used to get purlin in the jungle.'

⁵ TB prefix *s- in verb roots is directive, causative, or intensive (cf. Benedict 1972:105).

- c. *kica lə səppəi cipia*
 bhəʔa lə bən-gəi dzi-dum-o
 purlin PART forest-LOC HAB-find-HAB
 'We used to get purlin in the jungle.'

Often the past habitual action is expressed with *ci ...a* as shown in examples (15).

- (15) a. *nənuməŋ guʔhagəi cita*
 nənu-məŋ guʔha-gəi ci-t-a
 milk-also shed-LOC HAB-keep-HAB
 '(They) used to keep (store) the milk in the shed.'
- b. *michjam cicawa*
 michja-m ci-ca-wa
 goat-EMPH HAB-eat-HAB
 'He used to eat mutton (lit. goats).'
- c. *tiga cuniŋ cicia*
 tiga cun-iŋ ci-ca-a
 then put-SEQ HAB-eat-HAB
 '(They) used to feed them by keeping it there.'
- d. *chanagəi hjaŋiŋ cihuka*
 chana-gəi hjaŋ-iŋ ci-huk-a
 roof-LOC climb up-SEQ HAB-eat-HAB
 'I used to stay by climbing to the roof.'
- e. *tiga cuniŋ cicaa*
 tiga cun-iŋ ci-ca-a
 there put-SEQ HAB-eat-HAB
 'They used to feed them by keeping it there.'

On the other hand, the habitual in the non-past does not follow the pattern given above for the past habit. The non-past habit is expressed with the non-past tense prefix *ŋi-*.

- (16) a. *u dzəile məŋ kitəi ŋihuk*
 u dzəile məŋ ki-təi ŋi-huk
 he always also PST-come NPST-sit
 'He always comes here.'
- b. *ucwəe sədhəin ghās ŋilak*
 caca-e sədhəin ghās ŋi-lak
 children always grass NPST-cut
 'Children always cut the grass.'

Another way of expressing habit is in the construction *ŋi-V-o*. When it occurs in this construction, it yields the habitual reading as shown in (17).⁶

⁶ The suffix *-o* which appears in the structure *ŋi-V-o* needs further investigation.

- (15) a. *kumba bəndisiŋ nicuno*
 kumba bən-dis-iŋ ni-cun-o
 stone make-NTVZ-SEQ NPST-put-HAB
 'They shape the stones and keep them.'
- b. *holəŋ ni nito*
 holəŋ ni ni-ta-o
 that way PART NPST-keep-HAB
 '(They) are kept like that.'
- c. *neupuŋo*
 ni-upuŋ-o
 NPST-sell-HAB
 '(He) sells.'
- d. *səppəi seiŋ neno*
 səppəi se-iŋ ni-jen-o
 NPST-sell- HAB
 'They all take by plucking it.'

7.5 Moods

Declarative mood is zero marked in Baram. They are pragmatically neutral sentences. Various examples of indicative mood of a verb have already been discussed (see examples 17a-d). Morphologically marked moods are described in this section. The categories of moods described in this section are: desiderative, imperative, conditional, hortative and optative.

7.5.1 Desiderative

Desiderative is formed by the suffix *-se ~ -si* appended to the verb stem followed by an auxiliary verbs. The two suffixes are used interchangeably. The finite verb is seen only in the copular verb. It indicates the wish or desire of the subject to bring about as shown in (18).⁷

- (18) a. *ibi case niŋa*
 ibi ca-se niŋa
 REFL eat-DESID AUX.NPST
 'I want to eat.'
- b. *nuiŋe mətəi niŋa ni*
 nui-se mətəi niŋa ni
 laugh-DESID only AUX.NPST PART
 'I only like to laugh.'

⁷ Desiderative is also reported in Meithei (see Chelliah 1997:215).

- c. *pheri ŋa məŋ jamse ŋiŋa*
 pheri ŋa məŋ ja-m-se ŋiŋa
 again I also go-EMPH-DESID AUX.NPST
 'Again I strongly want to go.'
- d. *ubaŋ nuise kã*
 ubaŋ nui-se kã
 they laugh-DESID PST.COP
 'He wanted to laugh.'

Negative desiderative is formed by the suffix *-se ~ -si* appended to the verb stem followed by auxiliary verbs in the negative forms as illustrated in (19).

- (19) a. *pote puse maha*
 pote pu-se maha
 glass bead put on-DESID COP.NEG
 'I don't want to put on glass beads.'
- b. *minja am case maha*
 minja am ca-se maha
 yesterday rice eat-DESID COP.NEG.PST
 'I did not want to eat rice yesterday.'

7.5.2 Imperative

Imperative is coded by the suffix *-o* and its allomorphs (*-a ~ -wa ~ -u*) as illustrated in (20-27).

- (20) a. *naŋ cin thiŋa*
 naŋ cin thiŋ-a
 you also stand-IMP
 'You must be (lit. stand as a candidate for the President).'
- b. *puta badze puta*
 put-a badze put-a
 drop-IMP grandfather drop-IMP
 'Drop (it), grandfather.'
- (21) a. *asa cuno*
 asa cun-o
 oil add-IMP
 'Add some oil.'
- b. *adaŋo*
 adaŋ-o
 search-IMP
 'Search for (it).'

- (22) a. *cisəi piu ŋikham*
 ci-səi pi-u ŋi-kham
 CAUS-listen give-IMP NPST-say
 '(They) say, "Make them listen".'
- b. *sjam koichiu*
 sjam koichi-u
 hair comb-IMP
 'Comb the hair.'

If a verb stem ends in a vowel *-a* only one vowel surfaces. In example (23a-c), all verb stems end in *-a*. The imperative marking is not overtly seen. Since two vowels do not surface only one vowel is seen with these verb stems.

- (23) a. *ca*
 ca-a
 eat-IMP
 'Eat.'
- b. *khəla*
 khəla-a
 speak-IMP
 'Speak.'

Similarly, with *-u* and *-o* ending stems, the imperative marking is not overtly seen. When the imperative suffixes are attached to those which end in these vowels, only one vowel surfaces as shown in (24) and (25).

- (24) a. *su*
 su-u
 stitch-IMP
 'Stitch.'
- b. *ahu*
 ahu-u
 beg-IMP
 'Beg.'
- (25) a. *akho*
 akh-o
 call-IMP
 'Call.'

Some verb stems which end in vowels also insert *-j* as shown in (26). In some other contexts the consonant sound *-w* is inserted as shown in (27).

- (26) a. *ghujo*
 ghu-o
 plough-IMP
 'Plough (the field).'

- b. *mu hujo*
 mu hui-o
 clothes wash-IMP
 'Wash the clothes.'
- c. *hidi taja*
 here tai-a
 here come-IMP
 'Come here.'
- d. *naŋməm nuja*
 naŋ məm nui-a
 you also laugh-IMP
 'You also laugh (IMP).'
- e. *hidi səja*
 hidi sə-a
 hither listen-IMP
 'Listen hither (this side).'

Some speakers also insert *-wa*. We find the glides inserted in very few instances. We found the glide insertion in imperative marking with the following verbs:

- (27) a. *nawa*
 na-wa
 sleep-IMP
 'Sleep.'
- b. *cawa*
 ca-wa
 eat-IMP
 'Eat.'

7.5.3 Conditional

Simple conditional is formed by adding the suffix *-le* to the verb stems as presented in (28). Conditional codes an unreal event.

- (28) a. *sja nənu mahale hanɖuŋgəi adaŋ pəna*
 sja nənu maha-le hanɖuŋ-gəi
 cow milk COP.PST-COND village-LOC
 adaŋ pəna
 search should
 'If there is no cow milk, one should search in the village.'

- b. *aŋmət alam julem mədzo*
 aŋmət alam ju-le-m mə-dzo
 rain big rain-COND-EMPH NEG-leak
 '(The roof) does not leak even if it rains heavily.'
- c. *nam tukle siŋ nicəidi*
 nam tukle siŋ ni-cəi-di
 house do-COND wood NPST-need-NTVZ
 'If house is built, wood is needed.'

The verb in the main clause inflects differently in the case of a hypothetical conditional clause. However, the verb in the conditional remains the same. For example in (29a) the verb encodes the prefix *ci-* and the suffix *-a*.⁸

- (29) a. *rəksi dzjakla ami cisjaŋa*
 rəksi dzjak-la ami
 wine become tasty-COND little more
 ci-sjaŋ-a
 COND-drink-COND
 'If the wine had been tasty, I would have drunk more.'
- b. *aŋmət jule adza gədələŋ ciwaŋa*
 aŋmət ju-le adza gədə-ləŋ
 rain water come -COND paddy good-ADVZ
 ci-waŋ-a
 COND-germinate-COND
 'If it had rained, the paddy would have been germinated.' (Eli)

7.5.4 Hortative

Hortative is coded by the suffix *-əi* to the verb. In (30a) the suffix *-əi* is appended to the verb. We find similar cases in (30b-c).

- (30) a. *təja lə bas hukəi*
 təja lə bas huk-əi
 today PART lodging stay-HORT
 'Let's stay for today.'
- b. *nim bəndisəi*
 ni-m bən-dis-əi
 we-EMPH make-NTVZ-HORT
 'Let's make it.'
- c. *dzəmma likəi*
 dzəmma lik-əi
 gather become-HORT
 'Let's gather.'

⁸ Further details related to conditional clauses can be seen in (Chapter 11).

- d. *ləu hukəi rə*
 ləu huk-i rə
 PART sit-HORT PART
 'Let's sit.'

7.5.5 Optative

In Baram, optative is expressed with the help of the particle *chjoŋ~chjom ~chjum*. It is a post verbal particle. It often occurs with the verb which is in the negative form. Functionally, it is used to mean 'let it be thus'. It is generally used for wishing and cursing. Here are some examples:

- (31) a. *ləu məsia chjoŋ*
 ləu mə-si-a chjoŋ
 PART NEG-die-IRR OPT
 'Okay, it would be nice (for them) to die.'
- b. *məsato chjoŋ*
 mə-sat-o chjoŋ
 NEG-kill-NEG OPT
 'Let them kill (you).'
- c. *su məja chjoŋ*
 su mə-ja chjoŋ
 who NEG-go OPT
 'Let nobody go.'
- d. *məda chjoŋ dəiŋ*
 mə-da chjoŋ də-iŋ
 NEG-say OPT say-OPT
 'Let them keep saying.'

7.6 Irrealis suffix -o

Realis and irrealis distinction can be seen in Baram and the suffix *-o~ -a* is used for this purpose. Realis events are generally coded by the past tense prefix *ki- ~gi-*. Bhat (1999:135) discusses realis/irrealis distinction in Cado notes:

There are a variety of contexts that condition the use of the irrealis prefixes. They include yes-no questions, negations, obligation, conditionals, and several others like simulative 'as if', infrequentative 'seldom', admirative 'surprise'.

In Baram grammar, realis-irrealis distinction is seen only in the past tense. Irrealis mood is most frequently encoded in the past tense, with questions (*wh/yes-no*), and in the reported question such as 'I don't know where my brother went' or in constructions like this. The irrealis mood is employed in the Baram discourse in most cases. Where the irrealis mood is encoded in the verb, the

tense (past) is not present. Thus irrealis marking and past tense show mutual exclusivity.

The suffix occurs in some contexts: asking questions in the past tense, indirect question in narration and inferential aspect ('which is known as unknown past tense in Nepali grammatical tradition), also with *-chə* or *-cə* to refer to the inferential aspect. We have glossed this suffix as irrealis marker 'IRR'. It is important to note that most of its uses are close to 'irrealis mood', but does not occur with the non-past tense. They are analyzed further in this section.

7.6 Questions

First of all, it characteristically appears with the interrogatives (both direct questions and indirect/reported questions). When someone thinks about the questions in the past tense, the suffix *-o~ -a* is used instead of the past tense. Examples are provided in (32).

- (32) a. *kwa kwa dumo*
 kwa kwa dum-o
 how much how much find-IRR
 'How many did he get ? '
- b. *bija tukuŋ dato*
 bija tuk-uŋ dat-o
 marriage do-SEQfinish-IRR
 'Have they got married ? '
- c. *khaləŋ dzibuno*
 khaləŋ dzi-bəbun-o
 how CAUS-escape-IRR
 'How to leave that ? '
- d. *kha tuko le*
 kha tuk-o le
 how do-IRR PART
 'What did you do (the king asked) '
- e. *əni kanchagəi do*
 əni kancha-gəi da-o
 after that younger-DAT say-IRR
 'Then did (they) say so to Kancha.'

In addition to the direct questions, the same suffix is used for indirect questions in the past tense instead of the prefixes *ki- ~gi-*.

- (33) a. *ucwa hai ca dəiŋ gida*
 ucwa hai ca-a da-iŋ gi-da
 child what eat-IRR say-SEQ PST-say
 '(He) asked (him) what his son had eaten.'

- b. *sui jeno sui jeno*
 su-i jen-o su-i
 who-ERG take away-IRR who-ERG
 jen-o
 take away-IRR
 '(I) don't know who took it away.'

The following discourse examples show this. In several questions, the suffix *-a* occurs instead of the past tense *ki- ~gi-*.

- (34) a. *dzjaka ki mǝdzjak*
 dzjak-a ki mǝ-dzjak
 be tasty-PST or NEG-be tasty
 'Was it tasty or not ? '
- b. *mina ki mǝmin*
 min-a ki mǝ-min
 ripe-PST or NEG-ripe
 'Was it ready to ripe or not ? '
- c. *khaləŋ sija*
 khaləŋ si-a
 how die-IRR
 'How did (she) die ? '

Even when there are non questions, the indirect question is also used with the past tense marker.

- (35) a. *kuni jena kuni jena*
 kuni jen-a kuni jen-a
 where take away-IRR where take away-IRR
 '(I don't know how Rawan) went somewhere.'
- b. *koi bela hai lika*
 koi bela hai lik-a
 some time what become-IRR
 '(I am not sure) what happened at certain times.'
- c. *ubleiŋ ubleiŋ tjo kunaŋ ubleja*
 uble-iŋ uble-iŋ tjo kuni-gaŋ
 fly-SEQ fly-SEQ that where-ABL
 uble-ja
 fly-IRR
 'Flying and flying, where from it flew.'

Let's contrast the question in the past and non-past tense. The question in the non-past tense, however, does not code irrealis suffix. In questions in the non-past tense, the verb simply codes the non-past tense, but not the irrealis markers as shown in (36).

- (36) a. *ucwa kuni nija kuni nija*
 ucwa kuni ni-ja kuni ni-ja
 son where NPST-go where NPST-go
 '(I don't know) where the son goes.'
- b. *koi bela hai ŋilik*
 koi bela hai ŋi-lik
 some time what NPST-become
 '(I am not sure) what happens sometimes.'

Thus, questioning in the past and non-past tense codes the verb suffix differently. In the non-past tense, the verb codes the non-past tense prefix *ŋi-* whereas the question in the past tense codes the irrealis suffix *-o*.

7.6.2 Inferential

The suffix *-o* also occurs with the inferential mood with the suffix *-chə* or *-cə*.⁹ The suffix often collocates with the inferential suffixes in Baram. This structure can be compared with the one mentioned in examples (37-38) below.

- (37) a. *dar lakochə*
 dar lak-o-chə
 wood cut-IRR-INFR
 'He cut the wood (I inferred).'
- b. *upukkəi chiŋ tochə na*
 upuk-kəi chi-iŋ ta-o-chə
 top-LOC tie-SEQkeep-IRR-INFR
 '(It) was tied at the top of (the bamboo pole) (I inferred).'
- c. *moi hamochə na*
 moi ham-o- chə na
 fire blow-IRR-INFR HS
 'A fire was made (at the foot of the bamboo pole).'
- d. *dargo dəlinhəru cunochə*
 dar-go dəlin-həru cun-o-chə
 wood-GEN beam-PL put-IRR-INFR
 '(They) used wooden beams (I inferred).'

The construction seems to be a Nepali calque. It is not sure whether the suffix *-chə* ~ *-cə* is a borrowing from the Nepali language. This construction is exactly the same as the Nepali example given in (38).

- (38) *bhaile pəisa corechə*
 bhai-le pəisa cor-e-chə
 brother-ERG money steal-PST-COP.NPST
 'Brother stole the money.(It was known).'

⁹ These are borrowings *chə* or *-cə* are borrowings from Nepali.

The difference between the construction in Nepali and Baram is that in Nepali the verb *chə* also has its lexical meaning while Baram does not. Since the structure like the one given in (33) very frequently occurs in natural discourse, it should be regarded as a suffix rather than a distinct word. The status of *chə* in Baram differs from that of Nepali.

7.6.3 Irrealis past

In addition to the interrogation, the irrealis marker also occurs instead of the past tense marker as illustrated in (39).

- (39) a. *chetəŋ hila*
 chet-iŋ hil-a
 take-SEQ return-IRR
 'They returned carrying (salt).'
- b. *alapbilap likiŋ data*
 alapbilap lik-iŋ dat-a
 request become-SEQ finish-IRR
 'He finished making requests.'
- c. *hapa ŋəi hapa*
 hap-a ŋa-i hap-a
 weep-IRR I-ERG weep-IRR
 '(I) wept. I too wept.'
- (40) a. *bumaŋ palao phuttə khjoa*
 bumaŋ palo phuttə khjo-a
 tiger turn ONO come out-IRR
 'The tigress came out all of a sudden.'
- b. *dəba lə sia*
 dəba lə si-a
 another PART die-IRR
 'The other (one) died.'
- c. *pheri utin kher phəmea*
 pheri utin kher phəme-a
 again that time hide-IRR
 'Again (he) hid at the same time.'

The structure discussed in (7.5.2) basically yields the meaning as in the examples (39-40). During the elicitation, the speakers are not sure how these two constructions differ. They are conscious of the Nepali structure as in (38) and it is easy for them to find the equivalents for the sentences as in (37). However, when we analyze the texts, we find that the examples (39-40) do not substantially differ from the examples given in (37).

Now, let's compare this construction with the Nepali example in (38). In their surface form, the Nepali example (38) and examples mentioned in (37) are identical. The contrast, however, can be found when we omit the inferential marker-*chə*. The Nepali example without *-chə* is ungrammatical and thus

unacceptable while the Baram examples retain the inferential reading in absence of *-chə ~ -cə*. It means that the examples (IRR) are complete and retain the inferential meaning even if the inferential suffix *-chə* is lacking. Thus, the verbs which end in *-chə ~ -cə* seems to be a calquing of Nepali. Some further examples of irrealis past tense without *-chə ~ -cə* are mentioned in (41).¹⁰

- (41) a. *ələĩcegaŋ teno*
 ələĩce-gaŋ ten-o
 Alainche-ABL bring-IRR
 '(He) brought the (bride) from Alainche.'
- b. *daigo liko*
 dai-go lik-o
 brother-GEN become-IRR
 'Brother's side is finished.'
- c. *dumgo lə dumo ni*
 dum-go lə dum-o ni
 find-INF PART find-IRR PART
 'As for giving birth, (I) gave birth to many.'
- d. *khaləŋ pəthulo*
 khaləŋ pəthul-o
 how keep-IRR
 'How are you keeping them?'
- e. *kwaʔa uca ucuməi dumo*
 kwa-ʔa uca ucuməi dum-o
 how many-CLF son daughter give birth-IRR
 'How many children did you give birth to?'

7.7 Intentional conjunct

Conjunct/disjunct distinction is not very clear in Baram. However, the suffix *-m* behaves as an intentional conjunct suffix. On the other hand, the function of disjunct is served by the non-past tense prefix. In a prototypical conjunct/disjunct system as described by Hargreaves (2005) one type of marking is reserved for main clause in the first person subject and questions with second person subjects (the "conjunct"), while another type of marking is used in all other cases ("disjunct"). Hargreaves (2005:6) mentions that a clause will have a conjunct form in the Kathmandu Newar if:

¹⁰ Since most of these examples are from natural texts, it is difficult to determine how and why the speakers switch from the 'past tense' to 'irrealis' and vice versa. Although the suffix *-o* including its allomorphs shows a clear case of 'irrealis meaning' as presented in examples (28-33), the identical suffix also occurs in the statement as in (37). We have glossed the suffix as 'irrealis' despite the fact that the examples mentioned in (35-37) may not be semantically 'irrealis'. It needs further investigation to tease apart the fine nuances of meaning in these cases.

- (1) the clause is finite, and
- (2) the event being described is interpreted as involving an intentional action by the actor,
- and
- (3) the speech act is either
 - (a) declarative/first person, or
 - (b) interrogative/second person, or
 - (c) reported speech when the matrix clause subject and complement clause subject are coreferential.¹¹

In Baram the suffix *-m* behaves like an intentional conjunct. As Hargreaves points out, the suffix codes the intentional actions when the speech act is the declarative first person and interrogative second person. Therefore, we have glossed this suffix as conjunct marker (CJ).

- (42) a. *ŋəi jarsen dam*
 ŋə-i jarsen da-m
 I-ERG this much say-CJ
 'I say only this much (now).'
- b. *nie jarsen dam*
 ni-i jarsen da-m
 I-ERG this much say-CJ
 'We say only this much (now).'

In the questions the suffix is used only with the second person pronouns as shown in (43).

- (43) a. *nai jarse cam*
 na-i jarse ca-m
 you-ERG this much eat-CJ
 'Do you eat this much ?'
- b. *nui iwade iwade cam*
 nu-i iwade iwade ca-m
 you-ERG this much this much eat-CJ
 'Do you (PL) eat this much ?'

Contrary to the first and the second person, the third person pronoun does not encode the intentional conjunct *-m*. Instead, it codes the suffix *ŋi-* as shown in (44).

- (44) a. *usəi jarse ŋica*
 u-i jarse ŋi-ca
 he-ERG this much NPST-eat
 'Does he eat this much ?'

¹¹ DeLancey (2003:278) mentions that 'conjunct' forms occur with first person subject in statements and second person subjects in questions, disjunct forms elsewhere. It is not consistently marked in Baram, however.

- b. *ubaŋəi jarse ŋica*
 ubaŋ-i jarse ŋi-ca
 they-ERG this much NPST-eat
 'Do they eat this much?'

The following examples are some further examples of intentional conjunct with the first person statements:

- (45) a. *hjam ni*
 he-ja-m ni
 ANDA-go-CJ PART
 '(I) will definitely go.'
- b. *tei ləθhəgəi hukum*
 tei ləθhə-gəi huk-m
 that rope-LOC stay-CJ
 '(I) will stay within that rope only.'
- c. *datəm əbə*
 dat-m əbə
 finish-1NPST now
 '(I) finish now.'
- d. *ŋəi jarsen dam*
 ŋa-i jarsen da-m
 I-ERG this much say-CJ
 'I say only this much (now).'
- e. *ŋa lə gorkha jam dəiŋ gida*
 ŋa lə gorkha ja-m
 I PART Gorkha go-CJ
 da-iŋ gi-da
 say-SEQ PST-say
 'I am going to Gorkha', (I) replied.'

In addition to the conjunct marker, the suffix is also found in other uses, such as with hortative sentences, with intentional action as in example (46).

- (46) a. *chjo chjo pim*
 chjo chjo pi-m
 no no give-CJ
 'No, no, let's give.'
- b. *holəŋ tukom həi*
 holəŋ tuk-m həi
 that way do-CJ PART
 'Let's do like this.'
- c. *ni məŋ jam*
 ni məŋ ja-m
 we also go-1NPST
 'Let's go.'

- d. *mina hola jam nikham*
 min-a hola ja-m ni-kham
 ripen-PFV may be go-1NPST NPST-say
 'It may have ripened, let's eat, (they) say.'
- e. *hogəi cəpum həi nikham*
 hogəi cəpu-m həi ni-kham
 tomorrow carry-1NPST PART NPST-say
 'Let's carry tomorrow, (they) say.'

Example (46a) expresses the hortative meaning.

7.8 Directional markers

Directional marking is a common feature of Tibeto-Burman languages (see Thursgood and LaPolla, 2003). Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994:320) note that venitive and andative markings are related to agent-oriented modalities. Two direction markers indicate the movement of an entity in relation to the speaker. These prefixes express the sense 'in order to' and are attached to a main verb.

7.8.1 Andative

Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994:320) note that venitive and andative markings are related to agent-oriented modalities. Andative (ANDA) is marked when an agent moves away from a deictic center in order to do something literally 'be going to do something'. In Baram the andative marks the physical movement, not the figurative movement. This form has the use of intention and thus has a purposive reading. We see that the andative is morphologically marked in both native and borrowed words. They are illustrated in (47).

- (47) a. *pəisa hekəməidiŋ gida*
 pəisa he-kəməi-diŋ gi-da
 money ANDA-earn-SEQ PST-speak
 '(He) said to go to earn money.'
- b. *ni lə henam nido*
 ni lə he-na-m ni-do
 we PART ANDA-sleep-1NPST NPST-speak
 '(They) say that they would go to sleep.'
- c. *neilak*
 ni-he-lak
 NPST-ANDA-cut
 '(I) go to cut (the grass).'
- d. *dzhuŋ suŋ keilak*
 dzhuŋ suŋ ki-he-lak
 bambooECHO PST-ANDA-cut
 '(He) went to cut the bamboo.'

Examples (47a-e) show the andative prefixes although andative markers are also used to show directions like up/above, down/below in some languages: it is not morphologically marked in Baram. In all these examples, there are intentional subjects. We also see that they can be used both with the past and non-past tense.

7.8.2 Venitive

Similarly, venitive is marked when the agent moves toward the deictic center in order to do something, literally 'be coming to do something'. It is attached to the verb. Such verbal deixes are also common in other languages (see Anderson and Keenan, 1985:277; Hopper, 2002).

- (48) a. *hare məŋsi ho*
 hare mə-hjuŋ-si ho
 why NEG-VEN-die COP.NPST
 'Why did he not come to die ? '
- b. *pap keŋcini ŋagəi*
 pap ki-hjuŋ-ci-ni ŋa-gəi
 sin PST-VEN-CAUS-see I-DAT
 '(She) came to show me the sin.'

7.9 Modality

This section presents modality in Baram which incorporates obligation, possibility and ability.

7.9.1 Obligation

Obligation is expressed by the modal verb *pəna* 'should'. It also has its past form *kepna* 'had to', and non-past form *nepna* 'should'. The auxiliary *nepna* 'should' generally follow the infinitive form of the verb as in (49a-b), and its negative form also follows the infinitive form of the verb (49c). We see the past obligation as in (49a-b).

- (49) a. *than tago nepna*
 than ta-go ŋi-pəna
 pillar keep-INF NPST-should
 '(We) should keep the pillar.'
- b. *daŋon nepna*
 da-go-n ŋi-pəna
 say-INF-EMPH NPST-should
 '(We) should say (it).'
- c. *goṭhala dzjogo məpna*
 goṭhala dzjo-go mə-pəna
 cow boy walk-INF NEG-should
 'They do not have to go to graze the animals.'

- (50) a. *ragon kepna*
 ra-go-n ki-pəna
 know-INF-EMPH PST-should
 '(We) had to understand (know) (it).'
- b. *da kepna*
 da ki-pəna
 day PST-should
 '(We) had to say (it).'

Similarly, the modal *pəna* 'should' may follow the bare stem as in (51a) or the infinitive form as in (51b-c).¹²

- (51) a. *hidi dzəmma tukko pəna*
 hidi dzəmma tuk-ko pəna
 here gather do-INF should
 '(We) have to gather (for the meeting) here.'
- b. *ahugo mən tuk pəna*
 ahu-go mən tuk pəna
 ask-INF also do should
 '(We) should also ask for.'
- c. *miṭiṇ tuk pəna*
 miṭiṇ tuk pəna
 meetingdo should
 'A meeting should be held.'

7.9.2 Possibility

Possibility is expressed with a periphrastic construction in which the adverb 'may be' is present.¹³

- (52) a. *kikham dəiṇ gida hola*
 ki-kham da-iṇ gi-da hola
 PST-say say-SEQ PST-say may be
 '(They) might have said she had said like that.'
- b. *ṇa hola ni*
 ṇa hola ni
 I may be PART
 'It might be me.'
- c. *kisen hola ni*
 ki-sen hola ni
 ADJV-match may be PART
 'It might be good.'

¹² Language consultants do not differentiate between *pəna* and *nəpna*.

¹³ *hola* 'may be' is a Nepali loan.

7.9.3 Ability

Ability is expressed with the verb *thaŋ* 'be able. Examples are given in (53).

- (53) a. *sui məŋ lakko məthaŋ*
 su-i məŋ lak-ko
 who-ERG also cut-INF
 mə-ṭhaŋ
 NEG-be able
 'Nobody could cut down (the saal trees).'
- b. *tjo cəŋpa cəŋma kam tukko kiṭhaŋ ki məthaŋ*
 tjo cəŋpa cəŋma kam
 that husband old woman work
 tuk-ko ki-ṭhaŋ mə-ṭhaŋ
 do-INF PST-be able NEG-be able
 'Can these old couples do the work or not ? '
- c. *kuti niṭhaŋ*
 kuti ni-ṭhaŋ
 move NPST-be able
 '(It) can move.'

7.10 Non-finite forms and functions

The non-finite forms described in this section are: converbs, infinitive, absolutive, and bare stems.

7.10.1 Converbs

There are three converbs in Baram: sequential, simultaneous, and durative. The sequential converb is marked by the suffix *-iŋ/-uŋ* whereas the simultaneous converb is marked with *-la* and *-ce*. The following are examples of sequential converbs.¹⁴

- (54) a. *dəiŋ dəiŋ adango ciṭəja*
 da-iŋ da-iŋ adəŋ-go
 say-SEQ say-SEQ search-INF
 ci-təj-a
 HAB-come-HAB
 'They used to come to search asking for (this).'
- b. *ləile bəndisko dəiŋ niṭjaŋ*
 kəile bən-dis-ko da-iŋ
 when make-NTVZ-INF say-SEQ

¹⁴ Converbs are discussed in detail in (Chapter 12).

- ni-ci-ae
NPST-CAUS-look
'They consult (the priest) asking when to make the house.'
- c. *sjaɪŋ sjaɪŋ ramən kitəi*
sja-iŋ sja-iŋ ramən ki-təi
dance-SEQ dance-SEQ Raman PST-come
'Rawan came dancing.'
- d. *keuwo mu puɪŋ təjacə*
keuwo mu pu-iŋ təj-a-cə
yellow clothes put-SEQ come-PRF-EPIS
'(He) came dressed in yellow clothes.'

The simultaneous converb *-la* connects two simultaneous clauses as illustrated in (55).

- (55) a. *goṭhala likla lə dherei bidzok kã*
goṭhala lik-la lə dherei
shepherd become-SIM many
bidzok kã
unpleasant COP.PST
'When I was a shepherd I suffered great hardships.'
- b. *heləŋ hukla hukla som din nihuka*
heləŋ huk-la huk-la
this way stay-SIM stay-SIM
som din ni-huk-o
three day NPST-stay-3
'When the time passed in that way, (they) stay there for three days.'

The durative converb is encoded by *-ce*. Examples are given in (56).

- (56) a. *ikuri tukce tukce u nellum*
ikuri tuk-ce tuk-ce u ni-ləllum
short do-SEQdo-SEQhe NPST-lie down
'(He) may fall while making it smaller.'
- b. *ikuri tukce tukce nellum*
ikuri tuk-ce tuk-ce ni-ləllum
short make-SIM do-SIM NPST-lie
'While making it shorter, he falls down.'

7.10.2 Infinitive

Infinitive may stand as a subject as in (57).

- (57) a. *rəksi sjaŋgo kisen mami*
 rəksi sjaŋ-go ki-sen mami
 wine drink-INF ADJV-match COP.NEG
 'It is not good to drink wine.' (Eli)
- b. *gəlbə mogo kisen mami*
 gəlbə mō-go ki-sen mami
 ox beat-INF ADJV-match not
 'It is not good to beat the ox.' (Eli)

Infinitives generally precede the auxiliaries in Baram. Examples are given in (58).

- (58) a. *estak dago məlik*
 estak da-go mə-lik
 like this say-INF NEG-become
 '(It) should not be told (to them).'
- b. *gəban məṭhaŋ*
 gəban mə-ṭhaŋ
 run NEG-be able
 '(We) cannot run.'
- c. *cun kipi*
 cun ki-pi
 put PST-give
 '(She) put in (her eyes).'

7.10.3 Absolutive

The absolutive marker in Baram is *-i*. Examples are given in (59).¹⁵

- (59) a. *khələi kipi*
 khəla-i ki-pi
 speak-ABS PST-give
 '(He) spoke (for other's sake).'
- b. *khələi kihuk*
 khəla-i ki-huk
 speak-ABS PST-stay
 '(He) kept saying.'
- c. *pali kihuk*
 pal-i ki-huk
 keep-ABS PST-stay
 '(They) had been keeping them.'

¹⁵ Nepali has the absolutive *-i*. It is not clear whether the absolutive *-i* in Baram is a loan from Nepali.

7.10.4 Bare stem

Baram uses some bare stems which are generally followed by postpositions. Some of the postpositions which follow the bare stems are *pəchi* 'later', *dhəri* 'as long as', etc.

- (60) a. *namge thəja pəchi lə*
 nam-ge thja pəchi lə
 house-LOC come after PART
 'After coming home...'
- b. *upəin ca pəchi lə hai hai ŋica*
 upə-in ca pəchi lə
 selling-SEQ eat later PART
 hai hai ŋi-ca
 what what NPST-eat
 'What shall (we) eat after spending (lit. eating) selling the properties?'
- c. *tha dum pəchi nuŋ mətəi ca*
 tha dum pəchi nuŋ mətəi ca
 knowledge find later you only eat
 'Only after coming to know of it, all of you can eat it.'
- d. *tjo lə min pəchin gogo ni*
 tjo lə min pəchin
 that PART ripen later
 go-go ni
 pluck-INF PART
 'That must be plucked after it ripens.'

7.11 Copular verbs and auxiliaries

Copular verbs in Baram are *ŋiŋa* 'is/are' its past equivalent *kā* or *kiŋa* 'was/were' and the copular verb *ho*. Among these verbs, the copular verb *ho* is identical to the Nepali language.¹⁶ These verbs are also used to form progressive and perfect aspect as discussed above. The other verbs which can be used as auxiliaries are *huk* 'sit', *pi* 'give'. The auxiliary *pi* 'give' expresses a benefactive sense of the argument and *huk* 'sit' expresses a sense of continuation.

- (61) a. *kəpljak bhindəi kiŋa*
 kəpljak bhindəi ki-ŋa
 earthen pot different PST-COP
 'The pot was different.'

¹⁶ Copula and copular clauses are discussed further in (Chapter 12).

- b. *ŋago mithəru ho*
 ŋa-go mit-həru ho
 I-GEN bond friend-PL COP.NPST
 'You are my bond friends.'
- c. *nis̥ta cin bəne-iŋ ki-huk*
 nis-ʈa cin bəne-iŋ ki-huk
 two-CLF EMPH play-PROG PST-sit
 'Two babies were playing.'
- d. *sui kam tuk nipi*
 su-i kam tuk ni-pi
 who-ERG work do NPST-give
 'Who will work for them ? '
- e. *tjo bela caca kã*
 tjo bela caca kã
 that time child COP.PST
 'During that time, (I) was small.'

7.12 Order of affixes in Baram verbs

Table 7.4 shows the order of affixes in Baram finite and non-finite verb morphology.

Slot 1	Slot 2	Slot 3	Slot 4	Slot 5	slot 6
Past/non-past tense	(Causative)	(Directional markers)	Verb stems	(Nativizing suffix)	
Perfect					
					Progressive
					Desiderative
					Imperative
					Irrealis
					Intentional conjunct
					Converbs

TABLE 7.4 Order of affixes in Baram verbs

The left-most verb is the tense marker. Notice that tense markers can not occur with the elements in Slot 6 showing mutual exclusivity. Causative (in Slot 2) may be combined with all elements and similar is the case with directional affixes (given in Slot 4). Causative marker is followed by directional markers. Native verb stems do not take the nativizing suffix and hence this slot is obligatorily empty with native verbs. Thus, the slot 5 is restricted only to the borrowed stems from Indic source. The slot 6 can be occupied by the categories which can be seen in its slot.

There are three slots for prefixes which may occur simultaneously in verb morphology. Similarly, the verb may be followed by two layers of suffixes. Note the following points:

- (a) Slot 1 and Slot 6 are mutually exclusive.
- (b) Different categories within slot 1 and slot 6 are also mutually exclusive.
- (c) Nativizing suffix, as noted earlier, is attached only to the borrowed verb stems.

This is further illustrated in examples (62-63).

- (62) a. *radzaəi seŋma keülak*
 radza-i seŋma ki-hjuŋ-lak
 king-ERG tree PST-VEN-cut
 ‘The king came to fall (lit. cut) the trees.’
- b. *kəile bəndisko dəiŋ niɕjajo*
 kəile bən-dis-ko da-iŋ
 when make-NTVZ-INF say-SEQ
 ni-ci-ajo
 NPST-CAUS-look
 ‘They consult (the priest) when to make the house.’
- (63) a. *ale neipəɖdi*
 ale ni-he-pəɖ-di
 son NPST-AND-read-NTVZ
 ‘(My) son go to read.’
- b. *ale keipəɖdi kã*
 ale ki-he-pəɖ-di kã
 son NPST-AND-read-NTVZ AUX.PST
 ‘(My) son had gone to read.’

8 *Adverbs*

8.0 Outline

This chapter deals with adverbs in Baram. Like adjectives, there are some Baram adverbs borrowed from Nepali. All adverbs which occur in our corpus have distinct Nepali sources as discussed in this section. Section (8.1) presents classification of Baram adverbs. Section (8.2) analyzes the syntax of adverbs in Baram.

8.1 Types of adverbs

8.1.1 Adverbs of manner

There are some words related to manner adverbs. They generally precede the verbs they occur with. Manner adverbs modify the meaning of the verbs.

- (1) *chiṭon* 'quickly'
chiṭo 'soon, early'
bistarəi 'slowly'
caḍcaḍei 'fast'
dzjokne 'lonely'
kisensən 'well'
məsensən 'badly'
dedəm 'extremely, in a large number'
- (2) a. *chiṭon sija dəiŋ*
 chiṭo-n *si-ja* *da-iŋ*
 quickly-EMPH die-INFR say-SEQ
 'Saying he died quickly...'
- b. *ŋa təim bistarəi təim*
 ŋa *təi-m* *bistarəi* *təi-m*
 I come-CJ slowly come-CJ
 'I will come, I will come slowly.'
- c. *ami caḍcaḍei kimin*
 ami *caḍcaḍei* *ki-min*
 little fast PST-ripe
 '(Paddy) ripens fast.'

Some pronominals (demonstratives) are related to adverbs of manner. They are presented in Table 8.1 and are illustrated in (3).

	Demonstrative		Question
	Proximate	Distal	Proximate
Time	<i>thəi</i> 'now'	<i>uile</i> 'then'	<i>kəila</i> 'when'
Location	<i>hidi</i> 'this side'	<i>hudi</i> 'that side'	<i>kuni</i> 'where'
Manner	<i>heləŋ</i> 'in this way'	<i>holəŋ</i> 'in that way'	<i>khaləŋ</i> 'in what manner'

TABLE 8.1 Pronominal adverbs

- (3) a. *igin kelma*
 igi-n ki-əlma
 here PST-grow up
 '(I) grew up here.'
- b. *gādzako aju holəŋ kilik na*
 gādzako aju holəŋ ki-lik na
 hemp-GEN seed that way NPST-become HS
 'The seed of the hemp originated like that.'

Onomatopoeic words are also used as manner adverbs. They are discussed in (Chapter 9).

8.1.2 Temporal adverbs

Time adverbials are of two categories, those denoting parts of the day and the time as a whole. The adverbials related to time as a whole are listed in (4). Such adverbs may occur in the clause-initial position or clause-finally as illustrated in (6-9).

- (4) a. *cuŋkja* 'the day before yesterday'
minja 'yesterday'
təja 'today'
hogəi 'tomorrow'
icjale 'the day after tomorrow'
hokcjale 'three days after today'
nəsjo kona 'the year before last year'
nəsjo 'last year'
teoi bərsə 'this year'
uti kherə 'that time'
pala 'time'
nəsjo nəsina 'last year or year before that'
əsjo nəsina 'last year or year before that'

- (5)
- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| <i>thəicin</i> | ‘immediately’ |
| <i>hogəi</i> | ‘tomorrow’ |
| <i>minja</i> | ‘yesterday’ |
| <i>uila uila</i> | ‘long back’ |
| <i>agjarcin</i> | ‘in front of’ |
| <i>hole</i> | ‘evening’ |
| <i>hamdzaŋ</i> | ‘morning’ |
| <i>unnis</i> | ‘day/afternoon’ |
| <i>bittikei</i> | ‘immediately’ |
| <i>pheri</i> | ‘again’ |
| <i>thatha</i> | ‘finally’ |
- (6)
- a.
- | | |
|--------------|---------------|
| <i>abə</i> | ‘from now on’ |
| <i>abela</i> | ‘late’ |
- b.
- uila bja məŋ kituk*
- | | | | |
|----------|----------|------|--------|
| uila | bja | məŋ | ki-tuk |
| long ago | marriage | also | PST-do |
- ‘(I) married long ago.’
- c.
- uila testo sjāku mətəi kilak*
- | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|---------------|---------|--------|
| uila | testo | sjāku | mətəi | ki-lak |
| long ago | like that | Saal treeonly | PST-cut | |
- ‘Long ago, (we) used to cut the saal trees like that.’
- (7)
- a.
- holegəi kitəi bittikei arni pan nepna*
- | | | | |
|-------------|----------|-------------|-----------|
| hole-gəi | ki-təi | bittikei | arni |
| evening-LOC | PRF-come | immediately | breakfast |
- pan ŋi-pəna
feed- NPST-must
- ‘No sooner (they) came in the evening, then (they) need to be provided with refreshments.’
- b.
- nigo palagəi lə*
- | | | |
|---------|----------|------|
| ni-go | pala-gəi | lə |
| our-GEN | time-LOC | PART |
- ‘During our time,’
- (8)
- a.
- naŋ səmet rəksi kikoi*
- | | | | |
|-----|-------|-------|-----------------|
| naŋ | səmet | rəksi | ki-koi |
| you | with | wine | PST-intoxicated |
- ‘I also got intoxicated by liquor.’

- b. *dzəstəi səməjə likle məŋ*
 naŋ səmet rəksi ki-koi
 you with wine PST-intoxicated
 'Whatsoever the time is,'
- c. *həinə samunne*
 həinə samunne
 no in front of
 'No, (it is) in front of (something).'
- (9) a. *nəsjo nəsinako purano bas kihuk*
 nəsjonəsinako purano
 last year or year before that old
 bas ki-huk
 lodging PST-sit
 'Last year or the year before that, the (Jhankri) lived.'
- b. *utikherə de bal khamunle*
 utikherə de bal khamun-le
 that time one man fall down-COND
 'If a man fell down at the same time...'
- c. *siŋ dzəti kumba caĩ*
 siŋ dzəti kumba caĩ
 wood all stone PART
 'The stones and wood in equal quantity.'
- d. *adzə səmmən lə ekande ras kica*
 adzə səmmən lə ekande ras ki-ca
 today till PART of this size pile PST-eat
 'Till today, the man ate that much.'

8.1.3 Locative adverbs

There are some locative adverbs in Baram (10a-c). In addition, a large number of other adverbs are borrowed from the Nepali language as mentioned in (10d). The emphatic markers can be attached to some of the adverbs listed in (10b). Some other locative adverbs are listed in (10c). We find a large number of adverbs borrowed from Nepali as listed in (10d).

- (10) a. *igi* 'here'
igin 'here (nonemphatic spatial proximate)'
igicin 'right here (emphatic spatial proximate)'
- b. *ugui* 'there (nonemphatic spatial mediate)'
ugicin 'right there (emphatic spatial mediate)'
- c. *hjaŋ* 'down/below'
khuj 'up/above'
tuku 'in'

- | | | |
|---------|--|--|
| | <i>nəmbu</i> | 'outside' |
| | <i>udzuŋ</i> | 'towards' |
| | <i>kanjak</i> | 'near' |
| | <i>kalok</i> | 'far' |
| | <i>əgaɖi</i> | 'face to face/ in front of' |
| | <i>khuŋ</i> | 'above/over' |
| | <i>hjaŋ</i> | 'below/under' |
| | <i>pəchaɖi</i> | 'behind' |
| | <i>ucjogəi</i> | 'on the side of' |
| | <i>nənbu</i> | 'outside' |
| | <i>əgjar</i> | 'in front of ' |
| | <i>jaŋkha</i> | 'down ' |
| d. | <i>wari</i> | 'on this side' |
| | <i>pari</i> | 'across' |
| | <i>pərə</i> | 'at a distance' |
| | <i>nerə</i> | 'near by' |
| | <i>samunne</i> | 'in front of' |
| | <i>pəchaɖi</i> | 'back' |
| | <i>bhəri</i> | 'during' |
| | <i>səmmən</i> | 'till' |
| | <i>pəilan</i> | 'first' |
| | <i>madzh</i> | 'middle' |
| | <i>lagi</i> | 'for' |
| (11) a. | <i>pəilan nəi lə nisikdi</i> | |
| | pəilan | nə-e lə ni-sik-di |
| | first | you-ERG PART NPST-learn-NTVZ |
| | 'You have learnt before.' | |
| b. | <i>əkcher cile ibigo lagiŋ ho</i> | |
| | əkcher | ci-le ibi-go |
| | letter | recognize-COND self-GEN |
| | lagi-n | ho |
| | for-EMPH | COP.NPST |
| | 'If you learn the letters (alphabets) it is for your benefit.' | |
| c. | <i>hjaŋ cheuge</i> | |
| | hjaŋ | cheu-ge |
| | down | side-LOC |
| | 'Down at the side' | |

- (12) a. *paca nambu nambu dzwoiŋ nihuk*
 paca nambu nambu dzwo-iŋ ni-huk
 father outside outside walk-SEQ NPST-sit
 'Father always keeps on moving outside only.'
- b. *theŋi poŋga ambun kilak*
 theŋi poŋga-n ambun ki-lak
 pot of curds vessel-EMP outside PST-cut
 'The curd vessel was cut (made) outside.'
- c. *humui ken khərcə məŋ arni cago*
 humui ki-jen khərcə məŋ
 below PST-take away expense also
 arni ca-go
 breakfast eat-INF
 'Whatever (money) is taken down, breakfast will be eaten with that (amount).'
- d. *tuku umsego seula ŋi-cun-o*
 tuku umse-go seula ŋi-cun-o
 under banana-GEN twig NPST-put-3
 'The banana-leaves are placed at the bottom.'
- e. *tham ukhui pheri loŋən ni-cəi-di*
 tham ukhui pheri loŋən ni-cəi-di
 pillar above again supporting NPST-need-NTVZ
 'The supportive pillar is again required above the beam again.'
- f. *ale ikhi kja*
 ale ikhi ki-ja
 son little above PST-go
 'Son went just (little) above (place).' (Eli)
- g. *kalok cin jago ho*
 kalok cin ja-go
 far EMPH go-INF
 'To go far.'

Some examples below show that the adverbs borrowed from Nepali are also widely used in Baram discourse. Examples are provided in (13).

- (13) a. *bal dzəmma ŋilik ni iskulgo lagi lə*
 bal dzəmma ŋi-lik ni
 man gather NPST-become PART
 iskul-go lagi lə
 school-GEN for PART
 'People gather for the school.'

- b. *espali puntho mahale*
 espali puntho maha-le
 this year Koiralo COP.NEG-COND
 'If Koiralo tree is not there this year, '
- c. *es pali cāi ami kirop*
 es pali cāi ami ki-rop
 this year Koiralo little PFV-transplant
 maha-le
 COP.NEG-COND
 '(Only some Koiralo trees) are transplanted this year.'
- d. *utikherə de bal khamunle*
 utikherə de bal khamun-le
 that time one man fall down-COND
 'If a man fell down at the same time...'
- e. *tjo pəchi ikine pali cun-go da-iŋ*
 tjo pəchi ikine pali cun-go da-iŋ
 that later small time put-INFsay-SEQ
 'Saying they will make a small roof at the front of the house,'
- f. *nebar cin dzənədzati əgaði kja niŋa*
 nebar cin dzənədzati əgaði
 Newar EMPH ethnic people front
 ki-ja ŋi-ŋa
 PFV-go NPST-AUX
 'Newars are far ahead as a nationality.'
- g. *din bhərigəi kwa tjo kam*
 din bhəri-gəi kwa tjo kam
 day full-LOC how much that work
 'During the day, how much work is there !'
- h. *sammunnegəi ŋiŋa*
 sammunne-gəi ŋi-ŋa
 in front of-LOC NPST-COP
 '(It) is in front of (this).'
- i. *ḍāḍapari*
 ḍāḍa-pari
 hill-across
 'Across the hill'
- j. *jo nəmbugo tham bəndisko nikham*
 jo nəmbu-go tham
 this outside-INF pillar

- bən-dis-ko ni-kham
 make-NTVZ-INF NPST-say
 'They say to make the wooden pillar for outside.'
 k. *deurali waricin*
 deurali wari-cin
 Deurali this side-EMPH
 'On this side of Deurali'
 l. *pulishəru pərəi ŋiŋa*
 pulis-həru pərəi kã
 police-PL far off COP.PST
 'Police were far off.'

8.1.4 Interrogative adverbs

Some interrogative adverbs are listed in (14) and illustrated in (15).

- (14) *kəila* 'when'
 kuni 'whither/where'
 dzəta 'wherever'
 khaləŋ 'how'
 hare 'why'
 kuni kuni 'somewhere'
- (15) a. *kuni nja rə*
 kuni ni-ja rə
 where NPST-go PART
 'Where (do) they go now ?'
 b. *kwa gəte nisen*
 kwa gəte ni-sen
 how much date NPST-match
 'When will be the auspicious day ?'
 c. *nəi hare mətən le*
 nuŋ-e hare mətən le
 you-ERG why NEG-bring PART
 'Why did not you bring (it) ?'
 d. *khaləŋ sja*
 khaləŋ sja
 how die-IRR
 'How did (she) die ?'

8.1.5 Adverbs of intensity

The members of adverbs of this group indicate the level of intensity of events. They are listed in (16) and illustrated in (17).

- (16) *saren* 'very'
upədrəi 'very'
thjakkei 'exactly'
- (17) a. *də lə saren ikine kã*
de lə saren ikine kã
one PART very small COP.PST
'One was very small.'
- b. *thjakkei ŋeicel*
thjakkei ŋi-heicel
exactly NPST-reach
'(He) will reach there at the exact time.'

8.1.6 Others

In addition to adverbs of various kinds of adverbs listed above (section 8.1.1-8.1.5), some other adverbs are given in (18) and are illustrated in (19).

- (18) *kəilakəila* 'sometimes'
sədhəhəi 'always'
bhəri/ bhər 'whole'
ənusarko 'according to'
- (19) a. *kəile kəile dzăcdi nija*
kəile kəile dzăc-di ŋi-ja
sometimes sometimes check-NTVZ NPST-go
'Sometimes they go to examine.'
- b. *səddəi naŋ bas məhuk ŋikham*
səddəi naŋ bas mə-huk ŋi-kham
always you lodging NEG-stay NPST-say
'You always say that (you) won't stay overnight.'
- c. *hamdzaŋ rat bhəri ugun nina*
hamdzaŋ rat bhəri ugun ni-na
morning night full there NPST-sleep
'(We) slept there the whole night till morning.'

8.2 Syntax of adverbs

Comparative form of adverb is formed by the comparative marker *bhənda* 'than'. It is a Nepali loan. Examples are given in (20).

- (20) a. *uca bhənda maca nekhla ni*
uca bhənda maca ne-khəla ni
son than mother NPST-speak PART
'Mother speaks more than the son.'

- b. *dəba bhənda ŋəin kira*
 dəba bhənda ŋa-n kira
 another than I –EMPH PST-know
 'I learnt more than the others.'
- b. *ni bhənda əgər əgər bumaŋ təjacə*
 ni bhənda əgər əgər bumaŋ təj-a-cə
 we than early early tiger come-IRR-IRR
 'The tiger was there ahead of us.'

9 Closed word classes

9.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the closed word classes which include emphatic markers (9.1) particles (9.2), exclamations (9.3), fillers (9.4), echo formations (9.5) and onomatopoeia (9.6).

9.1 Emphatic markers

Emphatic markers occur in the word-final position. They are attached to noun, verb, adjective and adverb as shown in (1.4) respectively.

- (1) *əbə macan bhənda pəni alam nilik*
 əbə maca-n bhənda
 now tree (mother)-EMPH than
 pəni alam ni-lik
 also big NPST-become
 'Then, its tree is even bigger than Simal tree also.'
- (2) a. *garom kini ŋiŋa*
 garo-m ki-ni ŋi-ŋa
 difficulty-also PFV-see NPST-COP
 'A wall is also seen.'
- b. *gidzjo thaũ tjarsen ho*
 gi-dzjo thaũ tjarse-n ho
 ADZV-walk place that much-EMP COP.NPST
 'It is through that much land that they walked.'
- (3) a. *dagom mada*
 da-go-m mə-da
 say-INF-EMPH NEG-say
 '(He) does not definitely say.'
- b. *aŋmət alam julem mado*
 aŋmət alam ju-le-m mə-dzo
 rain big rain-COND-EMPH NEG-leak
 '(The roof) does not leak even if it rains heavily.'
- c. *pudza tuklem ŋicəidi*
 pudza tuk-le-m ŋi-cai-di
 worshipdo-COND-EMPH NPST-need-NTVZ
 'It is needed at the time of worshipping.'
- d. *daŋon pəna*
 da-go-n pəna
 say-INF-EMPH must
 'You must say like that.'

- (4) a. *nənu məŋ guṭhagan ciṭa*
 nənu məŋ guṭha-gəi-n ci-ta
 milk also shed-LOC-EMPH HAB-keep
 '(They) used to keep the milk in the shed.'
- b. *əbə dherəin ni-cəi-di*
 əbə dherəin ni-cəi-di
 now many-EMPH NPST-need-NTVZ-3
 'We need many of them now.'

The emphatic marker *-m* often occurs in negative constructions as illustrated in (5).

- (5) a. *sum masəi*
 su-m ma-asəi
 who-EMPH NEG-agree
 'Nobody agrees to it.'
- b. *sum məni*
 su-m mə-si
 who-EMPH NEG-see
 '(We) never see them.'
- c. *kəilem məlik*
 kəile-m mə-lik
 when-EMPH NEG-become
 '(It) never becomes nice.'
- d. *kunim məjo*
 kuni-m mə-ja-o
 where-EMPH NEG-go-IMP
 'Go nowhere.'

The emphatic marker means 'only', or 'even'. It is found following the word or phrase that receives the emphasis. We see different constituents being emphasized in the above examples. We see that the interrogative pronoun is being focused in (5a-b), time in (5c) and locative adverb in (5d).

9.2 Particles

Some particles which occur in our database are explained in this section. The particles in Baram mainly focus on function. We have a few examples where the particles have a modal function as well.

9.2.1 Particle *cin*

This particle is used with nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. In example (6a-b) it follows the nouns, and pronouns in (6c-d). The same particle follows the verb in (7). Similarly, it follows the adverb in (8), and the adjective in (9a-b) and numeral in (4c-d).

- (6) a. *jo nam cin ho*
 jo nam cin ho
 this house also be
 'This is the very house.'
- b. *bal cin bhindəi ŋiŋa*
 bal cin bhindəi ŋi-ŋa
 man PART different NPST-COP
 'Even men are also different.'
- c. *naŋ cin kɟaku nilik ni tigi lə*
 naŋ cin ki-aku ni-lik
 you EMPH NOML-steal NPST-become
 'You also become a thief over there.'
- d. *nie cin dukhə tukiŋ*
 ni-e cin dukhə tuk-iŋ
 you-ERG EMPH suffering do-SEQ
 'Even we, doing the hard work (and suffering),'
- (7) a. *dzjo dzjo cin*
 dzjo dzjo cin
 walk walk PART
 '(Even) while walking...'
- b. *pan cin nikhamachə*
 pan cin ni-kham-a-chə
 feed PART NPST-say-INFR-INFR
 'Again, (they) called me as Pan.'
- (8) a. *hjaŋ cin hukəiŋ nihuk*
 hjaŋ cin huk-iŋ ni-huk
 down EMPH stay-SEQ NPST-stay
 'He is living even down there.'
- b. *dherei ber cin niləgdi*
 dherei ber cin ni-ləg-di
 many time EMPH NPST-take-NTVZ
 'It needs quite a long time to make (them).'
- b. *cuŋkja cin lə sarəi mə-θaŋ*
 cuŋkja cin lə sarəi mə-θaŋ
 day before EMPH PART very NEG-be able
 '(I) could not do it even the day before yesterday.'
- (9) a. *maca lə alam cin nilik*
 maca lə alam cin ni-lik
 tree PART big EMPH NPST-become
 'Even the tree is big.'

- b. *tei dheŋ cin*
 tei dheŋ cin
 that one EMPH
 'Even that one...'

9.2.2 Particle *lə*

There are two distinct uses of the particle *lə*, viz. as a native Baram particle and a borrowed Nepali discourse particle. When it is used as a native Baram particle, it has a contrastive meaning. It is used as a topicalizer. Unlike the clitics, it does not cliticize to a host word. The particle follows the noun as in (10a), pronoun (10b), and adjective (10c). Similarly, the particle is used after the finite verb as in (11a), after non-finite verb (11b), and after the adverbs (11c-e).

- (10) a. *uila uila nam lə ikine kã*
 uila uila nam lə
 long ago long ago house PART
 ikine kã
 small COP.PST
 'As for the houses long ago, they used to be small.'
- b. *ni lə namgəi məhuk*
 ni lə nam-gəi mə-huk
 we PART house-LOC NEG-sit
 'As for us, we do not sit at home.'
- c. *jurse lə pim ni*
 jurse lə pim ni
 less PART give-INPST PART
 'As far as it is concerned, (we) can give (you) a little bit.'
- (11) a. *goṭhala likla lə dherəi bidzok kã*
 goṭhala lik-la lə dherəi
 shepherd become-SIM PART many
 bidzok kã
 unpleasant COP.PST
 'While being shepherds, they suffered great hardships.'
- c. *kəile lə de mən mədum pheri*
 kəile lə de mən mə-dum pheri
 when PART one also NEG-find again
 'Sometimes, not a single one is found again.'

9.2.3 Particle *chjo*

Particle *chjo* is used to indicate a negative meaning. In a sense it is a particle to negate the statement or proposition as in (12a). It often collocates with the negative sentences as in (12b-c).

- (12) a. *chjo dəiŋ*
 chjo da-iŋ
 no say-SEQ
 'Saying 'no'...''
- b. *məje chjo məje ba*
 mə-ja chjo mə-ja ba
 NEG-go PART NEG-go EXCL
 "Don't go, don't go there' (he said repeatedly).'
- c. *makho chjo*
 ma-akho chjo
 NEG-call PART
 'Don't call (them).'

All the examples show that the particle *chjo* occurs with the negative statements.

9.2.4 Particle *na*

Particle *na* is a hearsay particle, and thus it has a modal meaning. It reports the second hand information of the speaker, e.g.

- (13) a. *som nam kilik na*
 som nam kilik na
 three house PST-become PART
 'There were (lit. there became) two houses (they say).'
- b. *nithaŋ na*
 ni-ṭhaŋ na
 NPST-be PART
 'They can (do it) (they say).'
- c. *radzai keŋgo na*
 radza-i ki-hjuŋ-ajo na
 king-ERG PST-VEN-look PART
 'When the king came to see that (they say).'

The absence of the particle in examples (13) is straightforward without any sense of source of information. The addition of particle, however, shows that the information is reported by someone.

9.2.5 Borrowed Nepali particles

In addition to the native particles, some particles of Nepali origin are also used in the Baram corpus. They are discussed below for the sake of elaboration. Further details can be found in (Adhikari, 1993; Mathews, 1984; Schmidt, 1993).¹

¹ Schmidt (1993) mentions that this particle is used to signal acceptance, softens a request, make a request more insistently.

a. Particle *lə*

The particle *lə* is often used to show agreement or suggestion to move on. It is often used in sentence-initial position. It refers to a kind of initiation or agreement.

- (14) a. *lə lə jəgo*
 lə lə ja-go
 PART PART go-INF
 'Okay, (we) will go.'
- b. *lə am cəi*
 lə am ca-əi
 PART rice eat-HORT
 'Okay, let's eat.'
- c. *ləu həi caca moi mədzjotneu həi*
 ləu həi caca moi
 okay PART child fire
 mə-dzjot həi
 NEG-take-IMP PART
 'Children should not walk near the fire.'

b. Particle *ki*

Particle *ki* is used with the statement to show doubt. It occurs clause-finally.

- (15) a. *da ki*
 da ki
 say PART
 'Did (he) say so ? '
- b. *əlko lika ki*
 əlko lik-a ki
 tall become-IRR PART
 'It (might) be tall.'

c. Particle *təni*

Particle *təni* is used with the statement to show doubt.

- (16) a. *ə təni dəba nam*
 ə təni dəba nam
 yes PART another house
 'Yes, regarding other houses (perhaps),'
- b. *ho təni*
 ho təni
 yes PART
 'Yes, that's true.'

d. Particle *həi*

Particle *ki* is used with the statement to soften a statement or request (Schmidt, 1993:672).

- (17) a. *dadze ʔolgəi hjam həi*
 dadze ʔol-gəi hja-m həi
 elder brother Tol-LOC take-1NPST PART
 'Now, let's go to our brother's Tole (locality).'
- b. *caca moi mədzjotneu həi*
 caca moi mə-dzjot-u həi
 child fire NEG-take-IMP PART
 'Children do not walk near the fire.'

d. Particle *rə/ra*

It turns a statement into a polite question; turns a negative statement into a question for which an affirmative response is implied (see Schmidt, 1993:541).

- (18) a. *kwa bhai ho rə*
 kwa bhai ho rə
 how many brother COP.NPST PART
 'How many brothers are they ? '
- b. *tjo ni nihuk rə tigi*
 tjo ni ni-huk rə tigi
 that we NPST-stay PART there
 'Does he also stay there ? '
- c. *hai nidumo rə ɲəi nikham*
 hai ni-dum-o rə ɲa-i ni-kham
 what NPST-find-3 PART I-ERG NPST-say
 'They say what I get.'

e. Particle *ni*

Particle *ni* is used with the statement to show assertion, emphasizing the proposition. It implies that the information in the sentences should be known to the speaker (Schmidt, 1993:344).

- (19) a. *hukle ni*
 huk-le ni
 stay-COND PART
 'If you stay there, '
- b. *ni mətəi jago nido ni*
 ni mətəi ja-go ni-do ni
 we only go-INF NPST-say PART
 'Only we will go, (they) say.'

- b. *khonəi anam anam ɲiləgdi ba*
 khon-əi anam anam
 daughter-in-law-ERG mouth mouth
 ɲi-lag-di ba
 NPST-apply-NTVZ EXCL
 'The daughter-in-law spoke harshly !'
- c. *məhuk ba*
 mə-huk ba
 NEG-stay PART
 'They did not sit !'

9.3.2 *aməi*

Exclamation is also heard as *āboi* as in (24). It is an exclamation of surprise or dismay (see Schmidt, 1993:41).

- (23) a. *aməi əθharoʔa*
 aməi əθhar-oʔa
 EXCL eighteen-CLF
 'Oh ! Eighteen.'
- b. *dherei məhukəi aməi ɲa-pəta təj-a*
 dherei məhukəi aməi ɲa-pəta təj-a
 many NEG-stay EXCL I-near come-IRR
 'Don't stay for a long time, come to me (soon).'
- (24) *āboi nani*
 āboi nani
 EXCL child
 'Oh ! dear one.'

9.3.3 *oho*

It is an expression of surprise, wonder or dismay (see Schmidt, 1993:76).

- (25) *oho*
 oho
 EXCL
 'Oh !'

9.3.4 *aci*

It expresses disgust.

- (26) a. *aci ɲəi lə məthja*
 aci ɲə-i lə mə-thəja
 EXCL I-ERG PART NEG-arrive
 'Oh, no ! I did not arrive.'

- b. *aci hai ho*
 aci hai ho
 EXCL what COP.NPST
 'Oh, no ! What is (this) ?'

9.3.5 *abui*

It expresses surprise.

- (27) a. *abui*
 abui
 EXCL
 'Eh !'
- b. *abui jo kam hai tukko hola*
 abui jo kam hai tuk-ko hola
 EXCL this work what do-INF may be
 'Eh ! How shall (I) do this work !'

9.3.6 *chja*

It expresses disgust.

- (28) a. *chja*
 chja
 Oh how disgusting
 'Oh, how disgusting !'

9.3.7 *həi*

It turns a statement into a request, or softens a request (see Schmidt, 1993:672).

- (29) a. *ə ucuməihəru həi*
 ə ucuməi-həru həi
 yes daughter-PL PART
 'Yes, daughters. Yes.'

9.4 Fillers

The fillers *ə...* or *um...* are used when the speaker is searching for a word or try to recall the details of the events as can be seen in examples (31-33).

- (31) a. *ə... əbə ŋa jam*
 ə... əbə ŋa ja-m
 F now I go-CJ
 'Now, I will be on my way.'

- b. *ə... temne ami ami*
 ə... temne ami little
 F nowadays little little
 'Now little by little'
- (32) *ə... dhədzasədza nicuno*
 ə... dhədza sədza ni-cun-o
 F banner ECHO NPST-put-3
 'They fix the small pieces of cloth as worship materials.'
- (33) a. *um... ratbhəri kihuk*
 um... rat bhəri ki-huk
 F night full PST-sit
 '(He) stayed whole night.'
- b. *um... dzhug cin bhindəi*
 um... dzhug cin bhindəi
 F era EMPH different
 'Time is also different.'

9.5 Echo formations

The second part of echo form begins with the alveolar fricative *-s*. The echoed word does not occur in isolation and occurs with the word preceding it. Following are some examples:

- (34) a. *khampəchi əbə dzəgsəg nekto*
 kham pəchi əbə dzəg səg ni-kuto
 say later now base ECHO NPST-dig
 'Saying this, they dig the place for a foundation and then...'
- b. *pudzasudza məŋ tukko nepna*
 pudza sudza məŋ
 worship ECHO also
 tuk-ko ni-pəna
 do-INF NPST-must
 '(They) should perform the worship and the like.'
- c. *adzasadza lakin gidzjo*
 adza sadza lak-in gi-dzjo
 paddy ECHO cut-SEQ PST-walk
 '(I) cut the grass and so on.'
- d. *dəleso səleso*
 dəleso səleso
 Daleso tree ECHO
 'the Daleso tree and the like'

In example (34a) the second part in *dzəgsəg* 'base and so on' has no meaning in isolation.

9.6 Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeic words are found in Baram. We hardly find onomatopoeic words beginning with vowels. The onomatopoeias begin with stops, fricatives, nasal and lateral. Most of the onomatopoeic words begin with stops / p, ph, b, bh, k, g, t, d, t, /, fricatives /c, dz, s, h/, nasal /m/, lateral /l/. Here are a few examples:

- (36)
- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>gultuŋ</i> | 'manner of something falling' |
| <i>ghopljakkə</i> | 'when something spills onto the ground' |
| <i>cəpracupruk</i> | 'manner when animals eat something' |
| <i>cjappə</i> | 'manner when someone holds something (tightly)' |
| <i>dzhjāi</i> | 'manner in which the musical instruments are played' |
| <i>tələkkə</i> | 'way something shines' |
| <i>djam</i> | 'manner when someone beats something' |
| <i>thurthur</i> | 'way one shivers' |
| <i>phukluphuklu</i> | 'when something comes out easily' |
| <i>bhaŋbhuh</i> | 'when everything is finished/disposed of' |
| <i>məg məg</i> | 'a lingering smell' |
| <i>ljappəi</i> | 'way one licks' |
| <i>sururrə</i> | 'way one smells' |
| <i>hərərə</i> | 'way the wind blows' |
| <i>hurrə</i> | 'way the birds fly' |

10 Noun phrase

10.0 Outline

This chapter is an account of the noun phrase structure in Baram. Following Dryer (2007b), we categorize the noun phrase in Baram into simple noun phrase, complex noun phrase, and noun phrase without nouns or headless noun phrases. We also discuss constituents of the noun phrase and their relative ordering in this chapter.

10.1 Noun phrase head

A noun or a pronoun can be a noun phrase head in Baram. While pronouns are not modified by adjectives, nouns are often modified by modifiers in Baram. Baram noun phrase is head-final, i.e. the modifiers precede their heads. Pronouns have the syntactic properties of a complete noun phrase.

We will discuss the syntactic features of the noun phrase in this section.

10.2 Types of noun phrase

10.2.1 Simple noun phrase

Examples given in (1) demonstrate that adjectives precede the noun. Similarly, the numerals and adjectives precede the nouns as given in (2).

a. Adjectives

Baram possesses different kinds of adjectives. Adjectives, which precede the head nouns. Examples are given in (1).¹

- (1) a. *dzhən ikine bal*
dzhən ikine bal
more small man
'a smaller man'
- b. *alam khonəi kja*
alam khonəi ki-ja
big daughter-in-law PST-go
'The elder daughter-in-law went.'
- c. *alam alam wa lakle*
alam alam wa lak-le
big big chicken cut-COND
'If the big chickens are sacrificed (lit. cut)...'

¹ Adjectives are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

- d. *cjapsu sja*
 cjapsu bal
 thin man
 '(a) thin man'

b. Numerals and quantifiers

Baram has various numerals and quantifiers. Generally, when an NP consists of a lexical numeral, the numeral appears before the nominal head. Quantifiers precede the head noun. They contain the numerals as in (2), or quantifiers as in (3).

- (2) a. *nis rupja*
 nis rupja
 two rupees
 'two rupees'
- (3) a. *səppəi hanɖuŋ*
 səppəi hanɖuŋ
 all village
 'all the villages'
- b. *koi maca paca məlik-le mə-ra*
 koi maca paca məlik-le mə-ra
 some mother father NEG-become-COND NEG-know
 'No one knows whether (he) has parents.'
- c. *ŋəe koi balgəi gegdum*
 ŋə-e koi bal-gəi gi-gədum
 I-ERG some man-DAT PST-meet
 'I met some men.'

Fractionals precede their heads. They are mentioned in (4).

- (4) a. *seŋma lə adha kilo ŋilik*
 seŋma lə adha kilo ŋi-lik
 tree PART half kilogram NPST-become
 'The tree grows upto half a kilo.'
- b. *ŋəe jo nam kini ŋiŋa*
 ŋə-e jo nam kini ŋi-ŋa
 I-ERG this house PRF-see NPST-AUX.NPST
 'I have seen this house.'
- c. *səppəi uŋma gidzjo*
 səppəi uŋma gi-dzjo
 all path PST-walk
 '(Everybody) walks the path.'

Pronominal adjectives also precede the noun as in (5).

- (5) a. *aməe ɲagəi ekkane kjaŋ kipi*
amə-e ɲa-gəi ekkane kjaŋ ki-pi
mother-ERG I-DAR of this size bread PST-give
'Mother gave me bread of this size.'
- b. *ɲəe testak mamaca bija atukəi*
ɲa-e testak mamaca bija a-tukə-i
I-ERG like that girl marriage NEG-do-NEG
'I do not marry a girl like that.'

c. Determiners

The demonstratives *jo* 'this' and *tjo* 'that' often occur as determiners within an NP. These are the same forms which are used as demonstrative pronouns discussed earlier. They function as modifiers of the NPs as given in (6).

- (6) a. *jo nam səbəi kini*
jo nam səbəi ki-ni
this house all PST-see
'(I) saw (all parts) of this house.'
- b. *tjo bal minja siacə*
tjo bal minja si-a-cə
that man yesterday die-INFR-INFR
'That man died yesterday.'
- c. *ubaŋ nis bəini gədum pəchi*
ubaŋ nis bəini gədum pəchi
those two sisters meet later
'After these sisters met each other,'

Some other categories which occur in the noun phrases are classifiers as in (7).

- (7) a. *dzewa bal*
de-wa bal
one-CLF man
'One man'
- b. *niswa mama*
nis-wa mama
two-CLF woman
'two women'

10.2.2 Complex noun phrase

We include the genitive phrase, and relative clause in this section.

a. Genitive phrase

A genitive phrase is formed by two major devices in Baram. In most cases, a genitive phrase consists of a genitive case-marked possessive noun phrase and the possessed noun. The usual genitive marker is the case marker -*go/-ko*. Consider the examples in (8).

- (8) a. *ibəŋgo ucuməi tengon pəna*
 ibəŋ-go ucuməi ten-go-n pəna
 this man-GEN daughter bring-INF-EMPH must
 'We have to bring other's daughters (as daughters-in-law)'
- b. *nigo namgəi ŋiŋa*
 ni-go nam-gəi ŋi-ŋa
 we-GEN house-LOC NPST-COP
 'It is in our house.'

In other cases, the genitive is marked with juxtaposition between the noun/pronoun and the possessed items. For example in (9a) the pronoun does not encode the genitive marker and thus the pronoun and the noun which follows this are merely juxtaposed. Similar is the case in (9b) and in (9c-d).

- (9) a. *ŋa namgəi*
 ŋa nam-gəi
 I house-LOC
 'In my house'
- b. *ŋa ukhon*
 ŋa ukhon
 I daughter-in-law
 'My daughter-in-law'
- c. *ni nam məŋ testan kã*
 ni nam məŋ testan kã
 we house also like that COP.PST
 'Our house was also like that.'
- d. *ni kura lə səbəi gjam nepna*
 ni kura lə səbəi gjam nepna
 we matter PART all agree should
 '(Everyone) should agree to our matter.'
- e. *ni michja kjaku dzəstak mələgdi*
 ni michja ki-aku dzəstak mə-ləg-di
 we goat NOM-steal like thatNEG-feel-NTVZ
 'I don't feel that my goats are thieves.'
- f. *ni nampəta*
 ni nam-pəta
 we house-towards
 'Towards our house,'

Of these two structures, the genitive phrase with the genitive marker prevails in the corpus. However, some instances of juxtaposing the possessor and possessed nouns also appear in the corpus. When we analyze the texts, Dambar Baram, who is the youngest native Baram speaker, uses the latter structure while other elder speakers use both the structures.

b. Apposition

Two nouns are juxtaposed to form a noun phrase. Examples from discourse data are given in (10):

- (10) a. *dzeth mas*
 dzeth mas
 Jestha month
 'the month of Jestha'
- b. *as̥ar saun belag̊i*
 as̥ar saun bela-g̊i
 Ashad Shrawan time-LOC
 'in the month of Asar or Shrawan'

c. Relative clause

There is no distinct relative marker in Baram. However, participial clauses function as relative clauses in Baram. Examples given in (11) show that the relative clauses (participle clauses) precede the nouns.

- (11) a. *ibie kit̥ai kheti*
 ibi-e ki-t̥ai kheti
 one-ERG PST-come work
 'The work done by oneself in the field...'
- b. *p̥airo kja uŋma*
 p̥airo ki-ja uŋma
 landslide PFV-go road
 'The road (which is) damaged by landslide'
- c. *ab̥ai badzeca palodekhin kira kurah̥aru*
 ab̥ai badzeca palo dekhin ki-ra
 father grandfather time from PFV-know
 kura-h̥aru
 matter-PL
 'The matters that have been known since the forefather's time'

10.2.3 Noun phrase without nouns

Noun phrases generally have the heads. However, in some instances there are noun phrases without any head nouns. For example, in (12a), the participial clause does not contain any modifier at all. However, we know that it is recovered from the context in natural discourse. Similarly, example (12c) does not contain any noun and the modifier itself functions as the head noun.

- (12) a. *kekhlago biswas like nepna*
 ki-khəla-go biswas lik ɲi-pəna
 PRF-speak-GEN belief become NPST-should
 '(You) should believe the (people) who said this.'
- b. *pheri kwaḍa ɲiɲa*
 pheri kwa-ḍa ɲi-ɲa
 again how many-CLF NPST-COP
 'Then how many (doors) are there ?'
- c. *somṭa ɲiɲa*
 som-ṭa ɲi-ɲa
 three-CLF NPST-COP
 'There are three (pens).'

10.3 Order of modifiers

In this section we discuss the internal structure of the noun phrase; the constituents of which is made up with, their relative ordering. Although such schema as in (13) is proposed, there are hardly more than two modifiers present in natural texts.

- (13) (Relative clause)(Genitive) (Determiner) (Numeral) (Adjective) N

- (14) a. *ɲago jo dheɲ ikine wa*
 ɲa-go jo dheɲ ikine wa
 I-GEN this one.CLF small hen
 'My this one little hen'
- b. *tjo ikanche kerau geḍa*
 tjo ikanche kerau geḍa
 that small peas seed
 'that small bead of peas'

The following are some examples where the modifiers precede the head noun in natural discourse:

- (15) a. *namgəi kihuk bal*
 nam-gəi ki-huk bal
 house-LOC PFV-sit man
 'Man who was sitting at home'
- b. *nigo ikine khon*
 ni-go ikine khon
 we-GEN small daughter-in-law
 'Our younger (lit. small) daughter-in-law'
- c. *kekḥja kjosja kurahəru*
 ki-kḥja ki-osja kura-həru
 ADJV-become bitter ADJV-become sweet thing-PL
 'Sweet and bitter matters (lit. things)'

As we see in the examples (15) only two modifiers precede the head nouns. In example (15a) the relative clause precedes the noun, and in (15b), genitive and adjective precede the head noun. Similarly, only two modifiers precede the head noun in (15c-d).

11 The simple sentence

11.0 Outline

This chapter discusses simple sentences and their modifications in Baram. We discuss constituent order in (11.1), copular clauses in (11.2), intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses in (11.3), and transformation of simple sentences in (11.4) and valence increasing device in (11.5).¹

11.1 Constituent order

The basic order of constituent in Baram is SOV. As can be seen in (1a-c), the subject precedes the verb in an intransitive clause. In a transitive clause the subject precedes the object and the verb occurs clause-finally shown in (2).

- (1) a. *de bal kisi*
de bal ki-si
one man PST-die
'One person died.'
- b. *pisek nichjak*
pisek ni-əkchjak
husk NPST-get stuck
'The husk gets stuck (in your throat).'
- c. *uca kihil na*
uca ki-hil na
son PST-return HS
'The child returned (they said).'
- (2) a. *bumaŋəe michja kisat*
bumaŋə-e michja ki-sat
tiger-ERG goat PST-kill
'The tiger killed the goat.' (Eli)
- b. *pəijukəi sjaŋma su gigo*
pəijuk-i sjaŋma su gi-go
monkey-ERG tree leaf PST-pluck
'The monkey plucked the tree leaf.' (Eli)

Baram is a left-branching language. Modifiers precede the head as explained in the noun phrase in Chapter (10). The modifiers of the noun in a noun phrase precede the head. Some examples are mentioned in (3).²

¹ Clause types are arranged following Dryer (2007a).

² The details of modifier and the head are discussed in Chapter 10.

- (3) a. *nis din*
 nis din
 two day
 'two days'
- b. *jarse kura*
 jarse kura
 this much matter
 'this much of the matter'
- c. *kisen kumba*
 ki-sen kumba
 ADJZ-match stone
 'good stone'

Subject precedes the verb in a transitive clause as can be seen in (4). We see that the subject *de bal* 'a man' precedes the verb in (4a) and *rani* 'queen' precede the verb in (4b).

- (4) a. *de bal kisi*
 de bal ki-si
 one man PST-die
 'A man died.'
- b. *rani gjoble na*
 rani gi-uble na
 queen PST-fly HS
 'The queen disguised (as a butterfly).'

Object appears between subject and verb in transitive clauses as can be seen in (5). In example (5a), *chanahəru* 'roofs' occurs between *ni səppəi* 'we all' and *kini* 'seen'.

- (5) a. *ni səppəi chanahəru kini kã*
 ni səppəi chanahəru ki-ni kã
 we all roof-PL PRF-see AUX.PST
 'We have seen all the roofs.'
- b. *ŋəe am kica*
 ŋa-e am ki-ca
 I-ERG rice PST-eat
 'I ate rice.'

In a ditransitive clause, the direct object occurs immediately before the verb, and indirect object occurs between the subject and the direct as can be seen in (6).

- (6) *khonəi uca akocagəi kipi*
 khon-i uca ako-gəi
 daughter-in-law-ERG child father-in-law-DAT

ki-pi
PST-give
'Daughter-in-law gave the child to the father-in-law.'

Manner adverbs normally precede the verb as in (7). Auxiliaries (or modal verbs) follow the main verbs as in (8).

- (7) *chiṭon sija dəiŋ*
chiṭo-n si-ja da-iŋ
quickly-EMPH die-INFR say-SEQ
'Saying he died quickly...'
- (8) a. *nie wagəi khuŋ ləidi pəna*
ni-e wa-gəi khuŋ
we-ERG chicken-DAT above
ləi-di pəna
take-NTVZ must
'We must take the chicken above this (place).'
- b. *naŋ namgəi ja məpna*
naŋ nam-gəi ja mə-pəna
you house-LOC go NEG-should
'You should not go home.'
- c. *nie gəlbo ghujoiŋ ŋihuk*
ni-e gəlbo ghujoi-ŋ ŋi-huk
we-ERG oxen plough-PROG NPST-sit
'We are ploughing the field.' (Eli)

In discourse data we encounter instances where the normal order is violated for some pragmatic reasons. For instance the verb occurs in sentence-initial position in (10a), subject occurs in clause-final position as in (9b), and the object, which generally occurs between the subject and verb, occurs in clause-final position in (9c).

- (9) a. *ŋido ŋəi*
ŋi-do ŋa-i
NPST-do I-ERG
'I have said.'
- b. *holəŋ kisi kisat balhəru*
holəŋ ki-si ki-sat bal-həru
that way PST-die PST-kill man-PL
'The people died or were killed that way.'
- c. *baləi nimo naŋ*
balə-i ni-mo naŋ
people-ERG NPST-beat you
'People will beat you.'

Table 11.1 presents the summary of constituent order of different categories we have just referred to. They have been discussed in details in the relevant chapters.

Categories	Chapters
Noun-postpositions	5
Adjective-noun	6
Main verb-auxiliaires	7
Adverb-verb	8

Table 11.1 Summary of constituent order

11.2 Clause types

We follow Dryer (2007a:224) while discussing clause types in Baram. Firstly, there are clause types such as declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentences. Imperative sentences are found in (Chapter 6), and interrogative sentences are discussed in (Chapter 10). A second sense of clause types is related to main and subordinate clause. They are examined in (Chapter 11). The next sense involves different types of clauses in terms of their internal structure, primarily surrounding different types of predicates, viz. verbal and non-verbal predicates, and distinction between transitive and intransitive clauses. They are examined in (11.2.1 and 11.2.2) respectively.

The clause types we are discussing in this section are: copular clauses, intransitive and transitive clauses, and coordination and subordination.

11.2.1 Copular clauses

There are two copulas in Baram: *ŋiŋa*, its suppletive past *kã*, and *ho*. The copula *ŋiŋa* is used for predicative possessive and predicative locative. The copula *ho* is used for equative clauses.

Copula *ŋiŋa* is used for predicative possessive, predicative adjective and for existential use. Its negative form is *mahã* 'NEG.COP.NPST'. The negative copula *mahã* comprises the copula and the negative particle in Baram. Copulas do not inflect for person and number. However, copula *ŋiŋa* has its suppletive past form *kã*, and its negative form is *mə-ŋa* 'NEG-COP'.

a. Predicative possessive

Copula clauses in Baram consist of NP NP COP. Two noun phrases are juxtaposed followed by the copula in predicative possessive clauses. The subject in this construction is in genitive case as in (10-11). Examples are given in (10).

- (10) a. *somŋa ucməi ŋiŋa*
 som-ŋa ucməi ŋi-ŋa
 three-CLF daughter NPST-COP
 '(You) have three daughters.'

- b. *ɲago sjaɣəlbo ɲiɲa*
 ɲa-go sja ɣəlbo ɲi-ɲa
 I-GEN cow ox NPST-COP
 'I have cows and goats.'
- (11) a. *ɲago somɬa ucməi ɲiɲa*
 ɲa-go som-ɬa ucməi ɲi-ɲa
 I-GEN three-CLF daughter NPST-COP
 'I have three daughters.'
- b. *ɲago ucməi mahã*
 ɲa-go ucməi mahã
 I-GEN daughter NEG.COP.NPST
 'I don't have daughters.'

b. Predicative adjective

Predicative possessive is formed with NP ADJ COP. It is thus similar to predicate possessive and predicative locative. Sometimes we have copular clauses without copulas as in (12d). Following are some further examples:

- (12) a. *hadza məɲ kisen cin ɲiɲa*
 hadza məɲ ki-sen cin ɲi-ɲa
 rice also ADJV-match also NPST-COP
 'Paddy is also good.'
- b. *hidago ciliɲ niɲa*
 hidago ciliɲ ni-ɲa
 here black NPST-COP
 'Daraundi river on this side is black.'
- c. *jo kəm kiswa ɲiɲa*
 jo kəm kiswa ɲi-ɲa
 this axe sharp NPST-COP
 'This axe is sharp.' (Eli)
- d. *siɲ məɲ testen*
 siɲ məɲ testen
 wood also like that
 'The wood is like this.'
- e. *naɲ kisen bal mami*
 naɲ ki-sen bal mami
 you ADJV-match man NEG.COP.NPST
 'You are not a good man.'

c. Predicative locative

Predicative locative meaning is expressed by subject-predicate clauses followed by a locational phrase. The copula *ɲiɲa* is used for predicative locative.

- (13) a. *pərakgəi ɲiɲa*
 pərak-gəi ɲi-ɲa
 cliff-LOC NPST-COP
 '(It) is in the cliff.'
- b. *awa lə kalok ɲiɲa*
 awa lə kalok ɲi-ɲa
 water PART far NPST-COP
 'The water tap (lit. water) is far away.'
- c. *guθhagəi kunṭik ɲiɲa*
 guθha-gəi kunṭik ɲi-ɲa
 shed-LOC pounding instrument NPST- COP
 'The pounding instrument is in the shade.' (Eli)
- d. *nəɲa awagəi ɲiɲa*
 nəɲa awa-gəi ɲi-ɲa
 water water-LOC NPST- COP
 'The fish is in the water.' (Eli)

Sometimes copulas are deleted optionally. Thus copular clauses are NP or NP ADJ. Following examples are from discourse examples.

- (14) a. *sugo məsen*
 su-go mə-sen
 who-GEN NEG-fit
 'Whose (is) bad ? '
- b. *sugo kisen*
 su-go ki-sen
 who-GEN ADVZ-fit
 'Whose (is) good ? '

d. Predicate nominal

Copula *ho* is used as a copula in predicative nominal (or equative clauses). It is not inflected for number and person. It is seemingly a borrowing from Nepali. Predicative nominal clauses typically express the notions of proper inclusion and equation. Thus the predicative nominal has also the construction such as: NP NP COP. The copula occurs at the end of these clauses. Following are examples:

- (15) a. *jo kjaɲmago maca ho*
 jo kjaɲma-go maca ho
 this Chilaune tree-GEN tree COP.NPST
 'This is a Chilaune tree.'
- b. *jo adzago aju ho*
 jo adza-go aju ho
 this paddy-GEN seed COP.NPST
 'This is the seed of paddy.'

- c. *jo kjaŋ mami*
 jo kjaŋ mami
 this bread NEG.NPST
 'This is not the bread.'
- d. *kisi balgo mu ho*
 ki-si bal-go mu ho
 PFV-die man-GEN clothes COP.NPST
 'Is it the clothes of the dead person ? '

We see that the negation of the copula is formed by the suppletive form of copula *mami* 'not be'. The copular construction in Baram is summarized in Table 11.2.

	<i>ŋiŋa</i>	<i>ho</i>
Possessive clauses	√	-
Predicative adjective	√	-
Predicative locative	√	-
Predicative nominal	-	√

Table 11.2 Summary of copular constructions

11.2.2 Intransitive, transitive and bitransitive clauses

Dryer (2007a:224) notes that clauses can be analyzed based on the argument structure of the verbs, including the transitive and intransitive verbs. The categories of clauses discussed in this section are intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses.

a. Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses include a single argument of the verb and the verb itself. The subject is in the nominative case. Following are the examples:

- (16) a. *dzjali gjoble*
 dzjali gi-uble
 bird PST-fly
 'The bird flew.' (Eli)
- b. *sjaŋma kellum*
 sjaŋma ki-lələum
 tree PST-fall down
 'The tree fell down.' (Eli)
- c. *ŋa kina*
 ŋa ki-na
 I PST-sleep
 'I slept.' (Eli)

- (17) a. *namga kisi ho rə*
 nam-ga ki-si ho rə
 house-LOC PST-die AUX.NPST PART
 '(He) died at home (Is it so?).'
- b. *kihil*
 ki-hil
 PST-return
 '(He) returned.'

When the subject is recovered from the discourse context, the subjects are often deleted. Examples in (17) do not have overt subjects.

b. Transitive clauses

In a transitive clause, the subject precedes the object and the verb occurs in the clause final position (18a). The subject is normally in the ergative case and the object is either unmarked or in the dative/accusative case. Examples are given in (18).

- (18) a. *ŋəi abəi aməi gidum*
 ŋə-i abəi aməi gi-dum
 I-ERG father mother PST-find
 'I found mother and father' (Eli)
- b. *hjuŋpəe didigəi kimu*
 hjuŋpəe didi-gəi ki-mu
 brother in law-ERG sister-DAT PST-beat
 'Brother-in-law beat (my) sister.' (Eli)
- (19) a. *ucwae am kica*
 ucwa-e am ki-ca
 child-ERG rice PST-eat
 'The son ate rice.' (Eli)
- b. *buməe michja kica*
 bumə-e michja ki-ca
 tiger-ERG goat PST-eat
 'The tiger ate the goat.' (Eli)

As we see in examples (18 a-b), the direct objects encode the accusative/dative cases. By contrast, some objects do not code any case markers (19a-b).

c. Ditransitive clauses

The subject appears in the clause-initial position and the verb occurs in the clause-final position. In ditransitive clauses, the direct object precedes the verb. The indirect objects occur between the subject and the indirect object.

- (20) a. *aməe ucuməigəi kjaŋ kipi*
 amə-e ucuməi-gəi kjaŋ ki-pi
 mother-ERG daughter-DAT bread PST-give
 'Mother gave the bread to (her) daughter.' (Eli)
- b. *abəe ucwagəi mu kiten*
 abə-e ucwa-gəi mu ki-ten
 father-ERG son-DAT clothes PST-bring
 'Father brought the clothes for (his) son.'
- c. *ŋəe naŋgo kjaŋ ajonəi*
 ŋə-e naŋ-go kjaŋ a-jen-əi
 I-ERG you-GEN bread NEG-take-NEG
 '(I) don't take your bread.'

When the pronouns are used in discourse, the subjects and objects are sometimes deleted. We see that subjects are deleted in all categories of clauses, viz. intransitive, transitive and bitransitive. All examples are from the text corpus. Examples (21-22) are transitive clauses and the subjects are not overtly mentioned.

- (21) *caoḍa ucməi gidum*
 ca-oḍa ucməi gi-dum
 four-CLF daughter PST-give birth
 '(I) gave birth to four daughters.'
- (22) a. *cāp lako chə*
 cāp lako chə
 Canp tree cut-IRR IRR
 '(They) used to fell down the Chanp trees.'
- b. *de bərsə pəchi uca gidum*
 de bərsə pəchi uca gi-dum
 one year later child PST-find
 '(She) gave birth to (lit. found) baby after one or two years.'

Example (24a) contains neither the subject nor the indirect object. Similarly example (24b) contains neither the subject nor the object. Such sentences abound in natural discourse.

- (24) a. *dzəga məŋ kipi*
 dzəga məŋ ki-pi
 land also PST-give
 '(I) also donated land (to them).'
- b. *kikham ŋiŋa*
 ki-kham ŋi-ŋa
 PFV-say NPST-AUX
 '(They) have said (it).'

As seen in examples (24), Baram does not normally express referents if their identity is inferred from the discourse context. Let's look at a text. The following text contains first six lines from a text narrated by Tok Man Baram

when he tells about 'Remembering the Past'. He is the most fluent speaker among the male speakers. We see that the referents (subjects and objects) are often omitted in natural discourse.

- (25) a. *uila uila nigo cəŋpa cəŋmahəruko palagəi*
dherei dukhə gidum
uila uila ni-go cəŋpa
long ago long ago we-GEN woman
cəŋma-həru-ko pala-gəi dherei
old woman-PL-GEN time-LOC many
dukhə gi-dum
suffering PST-find
'Long ago, (in our) old men and women's time (they) had much sufferings.'
- b. *cha mən mənjan*
cha mən mə-njan
salt also NEG-taste
'(They) did not get to eat (lit. taste) even salt.'
- c. *hai mənjan*
hai mə-njan
what NEG-taste
'(They) got nothing to eat (lit. taste).'
- d. *de məina səmmə bhari cəpuin gidzjo*
de məina səmmə bhari cəpu-in gi-dzjo
one month until load carry-SEQ PST-walk
'(They) walked for one month carrying loads on their back.'
- e. *ni tha gidum*
ni tha gi-dum
we knowledge PST-find
'We knew (it).'
- f. *tigan lə kica mənjan*
tigan lə kica mə-njan
after that PART NML-eat NEG-taste
'Then (they) did not get the food to taste.'

As we see, the first six sentences from the beginning of a text, the referent is mentioned in the first clause. Then, the discourse is abbreviated and subject is not mentioned in three consecutive sentences. When we contrast this with the English translations, we find that the referents need to be mentioned. When the speaker introduces a new subject he specifies it, however as in (25e). We find similar way of presenting narration in the rest of the discourse.

11.3 Modifications of a simple sentence

In this section, we will discuss the modification of a simple sentence, viz. negation and question.

11.3.1 Negation

There are two ways of forming morphological negative in Baram. The two negative prefixes in Baram are *mə-* and *a-...əi*.³

a. Negation with *mə-*

The most productive negative prefix in Baram as in other Tibeto-Burman languages is *mə-*. It is widely used in forming negatives. We find the use of the second and third person pronouns in the past and non-past tense with this. The sentences in the past tense and non-past tense take the negative prefix as in (26-28).

- (26) a. *ucwa kihuk*
 ucwa ki-huk
 son PST-sit
 'The son sat.'
- b. *ucwa məhuk*
 ucwa mə-huk
 son NEG-sit
 'The son did not sit.'
- (27) a. *naŋ kina*
 naŋ ki-na
 you PST-sleep
 'You slept.'
- b. *naŋ məna*
 naŋ mə-na
 you NEG-sleep
 'You did not sleep.'
- (28) a. *naŋ holegəi cādei kina*
 naŋ hole-gəi cādei ki-na
 you evening-LOC quickly PST-sleep
 'You sleep early in the evening.'
- b. *naŋ holegəi cādei məna*
 naŋ hole-gəi cādei mə-na
 you evening-LOC quickly NEG-sleep
 'You do not sleep early in the evening.'

Similarly, the sentences in non-past tense also take a negative prefix *mə-* as in (29).

³ Noonan (2003:331) notes that Chantyal also has a negative prefix *a-*.

- (29) *ucmæi nənu məsjaŋ*
 ucmæi-i nənu mæ-sjaŋ
 daughter-ERG milk NEG-drink
 '(My daughter) does not drink milk.'

The particle *do* characteristically appears following the verb. The language consultants say it is a distinct particle which occurs after a negative construction. Consider these examples.

- (30) a. *məlik do*
 mə-lik do
 NEG-become PART
 'It has not happened.'
- b. *məpur do*
 mə-pur do
 NEG-reach PART
 '(It) has not reached.'
- (31) a. *səppəi məmin do*
 səppəi mə-min do
 all NEG-ripen PART
 'All have not ripened.'
- b. *nigo abəigopəti ni məwap*
 ni-go abəi-go pəti ni mə-wap
 we-GEN father-GEN side PART NEG-meet
 '(We have not reached the people of father's side).'

When the sentences are either in the progressive or perfect aspect, the negative prefix *mə-* is prefixed to the main verb rather than to a copula as shown in (32).

- (32) a. *ŋəe am mæca kã*
 ŋa-e am mæ-ca kã
 I-ERG rice NEG-eat COP.PST
 'I had not eaten rice.' (Eli)
- b. *ŋəe awa məsjaŋ ŋiŋa*
 ŋa-e awa mæ-sjaŋ ŋi-ŋa
 I-ERG rice NEG-drink NPST-COP
 'I have not drunk water' (Eli)

All non-finite forms take the negative prefix *mə-*. Example (32a) is a negative sentence with an infinite, while (32b) occurs with negative conditional,

- (32) a. *məsəigo məsəigo*
 mə-səi-go mə-səi-go
 NEG-listen-INF NEG-listen-INF
 'No, I will not listen.'

- b. *masəile hai tukko*
 ma-səi-le hai tuk-ko
 NEG-agree-COND what do-INF
 'If not agreed, what (shall) we do ?'

Obligation is also changed into negative with this prefix (33a).
 Inferential also takes the same prefix (33b).

- (33) a. *dzjo məpna*
 dzjo mə-pəna
 walk NEG-should
 '(You) should not walk.'
- b. *məskhama hola*
 mə-ci-kham-a hola
 NEG-HAB-say-INFR perhaps
 '(He) perhaps did not say it.'

The negative prefix is also appended to the habitual aspect and so is true with the imperative as shown in (34) and (35) respectively.

- (34) a. *bəneiṅ cihuka*
 bəne-iṅ ci-huk-a
 play-PROG CAUS-sit-PST
 '(I) used to play.' (Eli)
- b. *bəneiṅ məcihuka*
 bəne-iṅ mə-ci-huk-a
 play-PROG NEG-CAUS-sit-PST
 '(I) did not use to play.' (Eli)
- (35) a. *məhuka*
 mə-huk-a
 NEG-sit-IMP
 'Don't sit.' (Eli)
- b. *məcuna*
 mə-cun-a
 NEG-put-IMP
 'Don't put.' (Eli)

Desiderative takes the negative prefix *mə-*. Here are a few examples.

- (36) a. *ṇa case ṇiṇa*
 ṇa ca-se ṇi-ṇa
 I eat-DESID NPST-COP
 'I want to eat.' (Eli)
- b. *ṇa case mahā*
 mə-huk-a
 NEG-sit-IMP
 'Don't sit.' (Eli)

b. Negation with *a-*

Let's now examine another negative marker, e.g. *a-...əi*. It is characteristically used with the first person pronouns in the non-past tense in which the subjects are the first person pronouns. Elicited examples (37a-b), and discourse example (37c-d) show the negation of the verb in the non-past tense. The examples show that the negative prefix *a-* occurs only with the first person pronouns.

- (37) a. *ŋa ahukəi*
 ŋa a-huk-əi
 I NEG-sit-NEG
 'I do not live (lit. sit).'
- b. *ni lə ahukəi*
 ni lə a-hukəi
 we PART NEG-sit
 'As for us, we don't live.'
- c. *ŋa lə akhe kuni cikhjogo*
 ŋa lə a-khjo kuni
 I PART NEG-come where
 ci-khjo-go
 CAUS-come out-INF
 'I shall never go away, where will (you) send (me) ? '
- d. *atukəi atukəi kham kã*
 a-tuk-əi a-tuk-əi kham kã
 NEG-do-NEG NEG-do-NEG say COP.PST
 '(She) had said, "I will not eat, I will not eat."'

c. Negation of copula

When a sentence with a copula is negated, we have a coalesced form *mahã* or *məŋa*. Table 11.3 shows the copula (auxiliary) and their negative counterparts. Its examples are given in (38-39).

Copula	Negative form
<i>ŋiŋa</i>	<i>mahã</i>
<i>ho</i>	<i>mami</i>
<i>kã/kiŋa</i>	<i>məŋa</i>

Table 11.3 Negation of copula

- (38) a. *kipu dzutta məŋa*
 ki-pu dzutta mə-ŋa
 PFV-wear shoes NEG-COP.PST
 '(I) did not have shoes to wear.'

- b. *ŋəe kini məŋa*
 ŋa-e ki-ni mə-ŋa
 I-ERG PFV-see NEG-COP.PST
 '(I) had not seen.'
- (39) *jo ŋago ale mami*
 jo ŋa-go ale mami
 this I-GEN brother NEG.COP.NPST
 'This is not my brother.'
- (40) *ŋago ale mǎhǎ*
 ŋa-go ale mǎhǎ
 I-GEN brother NEG.COP.NPST
 'I don't have a brother.'

11.3.2 Questions

Baram has both content and *wh*-question. They are discussed in the following paragraphs.

a. Content questions

Wh-words in Baram are listed in pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. Consider the examples given in (41).

- (41) a. *hai lika*
 hai lik-a
 what become-IRR
 'What happened ?'
- b. *hai ŋituk*
 hai ŋi-tuk
 what NPST-do
 'What do they do ?'
- (42) a. *kǎile thǎja*
 kǎile thǎi-a
 when arrive-IRR
 'When did he arrive ?'
- b. *kǎile niropo ni*
 kǎile ni-rop-o ni
 when NPST-plant-3 PART
 'When will (they) plant (it) ?'

Various parts of a statement can be questioned in Baram. Consider the statement in (43) and various questions in (44).

- (43) *macǎi alegǎi minja cancaneŋ dheŋ umse kipan*
 maca-i ale-gǎi minja cancaneŋ
 mother-ERG son-DAT yesterday quickly

- (44) a. *alegəi umse sui pano*
 dhen umse ki-pan
 one banana PST-give
 'Yesterday, the mother quickly fed a banana to the child.'
- b. *macəi sugəi umse pano*
 mac-i su-gəi umse pan-o
 mother-ERG whon-DAT banana feed-IRR
 'To whom did the mother feed the banana ?'
- c. *macəi alegəi unse kəila pano*
 mac-i ale-gəi umse kəila pan-o
 mother-ERG son-DAT banana when feed-IRR
 'When did the mother feed to the child the banana ?'
- d. *macəi alegəi unse khaləŋ pano*
 mac-i ale-gəi umse
 mother-ERG whon-DAT banana
 khaləŋ pan-o
 how feed-IRR
 'How did the mother feed the banana to the child ?'
- e. *macəi alegəi kwaḍa umse pano*
 mac-i ale-gəi kwa-ḍa
 mother-ERG whon-DAT how many-CLF
 unse pan-o
 banana feed-IRR
 'How many bananas did the mother feed to the child ?'
- f. *macəi alegəi hai pano*
 mac-i ale-gəi hai pan-o
 mother-ERG whon-DAT what feed-IRR
 'What did the mother feed the child ?'

Subject is questioned in (44a), indirect object in (44b), adverb of place in (44c), and adverb of manner in (44d), number in (44e) and direct object in (44f).

b. Yes/no question

Yes-No questions are formed with a rising intonation of a clause and all constituents remain *in situ*. Sometimes the question particle *le* occurs in the

clause-final position as in (45).⁴ Questions also often end with the question particle but not obligatorily.

- (45) a. *baləi mətəi nilik le*
 kuni ni-ja le
 where NPST-say PART
 'Where do they go ?'
- (46) a. *kuni hja rə*
 kuni ni-ja rə
 where NPST-say PART
 'Where do they go ?'
- b. *hare mədago*
 hare mə-da-go
 why NEG-say-INF
 'Why not to say ?'
- c. *alegəi umse sui pano*
 ale-gəi umse su-i pan-o
 son-DAT banana who-ERG feed-IRR
 'Who fed the child ?'

Sometimes it proposes whether a statement is true or not by using the disjunctive marker *ki* in examples (47).⁵

- (47) a. *maca paca niŋa ki mahā*
 maca paca ni-ŋa ki mahā
 mother father NPST.COP or COP.PST
 'Does he have parents or not ?'
- b. *kica kuro niŋa ki mahā*
 ki-ca kuro ni-ŋa ki mahā
 PRF-eat matter NPST-COP or COP.PST
 'Is there anything to eat or not ?'
- c. *naŋ məja*
 naŋ mə-ja-a
 you NEG-go-IRR
 'Did not you go ?'
- (48) a. *kuni nja rə*
 kuni ni-ja rə
 where NPST-say PART
 'Where do they go ?'

⁴ In some cases the question particle *rə* also occurs at the end of a question. It is seemingly a Nepali loan.

⁵ This is also seemingly a Nepali loan.

- b. *hare mädago*
 hare mäd-go
 why NEG-say-INF
 'Why will you not go ?'

Finally, it is interesting to note the syntax of questions in terms of the use of the tense. In both kinds of questions, the past tense suffix is not used while asking questions. Let's examine the examples in (49).

- (49) a. *ale gudulgəi kja*
 ale gudul-gəi ki-ja
 brother stream-LOC PST-go
 '(My) brother went into the stream.' (Eli)
- b. *ale kuni ja*
 ale kuni ja-a
 brother where go- IRR
 'Where did the brother go ?' (Eli)
- c. *ale gudulgəi ja*
 ale gudul-gəi ja-a
 brother stream-LOC go- IRR
 'Did the brother go into the stream ? ' (Eli)

Here we see that the past tense marker is not encoded in the verb (49b-c). Since the verb mentioned in examples (49b-c), the verb stems end in *-a* and only one consonant is seen. Therefore, let's examine the following examples with consonant-ending verb stems.

- (50) a. *nigo ucwa uṇmagəi kihuk*
 ni-go ucwa uṇma-gəi ki-huk
 we-GEN son road-LOC PST-sit
 'Our son sat on the road.'
- (51) a. *nigo ucwa uṇmagəi huka*
 ni-go ucwa uṇma-gəi huk-a
 we-GEN son road-LOC sit-IRR
 'Did my son sit on the road? '
- b. *uṇmagəi su huka*
 uṇma-gəi su huk-a
 road-LOC who sit-IRR
 'Who sat on the road ? '
- b. *ucwəe hai tuko*
 ucwa-e hai tuk-o
 child-ERG what do-IRR
 'What did the child do ? '

- (52) *michjæ su njoknəi*
 michjæ-e su ni-kunəi
 goat-ERG leaf NPST-chew
 'A goat chews the leaves.'
- (53) *michjæ hai njoknəi*
 michjæ-e hai ni-kunəi
 goat-ERG leaf NPST-chew
 'What does the goat chew ? '
- (54) a. *chəndipurnimagəi usæ wa nilak*
 chəndipurnima-gəi u-e wa ni-lak
 Chandipurnima-LOC he-ERG chicken NPST-cut
 'He sacrifices (lit. cut) chicken in Chandipurnima.'
- b. *chəndipurnimagəi usæ wa nilak*
 chəndipurnima-gəi u-e
 Chandipurnima-LOC he-ERG
 wa ni-lak
 chicken NPST-cut
 'Does he sacrifice (lit. cuts) chicken in Chandipurnima.'
- b. *chəndipurnimagəi sui wa nilak*
 chəndipurnima-gəi su-i
 Chandipurnima-LOC he-ERG
 wa ni-lak
 chicken NPST-cut
 'Who sacrifices (lit. cuts) chicken in Chandipurnima ?'

We see in these examples that the question marker (or irrealis) marker occurs only in the past tense. By contrast, the non-past tense marker occurs both in yes-no question and content question in the non-past tense.⁶

11.4 Valence addition: Causative

The causative prefix in Baram is *ci-*, and it can have its allomorph *dzi-*.⁷ The distribution of these two morphemes is constrained by the phonological features of the verb stem. It is a native feature of valence increasing device in Baram. Its examples are given in (56-57).

- (56) a. *sjaŋma kəllum*
 sjaŋma ki-ləllum
 tree PST-fall
 'The tree fell.' (Eli)

⁶ See section (7.6) for the discussion of the irrealis marker.

⁷ PTB causative is **s-* (Benedict 1972:97).

- b. *ɲəe sjaŋma kicellum*
 ɲa-e sjaŋma ki-ci-ləllum
 I-ERG tree PST-CAUS-fall
 'I caused the tree to fall.' (Eli)
- b. *ɲəe sjaŋma cellumum*
 ɲa-e sjaŋma ci-ləllum-m
 I-ERG tree CAUS-fall-CJ
 'I cause the tree fall down.' (Eli)
- (57) a. *ikine ucwa gidzjo*
 ikine uca gi-dzjo
 small child PST-walk
 '(A) small child walked.' (Eli)
- b. *ɲəe ikine ucwagəi gidzidzjo*
 ɲa-e ikine ucwa-gəi gi-dzi-dzjo
 I-ERG small child-DAT PST-CAUS-walk
 'I made the small child walk.' (Eli)
- c. *khonei ikine ucwa gidzidzjo*
 khone-i ikine ucwa gi-dzi-dzjo
 daughter in law-ERG small child PST-CAUS-walk
 'Daughter in law made the small child walk.' (Eli)
- d. *khonei ikine ucwa ɲidzidzjo*
 khone-i ikine ucwa ɲi-dzi-dzjo
 daughter in law-ERG small child NPST-CAUS-walk
 'Daughter in law makes the small child walk.' (Eli)

12 Clause combining

12.0 Outline

We discuss clause combining in Baram in this chapter. The first section presents an analysis of coordination and the second section is concerned with the processes related to subordination.

12.1 Coordination

Coordination in Baram is possible by either using conjunctions or juxtaposing without any coordinators.

12.1.1 Conjunction

Clauses may be coordinated just by juxtaposition. The constituents are normally juxtaposed without any conjunction to connect the constituents. In example (1a-b) two verbs are juxtaposed. Similarly in (2a-c), the nouns are juxtaposed. Nouns (or noun phrases) or verbs (or verb phrases) are normally juxtaposed. Here are some examples:

- (1) a. *neŋla ŋjaŋo nicuno*
neŋla ŋi-aŋo ni-cun-o
millet NPST-fry NPST-put
'(They) fry the maize and put it into (their bags).'
- b. *sjaŋgo cisigo*
sjaŋ-go ci-si-go
drink-INF urinate-DESID-INF
'To drink, (and) to urinate...'
- (2) a. *asi aŋmət kiju*
asi aŋmət ki-ju
air rain water PST-come from above
'Rain (and) water fell (lit. came).'
- b. *kumba khama ləidi pəchi*
kumba khama ləi-di pəchi
stone wooden pillar fix-NTVZ later
'After fixing the wood (and) stone...'
- c. *hilo rə kumba dzigamuŋ tigi*
hilo rə kumba dzi-gjam-inj tigi
mud and stone CAUS-manage-SEQ there
'Mixing mud (and) stone there...'

The sentence in (3) is coordinated by the conjunction *rə* 'and', e.g.¹ Following are some examples:

¹ This is a Nepali loan.

- (3) *naŋgo ama rə ŋago ama lə dheŋ ho*
 naŋ-go ama rə ŋa-go ama
 you-GEN mother and I-GEN mother
 lə dheŋ ho
 PART one.CLF COP.NPST
 'Your mother and mine are equal.'²

12.1.2 Disjunction

There are no native conjunctions to mark the disjunction in Baram. However, loans from the Nepali language serve this purpose. For example, the juxtaposed elements are used to mark disjunction in (4a) in absence of any disjunction marker. However, the disjunction marker *ki* 'or' serves this purpose in (4b-d).

- (4) a. *ghās lə nica mēca*
 ghās lə ni-ca mē-ca
 grass PART NPST-eat NEG-NPST
 'Is the grass eaten or not ?'
 b. *əni ŋiŋa ki məha*
 əni ŋi-ŋa ki məha
 then NPST-COP or NEG.NPST.COP
 'Are there (any children) or not ?'
 c. *cəŋpa cəŋmæ kam tukko niŋhaŋ ki məŋhaŋ*
 cəŋpa cəŋma-e kam tukko
 old manold woman work do-INF
 ni-ŋhaŋ ki mə-ŋhaŋ
 NPST-be able or NPST-be able
 'Can these old couples do the work or not ?'
 d. *tjo dzeŋha namgəi nihuk ki kuni ja ni*
 tjo dzeŋha nam-gəi ni-huk
 that elder one house-LOC NPST-sit
 ki kuni ja ni
 or where go PART
 'Does the older one stay at home or go somewhere ?'

12.1.3 Rejection

There are no native conjunctions to mark rejection in Baram. Instead the disjunctive marker *nə* is used for this purpose.³ Some speakers also use *na* instead of *nə*. They say that they are interchangeable and do not differ in meaning. Examples are given in (5).

² The disjunctive marker is obviously a Nepali loan.

³ It is a Nepali loan.

- (5) a. *nə pi nə pəthul ni-ṭhaŋ*
 nə pi nə pəthul ni-ṭhaŋ
 neither give nor rear NPST-be able
 'Neither can (he) give nor can he look after.'
- b. *na pugo dumgo na cago dumgo*
 na pu-go dum-go na
 neither put on-INF find-INF nor
 ca-go dum-go
 eat-INF find-INF
 'Neither do (we) get (clothes) to wear, nor food to eat.'
- c. *na nisi na nidziwa*
 na ni-si na ni-dziwa
 neither NPST-die nor NPST-survive
 'Neither does (it) die nor lives.'
- d. *na sag likko na mula likko*
 na sag lik-ko
 neither leaf become-INF
 na mula lik-ko
 nor radish become-INF
 'Neither green vegetables nor radishes grow.'

Sometimes mere juxtaposition of clauses conveys the meaning of rejection. For example, the construction such as 'neither nor' in English is conveyed in example (6a-b). Here are a few examples:

- (6) a. *pəju dzjogo məthaŋ pəjuk dzjogo məthaŋ*
 pəju dzjo-go mə-ṭhaŋ
 mouse walk-INF NEG-be able
 pəjuk dzjo-go mə-ṭhaŋ
 monkey walk-INF NEG-be able
 'Neither the mouse nor the monkey can walk.'
- b. *kura khəla məthaŋ phergo məthaŋ*
 kura khəla mə-ṭhaŋ
 matter speak NEG-be able
 pher-go mə-ṭhaŋ
 understand-INF NEG-be able
 'We can neither speak nor understand.'

12.2 Subordination

Subordination in Baram is categorized into complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses. We will discuss each of them in this section.

12.2.1 Complement clauses

Subject complement clauses are not very common in Baram. However, the sentences given in (7a-b) are acceptable.

- (7) a. *balkurage khəlagə garo ŋilik*
 balkura-ge khəlagə
 Baram Language-LOC speak-INF
 garo ŋilik
 difficult NPST-become
 'It is difficult to speak in the Baram language.' (Eli.)
- b. *hamdzaŋge tuŋ sjaŋgo kisen mami*
 hamdzaŋ-ge tuŋ sjaŋgo
 morning-LOC liquor drink-INF
 ki-sen mami
 ADJV-fit NEG.COP
 'It is not good to drink liquor in the morning.' (Eli)

In contrast object complement is widely used. The complementation often occurs when a verb of saying is used in the text. There are two verbs of saying in Baram, viz. *khamgo* 'to say' and *dago* 'to say'. In a reported statement the sequential converb form *dəiŋ* (say-SEQ) also functions as a complementizer in Baram. However, another verb of saying *khamgo* 'to say' does not normally occur as a complementizer. Examples in (8) shows that there is no overt complementizer in Baram.

- (8) a. *pheri hai thəja-go ni-do ŋa-i*
 pheri hai thəja-go ni-do ŋa-i
 again what bring-INF NPST-do I-ERG
 'Then I ask what to bring.'
- b. *nue ədzəi ajiŋ baləi gigo məni nido ŋəi*
 nuŋ-e ədzəi ajiŋ bal-i
 you-ERG till look-SEQ man-ERG
 gi-go mə-ni ni-da-o ŋa-i
 NEG-see PFV- NPST-say-IRR I-ERG
 'I said, "Have you not seen people plucking?"'
- c. *kisen rəicə nikham ŋəi*
 ki-sen ŋiŋa ni-kham ŋa-i
 ADVJ-match COP.NPST NPST-say I-ERG
 'He says, 'You are fine'.'
- d. *dhərmə nədi nikham ni*
 dhərmə nədi ni-kham ni
 religion river NPST-say PART
 'It is called Dharma river, you know.'

We see that the complementizer *dəiŋ* is used in example (9a-b). In all these examples the converb form of the verb say *dəiŋ* also functions as a complementizer in Baram. Here are some further examples:

- (9) a. *ikine alegom bja tukun pigo dəiŋ gida ŋəi*
 ikine ale-go-m bja tuk-un
 small son-GEN-EMPH marriage do-SEQ
 pi-go da-iŋ gi-da ŋa-i
 give-INF say-SEQ PST-say I-ERG
 'I proposed to arrange the marriage of my young son.'
- b. *ŋəi kiwap dəiŋ kikham*
 ŋa-i ki-wap da-iŋ ki-kham
 I-ERG PST-meet say-SEQ PST-say
 '(He) came to say that he had met (someone).'

12.2.2 Relative clauses

The two relative clauses which occur frequently in Baram corpus are prenominal clause and relative-correlative clauses. There is no distinct relative marker in Baram. Instead the participial form of the verb serves as a relative marker. Examples of prenominal relative clauses are given in (10).

- (10) a. *kisi bal mami*
 ki-si bal mami
 PRF-die man not
 'It is not the dead person (the person who died).'
- b. *tjo kisi bal akchjago*
 tjo ki-si bal akchja-go
 that PRF-die man throw-INF
 'To dispose off the dead man'
- c. *kira baləi nido*
 ki-ra bal-əi ni-d-o
 PFV-know man-ERG NPST-say-IRR
 'The person who knows says (this). '

Prenominal relative clauses are more often used than other types of relative clauses. However, due to the influence of Nepali, the contact language, relative-correlative clauses also exist in Baram. Following are examples:

- (11) a. *ŋəe dze dumo ui ŋica*
 ŋa-e dze dum-o ui ŋi-ca
 I-ERG what get-IRR that NPST-eat
 'I eat whatever I get.'
- b. *nəe dze ŋiŋa tei ca*
 nu-e dze ŋiŋa tei ca-a
 you-ERG what NPST-COP that eat-IMP
 'You eat whatever you have.'

The clauses which are like relative-correlatives are Nepali calques. It is clear from the lexicon used in these examples. For examples in (11a) the words *dze* 'what' and *ui* 'the same (correlative)' and in (11b) *dze* 'what' and *tei* 'the same (correlative)' are Nepali loans.

12.2.3 Adverbial clauses

In this section we will discuss temporal, purpose clauses, conditional, converb and desiderative clauses. The adverbial clauses are enclosed in brackets.

a. Temporal clauses

A temporal clause is the one if the event expressed in the main clause could be shown to be related to the time of the event/state in the adverbial clause. For example, in Baram *tigaŋ* 'and then' or 'then' establishes such relations. They are given in (12).

- (12) a. *naŋ lə dzjoŋ ni huk*
 naŋ lə dzjo-iŋ ni-huk
 you PART walk-SEQ NPST-sit
 ŋi-ŋa
 NPST-COP
 'You still keep on moving.'
- b. *tigaŋ lə hon likiŋ gidzjo*
 tigaŋ lə ho lik-iŋ
 after that PART like that become-SEQ
 gi-dzjo
 PST-walk
 'Then, I walked from there.'

Another way of establishing relation between the clauses is by using *dhəri* 'till'. Durative aspect is expressed by the bare stem followed by *dhəri* 'till'. This indicates that the former action continues till it stops, and the second action comes to a conclusion.

- (13) a. *mətukdhəri hai nə hai cilika*
 mə-tuk dhəri hai nə hai
 NEG-do till what PART PART
 ci-lik-a
 CAUS-become-INFR
 'It will cause some disturbances as long as you do not worship.'
- b. *məjadhəri lə mərə*
 mə-ja dhəri lə mə-ra
 NEG-go till PART NEG-know
 'You do not know as long as you don't go.'

- (14) a. *ṇæ cadhəri huka*
 ṇa-e cadhəri huk-a
 I-ERG eat-till sit-IMP
 'Stay till I eat.' (Eli)
- b. *ucwa taidhəri gəra gjoghjo*
 ucwa t̥ai-dhəri gəra gi-ghu
 son come-till field PST-plough
 '(I) ploughed the field till the son came.' (Eli)

Interestingly, when the adverb *pəchi* 'later' occurs in a text, it always occurs with the bare stem of the verbs. In examples (15a), *tuk* 'do' *pan* 'give' and *ta* 'keep' are the bare stems occurring with the adverbial *pəchi* 'later'.⁴

- (15) a. *rəksi tuk pəchi pheri hadza adango*
 rəksi tuk pəchi pheri hadza adaŋ-go
 alcohol do later again rice search-INF
 'After making the alcohol, search for the rice again.'
- b. *pan pəchi*
 pan pəchi
 feed later
 'After feeding, '
- (16) a. *džuṇ məhadhəri məlik*
 džuṇ məha-dhəri mə-lik
 bamboo COP.NPST-until NEG-become
 'It was not possible without the bamboo.'
- b. *məbəḍdi dhəri məsjaṇ*
 mə-bəḍ-di məha-dhəri mə-sjaṇ
 NEG-grow-NTVZ COP.NPST-until NEG-drink
 'Don't take unless (he) moves forward.'

b. Purpose clause

The adverbial clause has a purpose relation when the adverbial clause signals the purpose of the agent's main clause. There are two ways of forming purposive clauses. Firstly, purpose clauses are made by employing infinitive form of the verb. Examples are provided in (17).

- (17) a. *ale nam cago namgəi kja*
 ale am ca-go nam-gəi ki-ja
 son rice eat-INF house-LOC PST-go
 'Son went home to eat rice.'

⁴ The word *pəchi* 'later' is a loan from Nepali.

- b. *ale am cago kihuk*
 ale am ca-go ki-huk
 son rice eat-INF PST-sit
 'The son sat down to eat rice.'
- (18) a. *siŋ adango nitəi*
 siŋ adaŋ-go ni-təi
 firewood search-INF NPST-come
 '(They) come to search for firewood.'
- b. *pəddigo kja ŋiŋa*
 pəḍ-di-go ki-ja ŋi-ŋa
 read-NTVZ-INF PST-go NPST-COP
 '(Some) have gone to study.'

Secondly, purposive clauses are also formed by employing directional prefixes. When the directive prefixes are used they have purposive reading. Examples are given in (19).

- (19) a. *tigaŋ pheri niheghujo*
 tigaŋ pheri ni-he-ghujo
 then again NPST-AND-plough
 'Then they go to plough.'
- b. *am cəiŋ keina*
 am ca-iŋ ki-he-na
 rice eat-SEQ PST-AND-sleep
 'After eating, (I) went to sleep.'
- c. *koi dzatra keijo*
 koi dzatra ki-he-ajo
 some fair PST-AND-look
 '(Sometimes) we went to see the fairs.'
- d. *lakhe keijo kəile*
 lakhe ki-he-ajo kəile
 Lakhe PST-AND-look when
 '(Sometimes) we went to observe the Lakhe (dance).'
- e. *kjoŋkham na*
 ki-hjuŋ-kham na
 PST-VEN-say HS
 'He came to say that.'
- f. *dəiŋ keŋkham ŋagəi*
 da-iŋ ki-hjuŋ-kham ŋa-gəi
 say-SEQ PST-VEN-say I-DAT
 'He came to tell this to me.'

c. Conditional clause

A conditional adverbial clause codes an unreal event by marking it with *-le* in Baram. The main clause may be in the simple present tense, imperative etc. Examples are provided in (20-21).

- (20) a. *naŋ məjale ŋəi muom*
 naŋ mə-ja-le ŋə-i mu-om
 you NEG-go-COND I-ERG beat-CJ
 ‘If you don’t go, I will beat you.’
- b. *aŋmət julem mədzo*
 aŋmət ju-le-m mə-dzo
 rain rain-COND NEG-leak
 ‘Even if it rains heavily, it does not leak.’
- c. *mədumle hai tukko hogəi*
 mə-dum-le hai tuk-ko hogəi
 NEG-find-COND what do-INF tomorrow
 ‘If you do not find what (will I) do ? ’
- (21) a. *aŋmət jule geram ciropa ni*
 aŋmət ju-le gera-m
 rain rain-COND field-EMPH
 ci-rop-a ni
 HAB-plant-HAB PART
 ‘If it had rained, I would have planted the paddy (in the field).’
- b. *baləi ghujole hare pəthul pugo*
 bal-i ghujo-le hare pəthul pu-go
 man-ERG plough-COND why keep put on-INF
 ‘If people plough, why to keep (rear) oxen?’

d. Converb clauses

There are three categories of converb clauses in Baram: sequential, simultaneous, and durative. In the sequential converb clause, the verb is encoded with *-la* and in the simultaneous clause the verb is encoded with *-iŋ*. Simultaneous converb clauses are given in (22).

- (22) a. *bhindəi bhindəi tukiŋ kiten niŋa*
 bhindəi bhindəi tuk-iŋ ki-ten
 different different do-CONT PRF-put on
 ni-ŋa
 NPST-AUX
 ‘(They) made a living doing in that way.’

- b. *testak dukhə likiŋ ənek tukiŋ gidziwa ŋa*
 testak dukhə lik-iŋ ənek
 like that hardship become-CNT several
 gi-dziwa ŋa
 PST-survive I
 'I survived doing the hard work (hardship) and others like that.'

The durative converb *-la* encodes the durative (continuous) actions.

Here are some examples:

- (23) a. *sja ajola michja ajola bhuŋro kitəi na*
 sja ajo-la bumaŋ ki-təi na
 cow look-DUR tiger PST-come HS
 'The tiger came while looking after (grazing) the cows and goats.'
- b. *hukla hukla som din nihuko*
 huk-la huk-la som din
 sit-SIM sit-SIM three day
 ni-huk-o
 NPST-sit-IRR
 'As they waited there, they stayed there for some three days.'
- c. *tjaŋ lə dzjola dzjola kwa din dzjoa*
 tjaŋ lə dzjo-la dzjo-la
 then PART walk-SIM walk-SIM
 kwa din dzjo-a
 how many day walk-IRR
 'Walking a long distance from there, (they) walked for many days.'

The simultaneous converb marker *-cəi* encodes the simultaneous actions. Here are some examples:

- (24) a. *ucuməie nuicəi cacəi kituk*
 ucuməi-e nui-cəi ca-cəi ki-tuk
 daughter-ERG laugh-SIM eat-SIM PST-do
 'The daughter kept laughing and eating.' (Eli)
- b. *ŋəi uməigəi cjoksolsəi kimo*
 ŋa-i uməi-gəi cjoksol-cəi ki-mo
 I-ERG wife-DAT tease-SIM PST-beat
 'I teased and beat my wife.' (Eli)

e. Desiderative clauses

Desiderative clauses are formed by the desiderative marker *-si ~-se* appended to the verb followed by the main clause. A desiderative clause in Baram is generally preposed. Here are some examples:

- (25) a. *kimin mewa casi ləgdia*
 ki-min mewa ca-si ləg-di-a
 PFV-ripe papaya eat-DESID feel-NTVZ-IRR
 '(She) might have wanted to eat that ripened papaya.'
- (26) a. *dasi niləgdi ŋa*
 da-si ni-ləg-di ŋa
 say-DESID NPST-feel-NTVZ COP.NPST
 'I want to say.'
- b. *casi niləgdiachə tjo mamacagəi*
 ca-si ŋi-ləgdi-a-chə
 eat-DESID NPST-feel-IRR-INFR
 tjo mamaca-gəi
 that lady-DAT
 'That woman wanted (such things) to eat.'

f. Reason clauses

Reason clauses are generally formed by the reason word desiderative marker *hon likiŋ* 'therefore' in Baram. Examples are given in (27).

- (27) a. *ale mədə kilik hon likiŋ ŋəə alegəi okhəti kipan*
 ale mədə kilik hon likiŋ
 son sick PST-become therefore
 ŋa-e ale-gəi okhəti ki-pan
 I-ERG son-DAT medicine PST-feed
 '(My) son became sick. Therefore I gave (lit. fed) him some medicine.' (Eli)
- b. *bumaŋ gjoɡdur hon likiŋ sja michja gjagu*
 bumaŋ gi-əɡdur hon likiŋ
 tiger PST-roar therefore
 sja michja gi-əɡu
 cow goat PST-be afraid
 'The tiger roared, and so the cows and goats were scared.' (Eli)

13 Summary

This study shows how a seriously endangered language which was in a dormant state could be documented and analyzed. Baram is a language which has not been spoken for about fifteen years or so. However, the elder speakers have good memory of their language. Data were largely drawn from those speakers. Unless drastic steps for revitalization are taken they will be the last fluent speakers of the Baram language. This grammar is based on the corpus built on the documentation of the Baram language.

Chapter 1 presents the information related to language affiliation, the geographical areas where it is spoken, demography of the Baram people and speakers and overall organization of the study.

In Chapter 2 we have discussed the sociolinguistic status of the Baram language. The information for this survey was drawn from a structured questionnaire prepared and elicited for this purpose. Baram has been immensely influenced by Nepali. As a result only 18% of the people have retained their language. But the degree of retention is not homogeneous among them as only 51 out of 129 are fluent in the language. All the speakers are bilingual and the use of Baram in day-to-day communication is very low. Most of the Baram people have high level of affection and respect towards their language.

There was a high degree of bilingualism and heavy language shift in the Baram community in the past time and the situation has continued and accelerated. At present, the intergenerational transmission of the Baram language has been discontinued. Baram is thus a seriously endangered language.

In Chapter 3 we have analyzed the phonology of the Baram language. The language has 29 consonants and 6 simple vowels. However, voiceless aspirated stops and affricates are not very productive and are limited to a few words. They are treated as residual sounds because they are limited to a few lexical items. In Chapter 4 we discussed morphophonological processes of Baram. Palatalization, vowel deletion, vowel change and reduction, vowel raising, epenthesis and resyllabification and deaffrication are some productive morphophonological processes in the language.

Nominal morphology has been analyzed in Chapter 5. Baram has prototypical native nouns or derived nouns from the verbs, mainly through object and agent nominalization. Nouns are also formed by compounding. Inflectional markings in Baram nouns include number, gender, case and classifiers. The plural suffix in Baram is *-ru* or *-həru*. Gender markings in Baram are masculine suffix *-pa* and masculine suffix *-ma* and are attached to a small closed set of human nouns and particular phrasal expressions. In Baram cases are encoded in three ways: zero marking, case clitics and postpositions. The nominative case is zero-marked. Other case relations shown by case clitics are dative-accusative, locative, genitive, ablative, comitative, and ergative-instrumental. The pronouns in Baram are personal, demonstrative, reflexive, and interrogative pronouns. The distribution of native classifiers is restricted within a few numerals and expressions in Baram. The corpus shows that the native

classifier occurs only with the numeral *de* 'one' and *nis* 'two' and only one occurrence *pəcciswa* 'twenty five-CLF' in our entire corpus.

Adjective is a small category in Baram. There are a few simple native adjectives and the rest of the Baram adjectives are derived from verbs. In addition, some adjectives borrowed from Nepali are widely used in the Baram discourse. Several TB languages in Nepal have this tendency. The chapter also discusses the comparative and superlative constructions of adjectives in Baram.

Verb morphology is discussed in Chapter 6. Native Baram verb stems are monosyllabic or bisyllabic. When the verb stems are borrowed from other languages (mainly from Indic languages), a nativizing suffix *-di* is suffixed before taking other tense and aspect affixes. Tense in Baram has two categories: past and non-past. Aspects in Baram verbs are progressive, perfect and habituals. Progressive aspect is encoded with a suffix whereas the habitual and perfect are realized through prefixes. Morphologically marked moods in Baram are desiderative, imperative, conditional, hortative, and optative. Thus all moods are realized by means of suffixes. A suffix *-o* occurs mostly in questions, to convey the inferential mood. Irrealis past is analyzed as an irrealis marker. This can be contrasted with the past tense marker which has a wider distribution. We have analyzed the suffix *-m* as an intentional suffix (intentional conjunct) although conjunct-disjunct is not very productive in Baram. Intentional conjunct is attested only in the non-past tense. Directional markers *heŋ-* and *he-* are both prefixed to the Baram verbs to show directions viz. towards the deictic center and away from the deictic center respectively. Modality is periphrastically realized and the modality categories are obligation, possibility, and ability. Some non-finite forms and functions in Baram are converb, absolutive, and bare stems. Thus Baram verb morphology consists of both prefixes and suffixes.

Adverbs in Baram are discussed in Chapter 8. Baram still retains some adverbs but the rest of the adverbs are borrowed from Nepali. Comparative and superlative constructions are similar to the comparative and superlative constructions of adjectives.

Closed word classes are discussed in Chapter 9. The closed classes of words discussed in this section are emphatic markers, particles, exclamations, onomatopoeia, echo words and fillers. Baram contains the emphatic markers and particles which are productively used in discourse. Most of the particles resembles that of Nepali. Onomatopoeias are nearly similar to Nepali. In addition to these, fillers are also found in noun phrases in natural discourse.

Noun phrase is discussed in Chapter 10. Baram is an SOV language, and modifiers (such as adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, and determiners) precede the heads. Complex noun phrases are formed by genitive phrase, apposition, and relative clause. Genitive phrases are formed by two ways in Baram. Firstly, a genitive phrase is formed with genitive case-marked possessive noun and the possessed noun. Secondly, the two nouns are merely juxtaposed without marking genitive case to the possessor noun. Although several modifiers such as relative clause, genitive, determiner, numeral and adjective may precede the head noun, hardly more than two modifiers are found in a noun phrase in natural sentences.

We discussed various clause types in Chapter 11 such as copular clauses, intransitive and transitive clauses. There are two negative prefixes in Baram: *mə-* and *a-*. The prefix *mə-* is similar to several Tibeto-Burman languages and is more productive than the prefix *a-*. Both *wh-* questions and *yes/no* questions are found in the language. When the questions are formed in the past tense, the suffix *-a* is used instead of the past tense prefix *ki-*.

Clause combining is discussed in Chapter 12. Baram does not have native coordinating conjunctions. Sentences are coordinated either by juxtaposing the sentences or by taking the conjunctions which are similar to those in Nepali. The sequential converb *-iŋ* serves as a complementizer in complement clauses. Although Baram does not have relativizer, the participial clauses serve the function of relative clause in Baram. Adverbial clauses in Baram are temporal clause, purpose clause, conditional clause, and desiderative clause.

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Appendices

Appendix Ia

**The pilot survey questionnaire
Set-I (for non-speakers)
(Linguistic and Ethnographic Documentation
of the Baram Language)**

Date:..... **Researcher:**.....
Place:..... **Language used in interview:**.....

1. General Background

- 1.1 Name and surname:
- 1.2 Baram subgroup
- 1.3 Sex: ☐ male ☐ female
- 1.4 Age:
- 1.5 Profession: ☐ agriculture ☐ business
☐ service
- 1.6 Address:
Municipality/VDC: Ward No.:
Village: Tole:
- 1.7 Education:
☐ Preliterate ☐ Literate
☐ non-formal ☐ formal: (level)

2. Linguistic Background

- 2.1 Where were you born? VDC.....Ward
No.....Tole.....
- 2.2 Where were you grown up? VDC.....Ward
No.....Tole.....
- 2.3 Language used at home in childhood days?.....
- 2.4 Language you learnt first?
- 2.5. Father's first language?
- 2.6. Mother's first language?
- 2.7 Spouse's first language?

3. Baram Language proficiency

- 3.1 How well do you speak Baram?
- ☐ can take part in social discussions and controversies
- ☐ have simple types of two-way communication on few topics
- ☐ can communicate using few words and phrases
- How many Baram words do you know?
- ☐ up to 20 ☐ up to 50
- ☐ up to 100 ☐ more
- 3.2 How well do you understand people speaking Baram?
- ☐ completely ☐ adequately
- ☐ satisfactorily ☐ slightly

3.3 How much can you judge whether a sentence is grammatical, ungrammatical or ambiguous?

- ☐ completely ☐ adequately
☐ satisfactorily ☐ slightly

3.4 How much can you explain the meaning of a word?

- ☐ completely ☐ adequately
☐ satisfactorily ☐ slightly

3.5 What language do you use with the following people?

People	Baram	Nepali	Other		People	Baram	Nepali	Other
parents					Grand parents			
elder brother					spouse			
elder sister					servants			
children					pets			
Younger brother					relatives			
younger sister								

3.6 What language do you use for the following activities?

Activities	Baram	Nepali	Other		Activities	Baram	Nepali	Other
to think?					to count?			
to play?					to dream?			
to curse?					to abuse?			
to joke?					to perform rituals?			
to scold?					to pray?			
to sing?								

4. Name of the Language

4.1 Autoglotonym (name(s) given to the language by the native speakers):

- a. c.
b. d.

4.2 Heteroglotonym (name(s)) given by the non-native community:

- a. c.
b. d.

4.3 Which name do you prefer?

- ☐ Heteroglotonym ☐ Autoglotonym

4.4 Is there any language similar to your language?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, Name of the language:

Place where spoken:

5. Language Variation

5.1 Where is Baram spoken?

S.N.	VDC	Ward No.	Name of the Locality	Remarks
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				

5.2 Among those villages where is your language spoken in different ways?

- a. b. c.
d.

5.3 What kinds of differences (pronunciation, vocabulary, etc.?) are there between them?

Name of the place	Pronunciation	Vocabulary	Intonation	Structure

(Note: If there are several differences, the surveyor has to use note them in the note copy.)

5.4 Which dialect is exactly same to your dialect?

5.5 Which dialect is the easiest for you to understand?

5.6 Which dialect is the most difficult for you to understand?

5.7 Is there any variety that you can't understand?

5.8 Arrange the dialects in the order of less difficult to more difficult.

- a. b.
c. d.

5.9 Which variety is regarded to be the purest form of Baram language?

.....

Why?

5.10 If one would like to write your language which dialect should be chosen? Why?

.....

5.11 Are there any differences in the language used by,

- male and female? ☐ Yes ☐ No

- old and young? ☐ Yes ☐ No

- different Baram subgroups? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes,

5.12 What are the differences?

	Pronunciation	Vocabulary	Intonation	Structure
Male				
Female				
Old				
Young				

6. Knowledge and use of the languages

6.1 What languages are spoken in your territory?

☐ Baram ☐ Nepali

☐ ☐

6.2 Which is the most adjacent to Baram language?

☐ Nepali ☐

☐ ☐

6.3 Which language(s) do you speak?

☐ Baram ☐ Nepali

☐ ☐

(If more than one language)

6.4 Which do you speak better?

☐ Baram ☐ Nepali

☐ ☐

6.5 Where and how did you learn the languages?

language	Place of learning	Way of learning
Baram		
Nepali		

6.6 Are you always able to understand heated arguments (palavers) between two people who are speaking in.....,

☐ Baram? ☐ Nepali? ☐

- 6.7 Are you always able to understand jokes and proverbs in,
☐ Baram? ☐ Nepali? ☐
- 6.8 Can you always find the words to express your thoughts in,
☐ Baram? ☐ Nepali? ☐
- 6.9 Are there any Baram people who speak only Baram Language?
☐ Yes ☐ No
 If yes, where are they?

6.10 Which language do you use in the following situations?

At home with		Baram	Nepali	Other
	Grand Parents			
	Your own siblings			
	Your children			
	Your relatives			
In the society with Baram community	People senior in age			
	People of the same age			
	Young people and children			
In the society with other communities	People senior in age			
	People of the same age			
	Young people and children			
	Village leaders			

- 6.11 Which language do you use to do the following activities?
 a. In the local market c. Religious functions
 b. In agricultural works..... d. Local offices
e. Festivals
- 6.12 What language do your children use when they talk to?

	Baram	Nepali	Other
you			
mother/father			
grand parents			
themselves while playing			
their teacher			
the neighbors			
the relatives			
a stranger			

- 6.13 Do non-Baram people speak your language?
☐ Yes ☐ No
 If yes, which language community people?
 How do they feel to speak your language?
- 6.14 Arrange the languages according to the wider use in the society?
☐ ☐ ☐

7. Language Attitude

7.1 Which language do you prefer to speak?

- ☐ Why?
- 7.2 What would you say if someone offered to teach you to read and write in Baram?
☐ I love it. ☐ I hate it. ☐ I don't mind it.
- 7.3 Would you like your children to learn to read and write Baram in addition to Nepali?
☐ Yes ☐ No
- 7.4 What would you say if the government offers to teach in Baram in the first years of primary school?
☐ I love it. ☐ I hate it. ☐ I don't mind it.
- 7.5 How do you feel to speak in your mother tongue/first language in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language?
☐ Prestigious ☐ Embarrassed ☐ Neutral
- 7.6 Among the languages you speak which one do you like most?
☐ Baram ☐ Nepali ☐
 Why?
- 7.7 Have you ever had any problem because of being speaking Baram language?
☐ Yes ☐ No
- 7.8 How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?
☐ Good ☐ Bad ☐ Neutral
- 7.9 Do you encourage the younger generation to speak your native language?
☐ Yes ☐ No
- 7.10 If yes, why?
 a.....
 b.....
 c.....
- 7.11 If not, why?
- 7.12 How do you feel if your son or daughter were to marry non- Baram speaker?

8. Language Vitality, Maintenance and Endangerment

- 8.1 What language(s) did you speak at home when you were a child?
☐ ☐ ☐
- 8.2 Which one did you speak first?
☐
- 8.3 What language(s) do/did your father and mother speak with each other?
☐ Baram ☐ Nepali ☐
- 8.4 What language(s) do you speak most often with your husband / wife?
 What do they speak with you?
 I speak: ☐ Baram ☐ Nepali ☐
 S/he speaks: ☐ Baram ☐ Nepali ☐
- 8.5 What language(s) do you speak with friends the same age? (From your language)
☐ Baram ☐ Nepali ☐
- 8.6 What language(s) do you speak most often with your children? What do they speak with you?
☐ Baram ☐ Nepali ☐

- 8.7 What language(s) do your children speak most often when they play with other children?
- 8.8 Do young people in your village/town speak your language well, the way it ought to be spoken?
☐ Yes ☐ No
- 8.9 Do you think that young people in your village speak Nepali more than they speak Baram?
☐ Yes ☐ No
- 8.10. Do you have any friends who do not speak your language?
☐ Yes ☐ No
- 8.11 If yes, what language do you speak most often with them? What language(s) do they speak to you?
I speak: ☐ Baram ☐ Nepali ☐
They speak: ☐ Baram ☐ Nepali ☐
- 8.12 Is the use of Baram language decreasing?
☐ Yes ☐ No

Appendix Ib

The pilot survey questionnaire

Set-II (for non-speakers)

Date:..... Researcher:.....
Place:..... Language used in interview:.....

1. General Background

- 1.1 Name and surname:
1.2 Baram subgroup
1.3 Sex: ☐ male ☐ female
1.4 Age:
1.5 Profession: ☐ agriculture ☐ business ☐ service
1.6 Address:
Municipality/VDC: Ward No.:
Village: Tole:
1.7 Education:
☐ Preliterate ☐ Literate
☐ non-formal ☐ formal: (level)

2. Linguistic Background

- 2.1 Where were you born? VDC.....Ward
No.....Tole.....
2.2 Where were you grown up? VDC.....Ward
No.....Tole.....
2.3 Language used at home in childhood days?
2.4 Language you learnt first?
2.5. Father's first language?
2.6. Mother's first language?
2.7 Spouse's first language?

3. Name of the Language

- 3.1 Autoglotonym (name(s) given to the language by the native speakers):
a. b.
3.2 Heteroglotonym (name(s)) given by the non-native communities:
a. c.
b. d.
3.3 Which one do you prefer?
☐ Heteroglotonym ☐ Autoglotonym

4. Language Variation

- 4.1 Where is Baram spoken?

S.N.	VDC	Ward No.	Name of the Locality	Remarks
1				
2				
3				
4				

- 4.2. Among those villages where is your language spoken in different ways?

- a. b.
c. d.

- 4.3. Which variety is regarded to be the purest form of Baram language?

- 4.4. If one would like to learn and write your language which dialect should be chosen?
 Why?

- 4.5 Are there any differences in the language used by,
- | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| - male and female? | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| - old and young? | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| - different Baram subgroups? | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |

5. Knowledge and use of the languages

- 5.1 What languages are spoken in your territory?
- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Baram | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- 5.2 Which is the most adjacent to Baram language?
- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- 5.3 Which language(s) do you speak?
- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Baram | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- (If more than one language)
- 5.4 Are there any Baram people who speak only Baram Language?
- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
- If yes, where do they live?
 VDC.....Ward No.....Tole.....
- 5.5 Do non-Baram people speak Baram language?
- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
- If yes, which language community people?
- 5.6 Arrange the languages according to the wider use in the society?
- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|

6. Language Attitude

- 6.1 Which language do you prefer to speak?
- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Why? |
|--------------------------------|------------|
- 6.2 What would you say if someone offered to teach you to read and write in Baram?
- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I love it. | <input type="checkbox"/> I hate it. | <input type="checkbox"/> I don't mind it. |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
- 6.3 Would you like your children to learn to read and write Baram in addition to Nepali?
- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
- 6.4 What would you say if the government offers to teach in Baram in the first years of primary school?
- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I love it. | <input type="checkbox"/> I hate it. | <input type="checkbox"/> I don't mind it. |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
- 6.5 How do you feel to speak in Baram in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language?
- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prestigious | <input type="checkbox"/> Embarrassed | <input type="checkbox"/> Neutral |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
- 6.6 Do you encourage the younger generation to speak Baram language?
- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

6.7 If yes, why?

a.....

b.....

c.....

6.8 If not, why?

7. Language Vitality, Maintenance and Endangerment

7.1 What language(s) do/did your father and mother speak with each other?

☐ Baram

☐ Nepali

☐

7.2 Do young people in your village/town speak your language well, the way it ought to be spoken?

☐ Yes

☐ No

7.3 Do you think that young people in your village speak Nepali more than they speak Baram?

☐ Yes

☐ No

7.4 Is the use of Baram language decreasing?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Appendix II Analyzed Texts

We have presented varieties of texts in this appendix. The texts are, therefore, selected for several reasons. The text 'Old Man and Woman' is a story narrated by Dambar Bahadur Baram. 'My Husband' is narrated by Mina Baram, one of the fluent speakers who has retained the language best to this date. She recalls the moment when her husband became sick and passed away. In addition to narrating story and telling personal experience, there are some conversations which were 'staged communicative event'. The speakers participate in the conversation as in 'Permission1' where Sabbal Singh Baram asks Tok Man Baram to visit his father-in-law and mother-in-law. We intend to make the readers of the grammar familiar with the question and answer strategies in Baram. This purpose is served by 'Asking Reason1' where Dambar Bahadur Baram asks several questions to Pan Mati Baram and she answers them. Tok Man Baram tells about Pandure dance in 'Pandure_Tok'. Some texts were collected in order to have specific grammatical structures and we find an instance of this case in 'Get upwife' where Sabbal Bahadur Baram is ordering his wife to get up and do some work.

The texts presented here are representatives of different genres such as narrative, conversation, asking for reason, etc. The texts have been minimally edited. We know the fact that the discourses are not always complete sentences but may be full of 'false starts (FS)'. Some speakers have habit of using a number of fillers (F). False starts and fillers are indicated by periods [...] in the texts. The texts included in this appendix are given below.

S.N.	Texts	File names	Speaker(s)
1	Asking Reason	AskingReason1	Dambar Bahadur Baram, Pan Mati Baram
2	Get up wife	GetUpWife	Sabbl Singh Barm
3	My Husband	MyHus	Mina Baram
4	Old man and woman	OldManWoman	Dambar Bahadur Baram
5	Pandure	Pandure_Tok	Tok Man Baram
6	Permission	Permission	Sabbal Singh Baram Tok Man Baram

Appendix II

IIa. Asking Reason1

001

cəŋpan hare

cəŋpa -n hare

old man -EMPH why

DAM: Why old ones,

002

chiŋon

chiŋo -n

fast -EMPH

DAM: quickly

003

sija dəiŋ

si -a da -iŋ

die -IRR say -SEQ

DAM: saying, (he) is dead,

004

əbə hare hare əbə sui ra rə

əbə hare hare əbə su -e ra rə

now why why now who -ERG know PART

sigo nepna

si -go ŋi- pəna

die -INF NPST-must

PAN: then, why it is so, who knows (when) to die.

005

əbə uniska hamdzaŋ lə am cəiŋ kja

əbə unis -ge hamdzaŋ lə am ca -iŋ ki- ja

now day-LOC morning PART rice eat -SEQ PST- go

PAN: Then, (I) went early in morning after eating rice.

006

baripəta kja

bari - pəta ki- ja

field - near by PST- go

PAN: (I) went to field.

007

baripəta *holega* *kithja*
bari - pəta hole -gəi ki- thəja
field - near by evening -LOC PST- arrive
(I) came back in the evening.

008

khaləŋ *sija*
khaləŋ si -a
how die -IRR
DAM: How did (she) die?

009

holega *thəjeiŋ* *am* *kica*
hole -gəi thəja -iŋ am ki- ca
evening -LOC arrive -SEQ rice PST- eat
PAN: After coming in evening (I) ate rice.

010

am *cəiŋ* *keina*
am ca -iŋ ki- he- na
rice eat -SEQ PST- ANDA sleep
PAN: After eating (I) went to sleep.

011

keina
ki- he- na
PST- ANDA sleep
PAN: (I) went to sleep.

012

henala *lə*
he- na -la lə
ANDA sleep -SEQ PART
PAN: While going to sleep,

013

əbə *kekhlə* *bal* *cin* *ho*
əbə ki- khəla bal cin ho

now PFV- speak man PART COP.NPST

PAN: then, (there were) people talking.

014

kekhlə bal əbə

ki- khəla bal əbə

PFV- speak man now

PAN: The people talking then,

015

ucuməi

ucuməi

daughter

PAN: daughter,

016

mikkəi okhəti cun pjaŋ nani ŋago mikkəi

mik -gəi okhəti cun pjaŋ nani ŋa -go mik -gəi

eye -LOC medicine put give child I -GEN eye -LOC

dəi kham

da -iŋ kham

say -SEQ say

PAN: (I) was asking (her) to put medicine in my eyes.

017

ucuməi gida

ucuməi gi- da

daughter PST- say

PAN: (I) told to daughter,

018

tjãdə ucuməi palo mikka

tjãdə ucuməi palo mik -ge

then daughter time eye -LOC

PAN: then after, daughter (put) in eyes,

019

okhəti cun kipi

okhəti cun ki- pi

medicine put PST- give

PAN: (she) put the medicine in (eyes).

020

tjãḍə cəŋpa kina kã
tjãḍə cəŋpa ki- na ki- ŋa
 then old man PFV-sleep PST- AUX

PAN: Then after, husband was sleeping.

021

kina bal lə tjãpəchi lə phətrə phətrə
ki- na bal lə tjã - pəchi lə phətrə phətrə
 PFV- sleep man PART there - later PART ONO ONO

likin

lik -in
 become -SEQ

PAN: Then after, man (husband) who was sleeping became serious,

022

anam məkhlə bal mətəi phətrə phətrə
anam mə- khəla bal mətəi phətrə phətrə
 mouth NEG- speak man only ONO ONO

nicjoklo məkhlə

ŋi- ci- khəla mə- khəla
 NPST- CAUS- speak NEG- speak

DAM: (he) doesn't open the mouth, (he) was restless (about to die), (other) called (him) but didn't respond.

023

hai ho sədhəi am caiŋ kina
hai ho sədhəi am ca -in ki- na
 what COP.NPST always rice eat -SEQ PST- sleep

bal tə ho ni
bal tə ho ni
 man PART COP.NPST PART

PAN: What was it, (he) had just gone to sleep after eating the food.

024

ho kilik

ho ki- lik
 so PST- become

DAM: It happened like that.

025

ǎ holəŋ kilik

ǎ holəŋ ki- lik

yes that way PST- become

DAM: Yes, it happened like that.

026

əbə nəi kwaṭa uca ucuməi dumo

əbə nuŋ -e kwa -ṭa ucuwa ucuməi dum -o

now you -ERG how much -CLF son daughter find -IMP

DAM: How many daughters did you breed ?

027

dumgo lə dumo ni dherəi ni

dum -go lə dum-o ni dherəi ni

find -INF PART find -1 PART more PART

duməŋ hai le səbəi kisi

dum -iŋ hai le səbəi ki- si

find -SEQ whatPART all PST- die

PAN: (I) breed many but all died, what to do.

028

de ucwa gidum ho cawoṭa ucuməi

de ucuwa gi- dum ho car -woṭa ucuməi

one son PFV- find COP.NPST four -CLF daughter

gidum səbəi kisi ni

gi- dum səbəi ki- si ni

PFV- find all PST- die PART

PAN: (I) had a son, four daughters, all died.

029

tei de ucuməi hai de ucwa lə niŋa ni

tei de ucuməi hai de ucuwa lə ŋi- ŋa ni

that one daughter what one son PART NPST- be PART

PAN: There are one daughter and one son

030

nango kancha

naŋ -go kancha

2SG -GEN younger

DAM: Your youngest,

031

ucwa caĩ

ucuwa caĩ

son EMPH

DAM: son

032

khaləŋ sia

khaləŋ si -a

how die -IRR

DAM: How did (he) die?

033

ucuməi

ucuməi

daughter

DAM: Daughter?

034

ə... ucwa

ə... ucuwa

F son

DAM: son,

035

ucwa məŋa uhũ tei dheŋ gidum ni ucwa

ucuwa mə- ŋa ũhũ tei dheŋ gi- dum ni ucuwa

son NEG- COP EXCLAM that one PST- find PART son

PAN: (I) had no son, he is a single son.

036

ale lə məha məha tei dheŋ cin

ale lə məha məha tei dheŋ cin

son PART NEG.COP be not that one PART
PAN: No brother, he is only one.

037

ale maha

ale maha

son be not

DAM: No brother?

038

gidum cin dheŋ ŋago ale

gi- dum cin dheŋ ŋa -go ale

PFV- find PART one.CLF I -GEN son

PAN: (I) bore only one son,

039

ə... ucuməi lə gidum kã

ə... ucuməi lə gi- dum ki- ŋa

F daughter PART PFV- find PST- be

DAM: Did you bear daughter?

040

ucuməi lə kã

ucuməi lə ki- ŋa

daughter PART PST- be

PAN: (I) had daughters.

041

naŋgo naŋgo dzeŋhi ucuməi khaləŋ

naŋ -go naŋ -go dzeŋhi ucuməi khaləŋ

2SG -GEN 2SG -GEN eldest daughter how

ə... sia hare

ə... si -a hare

F die -IRR why

DAM: How did your eldest daughter die? why?

042

sia

si -a

die -IRR

DAM: Died?

043

əbə khaləŋ hai le sia hai le
əbə khaləŋ hai le si -a hai le
 now how what PART die -IRR what EMPH
sia ni
si -a ni
 die -IRR PART

PAN: Then, what did (she) die of, how did (she) die,

044

kisi hare kisi
ki- si hare ki- si
 PST- die why PST- die
 DAM: Why did (she) die?

045

əbə chə məina səmən rogaidia kuni
əbə chə məina səmən rogai -di -a kuni
 now six month upto suffere -NTVZ -IRR where
 PAN: Then, (she) suffered for six moths,

046

huda əspətəl mən ken
hudi əspətəl mən ki- jen
 there hospital also PFV- take away
 PAN: (She) was taken to hospital also.

047

hudi hannungo əsəuti mən kipan
hudi hanḁuŋ -go əsəuti mən ki- pan
 there village -GEN medicine alsoPST- feed
dzharbuṭi mən ki- pan ŋi- ŋa
 herb also PST-feed NPST- AUX
 PAN: Local medicine also fed, herbal medicine also fed.

048

tuk ŋa u dzanim kildi niŋa
tuk ŋa u dzanim ki- ləi -di ŋi- ŋa

do COP.NPST that local healer PFV- apply -NTVZ NPST- be
 PAN: (We) did, (we) used local healers also.

049

əbə dzanja ləidi ləidi cin kəileko
 əbə dzanja ləi -di ləi -di cin kəile -ko
 now healer use -NTVZ use -NTVZ PART when -GEN
dzəro nitəi kəileko mətəi
 dzəro ŋi- təi kəile -ko mətə- təi
 feverNPST- come when -GEN NEG- come

PAN: Then, while the healers used to something, sometimes fever used to appear
 and sometimes not,

050

ŋilik

ŋi- lik

NPST- become

PAN: (It) happened.

051

anam məbardi ho ki
 anam mə- bar -di ho ki
 mouth NEG- restrict -NTVZ COP.NPST or

PAN: It may be because not obtaining from the selected foods,

052

balsəŋ gədziŋ ho ki
 bal -səŋ gədzi -iŋ ho ki
 man -with quarrel -SEQ COP.NPST or

PAN: It may be due quarrelling with me,

053

betha kiləgdiko chə məina kisi
 betha ki- ləg -di -ko chə məina ki- si
 disease PFV- start -NTVZ -GEN six month PFV- die
tə ho ni
 tə ho ni
 PART COP.NPST PART

DAM: (he) died after suffering for six months.

054

tim namga kisi ho rə
ti -m nam -gəi ki- si ho rə
that -also house -LOC PFV- die COP.NPST PART
PAN: That also (he) did die at home?

055

sat dobaŋo kisi
sat dobaŋo ki- si
seven cross road PST- die
PAN: (He) died at Satdobato.

056

ə
ə
yes
DAM: Oh!

057

sat dobaŋoga
sat dobaŋo -gəi
seven cross road -LOC
PAN: At Satdobato.

058

kjago cəpuŋ ken
ki- ja -go cəpu -iŋ ki- jen
PFV- go -GEN carry -SEQ PST- take away
PAN: (He) was carried there,

059

jeno som dinga kisi ni
jen -o som din -gəi ki- si ni
take away -IRR three day -LOC PST- die PART
PAN: After three days, (he) died.

060

nə hare tjarse dherəi

nun -e hare tjarse dherəi
 you -ERG why that much more
 DAM: Why did you that much,

061

ə... uca ucuməi dumo
 ə... ucuwa ucuməi dum -o
 F son daughter find-IRR
 DAM: (why you) bore (so many) daughter?

062

hai dherəi dago rə dherəi lə de ucwa
 hai dherəi da -go rə dherəi lə de ucuwa
 what more say -INF PART more PART one son
 PAN: What more, only one son,

063

caota ucuməi rə tei dherə lə ho ni
 car -ta ucuməi rə tei dherə lə ho ni
 four -CLF daughter and that one PART COP.NPST PART
 kilik rə
 ki- lik rə
 PFV- become PART
 PAN: It's four daughters and one son.

064

əbə de ucuməi de ucwa
 əbə de ucuməi de ucuwa
 now one daughter one son
 PAN: Then, a daughter and a son,

065

dəba lə sia ni ništa lə dziwale
 dəba lə si -a ni nis -ta lə dziwa -le
 another PART die -IRR PART two -CLF PART survive -COND
 PAN: two survived and other died,

066

səppəi siin ja ni
 səppəi si -in ja ni
 all die -SEQ go PART

PAN: all died.

067

əbə balgo dzəstak lə nəu dəsota məha
əbə bal -go dzəstak lə nəu dəs -ta məha
now man -GEN like that PART nine ten -CLF be not
tei ništa lə ho ni
tei nis -ta lə ho ni
that two -CLF PART COP.NPST PART

PAN: Then, like others, (I) don't have nine or ten, that is only one.

068

əbə səppəi siin kja uca le
əbə səppəi si -in ki- ja ucuwa le
now all die -SEQ PST- go son PART

PAN: Then, all children died,

069

nan̩go

nan̩ -go

2SG -GEN

PAN: Your

070

ə... hio... bija khaləŋ kwapani
ə... hio... bija khaləŋ kwapani
F FS marriage how Kuwapani

DAM: How did you marry at Kuwapani,

071

ucuməi səŋgə tukuŋ pio
ucuməi səŋgə tuk -in pi -o
daughter with do -SEQ give -IRR

DAM: did you do with daughter?

072

keihu ni
ki- he- ahu ni
PST- ANDA ask PART

PAN: (they) went asking for,

073

keihu

ki- he- ahu

PST- ANDA ask

DAM: (they) went asking?

074

keihu ni

ki- he- ahu ni

PST- ANDA ask PART

PAN: (They) went asking for.

075

bal kildi kjahu

bal ki- ləi -di ki- ahu

man PST- use -NTVZ PST- ask

PAN: (They) used mediator and went to ask.

076

ucməi lə atukəi atukəi kham

ucuməi lə a- tuk -i a- tuk -i kham

daughter PART NEG- do -NEG NEG- do -NEG say

kā ni bija

ki- ŋa ni bija

PST- be PART marriage

PAN: The daughter didn't want to marry.

077

əni bija mətukle sui tukko

əni bija mə- tuk -le su -e tuk -ko

after that marriage NEG- do -CONDwho -ERG do -INF

le əbə kəile tukko

le əbə keile tuk -ko

PART now when do -INF

PAN: If (you) don't marry, who will (marry you), then, when will (you marry)?

078

əbə lə nəsjə nəsjə lə ekkane
 əbə lə nəsjə nəsjə lə ekkane
 now PART last year last year PART big size
niŋa ni bija kituk kã
 ŋi- ŋa ni bija ki- tuk ki- ŋa
 NPST- COP PART marriage PFV- do PST- AUX
 PAN: At earlier times, (they) used to marry at this age.

079

terə bərsə lə bija kituk ho
 terə bərsə lə bija ki- tuk ho
 thirteen year PART marriage PFV- do COP.NPST
 PAN: The marriage was done at the age of thirteen.

080

tjmnja tjo alam likəŋle bija nituk
 tjmnja tjo alam lik -iŋ -le bija ŋi- tuk
 nowadays that big become -SEQ -COND marriage NPST- do
 PAN: Nowadays, (they) do marriage after being aged.

081

nəsjə nəsjə lə
 nəsjə nəsjə lə
 last year last year PART
 PAN: At earlier times,

082

egharə bərsə terə bərsə purəi ləu bija
 egharə bərsə terə bərsə purəi ləu bija
 eleven year thirteenyear fully okay marriage
tukko cikhamə
 tuk -ko ci- kham -a
 do -INF CAUS- say -IRR
 PAN: (they) used to do marriagew at the age of twelve or thirteen.

083

bija tukuŋ kipi ni
bija tuk -iŋ ki- pi ni
marriage do -SEQ PST- give PART
PAN: (I) would do marriage,

084

dəmæi cunuŋ cunuŋ
dəmæi cun -iŋ cun -iŋ
Damai put -SEQ put -SEQ
PAN: with musical instruments (using traditional tailors),

085

naŋgəi hare rin lægdia
naŋ -gəi hare rin læg -di -a
2SG -DAT why debt come -NTVZ -IRR
PAN: How did you get debt?

086

holəŋ
holəŋ
that way
DAM: Like that

087

hare rin lægdi əbə bija kituk
hare rin læg -di əbə bija ki- tuk
why debt come -NTVZ now marriage PST- do
PAN: How (I) got debt, then, (I) did marriage,

088

əbə nam məha
əbə nam məha
now house be not
PAN: then, there was no house,

089

nam bəndislaŋ rin cin kiləgdi
 nam bən -di -la -m rin cin ki- ləg -di
 house make -NTVZ -SEQ -EMPH debt PART PST-come -NTVZ
 PAN: the debt occurred while the house was built.

090

aleko bija tukla
 ale -ko bija tuk -la
 son -GEN marriage do -SEQ
 PAN: While doing marriage of son,

091

əh... ŋa lə
 əh... ŋa lə
 F I PART
 PAN: I

092

əh... gəhəna khəi kikhəŋ
 əh... gəhəna khəi ki- kham
 F ornament PART PST- say
 PAN: (they) say where are jewels.

093

ŋa lə sun pi nepna de tola go
 ŋa lə sun pi ŋi- pəna de tola -go
 I PART gold give NPST- must one Tola -GEN
 PAN: I should be given the gold of one Tola (about 11 grams).

094

kuna pəisa pi go hə ŋəi
 kuna pəisa pi -go hə ŋa -e
 where money give -INF yes I -ERG
 PAN: What did I give the money of?

095

dukhə gidum bal lə kuna pəisa pi go
 dukhə gi- dum bal lə kuna pəisa pi -go
 problem PFV- find man PART where money give -INF
 PAN: What money to be given by person, who has sufferings,

096

məlik tekkane lə gəhəna lə
mə- lik tekkane lə gəhəna lə
NEG- become like that PART ornament PART
ni lə maha na pəisa
ni lə maha na pəisa
we PART be not HS money
no, it can be that much of jewels, we don't have money.

097

de tola lə pigeon nepna nikham
de tola lə pi -go -n ɲi- pəna ɲi- kham
one Tola PART give -INF -EMPH NPST- must NPST- say
PAN: (They) say that one Tola must be given.

098

de tolagon thorəi pəisa nipərđi le
de tola -go -n thorəi pəisa ɲi- pər -di le
one Tola -GEN -EMPH less money NPST- fall -NTVZ PART
PAN: Is it less cost for one Tola also?

099

dherəi nipərđi ni
dherəi ɲi- pər -di ni
more NPST- fall -NTVZ PART
PAN: It cost more.

100

tjo bela aṭh nəu hədzar kã sungo
tjo bela aṭh nəu hədzar ki- ɲa sun -go
that time eight nine thousands PST- be gold -GEN
rə tolago
rə tola -go
and Tola -GEN

PAN: At that time, the cost of one Tola was eight or nine thousands.

101

ə... de ada tolako mundri bəndis kipi
ə... de ada tola -ko mundri bən -di ki- pi
 F one half Tola -GEN ear ring make-NTVZ PST- give

PAN: An ear ring of half Tola had to be made.

102

adha tolago mala bəndis kipi
adha tola -go mala bən -di ki- pi
 half Tola -GEN garland make -NTVZ PST- give
ukhonəi

khon -əi
 daughter-in-law -DAT

PAN: One of half Tola had to be made for daughter-in-law.

103

əni hare rin məlik ho le əni
əni hare rin mə- lik ho le əni
 after that why debt NEG- become COP.NPST PART after that
dəməi əṭharə səe dəməi kipi
dəməi əṭharə səe dəməi ki- pi
 Damai eighteen hundred Damai PST- give

PAN: and why not to have debt, (I) gave eight hundred to tailors.

II b. Get Up Wife

001

lə cəŋma sopəna
lə cəŋma swo - pəna
okay old woman get up - must
Get up, dear wife.

002

hai tukko əbə
hai tuk -ko əbə
what do -INF now
What to do now ?

003

moi səlkədi pəna
moi səlki -di pəna
fire light -NTVZ must
You should light the fire.

004

kuci ləidiŋ moi səlkədiu
kuci ləi -di -iŋ moi səlki -di -u
broom use -NTVZ -SEQ fire light -NTVZ -IMP
Light the fire after cleaning the floor with broom.

005

ŋəe nənu asit pəna kuḍo pan pəna
ŋa -e nənu asjut pəna kṷḍo pan pəna
I -ERG milk milk must fodder feed must
I should milk (animals) (and) feed them fodder.

006

bhəkar akchja pəna
bhəkar akchja pəna
shed throw must
(You) should clean the cow dungs.

007

ghās pi pəna
ghās pi pəna
grass give must
We should give them grass.

008

ŋəi hai
ŋa -e hai
I -ERG what
I what

009

məbhja
mə- bhja
NEG- finish
I can not manage (time).

010

nəi tuk pəna lə cəŋma cāḍəi suwa
nuŋ -e tuk pəna lə cəŋma cāḍəi swo -a
you -ERG do must PARTold woman quickly get up -IMP
Wife, you get up quickly. You should do (it).

011

səppəi thok ŋəi mətəi məṭhaŋ
səppəi thok ŋa -e mətəi mə- ṭhaŋ
all thing I -ERG only NEG- be able
I can not do everything.

012

naŋ cəŋma məŋ so pəna
naŋ cəŋma məŋ swo pəna
you old woman also get up must
You should get up wife.

013

moi lə
moi lə
fire PART
As for the fire

014

mut pəna ni

mut pəna ni

light must PART

you should light the fire.

015

dhulo kəserən tukko

dhulo kəser -n tuk -ko

floor waste -EMPH do -INF

Also clean the floor.

016

kisensəŋ tukko

kisen -səŋ tuk -ko

nice -with do -INF

Do it well.

017

ŋəi pheri nənu thəjam

ŋa -e pheri nənu thəja -m

I -ERG again milk bring-CJ

I again bring the milk.

018

tigaŋ nai thal pəna

tigaŋ nai thal pəna

then no cook must

Then you should cook it.

019

pheri kūḍo pi pəna

pheri kūḍo pi pəna

again fodder give must

Again you should give it a fodder.

020

bhəkar akchja pəna

bhəkar akchja pəna

shed throw must

You should clean the dung.

021

pheri ghās pan pəna
pheri ghās pan pəna
again grass feed must
Again you should feed (them) grass.

022

hai tukko ηəi
hai tuk -ko ηa -e
what do -INF I -ERG
What shall I do ?

023

ηa pheri thəkai niləgdi
ηa pheri thəkai ηi- ləg -di
I again tried NPST- feel -NTVZ
I then get tired.

024

pheri ca pəna
pheri ca pəna
again eat must
I should eat again.

025

de chin huk pəna
de chin huk pəna
one moment stay must
I should sit for a while.

026

cja sjaŋgo
cja sjaŋ -go
tea drink -INF
To drink milk.

027

tigaŋ
tigaŋ
then
After that

028

ghās lak pəna

ghās lak pəna

grass cut must

you should cut grass (for animals).

029

bəsti bəstu hai pango

bəsti bəstu hai pan -go

settlement cattle what feed -INF

What will we feed the animals ?

030

naŋ hai məsəmdzhi naŋ lə məʈhaŋ

naŋ hai mə- səmdzhi naŋ lə mə- ʈhaŋ

you what NEG- remember you PART NEG- be able

You do not remember anything. You can not do it.

031

ŋa

ŋa

I

I

032

kiʈhaŋ dəiŋ ŋəi mətəi tukko cəŋma

ki- ʈhaŋ da -iŋ ŋa -e mətəi tuk -ko cəŋma

PFV- be able say -SEQ I -ERG only do -INF old woman

Is it I who should do all works saying I can do it ?

033

hai tukko

hai tuk -ko

what do -INF

What to do ?

034

naŋgo

naŋ -go

you -GEN

Your

035

kismət mətəi ca məlik am mətəi ca məlik
kismət mətəi ca mə- lik am mətəi ca mə- lik
fortune only eat NEG- become rice only eat NEG- become
You do not eat only fortune. You not only eat rice.

036

ə... naŋ sojeŋ
ə... naŋ swo -iŋ
F you get up -SEQ
By getting up

037

moi muto
moi mut -o
fire light -IMP
light the fire.

038

dhulo kəsiŋgər tukko
dhulo kəsiŋgər tuk -ko
floor dust do -INF
Clean the floor (dust).

039

dəba hai tukko nepna rə
dəba hai tuk -ko ŋi- pəna rə
another what do -INF NPST- must PART
What else will you do ?

040

kūḍo ŋəi jen
kūḍo ŋa -e jen
fodder I -ERG take away
I take the fodder.

041

bhəkar akchjaiŋ
bhəkar akchja -iŋ
shed throw -SEQ
Cleaning the dung

042

nənu thəjam

nənu thəja -m

milk bring -CJ

I will bring milk.

043

nai thalo

nai thal -o

you cook -IMP

You cook.

044

ŋəi

ŋa -e

I -ERG

I

045

ghās pim

ghās pi -m

grass give -CJ

I will feed (animals) with grass.

046

bhəkar akchjam

bhəkar akchja -m

shed throw -CJ

I will clean the dung.

047

paḍa chjum

paḍa chju -m

buffalo tie -CJ

I will tie baby buffalo.

048

tei tə tuk pəna ni ŋəi

tei tə tuk pəna ni ŋa -e

that PARTdo must PART I -ERG

It is the only thing I do.

049

nuŋ hai tuk nepna rə

nuŋ hai tuk ŋi- pəna rə

you what do NPST- must PART

What should you do ?

050

moi tuk pəna

moi tuk pəna

fire do must

You should churn.

051

agbutko nepna

agbut -ko ŋi- pəna

pull -INF NPST- must

You should pull.

052

hai tukko rə cəŋma

hai tuk -ko rə cəŋma

what do -INF PARTold woman

What will you do, dear wife ?

II c. My Husband

001

ŋigo cəŋpa birami kilik
 ŋi -go cəŋpa birami ki- lik
 we -GEN husband sick PST- become
 My husband became sick.

002

ki-lik pəchi əni de nis bərsə səmmə
 ki- lik pəchi əni de nis bərsə səmmə
 PFV- become later after that one two year until
namgan kihuk
 nam -gəi -n ki- huk
 house -LOC -EMPH PST- sit
 After becoming sick, (he) remained confined to home (about) one or two years.

003

namgan hukun kihuk
 nam -gəi -n huk -iŋ ki- huk
 house -LOC -EMPH sit -SEQ PST- sit
 He had been at home.

004

pheri a... namge hukun gədə məlik gida
 pheri a... nam -gəi huk -iŋ gədə mə- lik gi- da
 again F house -LOC sit -SEQ well NEG- become PST- say
 (People said), "You will not get well staying at home."

005

gədə məlik
 gədə mə- lik
 well NEG- become
 (He) will not get well.

006

igi jigago baləe hai muŋ tuk
 igi ji -gəi -go bal -e hai məŋ tuk
 here this -LOC -GEN man -ERG what also do

məθaŋ dəiŋ gida
 mə- θaŋ da -iŋ gi- da
 NEG- be able say -SEQ PST- say
 (They) said that the people belonging to this place could not treat him.

007

əni pəisa aɖaɐŋ thəjo dəiŋ gida
 əni pəisa aɖaŋ -iŋ thəe -o da -iŋ gi- da
 after that money search -SEQ bring -IMP say -SEQ PST- say
 Then (they) said, "Find out some money."

008

pəisa məŋ aɖaɐŋ kithja
 pəisa məŋ aɖaŋ -iŋ ki- thəja
 money also search -SEQ PST- arrive
 I found out some money.

009

ŋəe nis som məina səmmə əusədi kituk
 ŋa -e nis som məina səmmə əusədi ki- tuk
 I -ERG two three month until medicine PST- do
 I put him on medication (lit. do medicine) for one or two months.

010

ugi āppipələ məŋ kja
 ugi āppipələ məŋ ki- ja
 there Anppipal also PST- go
 He also went to Anppipal.

011

jeiŋ kihuk
 ja -iŋ ki- huk
 go -SEQ PST- sit
 Having gone, (he) stayed (lit. sat).

012

car məina kihuk
 car məina ki- huk
 four month PST- sit
 (He) stayed there for four months.

013

car məina hukla muŋ ami ami gədə
 car məina huk -la mən ami ami gədə
 four month sit -SIM also little little well
kilik kã

ki- lik ki- ŋa
 PFV- become PST- be
 As he stayed for four months, he had got well a bit.

014

gədə likuŋ namge kithja
 gədə lik -iŋ nam-gəi ki- thəja
 well become -SEQ house -LOC PST- arrive
 He came home (after) recovering.

015

namgəi thəiŋ əni namgəi huk
 nam -gəi thəe -iŋ əni nam -gəi huk
 house -LOC bring -SEQ after that house -LOC sit
pəchi pheri ami ami kica
 pəchi pheri ami ami ki-ca
 later again little little PST-eat
 Having brought (him) home, and as he stayed there, he began to eat a little.

016

əni cə pəchi əbə hai mən məlik
 əni cə pəchi əbə hai mən mə- lik
 after that INFR later now what also NEG- become
hola dəiŋ gida
 hola da -iŋ gi- da
 may be say -SEQ PST- say
 As he ate, (I) said, "Nothing bad might happen to him (lit. nothing would happen).

017

hai muŋ məlik hola da pəchi əni
 hai mən mə- lik hola da pəchi əni
 what also NEG- become may be say later after that
kimin kura hai hai ŋiŋa khəi cəi
 ki- min kura hai hai ŋi- ŋa khəi cəi
 PFV- get cooked matter what what NPST- be PART need

dəiŋ khama

da -iŋ kham -a
say -SEQ say -IMP

As (they) said nothing would happen to him, he said, "Give me whatever cooked things to eat".

018

mami jo naŋ kica kura mami dala muŋ khəi
mami jo naŋ ki- ca kura mami da-la məŋ khəi
not this you PFV- eat matter not say -SIM also PART
khəi cəi dəiŋ kikham.

khəi cəi da -iŋ ki- kham
PART need say -SEQ PST- say

When (I) said "no, this is not the thing for you to eat", he said, "well, give me them to eat."

019

kjahu

ki- ahu

PST- beg

(He) asked for it.

020

ahu pəchi əni pigon pəna
ahu pəchi əni pi -go -n pəna
beg later after that give -INF -EMPH must
(I) had to give them when he asked.

021

pi pəchi əni tigan pheri ŋa lə
pi pəchi əni tigan pheri ŋa lə
give later after that after that again I EMPH
təja lə məθhaŋ ŋəe
təja lə mə- θhaŋ ŋa -e
today EMPH NEG- be able I -ERG

After offering them to him, he said, "I can not eat (lit. do) today.

022

hai lika cjo

hai lik -a cjo

what become -IRR possibly

(We did not know) what happened.

023

ə... *kica* *kuro* *naŋ* *dze* *dumlem*
 ə ki- ca kuro naŋ dze dum -le -m
 FS PFV- eat thing you whatever find -COND-EMPH
ca *məmik* *do* *ni* *ŋəe* *lə*
 ca mə- mik da ni ŋa -e lə
 eat NEG- eye say also I -ERG EMPH
 I said to you, "You should not eat whatever you have got."

024

naŋ *məsəi*
 naŋ mə- səi
 you NEG- listen
 You did not obey.

025

əni *hai* *tukum* *le*
 əni hai tuk -m le
 after that what do -CJ PART
 What shall (we) do ?

026

ja *pheri* *ja* *dəiŋ* *ŋi* *dəiŋ* *ŋəi*
 ja pheri ja da -iŋ ŋi da -iŋ ŋa -e
 go again go say -SEQ wesay -SEQ I -ERG
 I said, "Go. Go again."

027

əni *use* *ŋikham*
 əni u -e ŋi- kham
 after that 3SG -ERG NPST- say
 He said again.

028

pheri *kwa* *kwa* *jago*
 pheri kwa kwa ja -go
 again how much how much go -INF
 How often to go (lit. how much to go) ?

029

kwa cəi hukko

kwa cəi huk -ko

how much need sit -INF

How much to keep eating?

030

chjo aje dəiŋ məja

chjo a- ja da -iŋ mə- ja

PART NEG- go say -SEQ NEG- go

Saying "I won't go", (he) did not go.

031

de bərsə səmmə namgan kihuk

de bərsə səmmə nam -gəi -n ki- huk

one year until house -LOC-EMPH PST-sit

(He) lived at home for one year.

032

namgan hukun

nam -gəi -n huk -iŋ

house -LOC -EMPH sit -SEQ

Staying at home,

033

əni ŋa əbə ŋa dzjo məpna

əni ŋa əbə ŋa dzjo mə- pəna

after that I now I walk NEG- must

Now should not go anywhere.

034

kuni muŋ ja məpna

kuni məŋ ja mə- pəna

where also go NEG- must

I should not go anywhere.

035

a... de khəp sigo epna dəiŋ ŋido

a... de khəp si -go ŋi- pəna da -iŋ ŋi -do

F one time die -INF NPST- must say -SEQ NPST -say

Saying "(One) has to die once."

036

mami

mami

not

037

jo sas ɲa dhəri lə ɲilə as ɲə ɲiləgdi
 jo sas ɲa dhəri lə ɲi -lə as ɲa -e ɲi-ləgdi
 this breath I until PART we -SEQ hope I -ERG NPST-take
 As long as we are alive, there is hope.

038

nəe hai kham le holəŋ məkhaməi
 nuŋ -e hai kham le holəŋ mə- kham -i
 you -ERG what say EMPH that way NEG- say -HORT
rə dəiŋ ɲido
 rə da -iŋ ɲi -do
 PART say -SEQ NPST-say
 (He) says, "What have you said like that ? Don't say the things like that."

039

əni chjo chjo əbə ɲigo ucwa ucuməi
 əni chjo chjo əbə ɲi -go ucuwa ucuməi
 after that PART PART now we -GEN son daughter
əbə alam cin kilik ɲiŋa
 əbə alam cin ki- lik ɲi- ɲa
 now big EMPH PFV-become NPST- be
 Well, now our children have grown up.

040

əbə de khəp sigon nepna dəiŋ ɲikham
 əbə de khəp si -go -n ɲi- pəna da -iŋ ɲi-kham
 now one time die -INF -EMPH NPST- must say -SEQ NPST- say
 He says, "Once (I) have to die".

041

əbə ibigo mənɡəi pheri mami
 əbə ibigo mən -ɡəi pheri mami
 now own soul -LOC again not
 I myself have not thought about this.

042

bal kisen cin ɲa ni
bal kisen cin ɲa ni
man nice EMPH be EMPH
The children are rather good.

043

hai po tukuŋ pua rə
hai po tuk -iŋ pu -a rə
what PART do -SEQ put on -IRR PART
What will he be doing ?

044

hare ho khamle ɲido
hare ho kham -le ɲi-do
why like that say -CONDNPST-say
Why does he say so ?

045

chjo chjo məpna məpna kunim jen
chjo chjo mə- pəna mə- pəna kuni -m jen
PART PART NEG- must NEG- must where -EMPH take away
məpnaɲido
mə- pəna ɲi -do
NEG- must NPST -say
He says, "No, no. (I) need not to go anywhere."

046

ho da da cin namgan kihuk
ho da da cin nam-gəi -n ki- huk
like that say say EMPH house -LOC -EMPH PST-sit
Saying it repeatedly, (he) remained at home.

047

əni namgan kihuk
əni nam -gəi -n ki- huk
after that house -LOC -EMPH PST-sit
Then, he remained at home.

048

əni *chjo*

əni chjo

after that PART
(He) disagreed.

049

əni *təiŋ* *ŋəi* *muŋ* *pheri* *əni*

əni təi -iŋ ŋa -e məŋ pheri əni
after that come -SEQ I -ERG also again after that

bal *məlik* *sija* *na*
bal mə- lik si -a na
man NEG- become die -IRR HS
Your husband (lit.man) will not survive (lit. die).

050

gida *dzəstəi* *kilik*

gi- da dzəstəi ki- lik
PFV- say like PST- become
It happened as it had been said.

051

tjaŋ *ŋəe* *ŋido* *abə* *bal* *aɖaəŋ*

tjaŋ ŋa -e ŋi- da əbə bal aɖaŋ -iŋ
after that I -ERG NPST-say now man search -SEQ

igin *cihuk* *pəna*
igi -n ci- huk pəna
here -EMPH CAUS- sit must
Then I say, "Look for men and make him sit.

052

jo *bal* *dzjokhne* *lə* *cihuk* *məlik*

jo bal dzjokhne lə ci- huk mə- lik
this man alone EMPH CAUS- sit NEG- become
(We) should not let him sit alone.

053

bal *aɖaəŋ* *thəjago*

bal aɖaŋ -iŋ thəja -go
man search -SEQ arrive -INF
Search and bring the man.

054

ə... som car dzəna thəjo aɖaŋo akho
 ə som car dzəna thəe -o aɖaŋ -o akho
 FS three four CLF bring-IMP search -IMP call
dəiŋ ŋido ŋəe
 da -iŋ ŋi- da ŋa -e
 say -SEQ NPST-say I -ERG
 I say (saying), "Bring three or four persons, search (them), call them."

055

əni gida
 əni gi- da
 after that PST- say
 Then (he) said.

056

əni pheri abəe ləu nani təja
 əni pheri abəi -e ləu nani təja
 after that again father -ERG EXCL daughter today
lə dzwaĩ lə hele ŋikham
 lə dzwaĩ lə hele ŋi- kham
 EMPH son-in-law EMPH like this EMPH NPST- say
 Father (says), "My daughter, the son-in-law today says like this."

057

ŋikham.
 ŋi- kham
 NPST- say
 (He) says.

058

mami aɖaŋ nepna ni
 mami aɖaŋ ŋi- pəna ni
 not search NPST- must EMPH
 No, we should go to search (men).

059

aɖaŋ thəjo rə akho bal akho akho
 aɖaŋ -iŋ thəe -o rə akho -o bal akho -o akho -o
 search -SEQ bring -IMP PART call -IMP man call -IMP call-IMP
 Search men and bring.

060

a... hudi ale akho

a... hudi ale akho -o

F there son call -IMP

Go to call brother.

061

ugi khuṇ nam akho hjaṇ nam akho

ugi khuṇ nam akho -o hjaṇ nam akho -o

there above house call -IMP lower down house call-IMP

After that, call someone from upper house, lower house.

062

hudi ja hudi akho dəiṇ gida

hudi ja hudi akho -o da -iṇ gi- da

there go there call -IMP say -SEQ PST- say

(He) said, "Go there. Call someone from there".

063

əni bal kiciklum

əni bal ki- ci- kəlum

after that man PST- CAUS- be collected

Then (I) gathered men.

064

bal cʰoklo muṇ əni kihuk

bal ci- kəlum mən əni ki- huk

man CAUS-be collected also after that PFV- sit

kicuk udzuṇ kicuk namgəi

ki- ci- huk udzuṇ ki- ci- huk nam -gəi

PST-CAUS- sit near PST- CAUS- sit house -LOC

Having gathered men, (I) sat (and) made them sit.

065

u kina udzuṇ kicuk

u ki- na udzuṇ ki- ci- huk

he PST- sleep near PST- CAUS- sit

(They) made me sit near by (the dead man).

066

əni naŋ lə chjo məhukəi
 əni naŋ lə chjo mə- huk-əi
 after that you PART PART NEG- sit-IMP
 Okay, you do not sit.

067

naŋ ucwa maca igi məhukəi chjo
 naŋ ucuwa maca igi mə- huk -əi chjo
 you son mother here NEG- sit -IMP PART
 Okay, you, the mother (and) children, don't sit here.

068

ŋa ŋa igi bal kihuk cin ŋiŋa ŋa huk
 ŋa ŋa igi bal ki- huk cin ŋi- ŋa ŋa huk
 I I here man PFV- sit PART NPST-be I sit
məpna dəiŋ kikhām
 mə- pəna da-iŋ ki- kham
 NEG- must say -SEQ PST-say
 They said, "The men are sitting here, you don't have to sit here".

069

tjaŋ lə ŋa lə ibigo bistəra kija na
 tijaŋ lə ŋa lə ibigo bistəra ki-ja na
 after that PART I PART own bed PST-go sleep
 I went to sleep in my own bed.

070

hena ucwa ucuməi chetuŋ
 he-na ucuwa ucuməi chet -iŋ
 ANDA-sleep son daughter take -SEQ
 "Go to sleep taking the children."

071

əni kihuk
 əni ki- huk
 after that PST- sit
 Then I sat.

072

kihuk pəchi əni usəi əbə ubaŋ
 ki- huk pəchi əni u -e əbə u baŋ
 PST- sit later after that he -ERG now he man
kinui ŋiŋa kihuk ŋiŋa
 ki- nui ŋi- ŋa ki- huk ŋi- ŋa
 PFV- laugh NPST- be PFV- sit NPST- be
 After sitting there, (the people) have laughed and sat down.

073

əni dada cin rat kja
 əni da - da cin rat ki- ja
 after that say - say PART night PST- go
 While saying this, the night elapsed.

074

rat ja pəchi əni səbəi dzəna namgəi
 rat ja pəchi əni səbəi dzəna nam -gəi
 night go later after that all CLF house -LOC
ja pəna dəiŋ gida
 ja pəna da -iŋ gi- da
 go must say -SEQ PST- say
 After the night fell, the people said, "(We) need to go home".

075

ani namgəi hja
 ani nam -gəi ja
 then house -LOC go
 Please go to your home.

076

kihja
 ki- ja
 PST- go
 He went (home).

077

tjaŋ abəe lə hai ŋikham
 tjaŋ bəi -e lə hai ŋi-kham
 after that ather -ERG PART what NPST-say
 (My) father says, (lit.what does (my) father will say ?)"

078

təja lə dzwaĩ lə cekhlalem
 təja lə dzwaĩ lə ci- khəla -le-m
 today PART son-in-law PART CAUS- speak-COND-EMPH
məkhla
 mə- khəla
 NEG- speak
 "The son-in-law does not speak when he is called."

079

hai lika hola dəiŋ gida abəe
 hai lik -a hola da -iŋ gi- da abəi -e
 what become -IRR say -SEQ PST-say father -ERG
 Father said, "What happened to him?"

080

abəi ho da pəchi əni hai lika le
 abəi ho da pəchi əni hai lik -a le
 father like that say later after that what become -IRR PART
 "What happened after father had said so ?"

081

məcekhla nuŋ
 mə- ci- khəla nuŋ
 NEG- CAUS- speak you
 "Didn't you call him?"

082

ŋəe kicekhla ho nani
 ŋa -e ki- ci- khəla ho nani
 I -ERG PFV-CAUS- speak COP.NPST daughter
 Oh, my daughter, I called him.

083

məkhla
 mə- khəla
 NEG- speak
 (He) did not speak.

084

naŋ ja hola dəiŋ gida
 naŋ ja hola da -iŋ gi- da
 you go may be say -SEQ PST- say
 I said that you might have gone.

085

əni ŋəe jeiŋ kicekhla
 əni ŋa -e ja -iŋ ki- ci- khəla
 after that I -ERG go -SEQ PST- CAUS- speak
 I went and called (him after).

086

cekhla lə
 ci- khəla lə
 CAUS- speak PART
 When I called (him),

087

əni nago kinago kinaŋ
 əni na -go ki- na -go ki- na -n
 after that sleep -INF PFV- sleep -GEN PFV- sleep -EMPH
 he remained sleeping.

088

əni mu munuŋ nacə
 əni mu mun -iŋ na -cə
 after that clothes cover -SEQ sleep-INFR
 Covering himself in clothes, he slept.

089

mu munuŋ na pəchi əni ŋəe
 mu mun -iŋ na pəchi əni ŋa -e
 clothes cover -SEQ sleep later after that I -ERG
mu uboliŋ aela balbaŋ mahā
 mu ubol -iŋ ajo -la balbaŋ mahā
 clothes open -SEQ look -SIM Baram not
 As I saw him covering his face with clothes, I found him dead (lit. there was no man).

090

əbə abəi bal lə mahã le
əbə abəi bal lə mahã le
now father man PART not PART
"Oh! father! he is dead (lit. he is no more)".

091

aci thəi lə khələiŋ kihuk nani
aci thəi lə khələ -iŋ ki- huk nani
FS now PART speak -SEQ PFV- sit daughter
dəiŋ khama
da -iŋ kham -a
say -SEQ say -IRR
He was speaking some time ago.

092

əni kun bela ja le
əni kun bela ja le
after that which time go PART
When did he die ?

093

khoi akhanbokhər kekhla
khoi akhanbokhər ki- khələ
PART just before PST- speak
He spoke little earlier.

094

bəttin kicukhon kã
bətti -n ki- cukhon ki- ŋa
lamp -EMPH PFV- light PST- AUX
I also lit the lamp.

095

bəttin khonəiŋ kihuk kã ugaŋ
bətti -n khon-iŋ ki- huk ki- ŋa ugaŋ
lamp -EMPH burn -SEQ PFV-sit PST-be there
The lamp was burning there.

096

əni hai hai ŋikham dəiŋ gida
 əni hai hai ŋi- kham da -iŋ gi- da
 after that what what NPST- say say -SEQ PST- say
 (My father) said, "What have you said ?"

097

naŋ bal lə mahã abəi dəiŋ gida ŋəe
 naŋ bal lə mahã abəi da -iŋ gi- da ŋa -e
 you man PART not father say -SEQ PST- say I -ERG
 I said to my father, "The man is dead (lit. the man is not)."

098

a... ho dale lə bal akho dəiŋ
 a... ho da -le lə balakho -o da -iŋ
 F like that say -COND PART man call -IMP say -SEQ
 (He said), "If so, call the neighbours (lit. men)."

099

pheri bhəkkhər kja baləru pheri
 pheri bhəkkhər ki- ja bal -həru pheri
 again just now PFV- go man -PL again
cihiluŋ kithja
 ci- hil -iŋ ki- thəja
 CAUS- return -SEQ PST- arrive
 I brought back the men who had just left.

100

təja pəchi ibi lə hapuŋ kihuk
 təi -a pəchi ibi lə hap -iŋ ki- huk
 come -IRR later self PART weep -SEQ PST-sit
 When men came, I sat crying.

101

hapuŋ hukuŋ huka
 hap -iŋ huk -iŋ huk -a
 weep -SEQ sit -SEQ sit -IRR
 (I) was sitting weeping.

102

ucwaəru səbəi ikinde alam de məlik ikinde
 ucuwa -həru səbəi ikinde alam de mə- lik ikinde -n
 son -PL all small big one NEG- become small -EMPH
kã

ki- ɲa
 PST- be

All the children were young (but) not a child was grown up.

103

tjo abə ibi lə hai abə hap hap cin
 tjo əbə ibi lə hai əbə hap hap cin
 that now self PART what now weep weepPART
ugun ləllum kja

ugin ləllum ki- ja
 there lie down PST- go
 While weeping, I myself fell down.

104

əni kəllum
 əni ki- ləllum
 after that PST- lie down
 Then, (I) fell.

105

ləllum pəchi əni
 ləllum pəchi əni
 lie down later after that
 After falling,

106

dəba baləe chjo chjo mahapəi
 dəba bal -e chjo chjo ma-hap -əi
 another man -ERG PART PART NEG- weep -IMP
hare hapuŋ de pherə ɲi sigo
 hare hap -iŋ de pherə ɲi si -go
 why weep-SEQ one time we die -INF

nepna dəiŋ gida

ŋi- pəna da -iŋ gi- da

NPST- must say -SEQ PST- say

the other people said, "Don't weep. Why are you weeping ? We all have to die once."

107

mami dale mən ibigo mənəi məkham

mami da -le mən ibigo mən -əi mək- kham

not say -COND also own soul -ERG NEG- say

Although (other people) said so, I was not convinced (lit.my soul did not say so).

108

a... ŋi lə məsi hola ni

a... ŋi lə mək- si hola ni

F we PART NEG- die may be PART

(I felt as if) we might not die.

109

gida dzəstak likko nepna

gi- da dzəstak lik -ko ŋi- pəna

PFV- say like that become-INF NPST- must

It should be like as it was said (lit. spoken).

110

nepna

ŋi- pəna

NPST- must

(We) should do it.

111

əni bal kicoklum

əni bal ki- ci- kəlum

after that man PST- CAUS- be collected

(I) collected men.

112

cjoklo muŋ əni kithja

ci- kəlum mən əni ki- thəja

CAUS-be collected also after that PST- arrive

Having gathered, (I) brought (them).

113

koi kham

koi kham

someone say

Someone said.

114

lə ji hadzaəru dzəmma tukuŋ to

lə ji hadza -həru dzəmma tuk -iŋ to

Ok this rice -PL gather do -SEQ keep

"Well, collect rice."

115

adza hadza dzəmma tukuŋ to dəiŋ ŋikham ŋəe

adza hadza dzəmma tuk -iŋ to da -iŋ ŋi- kham ŋa-e

paddy rice gather do -SEQ keep say -SEQ NPST- say I -ERG

I say to (them), "Collect paddy grains and rice."

116

əni koi mu muŋ heke hola ni

əni koi mu məŋ heke hola ni

after that someone clothes also go to bring may be PART

Somebody might have gone to bring cloth.

117

mu hekeŋ thəja nepna dəiŋ

mu heke -iŋ thəja ŋi- pəna da -iŋ

clothes go to bring -SEQ arrive NPST- must say -SEQ

Saying that (they) should have brought clothes,

118

a... koi mu ŋeikjo

a... koi mu ŋi- heke

F someone clothes NPST- go to bring

Somebody goes to bring cloth.

119

kosəe pheri ɖori ŋjokhlino

koi -e pheri ɖori ŋi- khulin -o

someone -ERG again rope NPST- entwine -IMP

Somebody twist the rope.

120

ḍori khulinəŋ ɲito
 ḍori khulin -iŋ ɲi- to -o
 rope entwine -SEQ NPST- keep -IMP
 (They) search (and) keep the rope.

121

əni pheri tigan mu thəeŋ pəchi
 əni pheri tigan mu thəe -iŋ pəchi
 after that again after that clothes bring -SEQ later
abə hidi hai ɲicəidi
 əbə hidi hai ɲi- cəi -di
 now here what NPST- need -NTVZ
 After the clothes had been brought, what things were needed ?

122

hadzam ɲicəidi adzam
 hadza -m ɲi- cəi -di adza -m
 rice -EMPH NPST-need -NTVZ paddy -EMPH
ɲicəidi ɲikham
 ɲi- cəi -di ɲi- kham
 NPST- need -NTVZ NPST- say
 (They) say, "we need paddy and rice."

123

ɲi lə abə sui bəndisgo ləu
 ɲi lə əbə sui bən -di -go ləu
 we PART now bathe make -NTVZ -INF EXCL
 What shall we make now ?"

124

bal akhoiŋ bəndisgo ləidi ɲido
 bal akho -iŋ bən -di -go ləi -di ɲi -do
 man call -SEQ make-NTVZ -INF apply -NTVZ NPST-say
 (They) say to search men (and) make it.

125

əni baləe bəndisiŋ ɲipi
 əni bal -e bən -di -iŋ ɲi- pi
 after that man -ERG make -NTVZ -SEQ NPST- give
 Men make and give.

126

bəndis upiŋ pəchi abə ugəi səppəi
 bən -di u - pi -iŋ pəchi əbə u -gəi səppəi
 make -NTVZ 3SG - give -SEQ later now 3SG -ACC all
thok kam tukuŋ ŋidato
 thok kam tuk -iŋ ŋi- dat -o
 thing work do -SEQ NPST- finish -IMP
 As they had made all the things, they finished doing all works.

127

əni tukuŋ dat pəchi əni uskəi
 əni tuk -iŋ dat pəchi əni u -go
 after that do -SEQ finish later after then 3SG -GEN
caca lə abəi ucwəru lə abəi ikinde
 caca lə abəi ucuwa -həru lə abəi ikinde
 child PART father son -PL PART father small
 After doing that (they) say that all his children were younger.

128

de lə məja
 de lə mə- ja
 one PART NEG-go
 One of the sons did not go (son) did not go (in the funeral procession).

129

de lə kja alam cəi lə kja
 de lə ki- ja alam cəi lə ki- ja
 one PART PST- go eldest need PART PST- go
 One (son), the elder (of the two) went.

130

paca chetəŋ kja kã
 paca chetəŋ ki- ja ki- ŋa
 father carrying PFV- go PST- be
 (They) went carrying (lit.taking) their father.

131

əni ikinse lə jo ikine ŋiŋa chjo məja
 əni ikini lə jo ikine ŋi- ŋa chjo mə- ja
 after that small PART this small NPST- be PART NEG- go
 "This one is very young. Don't go".

132

dəiŋ kikhām

da -iŋ ki- kham

say -SEQ PST- say

He said so.

133

əbə kham pəchi tigan paca kjen

əbə kham pəchi tigan paca ki- jen

now say later after that father PST- take away

Then, the man was carried away.

II d. Old Man and Woman

001

de ho... hanɖuŋga balbaŋ hanɖuŋga
 de ho... hanɖuŋ -gəi balbaŋ hanɖuŋ -gəi
 one F village -LOC Baram village -LOC
 In a village, a Baram village,

002

cəŋpa rə cəŋma dzəstəi ukəi rə
 cəŋpa rə cəŋma dzəstəi ukəi rə
 old man and old woman like husband and
uməi gida dzəstəi kã na
 uməi gi- da dzəstəi ki- ŋa na
 wife PFV- say like PST- COP.NPST HS
 there were an old man and an old woman like husband and wife.

003

tigaŋ ubaŋ lə kamtukla tukla
 tigaŋ u baŋ lə kamtuk -la tuk -la
 after that 3SG man EMPH work do -SIM do -SEQ
əbə wakkə ləgdiŋ əbə gadzijacə
 əbə wakke ləgdi -iŋ əbə gadzi -ja -cə
 now bore feel -SEQ now quarrel-PRF INFR
 Later, they quarrelled as they were fed up with working continuously.

004

gadzeŋ lə ukəiko ukəi sur
 gadzi -iŋ lə ukəi -go ukəi sur
 quarrel -SEQ EMPH husband -GEN husband way
uməiko uməi sur tukkocə
 uməi -go uməi sur tuk -go -cə
 wife -GEN wife way do -INF INFR
 After they quarrelled, they decided to live their own way of life.

005

tigaŋ lə
 tigaŋ lə
 after that PART
 After that,

006

ləu naŋgo sur naŋcin tukko ŋago sur
 ləu naŋ -go sur naŋ - cin tuk -ko ŋa -go sur
 EXCL you-GEN way you - EMPH do -INF I -GEN way
ŋa cin tukum dəiŋ
 ŋa cin tuk -m da -iŋ
 I EMPH do -CJ say -SEQ

"You live your own way and I live my own way of life," (he) said (lit. saying).

007

əh... ukəi ho do hocə
 əh... ukəi ho da ho -cə
 F husband like that say like that INFR
 The husband said.

008

tigaŋ lə uməi uməi lə jacə
 tigaŋ lə uməi uməi lə ja -cə
 after that EMPH wife wife EMPH go INFR
 Then the wife left.

009

əbə naŋ mattəi huka
 əbə naŋ mattəi huk -a
 now you only sit -IMP
 "Now you alone stay.

010

naŋ dzin tukuŋ huka naŋdzin
 naŋ cin tuk -iŋ huk -a naŋ - cin
 you EMPH do -SEQ sit -IMP you - EMPH
tukuŋ hukaŋa lə jam
 tuk -iŋ huk -a ŋa lə ja -m
 do -SEQ sit -IMP I EMPH go-CJ
 You stay working. As for me I will go."

011

dəiŋ u lə khewacə
 da -iŋ u lə khewo -cə
 say -SEQ 3SG EMPH leave INFR
 she said (lit. saying) and left the house.

012

khewoiŋ tjaḍə cəŋpəe adaŋ jala lə
 khewo -iŋ tjaḍə cəŋpa -e adaŋ ja -la lə
 leave -SEQ then husband -ERG search go-SIM PART
 As she left the house the husband, went (lit. going) to search (for her).

013

pheri waməŋ tenuŋ cəŋmage
 pheri wam -iŋ ten -iŋ cəŋma -gəi
 again persuade -SEQ bring -SEQ wife -ACC
 He persuaded her and brought her back .

014

pheri pəchi lə cəŋpa palə pheri
 pheri pəchi lə cəŋpa palə pheri
 again later EMPH husband turn again
 Then (it was) the husband's turn.

015

ah... hon məkha məkha pheri
 ah... hon mə- kham mə- kham pheri
 F free of cost NEG- say NEG- say again
cəŋpa bal lə khewacə pheri
 cəŋpa bal lə khewo -cə pheri
 husband man EMPH leave INFR again
 He told (her) nothing and left the house then.

016

khewoiŋ tigan lə cəŋmae adaŋla
 khewo -iŋ tigan lə cəŋma -e adaŋ-la
 leave -SEQ after that EMPH wife -ERG search-SIM

lə kuni mədum

lə kuni mə- dum

EMPH whereNEG- find

As he left, the wife searched (for him) but (she) could not find (him) anywhere.

017

təja ɲitəi di ɲitəi ki do

təja ɲi- təi di ɲi- təi ki da

today NPST- come FS NPST- come or say

(She hoped that) he might come today,

018

hogəi ɲitəi ki do

hogəi ɲi- təi ki da

tomorrow NPST-come or say

he might come tomorrow,

019

icjale ɲitəi ki do

icjale ɲi- təi ki da

day after tomorrow NPST- come or say

he may come the day after tomorrow,

020

ə... kəilem mətəi

ə... kəile -m mə- təi

F when -EMPH NEG- come

(but he) never came.

021

tigaŋ lə ləu cəŋpa lə keiku əbə

tigaŋ lə ləu cəŋpa lə ki- aku əbə

after that EMPH EXCL husband EMPH PST- steal now

mətəi dəiŋ

mə- təi da -iŋ

NEG- come say -SEQ

Then, she thought, "The husband was lost, (he) won't come."

022

əbə ɲa pəni ɲagon sur dəiŋ u lə
 əbə ɲa pəni ɲa -go -n sur da -iŋ u lə
 now I also I -GEN -EMPH way say -SEQ 3SG PART
 "Now, I find my own way," she said(lit. saying).

023

ibigo mədus ə... maitəgaŋ
 ibigo mədus ə... maitə -gaŋ
 own wooden box F parent's home (of women) -ABL
kitəin mədus lə
 ki- təi -n mədus lə
 PST- come -EMPH wooden box EMPH
 "This is my wooden box, wooden box brought from my mother's house.

024

a... ɲago jei ho mədus ɲa
 a... ɲa -go jei ho mədus ɲa
 F I -GEN this COP.NPST wooden box I
chetəŋjam deiŋ lə
 chet-əŋ ja -m də -iŋ lə
 carry-SEQ go -1SGNPST say -SEQ EMPH
 This is my wooden box, I will carry it with me" she decided(lit. saying).

025

a... cəpuiŋ chetəŋ kja nam dzibunuŋ
 a... cəpu -iŋ chetəŋ ki- ja nam dzibun -iŋ
 F carry -SEQ carrying PST- go house release -SEQ
 Then she went carrying the wooden box on her back leaving the house.

026

tigaŋ lə tjo chetəŋ jala
 tigaŋ lə tjo chet-əŋ ja -la
 after that EMPH that carry-SEQ go -SIM
jala cəpuiŋ jala jala
 ja -la cəpu -iŋ ja -la ja -la
 go -SEQ carry-SEQ go -SEQ go -SEQ
 Then, she went (lit. while going) continuously carrying the wooden box.

027

əbə asa ŋa hola ni əbə asa
əbə asa ŋa hola ni əbə asa
 now oil I may be PART now oil
 "Then there might be (some) oil,"

028

əh...

əh...

F

ah

029

əbə cəŋpəe ci sju hola tigin tukuga
əbə cəŋpa -e ci sju hola tigi -n tuku -gəi
 now husband -ERG urine urinate may be there -EMPH inside -LOC
 she thought, (but) the husband might have urinated I, there, inside.

030

tigaŋ lə əh... asa hukacə ŋəi
tigaŋ lə əh... asa huk -cə ŋa -e
 after that PART F oil sit -INFR I -ERG
kita asa hukacə
 ki- ta asa huk -cə
 PFV- keep oil sit INFR
 Then, "There might be oil, the oil I have kept",

031

dəiŋ lə usəi hon nəjacə
da -iŋ lə u -e hon nəi -a -cə
 say -SEQ PART he-ERG free rub -IRR INFR
 she thought and she rubbed (it on her body).

032

tjo asa dəiŋ cəŋpəe kisju ci lə
tjo asa da -iŋ cəŋpa -e ki- sju ci lə
 that oil say -SEQ husband -ERG PFV- urinate urine PART

usəi asa dəiŋ nəjacə
 u -e asa da -iŋ nəi -a -cə
 3SG -ERG oil say -SEQ rub -IRR INFR
 Thinking that it was oil, she rubbed the urine of her husband (on her body).

033

tigaŋ lə əhə dəiŋ mədus
 tigaŋ lə əhə da -iŋ mədus
 after that PART oh say -SEQ wooden box
bisdiŋ ajala lə
 bisti -iŋ ajo -la lə
 rest -SEQ look -SIM PART
 After that, when she rested the box and looked into it,

034

ibigon cəŋpa le rəicə
 ibigo -n cəŋpa le rə -cə
 own -EMPH husband PART be INFR
 there was her own husband.

035

əbə hai tukko deŋ
 əbə hai tuk -ko də -iŋ
 now what do -INF say -SEQ
 As she thought (lit. saying) what to do now.

036

əbə hocin ho gidat
 əbə hocin ho gi- dat
 now thismuch COP.NPST PST- finish
 It is this much, finished.

II e. Pandure

001

nigo balbaŋ dzatkəi
 ni -go balbaŋ dzat -gəi
 we -GEN Baram caste -LOC
 In our Baram community,

002

nəsjo nəsjo lə cəŋpahəru kha tuko dale
 nəsjo nəsjo lə cəŋpa -həru kha tuk -o da-le
 last year last year PART old man -PL what do -IRR say -COND
 how the old (people) did in the past,

003

de paŋdure ləidigo mən
 de paŋdure ləi -di -go mən
 one Pandure start -NTVZ -INF also
 even by using a Pandure musical tone,

004

dherəi ber cin badhdheta tukiŋ kihuk kã
 dherəi ber cin badhdheta tuk -iŋ ki- huk ki- ŋa
 many time PART compulsion do -SEQ PST- stay PST- be
 (they) lived a long time as a matter of compulsion.

005

əbə u... saune səkrati dekhiŋgo madəl
 əbə u... saune səkrati dekhin-go madəl
 now GF Shaun first day of month from -GEN tomtom
cjai kicjai kã
 cjai ki- cjai ki- ŋa
 play PFV- play PST- be
 And (they) had played a small drum from the the first day of the mouth of Srawan.

006

paŋdure bhakagəi cjaiŋ cjaiŋ dəsəiga cã
 paŋdure bhaka -gəi cjai -iŋ cjai -iŋ dəsəi -gəi cã
 Pandure tune -LOC play -SEQ play -SEQ Dashain -LOC PART
 Playing in a Pandure style during the Dashain (festival),

007

hannungəi mukhja namgəi nac ləidigo
hanḍuŋ -gəi mukhja nam -gəi nac ləi -di -go
village -LOC chief house -LOC dance start -NTVZ -INF
dəiŋ səppəi dzəmma likiŋ
da -iŋ səppəi dzəmma lik -iŋ
say -SEQ all gather become -SEQ
gathering at the house of the village head to organize a dance party,

008

ṭhəkən apəiŋ sərəsəti asiŋiŋ
ṭhəkən ap -iŋ sərəsəti asiŋ -iŋ
place hit -SEQ Saraswoti take -SEQ
at a place, and calling out Saraswoti Goddess,

009

tigaŋ səppəi deudeuta guhardiŋ
tigaŋ səppəi deudeuta guhar -di -iŋ
then all God call -NTVZ -SEQ
thereafter, calling all the Gods and Goddess,

010

sur tukiŋ tettikəi likiŋ
sur tuk -iŋ tettikəi lik -iŋ
way do -SEQ so much become -SEQ
singing in a tune, and doing so,

011

dəṣəiga mukhja namga kildi kã
dəṣəi -gəi mukhja nam -gəi ki- ləi -di ki- ŋa
Dashain -LOC chief house-LOC PST- start -NTVZ PST- AUX
(it) was organized in the house of the village head.

012

tigaŋ hukiŋ pheri ṭika dinga caĩ
tigaŋ huk -iŋ pheri ṭika din -gəi caĩ
then stay -SEQ again Tika day-LOC PART
Thereafter, staying on the day of Tika in Dashain,

013

dəsəi tika dinga nəmi din dəsəmi dinga caĩ
 dəsəi tika din -gəi nəmi din dəsəmi din -gəi caĩ
 Dashain Tika day -LOC ninth day tenth day -LOC PART
 on the day of Tika in Dashain, on the ninth or tenth day of Dashain,

014

dəba dəba tjo hon lənṭhjaṇ mənṭhjaṇ
 dəba dəba tjo hon lənṭhjaṇ mənṭhjaṇ
 another another that for nothing this and that this and that
tukiṇ git liṇ gidzjo
 tuk -iṇ git liṇ gi- dzjo
 do -SEQ song sing PFV- walk
 the others were simply walking along singing songs.

015

tiwar taja
 tiwar təi -a
 Tihar come -IRR
 The Tihar festival arrived (approached).

016

tiwar taja pəchi tiwar təi pəchi lə
 tiwar təi -a pəchi tiwar təi pəchi lə
 Tihar come -IRR later Tihar come later PART
 after the arrival of the Tihar festival,

017

əbə
 əbə
 now
 then

018

kəṇkango tiwa... tiwar dəi kham akjago tiwar dəi kham
 kəṇkaṇ -go tiwa... tiwar da -iṇ kham akja -go tiwar da -iṇ kham
 crow -GEN FS Tihar say -SEQ say dog -GEN Tihar say-SEQ say
 it is called the Kag (crow) Tihar and the Kukur (dog) Tihar.

019

sjago tihar dæi kham

sjə -go tihar da -iŋ kham

cow -GEN Tihar say -SEQ say

It is called the Gai (cow) Tihar.

020

tjo dinga səppəi madəl cjaɪŋ

tjo din -gəi səppəi madəl cjai -iŋ

that day -LOC all tomtom play -SEQ

On that day, all play a small two-sided drum,

021

dherəi dzəstak lə

dherəi dzəstak lə

many like that PART

most of them, however

022

tjo bela madəl lə

tjo bela madəl lə

that time tomtom PART

at that time, a small drum

023

khaləŋ cjaɔ dale dherəidzəstak lə

khaləŋ ci- aɔ da -le dherəi - dzəstak lə

how CAUS- look say -COND many - like that PART

sorəθhi bhakagəi cjaɪŋ gidzjo

sorəθhi bhaka -gəi cjai -iŋ gi- dzjo

Sorathi tune -LOC play -SEQ PFV- walk

How (they) played (small drum), was most of them played in the Sorathi (a folk tune).

024

pheri bhəileni auɪŋ gidzjo

pheri bhəileni ahu -iŋ gi- dzjo

again Bhailini ask -SEQ PST- walk

Again, (they) moved on begging Bhailini (a tradition to beg for food and money).

025

bhāileni ahugo bhaka bhindāi

bhāileni ahu -go bhaka bhindāi

Bhailini ask -INF tune different

There is different style of begging Bhailini,

026

koi namgəi sorəṭhi bhaka kicjai koi namgəi hai

koi nam -gəi sorəṭhi bhaka ki- cjai koi nam -gəi hai

some house -LOC Sorathi tune PST- play some house -LOC what

playing Sorathi tune in some house, and some other tunes in other houses,

027

ə... cəlitrə bhakai kicjai koi namgəi

ə... cəlitrə bhaka -gəi ki- cjai koi nam -gəi

F character tune -LOC PST-play some house -LOC

khjali bhaka kicjai

khjali bhaka ki- cjai

Khjali tune PST- play

(they) played Charitra tune, in some houses, and Khyali tune in others.

028

koi nam... namgəi ramən bhakai kicjai

koi nam... nam -gəi ramən bhaka -gəi ki- cjai

some FS house -LOC Ramayan tune -LOC PST- play

hon likiṇ likiṇ dzjoiṇ

hon lik -iṇ lik -iṇ dzjo -iṇ

so become -SEQ become -SEQ walk -SEQ

In some houses, Ramayan tune was played and (they) kept on moving like that.

029

tihargəi ahuiṇ tjo

tihar -gəi ahu -iṇ tjo

Tihar -LOC ask -SEQ that

Begging for alms during Tihar,

030

dan kipi dzəti səbəi dzəmma tukiṇ kita kã

dan ki- pi dzəti səbəi dzəmma tuk -iṇ ki- ta ki-ṇa

donation PFV- give all all gather do -SEQ PFV- keep PST-AUX

(they) had collected and kept everything that was donated.

031

təiŋ dzəmma tukiŋ təiŋ
 ta -iŋ dzəmma tuk -iŋ ta -iŋ
 keep -SEQ gather do -SEQ keep -SEQ
 (They) collected and kept.

032

əbə kuni kuni pudza nilik
 əbə kuni kuni pudza ŋi- lik
 now where where worship NPST- become
 then, wherever worshipping takes place.

033

kuni kuni chjor nilik tjo dzəmməi dzəmma tukiŋ
 kuni kuni chjor ŋi- lik tjo dzəmməi dzəmma tuk -iŋ
 where where Chhyor NPST- become that all gather do -SEQ
 wherever collected, all were kept,

034

phagungəi bəllətəllə
 phagun -gəi bəllətəllə
 Phalgun -LOC with difficult
 without difficult in the month of Phagun.

035

ə... əbə bhodz cago
 ə... əbə bhodz ca -go
 GF now bean feast eat -INF
 Then, to organize a feast,

036

ə... jarse kilik niŋa dəiŋ bhodz cago
 ə... jarse ki- lik ŋi- ŋa da -iŋ bhodz ca -go
 F this much PST- become NPST- be say -SEQ feast eat -INF
 to have a feast saying that much has been collected,

037

əbə səppəi hannuŋ baŋ akho nepna
 əbə səppəi handuŋ baŋ akho ŋi- pəna
 now all village man call NPST- must
 then, all the villagers should be called.

038

jarse kilik niŋa səppəi kipi ho
jarse ki- lik ŋi- ŋa səppəi ki- pi ho
this much PFV- become NPST- be all PFV- give COP.NPST
Whatever is collected that was given by all of them.

039

ə... ni mən bhəilom kjahu
ə... ni mən bhəilo -m ki- ahu
GF we also Bhaili -EMPH PST- ask
We also begged Bhaili (a cultural practice).

040

idi hudi tukiŋ
hidi hudi tuk -iŋ
here there do -SEQ
Doing this and that

041

ratgo dingo ninra
rat -go din -go ninra
night -GEN day -GEN sleep
sleep during the day and night,

042

nidram məha nigəi
nidra -m məha ni -gəi
sleep -EMPH be not we -DAT
we don't get to sleep also.

043

ə... unisko bhok mən məha nigo dəiŋ
ə... unis -ko bhok mən məha ni -go da -iŋ
GF day -GEN hungry also be not we -GEN say -SEQ
ahuŋ gidzjo
ahu -iŋ gi- dzjo
ask -SEQ PST- walk
We kept on begging not caring for our hunger also.

044

pheri u bela lə bal mən
pheri u bela lə bal mən
again that time PART man also
again, at that time, the people also,

045

ə... səppəi kipi kã piin
ə... səppəi ki- pi ki- ŋa pi -in
GF all PST- give PST- be give -SEQ
all of them had given, and after giving

046

tigaŋ dzəmma tuk pəchi pəchi jarse kilik
tigaŋ dzəmma tuk pəchi pəchi jarse ki- lik
then gather do later later this much PST- become
əbə dəin hannuŋ baŋ səppəi gjam
əbə da -in hanɖuŋ baŋ səppəi gjam -in
now say -SEQ village man all agree -SEQ
thereafter, this much has been collected, then, all villagers getting together,

047

de ātho dzəmma tukiŋ bhodz cəin
de ātho dzəmma tuk -in bhodz ca -in
one border gather do -SEQ bean feast eat -SEQ
collecting in one place, and eating a feast,

048

tjo bhodz kica bela əbə lə dhurdigo
tjo bhodz ki- ca bela əbə lə dhur -di -go
that bean feast PST- eat time now PART finish -NTVZ-INF
at the time of eating that feast, now to complete it.

049

tewoi sal dhurdigo
tewoi sal dhur -di -go
this year finish -NTVZ -INF
To finish this year

050

əbə phagun səmən ho
əbə phagun səmən ho
 now Phalgun up to COP.NPST
 then, it is till Phagun.

051

cəitə ləgdi pəchi madəl cjaigo məlik dəiŋ
cəitə ləg -di pəchi madəl cjai -go mə- lik da -iŋ
 Chait begin -NTVZ later tomtom play -INF NEG- become say-SEQ
 after the month of Chaitra begins, the drum should not be played,

052

guru abəihəruəi ho... hude da pəchi
guru abəi -həru -əi ho... hude da pəchi
 theacher father -PL -ERG F that say later
səbəidzəna likiŋ
səbəi-dzəna lik -iŋ
 all- CLF become -SEQ
 having said so by the teachers, and getting all together,

053

oh... rəksi kjaŋ rəksi
oh... rəksi kjaŋ rəksi
 FS alcohol bread alcohol
 bread, alcohol,

054

hadza kusja tukiŋ daŋiŋ
hadza kusja tuk -iŋ daŋ -iŋ
 rice meat do -SEQ cook -SEQ
 preparing and cooking rice-grain, meat,

055

cəiŋ pheri madəl cjaiŋ pheri tjo
ca -iŋ pheri madəl cjai -iŋ pheri tjo
 eat -SEQ again tomtom play -SEQ again that
marunihəru pəiridiŋ tigan
maruni -həru pəiri -di -iŋ tigan
 Maruni -PL disguise -NTVZ-SEQ then
 after eating, again, playing a small drum, and disguising in a female costume, and then,

056

məca cin

mə- ca cin

NEG- eat PART

while not eating,

057

marunihəru pəiridiŋ na... tjo nac

maruni -həru pəiri -di -iŋ na... tjo nac

Maruni -PL disguise -NTVZ -SEQ FS that dance

cisjaŋ

ci- sjaŋ -iŋ

CAUS- drink -SEQ

dancing in the female costume,

058

tjo sərəsoti səbəi

tjo sərəsoti səbəi

that Saraswoti all

that Saraswati, all (of them),

059

thog... akhoiŋ

thog... akho -iŋ

FS call -SEQ

calling,

060

tjo kipur dzəti kəbrukgaŋ watəiŋ watəiŋ

tjo ki- pur dzəti kəbruk -gaŋ wat -iŋ wat -iŋ

that PFV- be enough all shawl -ABL open -SEQ open -SEQ

taking off all the clothes from the shawl, to...,

061

de dzəgija ki... cituka de ʈəŋga

de dzəgija ki... ci- tuk -a de ʈəŋ -gəi

one fire place FS CAUS- do -IRR one place -LOC

a fireplace is made at a place.

062

səppəi dzəmma likiŋ kəchəkiŋ
 səppəi dzəmma lik -iŋ kəchut -iŋ
 all gather become -SEQ gather -SEQ
 Gathering together,

063

tjã tjo səppəi watəiŋ
 tjã tjo səppəi wat -iŋ
 there that all open- SEQ
 taking off all (the clothes) there,

064

kəpruggaŋ watəiŋ
 kəpruk -gaŋ wat -iŋ
 shawl -ABL open -SEQ
 taking off the shawl,

065

kəpugo kəpruk dəi kham
 kəpu -go kəpruk da -iŋ kham
 head -GEN shawl say -SEQ say
 that is called a the head of the shawl.

066

sirpət dəi kham tjo watəiŋ kita tigan pheri
 sirpət da -iŋ kham tjo wat -iŋ ki- ta tigan pheri
 ECHO say -SEQ say that open -SEQ PST- keep then again
 a jewel called Sirpata is also removed and kept there, and then,

067

jo gəlago pwālo dəi kham pote dəi kham
 jo gəla -go pwālo da -iŋ kham pote da -iŋ kham
 this neck -GEN garland say -SEQ say glass bead say -SEQ say
 beads around the neck is called the Pote.

068

tjo watəiŋ kita tigan
 tjo wat -iŋ ki- ta tigan
 that open -SEQ PST- keep then
 That is also taken off and then

069

ə... aŋ... jo aŋgo coli dəi
ə... aŋ... jo aŋ -go coli da -iŋ
F FS this body -GEN Choli cloth say -SEQ
kham tjo məŋ watəiŋ kita
kham tjo məŋ wat -iŋ ki- ta
say that also open -SEQ PST- keep
that Choli (blouse) of the body is also removed and placed aside.

070

tigaŋ pheri hitko curi dəi kham
tigaŋ pheri hit -ko curi da -iŋ kham
then again hand -GEN bangle say -SEQ say
From there, again those are called bangles of the wrists.

071

tjo məŋ watəiŋ kita
tjo məŋ wat -iŋ ki- ta
that also open -SEQ PST- keep
That is also taken out and placed aside.

072

aθəigo pəʈuki dəi kham tjo məŋ watəiŋ kita
aθəi -go pəʈuki da -iŋ kham tjo məŋ wat -iŋ ki- ta
body -GEN Patuki say -SEQ say that also open-SEQ PST-keep
Eight handful of long cloth around the waist called Patuki is also removed and kept aside.

073

dzaŋgodzaŋgi dəi kham tjo məŋ u... watəiŋ kita
dzaŋgodzaŋgi da -iŋ kham tjo məŋ u... wat -iŋ ki- ta
long and half say -SEQ say that also F open -SEQ PST- keep
The lengthy sari is also removed and placed aside.

074

tigaŋ lə
tigaŋ lə
then PART
thereafter,

075

pheri paugo pəĩdzəði dəi kham tjo məŋ watəiŋ
 pheri pau -go pəĩdzəði da -iŋ kham tjo məŋ wat -iŋ
 again leg -GEN anklet say -SEQ say that also open -SEQ
kita
 ki- ta
 PST- keep
 again, the anklet chain is also removed and placed aside.

076

ugaŋ səppəi watəiŋ təj... tapəchi
 ugaŋ səppəi wat -iŋ təj... ta - pəchi
 there all open -SEQ FS keep - later
 Then, after placing everything aside,

077

pəchi lə tjo... sjaiŋ sjaiŋ
 pəchi lə tjo... sjaŋ -iŋ sjaŋ -iŋ
 later PART FS drink -SEQ drink -SEQ
 thereafter, dancing countinously

078

hon likiŋ tjo guru abəihəruəi
 hon lik -iŋ tjo guru abəi -həru -əi
 so become -SEQ that theacher father -PL -ERG
hon tukiŋ tukuŋ tukiŋ
 hon tuk -iŋ tuk -iŋ tuk -iŋ
 so do -SEQ do -SEQ do -SEQ
 therefore, while those teachers are doing so,

079

ə... dhurdiŋ
 ə... dhur -di -iŋ
 GF finish -NTVZ -SEQ
 after finishing (the task),

080

tjo gitəi cin dhurdiŋ git liŋiŋ
 tjo git -əi cin dhur -di -iŋ git liŋ -iŋ
 that song -INS PART finish -NTVZ -SEQ song sing -SEQ

liŋiŋ dhurdiŋ

liŋ -iŋ dhur -di -iŋ
sing -SEQ finish -NTVZ -SEQ
that is ended with the song and the song is finished.

081

əbə lə jo cəitə bəisakh
əbə lə jo cəitə bəisak
now okay this Chait Baisakh
Then, during the months of Chaitra, Baishak,

082

dzeth əsar lə
dzeθ əsar lə
Jestha Ashad okay
months of Jestha, Asar,

083

ghāthugo jam ho
ghāthu -go jam ho
Ghatu -GEN time COP.NPST
this is the season of Ghatu (a cultural event).

084

jo nacko jam mami
jo nac -ko jam mami
this dance -GEN time not
This is not a season of dances.

085

madəl cjaigo məlik
madəl cjai -go mə- lik
tomtom play -INF NEG- become
Small drums should not be played.

086

kərtal cjaigo nepna dəiŋ
kərtal cjai-go ŋi- pəna da -iŋ
force play-INF NPST- must say-SEQ
A musical instrument called Kartal should be played.

087

ghāṭugo pheri kərtalgo bhaka
ghaṭu -go pheri kərtal -go bhaka
Ghatu -GEN again Kartal -GEN tune
again, the tone of Ghatu with Kartal,

088

kərtal cjai nepna dəiŋ khama
kərtal cjai ɲi- pəna da -iŋ kham- a
Kartal play NPST- must say -SEQ say -PST.HAB
Kartal should be played, (they) said.

089

tjā wa lak pəchi
tjā wa lak pəchi
there chicken cut later
After cutting the chickens there,

090

əbə madəl tjo madəlgəi wago tjo cihui
əbə madəl tjo madəl -gəi wa -go tjo cihui
now tomtom that tomtom -LOC chicken -GEN that blood
cinəja ami ami
ci- nəi -a ami ami
CAUS- rub -PST.HAB little little
then, (they) used to put a little bit a chicken's blood on that small drum.

091

tigaŋ tjo guru abəihəruəi kiçjai balhəru
tigaŋ tjo guru abəi -həru -əi ki- cjai bal -həru -go
then that theacher father-PL -ERG PFV- play man -PL -GEN
hitkəi mən cinəja
hit -gəi mən ci- nəi -a
hand -LOC also CAUS- rub -IRR
Thereafter, these teachers used to put (chicken's blood) on the hands of those who were playing that small drum.

092

əbə jo car məina lə məçjaigo ni madəl dəiŋ
əbə jo car məina lə mə- cjai -go ni madəl da -iŋ
now this four month PART NEG- play-INF PART tomtom say -SEQ
Then, that small drum now should not be played for four months.

093

cita *saunesəkratigəi* *caĩ*
 ci- ta -a saune - səkrati -gəi caĩ
 CAUS- keep -IRR Shaun - first day of month -LOC PART
 (They) used to keep that small drum away on the first of the month of Srawan,

094

səppəi kiṇadzəti madəl
 səppəi ki- ṇa -dzəti madəl
 all PFV- be - all tomtom
 All these small drums,

095

ibi ibigo namgəi citaa
 ibi ibi -go nam -gəi ci- ta -a
 own own -GEN house -LOC CAUS- keep -IRR
 they used to keep in their own house.

096

tjo rāko kjakchja belagəi
 tjo rāko ki- əkchja bela -gəi
 that turch ADJV- throw time -LOC
 At the time of throwing away the torch,

097

əbə lə hiūd kiləgdi dəiŋ
 əbə lə hiūd ki- ləg -di da -iŋ
 now PART winter PST- feel -NTVZ say- SEQ
 and as the winter has started,

098

tigaŋ dekhin
 tigaŋ dekhin
 then from
 from there,

099

phagunsəmmən madəl kicjai kã
 phagun - səmmə madəl ki- cjai ki- ṇa
 Phalgun - until tomtom PFV- play PST- COP
 small drums were played till the month of Phagun.

100

temne əbə bəndəbəndi dzəilem nicjai
 temne əbə bəndəbəndi dzəile -m ɲi- cjai
 nowadays now close whenever -EMPH NPST- play
 nowadays, Ghatu is no more celebrated, (small drums) are played at any time.

101

ə... pəilago bhaka rəsrag məha
 ə... pəila -go bhaka rəsrag məha
 F at first -GEN tune matter be not
 earlier tunes and styles are not played any more.

102

sui mərə do
 su -e mə- ra do
 who -ERG NEG- know PART
 No one knows (how to play them).

103

ralem məcjai
 ra -le -m mə- cjai
 know -COND-EMPH NEG- play
 Even if (they) knew, (they) don't play.

104

hon likiŋ temne lə kha ho
 hon lik -iŋ temne lə kha ho
 so become -SEQ nowadays PART how COP.NPST
kha ho
 kha ho
 what COP.NPST
 Therefore, nowadays we do not know what it is.

105

ni... ɲa lə əbə temnego
 ni... ɲa lə əbə temne -go
 FS I PART now nowadays -GEN
 Then, speaking of nowadays, I...

106

kəstak ho kəstak ho khaləŋ kicjai
 kəstak ho kəstak ho khaləŋ ki- cjai
 what COP.NPST what COP.NPST how PST-play
khaləŋ kicjai
 khaləŋ ki- cjai
 how PST- play
 how it is, and how (they) play it.

107

de rəs məha uilago rəs məha temnego
 de rəs məha uila -go rəs məha temne -go
 one juice be not long ago -GEN juice be not nowadays -GEN
rəs bhindəi
 rəs bhindəi
 juice different
 There is no tune, earlier tune is not there, nowadays the tune is not there.

108

əbə dzukəi bhindəi niŋa
 əbə dzug -əi bhindəi ŋi- ŋa
 now era -LOC different NPST-AUX
 Now the age is completely different.

109

hon likiŋ uila lə
 hon lik -iŋ uila lə
 so become -SEQ long ago PART
 Therefore, in earlier times,

110

dherəi rəsrag bal mən gigjam kã
 dherəi rəsrag bal mən gi- gjam ki- ŋa
 many matter man also PFV- agree PST- AUX
 there were different tunes, people were also in harmony.

111

ləu təja lə phəlana namgəi esəri
 ləu təja lə phəlana nam -gəi esəri
 okay today PART that one house -LOC thus

nac ləidigo da pəchi səppəi
 nac ləi -di -go da pəchi səppəi
 dance make -NTVZ -INF say later all
 Okay, let's have a dance program in a particular house today, then, all (of us)

112

koi bela khjali kildi koi belage hai
 koi bela khjali ki- ləi -di koi bela -gəi hai
 some time Khjali PST- make -NTVZ some time -LOC what
hai kildi

hai ki- ləi -di
 what PST- make -NTVZ
 some times Khyali was organized and some other things were organized at other times.

113

khjali mən kildi kã
 khjali mən ki- ləi -di ki- ŋa
 Khjali also PFV- make -NTVZ PST- AUX
 Khayali was also organized.

114

əbə khaləŋ dale səppəi thok
 əbə khaləŋ da -le səppəi thok
 now how say -COND all thing
 Then, talking about all those things,

115

oh...

oh...

FS

116

təigo məbhja aməi dəiŋ
 təi -go mə- bhja aməi da -iŋ
 come -INF NEG-finish mother say -SEQ
 Telling mother of not being able to come,

117

təigo məbhja aməi dəiŋ
 təi -go mə- bhja aməi da -iŋ
 come -INF NEG-finish mother say -SEQ
 telling mother of not being able to come,

118

dzə mudzələi gherdiin kiten dəin
 dzə mudzal -əi gher -di -in ki- ten da -in
 children -ERG round-NTVZ -SEQ PFV- bring say -SEQ
 saying that the children surrounded (them).

119

git kilin kã
 git ki- lin ki- ɲa
 song PFV- sing PST- be
 a song was sung.

120

əh...

əh...

F

121

məsthəja aməi məja mohəni gherdin
 mə- thəja aməi məja mohəni -gəi gher -di -in
 NEG- arrive EXCL love speal-bound -INS round-NTVZ -SEQ
kiten
 ki- ten
 PST- bring

I was not thinking of coming mother but love and affection attracted.

122

dəin pəila kikham
 da -in pəila ki- kham
 say -SEQ at first PST- say
 They said so in the beginning

123

pəchi rə təigo məbhja aməi
 pəchi rə təi -go mə- bhja aməi
 later PART come -INF NEG- finish PART
 I will not be able to come later,

124

um...

um...

F

125

dzəmadzaləi gherdiŋ kiten dəiŋ
dzəmadzal -əi gher -di -iŋ ki- ten da -iŋ
children -ERG round -NTVZ -SEQ PST- bring say -SEQ
Saying that the number of children surrounded and brought (us here),

126

ucaucuməi gherdiŋ kiten dəiŋ
ucaucuməi gher -di -iŋ ki- ten da -iŋ
children round -NTVZ -SEQ PST- bring say -SEQ
saying number of children brought (us here),

127

git kiliŋ kã
git ki- liŋ ki- ŋa
song PFV- sing PST- AUX
a song was sung.

128

liŋiŋ
liŋ -iŋ
sing -SEQ
While singing

129

koi caĩ khaləŋ kiliŋ koi caĩ khaləŋ kiliŋ
koi caĩ khaləŋ ki- liŋ koi caĩ khaləŋ ki- liŋ
some PART how PFV- sing some PART how PST- sing
some were singing differently, some others in a different way.

130

likiŋ likiŋ khjali kildi sorəṭhi
lik -iŋ lik -iŋ khjali ki- ləi -di sorəṭhi
become -SEQ become -SEQ Khjali PST- start-NTVZ Sorathi
kildi
ki- ləi -di
PST- start -NTVZ
While doing so, Khyali and Sorathi were organized.

131

holəŋ likiŋ tigan holəŋ
 holəŋ lik -iŋ tigan holəŋ
 that way become -SEQ then that way
 Therefore, from there,

132

phagunga jaiŋ gidhurdi kã
 phagun -gəi ja -iŋ gi- dhur -di ki- ŋa
 Phalgun -LOC go -SEQ PFV- finish -NTVZ PST- AUX
 this was finished in the month of Phagun.

133

əbə ŋəi hai dam rə
 əbə ŋa -e hai da -m rə
 now I -ERG what say -CJ PART
 Then, what more should I say,

134

dəba thok lə
 dəba thok lə
 another thing PART
 regarding the other things,

135

dəba thok lə hai dago rə əbə ion dam
 dəba thok lə hai da -go rə əbə ion da -m
 another thing PART what say -INF PART now this say -CJ
 what other things to say, this much for now.

136

ho likiŋ gidzjo ni məŋ gidzjo kã
 ho lik -iŋ gi- dzjo ni məŋ gi- dzjo ki- ŋa
 so become -SEQ PFV- walk we also PFV- walk PST- be
 We had also walked away like that.

137

temne lə sui məŋ mə... mədzjo məkhla
 temne lə su -e məŋ mə... mə- dzjo mə- khəla
 nowadays PART who -ERG also FS NEG- walk NEG- speak

mə... məcjai

mə... mə- cjai

FS NEG- play

Nowadays, no one walks, (they) don't know or play (the drums).

138

məcisja

mə- ci- sja

NEG- CAUS- dance

(They) don't organize the dance.

139

hon likiŋ ni lə əndhəməndə temne lə

hon lik -iŋ ni lə əndhəməndə temne lə

so become -SEQ PART PART useless nowadays PART

cacəi kićjai lə hai ho hai ho nilik

caca -e ki- cjai lə hai ho hai ho ŋi-lik

child -ERG PST- play PART what so what COP.NPST NPST-become

Therefore, nowadays, (musical instruments) played by children are tuneless.

140

uila uila bhaka rekha

uila uila bhaka rekha

long ago long ago tune line

The tune of earlier times,

141

estak gitəi cin sərəsəti cjasija

estak git -əi cin sərəsəti ci- asiŋ -a

such song -INST PART Saraswoti CAUS- take -PST.HAB

the same song was used to raise the Goddess Saraswati.

142

madəl bhindəi bhaka cjaia

madəl bhindəi bhaka cjai -a

tomtom different tune play-PST.HAB

Different tunes are played on the small drums.

143

ə... holəŋ

ə... holəŋ

F that way
that way,

144

madəl cjaigo mən dherəi bhaka nilik

madəl cjai -go mən dherəi bhaka ŋi- lik
tomtom play -INF also more tune NPST-become
The small drum also can be played in different tunes.

145

tjo dhjaŋdhjaŋ mətəi cjaiŋ məlik dherəi bhaka

tjo dhjaŋdhjaŋ mətəi cjai -iŋ mə- lik dherəi bhaka
that ONO only play -SEQ NEG- become more tune
nilik

ŋi- lik

NPST-become

That simple tune is not enough; there are many other styles of tune.

146

hon likiŋ temne lə testak məha

hon lik -iŋ temne lə testak məha
so become -SEQ nowadays PART that be not
therefore, nowadays, it is not like that.

147

kuni kuni niŋa ni nəsjə nəsjə tjo

kuni kuni ŋi- ŋa ni nəsjə nəsjə tjo
where where NPST- be PART last year last year that

bākoṭpəta ŋa kja

bākoṭ -pəta ŋa ki- ja

Bankot -near by I PFV-go

Where is that (tune), when in earlier years I went to the Bankot (village),

148

tjo asapakhago ə...

tjo asapakha -go ə...

that surrounding -GEN F
of that surrounding,

149

de khep asapakhago nac kiten tigi bākoṭka
de khep asapakha -go nac ki- ten tigi bākoṭ -ge
one time surrounding -GEN dance PFV- bring there Bankot -LOC
once the dance of surrounding areas was brought to the Bankot (village),

150

de khep uh...
de khep uh...
one time FS
once

151

kunago ə... kharcokko mēilunḡa kiten kã
kuna -go ə... kharcok -go mēilunḡ -gəi ki- ten ki- ḡa
where -GEN F Kharchowk -GEN Mailung -LOC PFV- bring PST-AUX
where is it, it was brought to the Mailung of Kharchok village.

152

pheri
pheri
again
Again

153

kemthəligo kiten kã tei bākoṭka
kemthəli -go ki- ten ki- ḡa tei bākoṭ -ge
Kemthali -GEN PFV-bring PST-COP that Bankot -LOC
that of Kemthali (village) was brought to Bankot village.

154

oho ḡa lə tiganḡ kam kituk arni kica kã
oho ḡa lə tiganḡ kam ki- tuk arni ki- ca ki- ḡa
EXCL I PART then work PFV- do breakfast PFV- eat PST- COP
Oh! I had worked there, (I) had eaten breakfast there.

155

tjo newarni cəḡpəi... cəḡməi lə
tjo newarni cəḡpa -e cəḡma -əi lə
that Newarni old man -ERG old woman -ERG PART
That Newarni old (woman),

156

naŋ lə asəise ŋa hola naŋ kira
 naŋ lə asəi -se ŋa hola naŋ ki- ra
 you PART listen -DESID COP.NPST may be 2SG PFV- know
bal dəiŋ
 bal da -iŋ
 man say -SEQ
 You might want to listen to it, the person I knew,

157

arni kica arni ki... piŋ u huməi
 arni ki- ca arni ki... pi -iŋ u huməi
 breakfast PST- eat breakfast FS give -SEQ he below
jaŋ səjo rə ajo rə dəi kham
 ja -iŋ səi -o rə ajo rə da -iŋ kham
 go -SEQ listen -IMP PART look PART say -SEQ say
 (I) ate breakfast, (she) gave breakfast and went down and told me to see (the dance).

158

ubhədrəi kisensəŋ nisja ni ubaŋ
 ubhədrəi kisen -səŋ ŋi- sja ni u-baŋ
 very much nice -with NPST- dance PART 3-PL
 They danced very nicely.

159

testak paŋdure ləidigo lə
 testak paŋdure ləi -di -go lə
 that Pandure start -NTVZ -INF PART
 To organize such Pandure dance.

160

tjo uh..
 tjo uh
 that FS
 that

161

kjamthəligo lə dzhən ŋəi git mən kisəi
 kjamthəli -go lə dzhən ŋa -e git mən ki- səi
 Kyaunthali -GEN PART more I -ERG song also PST-listen
 I also listened to a song of that Kyaunthali village.

162

ə... məhə cago kitəi məhuri

ə... məhə ca -go ki- təi məhuri

GF honey eat -INF PST- come bee

A honey bee came to eat honey,

163

məhə lə bhəmərai kimak

məhə lə bhəmərai -əi ki- mak

honey PART hornet -ERG PST- finish

the honey was finished by a hornet,

164

məhuri le hon bəngun kilik dəiŋ

məhuri le hon bəngu -n ki- lik da -iŋ

bee PART so naked -EMPH PST- become say -SEQ

The honey bee became empty handed, saying so,

165

khjali kildi səppəi kisja mama baŋ

khjali ki- ləi -di səppəi ki- sja mama baŋ

Khjali PFV- start -NTVZ all PST- dance girl man

paca baŋ kisja kã

paca baŋ ki- sja ki- ŋa

father man PFV- dance PST- AUX

in Khyali (dance) all men and women had danced.

166

hon likiŋ

hon lik -iŋ

so become -SEQ

Therefore,

167

çjaigo nepna kepna kã

çjai -go ŋi- pəna ki- pəna ki- ŋa

play -INF NPST- must PFV- must PST- AUX

it has to be played, it has to be.

168

temne ni hannungəi məsja
temne ni hanɖuŋ -gəi mə- sja
nowadays we village -LOC NEG- dance
Nowadays, (they) do not dance in our village.

169

holəŋ mətuk
holəŋ mə- tuk
that way NEG- do
it is not done like that.

170

holəŋ mətuk temne lə
holəŋ mə- tuk temne lə
that way NEG- do nowadays PART
It is done like that nowadays,

171

jarse kura əbə estak estak kã ho...
jarse kura əbə estak estak ki- ŋa ho...
this much matter now such such PST- AUX F
It was done like that before, this much (for now).

172

holəŋ sərəsoti pudza tukiŋ musu watəiŋ
holəŋ sərəsoti pudza tuk -iŋ mu -su wat -iŋ
that way Saraswoti worship do -SEQ clothes -ECHO open -SEQ
Similarly, doing worship of Goddess Saraswati and removing the dress,

173

madəlgo badhdheta tukiŋ
madəl -go badhdheta tuk -iŋ
tomtom -GEN compulsion do -SEQ
promising not to play the small drum,

174

cəit rə bəisakh dzeth
cəit rə bəisak dzeɥh
Chaitra and Baisakh Jestha
the months of Chaitra, Baisak, Jestha,

175

ghāṭu ləidi nepna
ghaṭu ləi -di ɲi- pəna
Ghatu start -NTVZ NPST- must
the Ghatu (festival) should be organized.

176

əsarsəmən dhurdi nepna dəi kham
əsar -səmən dhur -di ɲi- pəna da -iɲ kham
Ashad -till finish -NTVZ NPST- must say -SEQ say
It has to be finished by the month of Asadh, (they) said,

177

cəŋpahəruɪ temne mətuk
cəŋpa -həru -gəi temne mə- tuk
old man -PL -ERG nowadays NEG- do
the old (persons) used to say, but it is not performed nowadays.

178

ɲəi kira dzəti igin tam əbə
ɲa -e ki- ra dzəti higi -n ta -m əbə
I -ERG PFV-know all here -EMPH keep -CJ now
Then, whatever I know is this much.

179

hogəise
hogəi ase
tomorrow later
The next time,

180

əbə iti... jarsen ho
əbə iti... jarse -n ho
now FS this much -EMPH COP.NPST
now, this much for now.

181

əbə hogəise kha nilik pheri pənəile
əbə hogəi ase kha ɲi- lik pheri pənəi -le
now tomorrow later what NPST- become again need -COND

dam

da -m

say -CJ

Then, what happens later, if necessary, this can be said later.

II f. Permission

001

ŋa səsurali jam
 ŋa səsurali ja -m
 I father-in-law's house go -CJ
 SAB:I will go to father-in-law's house.

002

sasu səsurə kəstak lika
 sasū səsurə kəstak lik -a
 mother-in-law father-in-law what become -IRR
 SAB:What happened to father-in-law and mother-in-law?

003

abə herbicar tuk pəna
 əbə herbicar tuk pəna
 now care do must
 SAB:Then, (I) would like to look after (them).

004

kəstak ŋilik lə hai tukko lə ale
 kəstak ŋi- lik lə hai tuk -ko lə ale
 what NPST- become PART whatdo -INF PART brother
 SAB:How it happens, what is to be done brother?

005

ləu ale abə
 ləu ale əbə
 okay brother now
 TOK:Okay, then brother

006

igi lə kam dherəi ŋiŋa
 igi lə kam dherəi ŋi- ŋa
 here EMPwork more NPST- COP
 TOK:There are a lots of work to be done here.

007

tjamŋja lə abə
 tjamŋja lə əbə
 nowadays EMPnow
 TOK:Then after that,

008

jo belagəi naŋ holəŋ dzjo pəchi

jo bela -gəi naŋ holəŋ dzjo pəchi

This time -LOC you that way walk later

TOK: When you leave at this time,

009

sui tukko namgəi kam

su -e tuk -ko nam -gəi kam

who -ERG do -INF house -LOC work

TOK: Who will look after (my) house?

010

ŋəim məθhaŋ

ŋa -e -m mə- θhaŋ

I -ERG -also NEG- be able

TOK: I cannot do (it).

011

məbhja

mə- bhja

NEG- finish

TOK: (I) have no time.

012

əbə naŋ dze pəchi kwa din pəni ləgdi

əbə naŋ dze pəchi kwa din pəni ləg -di

now you whatever later how much day also take -NTVZ

TOK: So if you leave, it may take a number of days.

013

jago məlik

ja -go mə- lik

go -INF NEG- become

TOK: (You) should not go.

014

tjamnja lə hogəise jalem

tjamnja lə hogəi -se ja -le -m

nowadays PART tomorrow -towards go -COND-EMPH

TOK: (You) can go there tomorrow or day after tomorrow also.

015

likin le atturi ɲiŋa igi
lik -iŋ le atturi ɲi- ɲa igi
become -SEQ PART busy NPST- COP here
TOK: Even if it is urgent.

016

atturi ɲiŋa kəile jago dəiŋ səsurali
atturi ɲi- ɲa kəile ja -go da -iŋ səsurali
busy NPST- be when go -INF say -SEQ father-in-law's house
ɲa jarse ɲiŋa
ɲa jarse ɲi-ɲa
I this much NPST- be
TOK: It is urgent, when should go father-in-law's house, and I am still here.

017

sasu səsurə təmasəi
sasu səsurə təmasə
mother-in-law father-in-law more
SAB: Father-in-law and mother-in-law (are) very (old)

018

cəŋpa cəŋma kilik
cəŋpa cəŋma ki- lik
husband wife PST- become
SAB: (They) have become old.

019

hai tukko ɲa məŋ jase kiŋa ɲiŋa
hai tuk -ko ɲa məŋ ja -se ki- ɲa ɲi- ɲa
what do -INF I also go -DESID PFV- COP NPST- AUX
SAB: (I) feel I should go, what else can I do?

020

dəiŋ kam kipərɗi
da -iŋ kam ki- pər -di
say -SEQ work PST- happen -NTVZ
SAB: Saying that (I) have work (here).

021

hon likəŋ ɲəim
hon lik -iŋ ɲa -m
so become -SEQ I -also

SAB: Because of this (I)

022

alegəi kjahit hai le
ale -gəi ki- ahit hai le
brother -DAT PFV- ask what PART
SAB:(I) asked brother, what else?

023

wap təja lə abə
wap təi -a lə əbə
meet come -IMP EMPnow
TOK:(You) meet (them) and then return

024

igi gəra ropko atturi
igi gəra rop -ko atturi
here field transplant -INF busy
TOK:It is urgent to plant the field here.

025

ŋa pheri hogəise awa ŋisi
ŋa pheri hogəi -se awa ŋi- si
I again tomorrow -towards water NPST- get dry
TOK:Again, water may dry up one or two days.

026

si pəchi pheri awa
si pəchi pheri awa
get dry later again water
TOK:After water dries up again,

027

si pəchi ropko mədum
si pəchi rop -ko mə- dum
get dry later transplant -INF NEG- find
TOK: (we) don't get a chance to plant again.

028

heləŋ ŋilik
heləŋ ŋi- lik
in this way NPST- become
TOK:It happens like this.

029

esta lik pəchi lə naŋ
esta lik pəchi lə naŋ
this kind become later EMP you

TOK: If so, then you,

030

kam kituk bal lə dzjo pəchi ŋəe su
kam ki- tuk bal lə dzjo pəchi ŋa -e su
work PFV- do man PART walk later I -ERG who
ləidigo

ləi -di -go
apply -NTVZ -INF

TOK: if you, working person, go away, to whom should I assign the work?

031

ŋəe kha tukko
ŋa -e kha tuk -ko
I -ERG how do -INF

TOK: How can I do (it)?

032

ŋa məŋ məbhja
ŋa məŋ mə- bhja
I also NEG- finish

TOK: I don't have the time to do (it).

033

əbə

əbə

now

TOK: Then,

034

təja lə məje rə
təja lə mə- ja -o rə
today EMPNEG- go -IMP PRT

TOK: don't go today.

035

hogəise *ami* *jo* *de* *gəra*
 hogəi -se ami jo de gəra
 tomorrow -towards little this one field
 TOK:maybe by tomorrow, if one side of (the field)

036

kalokko *gəra* *lə* *rop* *data* *ugaŋ* *ja*
 kalok -ko gəra lə rop dat -a ugaŋ ja
 far -GEN field PART transplant finish -IRR there go
 TOK:if the land further away is finished planting, (you) can go.

037

əbə *udaŋ* *ŋa* *ŋjakho*
 əbə udaŋ ŋa ŋi- akho
 now there I NPST- call
 SAB:But now, (they) are calling me.

038

sasu *səsura* *hai* *tukko* *rə* *udi*
 sasū səsura -əi hai tuk -ko rə hudi
 mother-in-law father-in-law -ERG what do -INF PART there
 SAB:What are father-in-law and mother-in-law doing there?

039

phon *ŋitəi*
 phon ŋi- təi
 telephone NPST- come
 SAB:(They) have been phoning (me)

040

hudi *estak* *kilik* *ustak* *kilik*
 hudi estak ki- lik ustak ki- lik
 there such PST- become like that PST- become
dəiŋŋikham
 da -iŋ ŋi- kham
 say -SEQ NPST- say
 SAB: (They) say this and that have happened there.

041

sasu *səsura* *lə* *aju* *pəna*
 sasū səsura lə aju pəna
 mother-in-law father-in-law PART see must

ni *ale*
 ni ale
 PART brother

SAB: Brother, (I) have to look after father-in-law and mother-in-law.

042

təjan *əbə* *təjar* *hogəi* *icjale*
 təja -n əbə təjar hogəi icjale
 today -EMP now ready tomorrow day after tomorrow
tukiŋ
 tuk -iŋ
 do -SEQ

TOK:Then, by doing it and today or tomorrow or day after,

043

tjo *kalokko* *gəra* *rop* *mədat* *dhəri* *lə*
 tjo kalok -ko gəra rop mə- dat dhəri lə
 that far -GEN field transplant NEG- finish until PART

TOK:until the land further away is finished planting,

044

dzjogo *məlik* *hai* *le* *naŋ*
 dzjo -go mə- lik hai le naŋ
 walk -INF NEG- become what PART you

TOK:you should not leave.

045

sui *gəlbo* *jengo* *sui*
 su -e gəlbo jen -go su -e
 who -ERG ox take away -INF who -ERG

TOK:Who will plough with the oxen,

046

ləpa *akhogo* *sui* *hai* *awa*
 ləpa akho -go su -e hai awa
 work call -INF who -ERG what water

TOK:whom to call for labour-exchange and who will look after the water?

047

dzigjamgo *ŋa* *məŋ*
 dzi- gjam -go ŋa məŋ
 CAUS- agree -INF I also

TOK:I too have to make adjustments.

048

ŋa mətəi məbhja

ŋa mətəi mə- bhja

I only NEG- finish

TOK:I alone cannot do (it).

049

naŋ dzjo pəchi lə ŋa lə

naŋ dzjo pəchi lə ŋa lə

you walk later PART I PART

TOK:After you go away, then I

050

kha tukko kha tukko ŋilik

kha tuk -ko kha tuk -ko ŋi- lik

how do -INF how do -INF NPST- become

TOK: (I) will be at a loss about how (the work) is to be done.

051

tjo kalokko

tjo kalok -ko

that far -GEN

TOK:that (land) further away

052

ikane kane kalokhəru

ikane ikane kalok -həru

small small far -PL

TOK:these far off (land).

053

dze tukuŋ tukuŋ naŋgo ugui

dze tuk -iŋ tuk -iŋ naŋ -go ugi

whatever do -SEQ do -SEQ you -GEN there

TOK:Whatever you have done there.

054

hai hai pəna dale naŋ testei ŋiŋa

hai hai pəna da -le naŋ testei ŋi- ŋa

what what must say -COND you like that NPST- COP

TOK: Even if something happens, you will remain the same.

055

əbə tjo

əbə tjo

now that

TOK:Then that,

056

ustəi pəna chə dale

ustəi pəna chə da -le

similar become INFR say -COND

TOK:Even if something happens,

057

bəru tjo kane kane dze tukuŋ tukuŋ

bəru tjo ikane ikane dze tuk -iŋ tuk -iŋ

rather that small small whatever do -SEQ do -SEQ

TOK: rather then doing these small (things)

058

kalokko lə

kalok -ko lə

far -INF EMP

TOK:of the far away (places)

059

ləpa datəi

ləpa dat -əi

work finish -IMP

TOK:let us finalize (our) labour-exchange.

060

ugaŋ mətəi dzjoa

ugaŋ mətəi dzjo -a

there only walk -IMP

TOK:Then only (you) can go away.

061

ale

ale

brother

SAB:brother,

062

pəisam pi pəna səsrəlim ja pəna
pəisa -m pi pəna səsrəli -m ja pəna
money -EMP give must father-in-law -EMPH go must
hai tukko rəabə

hai tuk -ko rə əbə
what do -INF PART now

SAB: money also had to be given, (I) should go to father-in-law's house, what to do then?

061

dzəsəri ŋilik kam lə tukkon pəna
dzəsəri ŋi- lik kam lə tuk -ko -n pəna
anyway NPST- become work PART do -INF -EMPH must
ni

ni

PART

SAB: The work has to be done anyhow.

064

abə səsrəli məjale abə
əbə səsrəli mə- ja -lə əbə
now father-in-law NEG- go -COND now

SAB: Then, if (you) have not gone to father-in-law's house then what?

065

abə ni məŋ alam mahā
əbə ni məŋ alam mahā
now 1PL also superior not

SAB: Now, we are not superior (people).

066

ikinse ŋiŋa bal
ikini ŋi- ŋa bal
small NPST- COP man

SAB: (We) are inferior (people).

067

hai tukko rə cəŋpa cəŋmagəi lə
hai tuk -ko rə cəŋpa cəŋma -gəi lə
what do -INF PART husband wife-DAT PART

jagon pəna ni

ja -go -n pəna ni
go -INF -EMP must PART

SAB:what to do, (I) should go for the sake of old persons.

068

əbə kalokko lə ləpa lə gəra ropuŋ gidat
əbə kalok -ko lə ləpa lə gəra rop -iŋ gi-dat
now far -GEN EMP work EMP field transplant -SEQ PST-finish
TOK:Now, that planting of far off land and labour-exchange have been
completed

069

əbə kane kanek lə
əbə ikane kanek lə
now small near PART
TOK:then, of the near by (land)

070

ropko na pəna
rop -ko na pəna
transplant -INF PART must
TOK: (it) has to be planted.

071

səppei ropuŋ dato chə
səppəi rop -iŋ dat -o chə
all transplant -SEQ finish -IRR INFR
TOK:All planting is finished.

072

ropuŋ gidat ŋiŋa aŋmət ki belagəi
rop -iŋ gi- dat ŋi- ŋa aŋmət ki bela -gəi
transplant -SEQ PFV- finish NPST- be rain or time -DAT
TOK:The planting has to be finished during the rainy season.

073

əbə naŋ təja
əbə naŋ təja
now you today
TOK:Now, you (do this) today

074

testen pənale

testen pəna -le

like that must -COND

TOK:if it happens to be so.

075

dherei din hukko məlik

dherəi din huk -ko mə- lik

more day stay -INF NEG- become

TOK: (you) should not stay there for many days.

076

abə hukle pheri igi

əbə huk -le pheri igi

now stay -CONDagain here

TOK:If (you) stay then here

077

esten ho bərkəgəi

esten ho bərkha -gəi

this COP.NPST rainy season -LOC

TOK:it is like this during the rainy season.

078

kam məbhja

kam mə- bhja

work NEG- finish

TOK: (I) don't have the time to do the work.

079

hai tukko le abə hudin ŋjakho

hai tuk -ko le əbə hudi -n ŋi- akho

what do -INF PART now there -EMPHNPST- call

sasusəsura

sasu - səsura -əi

mother-in-law - father-in-law -ERG

SAB:What to do then, I have been called by my father-in-law's.

080

testak estak

testak estak

that such

SAB:like this and that

081

ki lik ʔi kham dəbai pani tukko
ki- lik ʔi- kham dəba -gəi pani tuk -ko
PST- become NPST- say another -ERG water do -INF
ʔi kham
ʔi- kham
NPST- say
SAB:(they) say that it happened like that, and treatment should also be done.